

SERIES B - No. 18

THE VERB IN BENA-BENA: ITS FORM AND FUNCTION

by

R.A. Young



PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

The Australian National University

3

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS is published by the *Linguistic Circle of Canberra* and consists of four series:

SERIES A - OCCASIONAL PAPERS
SERIES B - MONOGRAPHS
SERIES C - BOOKS
SERIES D - SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS.

EDITOR: S.A. Wurm. ASSOCIATE EDITORS: D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve.

ALL CORRESPONDENCE concerning PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, including orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

The Secretary,
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS,
Department of Linguistics,
School of Pacific Studies,
The Australian National University,
Box 4, P.O.,
Canberra, A.C.T. 2600.
Australia.

Copyright © R.A. Young.
First published 1971.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for help in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card number and ISBN 0 85883 050 7

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	v
Chapter I INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter II THE VERB IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SENTENCE	
2.1 <i>General Statement</i>	4
2.2 <i>Constituents of the Sentence</i>	5
2.3 <i>Types of Sentences</i>	8
Chapter III THE VERB COMPACT	
3.1 <i>General Statement</i>	12
3.2 <i>Nuclear Verb</i>	12
3.3 <i>Periphrastic Complex</i>	12
3.4 <i>Compound Unit</i>	14
3.4.1 <i>Distinctions Between Periphrastic Complex and Compound Unit</i>	15
3.4.2 <i>The Benefactive Compound</i>	15
3.5 <i>Special Auxiliary Constructions</i>	17
3.6 <i>Summary</i>	19
Chapter IV VERB STEMS	
4.1 <i>Identity</i>	21
4.2 <i>Stem Classification</i>	22
Chapter V AFFIXATION OF VERBS OCCURRING IN THE TERMINUS OF THE STANDARD SENTENCE	
5.1 <i>General Statement</i>	26
5.2 <i>Suffixes</i>	26
5.2.1 <i>Subject</i>	27
5.2.2 <i>Tense</i>	28
5.2.3 <i>Emphatic, Question, Mood Suffixes</i>	34
5.2.4 <i>Imperative</i>	36

	<i>Page</i>
5.2.5 <i>Intentive</i>	39
5.3 <i>Prefixes</i>	39
5.3.1 <i>Object</i>	39
5.3.2 <i>Operative Prefix</i>	41
5.3.3 <i>Negative Prefix</i>	44
Chapter VI VERBS OCCURRING INTERNAL TO THE STANDARD SENTENCE	
6.1 <i>General Statement</i>	47
6.2 <i>Scheme of the Medial Verb Morphology</i>	49
6.3 <i>Subject Dimension</i>	50
6.3.1 <i>Preview Subject</i>	51
6.3.2 <i>Relational Subject</i>	51
6.3.2.1 <i>Deviations</i>	53
6.3.3 <i>Integral Subject</i>	54
6.3.3.1 <i>Same Subject Sequences</i>	54
6.3.3.2 <i>Different Subject Sequences</i>	55
6.4 <i>Time Dimension</i>	55
6.4.1 <i>Succession</i>	56
6.4.2 <i>Simultaneity</i>	57
6.4.3 <i>Completion</i>	57
6.4.4 <i>Priority</i>	58
6.5 <i>Conditional</i>	58
Chapter VII PAIRED-CHAIN SENTENCES	
7.1 <i>General Statement</i>	63
7.2 <i>Conjecture</i>	64
7.3 <i>Alternative</i>	64
7.4 <i>Reason</i>	65
REFERENCES CITED	67

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I Stem Variants of the Benefactive Verb	16
II Monofocal versus Polyfocal Stem Forms for the Verb <i>to hit</i>	23
III Stem Classification in Past and Future Tense	23
IV Basic Forms of Subject Person	29
V Paradigm of Verb <i>to go</i> in Future Tense	29
VI Vowel Predomination in Present Tense	31
VII Paradigm of Class A (<i>ha- hit</i>) in Present	31
VIII Paradigm of Class B (<i>bu- go</i>) in Present	32
IX Paradigm of Class C (<i>fi- pierce</i>) in Present	32
X Past Tense Composite	33
XI Paradigm of Verb <i>to hit</i> in Past Tense	33
XII Allomorphic Variants of Third, Fourth and Fifth Order Suffixes	35
XIII Paradigm of Simple Imperative	37
XIV Paradigm of Intensive Imperative	37
XV Paradigm of Causative Imperative	38
XVI Paradigm of Immediate Intentive, <i>bu- go</i>	38
XVII Free Pronouns	42
XVIII Object Prefixes	42
XIX Paradigm of Verb <i>to give</i> in Present Tense	43
XX Preview Subject as abstracted from Possessive Pronouns	52
XXI Relational Subject Morphemes	52
XXII Past Tense forms of Medial Verbs marked for Same Subject Relationship illustrated by <i>fi- pierce</i>	59

LIST OF TABLES

Table	
I	Some realizations of the imperative verb
II	Imperative verb's morphological form forms for the verb 'go'
III	Some classifications of imperative forms
IV	Some forms of imperative verbs
V	Paradigm of verb 'to go' in imperative form
VI	Paradigm of imperative verb in imperative form
VII	Paradigm of Class A verb 'to go' in imperative form
VIII	Paradigm of Class B (imperative) in imperative form
IX	Paradigm of Class C (imperative) in imperative form
X	Paradigm of imperative verb in imperative form
XI	Paradigm of imperative verb in imperative form
XII	Allophonic variants of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XIII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XIV	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XV	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XVI	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XVII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XVIII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XIX	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XX	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXI	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXIII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXIV	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXV	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXVI	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXVII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXVIII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXIX	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXX	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXI	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXIII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXIV	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXV	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXVI	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXVII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXVIII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXIX	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXX	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXI	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXIII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXIV	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXV	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXVI	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXVII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXVIII	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXIX	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form
XXXXX	Paradigm of imperative verb 'to go' in imperative form

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This statement is a description of the structure of the verb in Bena-bena, a language of the Eastern Highlands District of the Territory of New Guinea.¹ Bena-bena is a language spoken by approximately 14,000 people living in the Goroka sub-district of the Eastern Highlands administrative district.

The language has been classified by Wurm 1964 as belonging to the East-Central family of the East New Guinea Highlands phylum. The Eastern and East-Central families share many similarities, and in terms of the typological features Wurm abstracts (1964:80-83), these two families are the most highly coded. By this is meant that there is a larger number of these typological features formally categorized in the languages of these two families than in the other language families of the phylum.

In the languages of the East New Guinea Highlands phylum, the structure of the verb is crucial to the interpretation of clause and sentence constructions; and in these two language families, in particular, the varying roles and relationships of the verb within the sentence are indicated by the verb morphology.

Bena-bena typifies this feature of the East-Central family in a marked way. Much of the motivation for this present description is to point up the importance of the verb in relation to the sentence as a whole and to show the interplay between the component parts of the sentence as registered in the verb.

Of very great significance in the composition of the Bena-bena verb are two dimensions: the dimensions of subject and of time. The morphological structure of the verb expresses the time and subject relationships between the clauses of the sentence. The formal and syntactic expressions of these relationships constitute a large part of this description.

The relationship between many of the components of the clause itself are also expressed in the verb morphology. Such relationships include

the liaison between actor, action, object, indirect object and benefactee.

The study of the composition of the verb gives much deeper insight into the structure of the language than does the study of other constituents of the clause. This paper therefore deals only with the verb constructions.

Because the description of New Guinea languages is still in the beginning stages, much of the terminology used in this statement may seem innovative or adaptive. Wherever possible, sources from which terms are drawn are cited and differences of usage are noted.

N O T E

1. Field work on which this analysis is based was carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during the period 1958-1968. The data were collected by monolingual methods and constitute virually unelicited material. The research has been supported in part by the New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics Research Fund.

The orthography used in this paper symbolizes the Bena-bena phonemes thus: p voiceless bilabial stop; t voiceless alveolar stop; k voiceless velar stop; ' voiceless glottal stop; b voiced bilabial fricative; y voiced alveopalatal fricative; g voiced velar fricative; f voiceless labiodental fricative; s voiceless alveolar fricative; h voiceless glottal fricative; l voiced retroflexed alveolar liquid; m voiced bilabial nasal; n voiced alveolar nasal; and the vowels a, e, i, o, u.

Chapter II

THE VERB IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SENTENCE

2.1 GENERAL STATEMENT

The nature of New Guinea Highland languages requires that a treatment of verb structure be set in the context of the sentence. It is therefore advantageous to begin this paper with a description of the Bena-bena sentence.

The sentence may be short but, on the other hand, is frequently greatly extended. The minimal sentence is a single clause, which in its shortest form consists of one verb. Longer sentences consist of a sequence of clauses linked by a complex inter-relationship of verbs.¹ The verb occurs in clause final position.

The sentence has a characteristic onset and terminus. The onset, which is optional, may be (a) a time expression, such as *etehi morning*; (b) an attention gaining expression, such as *mafi listen*; (c) a vocative expression, such as *emabe you down there*; (d) connectives, such as *to and* and *aku'i but*; (e) a repetition, in non-final form, of the final predicate of the preceding sentence; (f) the onset of the intonation contour, characterized by a rise in pitch and intensity. In addition there is a strong tendency for the sentence topic, which may be subject or object, to occur near the sentence beginning.

The sentence terminus is indicated by an intonation contour which drops very low in pitch and volume. But the most striking feature of the sentence terminus is the form of the final verb. The final verb of the sentence differs morphologically from verbs which occur within the sentence; that is, from both verbs which occur at the end of clause-chains other than sentence terminal chains (hereafter referred to as chain terminal verbs) and from verbs which occur within the clause-chain.

In New Guinea linguistics the differing forms of the verb which occur at the end of the sentence and those which occur within the sentence are termed 'sentence final' and 'sentence medial' respectively.² In this description of Bena-bena, however, the term 'medial' is reserved for

those forms of the verb which occur within the clause-chain, and 'final' is used for both (a) sentence final forms, and (b) chain terminal forms, because the chain terminal forms bear resemblance to the sentence final forms than to the forms which occur internal to the clause-chain and which are designated 'medial'.

Nevertheless, the form of the verb at the end of the sentence is distinct from both those chain terminal forms internal to the sentence and from the medial forms in the following ways.

(a) Mood affixes occur only in sentences final forms of the verb.

(b) The tense of the final verb of the sentence is absolute. That is, it indicates the tense of the sentence as a whole, its setting in actual time. The tense of the medial verb, by contrast, is relative, indicating its temporal relationship to the clauses which follow. The tense of the chain terminal verb is dominated by the tense of the sentence final verb, and, once again is relative.

(c) Medial verbs, and chain terminal verbs have certain suffixes which do not occur on sentence final verbs.

2.2 CONSTITUENTS OF THE SENTENCE

In describing Bena-bena verbs it is convenient to identify syntactic units on three levels between the maximal and minimal levels of sentence and word. These units are, in descending order:

Sentence
 Clause-chain³
 Clause
 Verb Compact⁴
 Word

These five syntactic units will be discussed only in terms of the verb structure. The affixation of the terminal verb in each unit identifies the level, so that the morphology of the verb applies variously: it codifies the syntactic units.

The *sentence* may, in its minimal form, be a single clause-chain, a single clause, a single verb compact, or a single word, i.e. a verb. Examples of the sentence are included under section 2.3 (Types of Sentences).

The *clause-chain* is a unit on a hierarchical level intermediary to sentence and clause. It is a sequence of clauses linked to each other in a relationship of time and subject, these links being formally manifested by the verb affixation of each clause. In addition, the clause-chain in non-sentence-final position has distinctive closure. Chains occurring in

sentence final position terminate with the normal sentence closure. In its minimal form a clause-chain may be a single clause, but much more commonly and more typically it is a sequence of clauses.⁵ The clause-chain has been identified by the following features.

(a) **Intonation Contour.** The clause-chain contour has the same shape as the sentence contour except that the onset and ending are less extreme, and the pause between the chains is less pronounced.

(b) **Affixation.** The affixation of the verb in chain terminal position identifies the chain. Certain such affixes simply indicate the end of the chain while others also indicate the relationship between chains. Clause-chains in sentence medial position carry such closure morphemes as *-pa* and *-mo*, in the standard sentence, and *-tita* and *-gi*, in the paired-chain sentence. In sentence final position, the terminal verb of the chain carries a suffix indicating mood, which is the typical sentence closure. Examples of the clause-chain are given below. (Subscript numbers correlate words in the vernacular with those in the English).

nani₁ yatae₂ etepo₃ lumu-pa₄ . . . I₁ came down₄ today₂ in the morning₃ . . .

tite₁ mina filo₂ lugo₃ yaga₄ tilago₅ nohu pa₆ . . . I said₃, "Go up (there) and₁ buy (it)₂," and₃ when they had gone up₅ there I remained₆ . . .

anaga₁ nohuna-mo₂ . . . I was₂ there₁ . . .

limito₁ oto₂ kapogu₃ noota-mo₄ . . . We came down and₁ came₂ and were coming₄ along the road₃ . . .

ha-tita . . . If you had shot . . .

mina fito₁ ito₂ mala-tita₃ . . . If you had₃ bought (it) and₁ taken (it) and₂ placed it₃ . . .

bu'ehina-gi . . . Since he has gone . . .

muya₁ hepatoti₂ maya₃ mina filube₄ luto₅ ti'ehina-gi₆ . . . Since he has gone up₆ saying₅, "I will buy₄ sweet potato₃ from the village₂ up there₁," . . .

The only obligatory constituent of the *clause* is the verb compact. The occurrence of the noun phrases in the clause produces the following pattern.

±Time ±Subj. ±Obj. ±Loc. ± $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Inst.} \\ \text{Ind. Obj.} \end{array} \right\}$ +Verb Compact

Subject always precedes Object, but Time and Subject may be inverted.

Instrument and Indirect Object are mutually exclusive in the same clause. Instrument may occur adjacent to, but following Subject; whereas Locative may occur adjacent to Subject, either preceding or following it. It is very uncommon to have more than one or two noun phrases in any one clause.

The clause terminus is marked by the verb suffixes -to and -go when in medial position within the chain or sentence. Clauses occurring at the end of the chain or sentence bear the characteristic affixation of these units. The following examples are given.

(a) within the clause-chain

gu'i₁ li-to₂ . . . *He took₂ the bag₁ and₂ . . .*

anaga₁ nobi-go₂ . . . *He goes₂ there₁ and₂ . . .*

(b) at the end of a clause-chain

efahi₁ ega-pa₂ . . . *He saw₁ the money₂ . . .*

maga₁ menohu-tita₂ . . . *If I were not₂ here₁ . . .*

(c) at the end of a sentence

melekehi₁ hekalala-be₂. *They will begin₂ the dance₁.*

nehafi-he? *Are they (here)?*

fili'ehi-be. *He died.*

The *verb compact* may consist of (a) a single nuclear verb (i.e. its stem plus affixation), (b) a periphrastic verb complex, (c) a verb compound, or (d) a special auxiliary construction. Each of these functions as a semantic unit, and one that will not allow insertions within the verb compact. Modification, for example, is external to the verb compact and is manifested as a clause which occurs immediately prior to the verb compact. There is an optional but significant proclitic of the verb compact, the morpheme a- 'actualizer', which marks the onset of the verb compact. The various manifestations of the verb compact, listed above, will be described in greater detail in Chapter III. Examples follow.

emibo.	<i>Give him.</i>
laita hilube.	<i>I will cook.</i>
fi netabe.	<i>It pierced me.</i>
a-li molo'ehibe.	<i>He placed it.</i>
a-bilube'mu nohube.	<i>I am about to go.</i>
a-li bati hu ketalube.	<i>I will fix it for you.</i>

In terms of the verb structure, and with reference to only the verb, *words* are those free forms which occur as constituents of the verb compact

and may be comprised of either inflected or uninflected stems.

2.3 TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are two distinct types of sentence, based on internal constituent structure: (a) the standard sentence, and (b) the paired-chain sentence.

The *standard sentence* consists of one or more clause-chain, of which the only obligatory constituent is the final chain (which may be, minimally, one verb). This is the most generally used type of sentence structure, occurring freely in both narrative and dialogue. Examples follow (slant lines indicate the end of a clause chain).

obo. *Come.*

fa'meme₁ nohube₂. *I am doing₂ nothing₁.*

afo'nifu₁ koyapa₂ ana₃ yafa₄ kofo'ehina yabe₅. *My father₁ planted₅ that₃ tree₄ long ago₂.*

hiya₁ kifina₂ beye nofibe₃? *Which₁ grass₂ is he chipping₃?*

nani₁ ya'malo₂ nohunati₃ saboli₄ lito₅ mobuto₆ kapo₇ le'mo bati humofa'na nohunati₈ ya'ma₉ toto₁₀ nohunogo₁₁ nagami'i₁₂ biligo₁₃ buto₁₄ noloto₁₅ gu'i₁₆ lito₁₇ mobuto₁₈ misini₁₉ hepatoti₂₀ kokole₂₁ mu'a₂₂ lito₂₃ notona yabe₂₄. *I₁ took₅ a shovel₄ from here₂ where we are₃ and went down₆ and from where we were mending₈ the road₇ came up₁₀ here₉ and while I was here₁₁ the water₁₂ boiled₁₃ and I went₁₄ and drank it₁₅ and took₁₇ a bag₁₆ and went down₁₈ and got₂₃ hen₂₁ eggs₂₂ from the mission₁₉ place₂₀ and I am coming up₂₄.*

etehi₁ limito₂ nohunamo₃/ bona'i₄ yaga₅ kofite₆ abe₇. *This morning₁ I came down and₂ remained₃;/ men₄ came₇ carrying₆ a pig₅.*

The *paired-chain* sentence consists of a pair of clause-chains, both of which are obligatory and which exhibit an interdependency of relationship. That is, the first clause-chain depends on the second and vice versa. This type of sentence is restricted in that (a) the sentence itself is non-expandable, other chains cannot be added; (b) the second chain has to be short, being confined to a single breath-pause group;⁶ (c) it occurs mainly in dialogue. Examples follow.

alo'ehinagi₁/ lito₂ nobo₃. *It is cooked so₁/ take it and₂ eat it₃.*

babafi₁ anaga₂ ti'ehinagi₃/ anaga₄ tilube₅. *The teacher₁ has gone up₃ there₂ so₃/ I will go up₅ there₄.*

malasini₁ natita₂/ mefilitine₃. *If he had eaten₂ the medicine₁/ he would not have died₃.*

kai₁ lebato'isi₂ minatita₃/ nama₄ hatita'mu yabe₅. *If₃ you₁ had been₃ close₂/ you would have shot₅ the bird₄.*

melugu₁ alifi₂/ kalegu₃ alibe₄. *Will he come₂ on foot (by ground)₁/ or will he come₄ in a car₃.*

A schematic view of the distribution of clauses within the clause-chain and sentence is given below. Information such as verb form and affixation crucial to the identification of a particular level, is also given.

Clauses	Medial verb }+ -to -go	Final verb }+ -pa -mo -tita -gi	Medial verb }+ -to -go	Final verb + Mood
Clause-chains	Final verb }+ -pa -mo -tita -gi		Final verb + Mood	
Sentence				Final verb + Mood

This scheme is merely representative and is not intended to imply a dichotomous sentence or clause-chain structure. The units themselves will be described in succeeding chapters but the schematic view is included as an aid to the reading of this chapter.

N O T E S

1. This use of the term 'sentence' follows the more traditional, non-generative usage of the term. It is in keeping with the notion as used by the majority of linguists in the New Guinea field. P. M. Healey 1966:41 describes the Telefol sentence in much the same way; as does Harland B. Kerr 1967:8 in his description of Witu; and Karl J. Franklin 1967:28 when contrasting dependent and independent sentences in Kewa. A. Capell and S. A. Wurm, in coining the terms 'sentence medial' and 'sentence final' verbs, do so with reference to a sentence containing multiple clauses.

2. The term 'sentence medial verb' was first used by Capell and occurs frequently also in the writing of Wurm and other linguists with reference to languages of the New Guinea area. In a previous description of Bena-bena (Young 1964:45), I used the terms 'primary' and 'secondary' to refer to sentence final and sentence medial verbs respectively. Since that date the terms 'medial' and 'final' have gained general acceptance in the New Guinea area and I have therefore discontinued the use of 'primary' and 'secondary'.

3. The term 'chain' was first proposed in New Guinea linguistics by Joy McCarthy 1965:59 to describe relationships between sequential clauses in Kanite. It has since been used by Franklin 1967:32, Healey 1966:1 and also by Orneal Kooyers 1966. Of the languages so described by these authors, Kanite most closely resembles Bena-bena.

4. The term 'verb compact' has been coined rather than 'verb phrase' for this unit in the hierarchy because, unlike the noun phrases, the verb compact does not include modification. Modification is external to the verb compact. Bena-bena has very few verb modifiers; most modification is by the addition of a modifying clause. Modification of verbs has not

been considered in this thesis. Clause modifiers of the verb compact could be regarded as being embedded in a unit which could be called verb phrase. For example *me'me huto₁ a-bubo₂* (do quickly₁ actualizer -go₂) *go quickly*.

5. This linking of clauses in a string in terms of time and subject is an important feature of New Guinea Highland languages and has been described in other terms by various authors. For instance, McKaughan 1966 describes certain types of clause sequences in Tairora in which the dimensions of time and subject play an important part. The use of the term 'chaining' was introduced by McCarthy 1965 to refer to the 'inter-clause concord and agreement in the relationships of time and subject'. McCarthy refers to the process of chaining but does not identify chains as units. Phyllis Healey 1966, on the other hand, does identify chains as units; a particular type of chain being manifested by a particular type of linkage and occurring on a particular level. Healey thus identifies chains on a number of levels above clause level. What is here described for Bena-bena therefore differs somewhat from the use of the term by both Healey and McCarthy, though it is closer to McCarthy's usage. Bena-bena chains are chains of clauses and occur as marked units on one particular level of the hierarchy.

6. The breath-pause group is a phonological unit of rhythm in Bena-bena speech and is not determined by counting syllables. This type of rhythmic unit is well known in certain types of poetry and folk song. A somewhat similar phonological unit has been described as the 'phonological word' for Siane by Dorothy James (personal communication).

Chapter III

THE VERB COMPACT

3.1 GENERAL STATEMENT

The Verb compact is the crux of the Bena-bena sentence. It is the only obligatory component of the clause; all other components are lateral to it. It functions in a variety of differing roles and relationships within the levels of sentence, clause-chain and clause, these varying roles being marked by verb affixation.

The internal structure of the verb compact may be in some instances quite simple, but in others it may be very complicated. The verb compact may be manifested by (a) a simple nuclear verb, (b) a periphrastic complex, (c) a compound unit, or (d) a special auxiliary construction.

3.2 NUCLEAR VERB

The verb in its simplest form is comprised of a single verb. Any one-word verb which alone may so constitute the verb compact is termed 'nuclear'. Any such verb may be the nucleus of a verb compound, and certain such verbs may be the nucleus of a periphrastic complex. As the nucleus of such constructions, these verbs occur last in the string. When alone manifesting the verb compact and when functioning as the nucleus for the periphrastic complex or the compound unit, such a verb carries the main affixation, signaling, for example, tense, subject and mood. Verbs which precede the nucleus do not carry such affixation. Thus the nuclear verb constitutes the center of an endocentric construction.

3.3 PERIPHRASTIC COMPLEX

The periphrastic complex, which constitutes about fifty percent of the verbal entities in the lexicon, consists of a close-knit sequence of two components: a free form followed by a nuclear verb, both of which are obligatory. A scheme of the periphrastic complex with an example follows.

Periphery	Nucleus
loka	ho'ehibe <i>he asked</i>
<i>ask</i>	<i>he hit</i>

The free form, which is in pre-position to the nuclear verb, fills largely a semantic role, but is peripheral in terms of grammatical function. The only affix which occurs on such words is the object prefix. These words, which are numerous, do not occur in any environment other than as adjuncts to particular nuclear verbs;¹ they therefore constitute a class on their own, here called 'peripheral word'.² It should be pointed out that though each peripheral word associates with one particular nuclear verb, each nuclear verb, on the other hand, may associate with a diversity of peripheral words.

The role of the nuclear verb in a periphrastic complex is primarily one of grammatical function. It loses its intrinsic meaning in almost every instance, and becomes a nucleus to carry all the usual verb affixes except object. A relatively small number of verbs occurs as nucleus of the periphrastic complex.³

The periphrastic complex always functions as a unit. The two components of the unit are obligatory, and no element may be interposed between them. Note however, that even so, the peripheral component is not a prefix. The peripheral component is a free word because (a) it conforms phonologically to the stress and pause patterns typical of the Bena-bena word, and (b) each such peripheral word associates with one, and only one specific nuclear verb, whereas prefixes attach to any verb.

Examples of the periphrastic complex follow. These have been selected to illustrate the association between certain frequently occurring nuclear verbs with a variety of peripheral words. Also included are some examples showing the object prefix attached to the peripheral word.

loka ₁ ho'ohube ₂	(ask ₁ hit ₂). <i>I asked him.</i>
kota ₁ ho'ehibe ₂	(trip ₁ hit ₂). <i>I tripped.</i>
gofa ₁ ho'ehibe ₂	(break across ₁ hit ₂). <i>I broke it.</i>
laga ₁ hu'ohube ₂	(cut ₁ do ₂). <i>I cut it.</i>
okala ₁ hu'ohube ₂	(wash ₁ do ₂). <i>I washed it.</i>
iya ₁ i'ohube ₂	(spear ₁ do ₂). <i>I speared it.</i>
kehe ₁ i'ohube ₂	(call ₁ do ₂). <i>I called.</i>
mina ₁ filube ₂	(buy ₁ pierce ₂). <i>I will buy.</i>

- te₁ me-filube₂ (*pull up₁ not-pierce₂*). *I will not pull it up.*
 kele₁ no-lube₂ (*wipe₁ operative-take₂*). *I am erasing.*
 no-loka₁ me-ho'ehibe₂ (*me-ask₁ not-hit₂*). *He did not ask me.*
 ku-nu₁ kilibe₂ (*you-hug₁ bind₂*). *He will hug you.*

3.4 COMPOUND UNIT

A different type of verbal construction which manifests the verb compact consists of a paratactic sequence of verbs the last of which registers the major affixation. This is a form of compounding. Compounding of the verb is defined as the pre-positioning of a verb stem (or stems) before an inflected nuclear verb or before a periphrastic complex. This combination functions as a unified and coordinated verb expression showing formal agreement with the subject between components of the unit, and signaling a composite meaning.⁴

A scheme of the compound unit, with examples, follows.

(Verb Stem)	Verb Stem	Inflected Verb	
	li	molobo	<i>place it</i>
	take	put	
li	heki	he'mibo	<i>throw it away</i>
take	empty	discard	

Verbs which occur in pre-position within the compound unit are limited numerically but have a high frequency of occurrence with a variety of verbs occupying final position. The limitation in this context results from semantic restriction relative to a logical sequence of action.⁵ A verb which occurs in pre-position in one compound unit may occur in final position in another. Examples of the same verb occupying either pre-position or final position follow.

- kisi₁ he'mi'ohube₂ (*untie₁ discard₂*). *Untying it I discarded it.*
 li₁ kisi'ohube₂ (*take₁ untie₂*). *Taking it I untied it.*

The verb in final position carries all the usual affixes. A partial exception to this is the object prefix which attaches to whichever component is appropriate (that is, to whichever verb may take an object): the verb in final position or the verb in pre-position. The following examples illustrate such alternative occurrences of the object prefix.

- no-ho₁ fililibe₂ (*hit₁ die₂*). *He will kill me.*

li₁ ni-milibe₂ (take₁ give₂). *He will give it to me.*

All affixes, including the object, apply to the compound as a whole.

When the periphrastic complex is used within the compound unit it may be a pre-positional component or a final component, or both. In final position the nucleus of the periphrastic complex carries all the characteristic affixation. In pre-position, the nucleus of the periphrastic complex is reduced to its basic stem while the peripheral word remains unchanged. The following examples of the compound unit include both periphrastic complexes and simple nuclear verbs as components in either final or pre-position.

ho₁ ko'ohube₂ (hit₁ lie₂). *I fell over.*

lu₁ bube₂ (say₁ go₂). *I speak into (record).*

li₁ bati hubo₂ (take₁ right₂). *Straighten it.*

su ti₁ he'mibo₂ (uproot₁ discard₂). *You uproot it.*

laita hu₁ bati hubo₂ (roast₁ right₂). *Cook it well.*

3.4.1 Distinctions Between Periphrastic Complex and Compound Unit

There are several formal distinctions between the periphrastic complex and the compound unit.

(a) A peripheral word in a periphrastic complex occurs only with one specific verb, whereas the pre-positional verb in a compound unit may occur with a variety of other verbs in other compounds.

(b) The peripheral word of a periphrastic complex cannot occur alone but only in association with a particular nuclear verb, whereas the pre-positional word of a compound unit may also occur in isolation.

(c) The verb in pre-position in a given compound unit, may occur in final position in another compound, but the peripheral word of a periphrastic complex can never be the nucleus.

(d) The pre-positional word of a compound unit has a potential for full inflection, but the peripheral word of a periphrastic complex may not inflect except for object.

(e) The periphrastic complex may occur as a component of the compound unit, but not vice versa.⁶

3.4.2 The Benefactive Compound

Benefaction in Bena-bena is indicated by a special compounding of a verb or periphrastic complex in pre-position and a special benefactive verb in final position. The object prefix, denoting benefactee, obligatory attaches to the verb in final position. This final verb also carries

all of the usual suffixes. The benefactive verb cannot occur except as the final component of this type of compound. This compound is used where the actor performs an action on behalf of another person, or, in certain instances, where the other person is the recipient of the action.⁷

Other definite features of the benefactive compound follow.

(a) Object prefixes are obligatory, and in contrast with the periphrastic complex, affix to the final component, that is, to the benefactive verb.

(b) In direct contrast to the final component of all other compounds and to the final component of the periphrastic complex, the benefactive verb carries no other prefixes. The negative and operative prefixes attach to the verb in pre-position.

(c) In addition to having stem variants showing formal agreement with subject, as mentioned with reference to the verbs of the compound unit (3.4 above), the benefactive verb also has stem variants showing formal agreement with object. These variants are displayed in matrix arrangement in Table I Below.

Table I

STEM VARIANTS OF THE BENEFACTIVE VERB

Object	Subject (past)		Future
	<i>Monofocal</i>	<i>Polyfocal</i>	
Sing., Dual and 1st person plural	-to-	-te-	-ta-
2nd and 3rd person plural	-polo-	-pele-	-pala-

The monofocal and polyfocal subject manifestations of verb stems are described in Chapter IV.⁸

The following are some examples of the benefactive compound.

hu₁ ke-to'ohube₂ (*do₁ you-benefactive₂*). *I did it for you.*

me-hu₁ ke-to'ohube₂ (*not-do₁ you-benefactive₂*). *I did not do it for you.*

me-no-hu₁ ke-tobe₂ (*not-operative-do₁ you-benefactive₂*). *I am not doing it for you.*

laita hi₁ ke-te'ehabe₂ (*cook₁ you-benefactive₂*). *They cooked it for you.*

li₁ heki₂ he'mi₃ ne-te'ehabe₄ (take₁ tip out₂ discard₃
me-benefactive₄). They threw it out for me.

li₁ laga hu₂ e-polo'ehibe₃ (take₁ cut₂ them-benefactive₃)
He cut it for them.

hi₁ e-pele'ehabe₂ (do₁ them-benefactive₂). They did it for them.

3.5 SPECIAL AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTIONS

Another manifestation of the verb compact, and one that is quite different from the three already described, is the special auxiliary construction. Such constructions constitute a special sequence of two (or three) inflected verbs linked together in a relationship of interdependency. These constructions are typically expressive of verb aspect (and, in this sense differ from the three manifestations of the verb compact already described), covering such ideas as intention, customary action, repetitive action and other kinds of interdependencies.

Each auxiliary construction has two essential components: a verb component indicating aspect and an auxiliary component in that order. Any verb may constitute the aspectual component, but the auxiliary component may only be manifested by the verb *to be* (hu-), or, in certain instances, by *yabe* (stative word) which functions as a clause closure unit.⁹ The verbs manifesting the aspectual component differ somewhat in form depending on the aspect being expressed.

The special auxiliary constructions indicate the following aspects.

(a) **Immediate Intensive Aspect.** The immediate intensive aspect employs the verb *to be* as auxiliary which carries all the usual nuclear affixation except the object and negative prefixes, and must be in the present tense and most frequently takes the operative prefix (no-). The verb indicating aspect, on the other hand, must be in the future tense in accord with the intensive idea, and conjugates for subject number but not for person (see 5.2.1). This does not create ambiguity because the auxiliary verb signals the absolute subject of the whole. The object prefix, when appropriate, attaches to the aspectual verb. The negative prefix also attaches to the aspectual verb. An intensive suffix (-'mu) terminates the aspectual verb. Some examples follow.

bilube-'mu₁ nohibe₂ (go-intensive₁ be₂). He intends to go right now.

na-halube-'mu₁ nohibe₂ (me-hit-intensive₁ be₂). He is about to hit me.

me-lilube-'me₁ nohibu₂ (*not-take-intentive₁ be₂*). *He is not on the verge of taking it.*

(b) **Emphatic Intentive Aspect.** The emphatic intentive aspect construction is like the immediate intentive in that it employs the -'mu suffix, with the negative and object prefixes attaching to the aspectual verb which must be in the future tense. It differs in that the auxiliary is yabe; and in that the usual nuclear affixation applies to the aspectual component, so that the subject is fully specified in the aspectual component. The emphatic suffix (-na) is obligatorily included in the aspectual verb. Some examples follow.

bilu-na-'mu₁ yabe₂ (*go₁ stative₂*). *I will certainly go.*

me-bilu'i-na-'mu₁ yabe₂ (*not-go₁ stative₂*). *We two will definitely not to.*

na-hali-na-'mu₁ yabe₂ (*me-hit₁ stative₂*). *He will not hit me, definitely.*

(c) **Iterative Aspect.** The iterative aspect also uses the verb *to be* as auxiliary but there is no constraint as to its tense and the negative prefix to this auxiliary verb. All the usual affixation, except object, occurs on the auxiliary verb. Object, when appropriate, attaches to the aspectual component. The aspectual component is comprised of a verb stem to which the iterative morpheme (-ba) is suffixed. This whole word is duplicated to give a two word aspectual component. There is agreement between the two parts of the aspectual component and the auxiliary for subject. Some examples of the iterative auxiliary construction follow.

no-ba₁ no-ba₂ nohibe₃ (*eat₁ eat₂ be₃*). *He eats and eats.*

lu-ba₁ lu-ba₂ hilibe₃ (*talk₁ talk₂ be₃*). *He will talk and talk.*

ko-ho-ba₁ ko-ho-ba₂ hu'ehibe₃ (*you-hit₁ you-hit₂ be₃*). *He hit you repeatedly*

ko-ba₁ ko-ba₂ me-hilibe₃ (*sleep₁ sleep₂ be₃*). *He will not sleep and sleep.*

(d) **Customary Aspect.** Customary aspect also requires the verb *to be* as its auxiliary. The aspectual verb consists of a basic stem to which the customary suffix (-lata) is added. As with verb compounds and as with the iterative aspect construction, there is agreement between the aspectual component and the auxiliary component with regard to subject. The negative and object prefixes attach to the aspectual verb as in most

other auxiliary constructions cited above. It is most common for the auxiliary verb to be in the present tense, but examples in past and future have also been noted. Some examples of the customary auxiliary construction follow.

kafa-lata₁ nohibe₂ (*plant₁ be₂*). *He habitually plants.*

fa, *We always hide.*

keye li-lata₁ nehabe₂ (*club₁ be₂*). *They kill by clubbing.*

As the last example partially illustrates, a periphrastic complex or a compound unit may substitute for the simple nuclear verb in the aspectual component of any of these auxiliary constructions. The only constraint is that in the iterative construction only the last element of the periphrastic complex or the compound unit reduplicates. Some examples are as follows.

mina fi-ba₁ fi-ba₂ nohane₃ (*buy₁ buy₂ be₃*). *You are buying and buying.*

li₁ malalube-'mu₂ nohibe₃ (*take₁ put₂ be₃*). *He is about to place it.*

laga hu₁ he'mi₂ ke-tali-na-'mu₃ yabe₄ (*cut₁ discard₂ you-benefactive₃ stative₄*). *He will definitely cut it off for you.*

3.6 SUMMARY

This chapter has described the four differing manifestations of the verb compact: nuclear verb, periphrastic complex, compound unit and special auxiliary construction. Any one of these manifestations of the verb compact may occur as the essential component of the clause in any of the higher level units in which the clause occurs. For the sake of simplicity of description, in succeeding chapters (especially in Chapters V, VI and VII which describe the verb affixation in greater detail) reference is made simply to 'verbs' and most illustrations utilize only the nuclear verb. But it should be understood that the other manifestations of the verb compact are equally relevant.

N O T E S

1. I know of only two exceptions, both recent innovations, and both of which use the peripheral word as a descriptive within a noun phrase: *okala nopo wash house* and *laita nopo kitchen*.
2. The periphrastic complex in Bena-bena is apparently somewhat similar to a construction in Telefol which Phyllis Healey 1965:32 calls Adjunct and Auxilliary, where she argues that Adjunct is a class of words in its own right. My description of Bena-bena final verbs (Young 1964:78-83) refers to the Bena-bena construction as a Periphrastic Complex and I am here continuing the use of the term, which I consider appropriate because the first component of the periphrastic complex is peripheral in terms of grammatical function.
3. It is hard to estimate a percentage because new expressions of this type are being observed from time to time.
4. Agreement for subject between the component verbs of a compound unit is manifested by variants of the verb stem which will be described in Chapter IV.
5. In compounds with two or three stems in pre-position only a very limited number of verbs may occur first.
6. This is indicative of a hierarchical arrangement of units within the verb compact.
7. The notion of substitution (to do something instead of someone else) is not conveyed by the benefactive but by an entirely different construction: a noun phrase and clitic.

8. The variation of the stem conditioned by the object also occurs in a few other verbs and is described in 5.3.1.

9. *yabe* is not a true verb but serves in a verbalizing function as is evidenced by the indicative mood ending *-be*. The only other forms of this word are also verbal: *yago* and *yagi* are forms in keeping with sentence medial verb endings.

Chapter IV

VERB STEMS

4.1 IDENTITY

The stem of the verb is the base to which prefixes and suffixes are attached.

The following schematic representation, showing the affixation for a nuclear verb in sentence final position, demonstrates the relative order of the bound components with reference to the stem. Though medial verbs differ to some degree in their affixation, ordering of the components is the same.

±Neg. ±Op. ±Obj. +STEM +Ts. +Subj. ±Em. ±Ques. +Md.

All prefixes (Negative, Operative, Object) are optional (except for certain verbs which require an object), each is independent of the others, and any combination is allowable. The operative has a natural affiliation with the verb in the present tense; it has been noted as occurring with other tenses, but with much less frequency. Of the suffixes (Tense, Subject, Emphatic, Question, Mood), Tense, Subject and Mood are obligatory in sentence final verbs.

The verb stem is a unit which is of one or two syllables, the final segment of which is a vowel. The typical patterns are: V, CV, CVCV (or CV_iCV_i, where the subscript i indicates that the vowels are identical).

The segmentation of the verb into stem and affixes is by no means easy because of fusion in some forms and because of allomorphic variation. An alternative cut to the one adopted in this paper would assign the stem final vowel to the first suffix, but this has been rejected on the following grounds: (a) it would give lexically contranstive zero stems; (b) it would result in a large number of homophonous stems (including, incidentally, frequently occurring verbs); (c) stems which are mentioned above as containing two syllables in which the vowels are identical, would have to be described as containing a variable vowel, the identity of which

could only be traced from the suffix; (d) such a segmentation places the formal distinction between open list lexical items on the form of the closed list items (the suffixes) and is therefore less attractive.

4.2 STEM CLASSIFICATION

The verb stems exhibit allomorphic stem alternation. The final vowel of the verb stem (or, in the case of two syllable stems which contain identical vowels, both vowels of the verb stem) varies, conditioned by two dimensions: (a) subject, and (b) time.¹

The subject dimension contrasts two oppositions of focus on the number of the subject, call Monofocal, where attention is focused on a singular subject or upon a singular part of the subject; and Polyfocal, where attention is focused on more than one participant as subject. Table II gives an example of the monofocal versus polyfocal forms of the stem for the verb *to hit*.

The term monofocal describes the phenomenon exemplified by the *ho-* form of the stem. Monofocal refers along the vertical axis to singular number for first, second and third persons; and along the horizontal axis to first person in the singular, dual and plural number. This horizontal axis is termed the ego axis because it directly refers to ego participation in the action. This means that first person dual and plural involve ego and one or more other participants. Thus the monofocal form of the stem is used for both singular number and ego involvement.

The term polyfocal describes the phenomenon exemplified by the *he-* form of the stem, in which the focus is on number rather than person; as demonstrated by the noncontrastiveness between persons in each category, resulting in two pairs of homophonous forms.

The time dimension contrasts stem forms in Past versus Future tense, as illustrated in the examples below.

<u>ho</u> 'ehibe	<i>he hit (it)</i>
<u>ha</u> libe	<i>he will hit (it)</i>

The conflation of these two dimensions, the temporal dimension and the subject dimension, produces a classification of verb stems. This comes about because not all verbs vary in the same way, and the differentiation between them is produced by the stem vowel variation. This variable vowel phenomenon results in a numerically well balanced grouping of the verbs into three empirical classes. Tables II and III depict these classes.

From these it will be noted that all five vowels of the Bena-bena

Table II
 MONOFOCAL VERSUS POLYFOCAL STEM FORMS
 FOR THE VERB *to hit*

Stem Form	Number			Person
Monofocal	Plural ho'ohune	Dual ho'ohu'ibe	Singular ho'ohube	1st
Polyfocal	he'ehabe	he'eha'ibe	ho'ahane	2nd
	he'ehabe	he'eha'ibe	ho'ehibe	3rd

Table III
 STEM CLASSIFICATION IN PAST AND FUTURE TENSE

Tense	Class A		Class B		Class C	
	Mono- focal	Poly- focal	Mono- focal	Poly- focal	Mono- focal	Poly- focal
	<i>hit</i>		<i>go</i>		<i>pierce</i>	
Past	ho-	he-	bu-	bi-	fi-	fi-
Future	ha-	ha-	bi-	bi-	fi-	fi-

phonological system enter into the classification of the verb stems, to produce the following.

Class A: a^ve^vo

Class B: u^vi

Class C: i

This suggests that the verb system probably draws on an underlying phonological system of three vowels, a, u, i; and by the same token suggests that each verb has an underlying stem form ending in one or the other of these vowels.²

However, because of the influence of the dimensions of subject and time upon the form of the verb stem, it is not possible to postulate such underlying stem forms with complete certainty.

Table III gives the verb stem forms in both monofocal and polyfocal dimensions as conditioned also by past and future forms. Sentence final verb forms utilize all alternants listed in the table. Sentence medial verbs and pre-positional elements of the verb compound, utilize only those forms illustrated in the past tense sector of Table III.

Thus the past tense forms have been selected as basic³ because, (a) they give the widest differentiation of verb classes, and (b) pre-positional elements in verb compounds (which are uninflected stems) utilize these forms, as do medial verbs.

In succeeding chapters, when the term 'basic verb stem' is used, it will be referring to these forms just described.

N O T E S

1. There are a few verbs which also have stem allomorphs conditioned by object (Table I, Chapter III, and also 5.3.1).
2. It is interesting that published descriptions of the related languages, Gadsup, Tairora and Gahuku also postulate three stem classes on the basis of the vowels involved, which appear to be fairly parallel. (Frantz and McKaughan 1964:90-92; Vincent 1962:4; Deibler 1963:11).
3. 'Basic' in the sense that they are the most representative and are used, therefore, in lexical entries.

Chapter V

AFFIXATION OF VERBS OCCURRING IN THE TERMINUS OF THE STANDARD SENTENCE

5.1 GENERAL STATEMENT

As noted in Chapter II, the standard sentence may consist of a single verb, or it may be expanded by the pre-positioning of other verbs, clauses or clause-chains. It will be recalled (2.1) that Bena-bena verbs manifest two major morphological forms, 'medial' and 'final'; the medial being those forms which occur internal to the clause-chain, and the final forms being distributed in the chain terminus and the sentence terminus. Since the chain terminal forms are variants of the forms which occur in the sentence terminus, this chapter deals with the affixation of the verbs which occur in the terminus of the standard sentence, and the chain terminal forms are dealt with in succeeding chapters (Chapters VI and VII) according to sentence type.

The verb which occurs in the terminus of the standard sentence dominates all other verbs in the same sentence. It is this sentence final verb which is more highly coded for tense and subject person and number than the medial verbs; and does not have restrictions as to tense found in the terminus of certain clause-chains. The form of the tense and subject affixation of verbs occurring in the sentence terminus is identical with that of verbs in the chain terminus, and underlies the formation of medial forms.¹ Since only verbs in the sentence terminus carry affixation for mood, the mood of the sentence final verb is the mood of the whole sentence. The tense of the sentence final verb is also the tense of the whole sentence. The tenses of pre-final verbs are always relative to the tense of the sentence final verb.

5.2 SUFFIXES

Suffixation of the final verb indicates tense, subject, emphasis, question and mood. Of these subject, tense and mood are obligatory; and

as has been stated earlier, there is a close liaison between the stem and the subject and tense morphemes that makes segmentation of the word difficult.

5.2.1 Subject

It is characteristic of the structure of the Bena-bena verb that subject is indicated in allomorphic variations of the stem and of the other affixes, as well as by a bound subject. Full specification of subject is only achieved by the subject suffix in combination with tense and mood suffixes, emphasis and question morphemes if they occur, and in the case of present tense, in combination with the stem. The complete verb paradigm never specifies more than seven of the nine subject persons, having homophony between second and third persons in the polyfocal sector of the matrix. Such ambiguity is only resolved by the use of the free form subject pronouns.

The bound subject of the final verb, signaling person and number of the actor, occurs in second order after the stem. Fusions of subject with stem make it difficult to identify a subject morpheme in any but the future tense form of the verb. Thus, since subject inflections in future verb forms are also constant for all three verb classes, these subject forms are posited as basic and the fusions in the present tense are explained in terms of them. (Past tense builds on the present and is described in 5.2.2).

The subject pronoun suffixes are displayed in Table V. The dual forms may be considered combinations of the singular forms linked by glottal stop. Note that, as stated above, no conjugation of the verb contrasts the forms of second and third persons in either dual or plural, and that this non-contrastiveness is a manifestation of polyfocal subject. The homophony of second person singular with second and third plural, and of first person singular with first person plural is resolved in the fully inflected verb because allomorphs of the stem and other suffixes add further specification. This homophony is only apparent when the subject suffixes are abstracted (Table IV).

It is virtually impossible to segment precisely person from number. However, there is some reason for postulating person as *u*, *a*, *i* in the underlying forms for first, second and third person respectively. In terms of number, it is probable that the subject affix only contrasts dual and non-dual: non-dual being a single vowel (*V*) and dual being formed by the addition of *'i* (*V'i*). Singular and plural cannot be clearly differentiated, but the allomorphs of other suffixes, such as mood, appear

to be a device for resolving ambiguity between singular and plural. Note however that it cannot be said that one variant of such a suffix represents singular and the other plural (see examples in Table V). Allomorphs of the verb stem and of the operative prefix consistently register monofocal versus polyfocal subject.

5.2.2 Tense

The second important dimension involved in verb affixation is time. There are three tenses: past, present and future, but there is some evidence to suggest that past has evolved from present. This seems to set future tense apart as having a potential time aspect. Present and past have more of an actual aspect.

5.2.2.1 The future tense is the most easily identified of the three tenses. It is indicated by the future morpheme -l, which occurs in first order after the verb stem. The stem of verbs in the future tense is invariant. This is noted in the future sector of the stem matrix in Table III.

The future tense indicates either (a) an action that will take place in the future, near or distant; or (b) intention, ability or potentiality.

A paradigm of the verb *to go* is given in Table V. All three verb classes inflect identically in the future form.

5.2.2.2 The present tense of the verb indicates either (a) an action which takes place at the time of speaking or (b) a state of being.

Unlike the future, the present tense is not indicated by a separate morpheme, but by the merging of stem and subject vowels; the stem final vowel being retained in some instances and the subject vowel in others. In some instances the assimilation is only partial, but there is still reduction. The influence of the stem vowel or the pronoun vowel on the direction of the assimilation is here termed predomination.² When the assimilation is toward the stem vowel, the stem is said to predominate; when toward the pronoun vowel, the pronoun is said to predominate. Examples follow.

- (a) Stem vowel predomination resulting in present tense

Stem	Pron.	Mood		
fi-	-a	-ne	fine	<i>you pierce</i>

- (b) Pronoun vowel predomination resulting in present tense

Stem	Pron.	Mood		
bu-	-a	-ne	bane	<i>you go</i>

Table IV
BASIC FORMS OF SUBJECT PERSON

Person	Number		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-u	-u'i	-u
2nd	-a	-a'i	-a
3rd	-i	-a'i	-a

Table V
PARADIGM OF VERB *to go* IN FUTURE TENSE

Stem	Future	Subject	Mood	Person number
bi-	-l	-u	-be > bilube	1st sg.
bi-	-l	-a	-ne > bilane	2nd sg.
bi-	-l	-i	-be > bilibe	3rd sg.
bi-	-l	-u'i	-be > bilu'ibe	1st dl.
bi-	-l	-u	-ne > bilune	1st pl.
bi-	-l	-a'i	-be > bila'ibe	2nd/3rd dl.
bi-	-l	-a	-be > bilabe	2nd/3rd pl.

This oscillation of predominance between stem and subject pronoun as it applies to the three verb classes is set out in Table VI. In this table, ego refers to first person forms and non-ego to all other forms. The letter P symbolizes pronoun predomination and S stem predomination. The pronoun referred to is the underlying form of the subject pronoun described in section 5.2.1 of this chapter, illustrated in Table IV. Stem forms are those discussed as 'underlying forms' in section 4.2.³

The oscillation of predominance between the vowels of the stem and the pronoun suffix is seen to produce a division between first person forms and all the others, thus highlighting the status of ego in Bena-bena verb structure. This is verified further in that within the ego sector of the matrix the direction of predomination is always toward the pronoun. It will be recalled also that in terms of stem allomorphs, there is categorization of all first person forms along with singular forms as monofocal (4.2).

Paradigms illustrative of the present tense forms of a representative verb for each verb class are given in Tables VII, VIII and IX. It will be noted that, unlike the future, the present tense inflections differ slightly across classes, the result of the domination process just described.

5.2.2.3 The past tense, which indicates (a) an action which took place in the past, near or distant, and (b) completion, is manifested by an unusual structure which is actually a composite of morphemes. This past tense composite is comprised of a past tense morpheme plus the present tense form of the verb *hu-~hi-* to be, and the whole is tied to the verb stem by glottal stop.⁴ The essential components of the verb in the past tense are illustrated with an example below.

Stem	Lingature	Composite past + to be	Mood	
bu-	'	o-hu	be	<i>I went</i>

The past tense morpheme has three allomorphs: o-~a-~e-. The occurrence of each is conditioned by the subject, as is displayed in Table X: o- occurs with ego subjects, a- with second person singular, and e- elsewhere.

The stem allomorphs occurring with past tense verb forms are basic (4.2) and have been listed in Table III. It will be recalled that the stem in past tense forms contrasts monofocal and polyfocal subject.

A paradigm illustrative of the past tense form of the verb, using the verb *to hit* (ho-~he-) as an example is given in Table XI. All three verb classes inflect identically for the past tense.

Table VI
VOWEL PREDOMINATION IN PRESENT TENSE

	Class A	Class B	Class C
Ego	P	P*	P
Non-ego	S	P	S

*In this case the predomination is indeterminate; it could be also argued that the stem predominates here, but the force of the pattern seems to suggest pronoun predomination by analogy with classes A and C.

Table VII
PARADIGM OF CLASS A (ha- *hit*) IN PRESENT

	Predom- ination	Stem	Pronoun		Present form indicative	Person number
Ego	Pronoun	ha-	-u	>	hobe	1st sg.
		ha-	-u'i	>	ho'ibe	1st dl.
		ha-	-u	>	hone	1st pl.
Non- ego	Stem	ha-	-a	>	hane	2nd sg.
		ha-	-i	>	habe	3rd sg.
		ha-	-a'i	>	ha'ibe	2nd/3rd dl.
		ha-	-a	>	habe	2nd/3rd pl.

Table VIII

PARADIGM OF CLASS B (bu- go) IN PRESENT

	Predom- ination	Stem	Pronoun		Present form indicative	Person number
Ego	Indeter- minate	bu-	-u	>	bube	1st sg.
		bu-	-u'i	>	bu'ibe	1st dl.
		bu-	-u	>	bune	1st pl.
Non- ego	Pronoun	bu-	-a	>	bane	2nd sg.
		bu-	-i	>	bibe	3rd sg.
		bu-	-a'i	>	ba'ibe	2nd/3rd dl.
		bu-	-a	>	babe	2nd/3rd pl.

Table IX

PARADIGM OF CLASS C (fi- pierce) IN PRESENT

	Predom- ination	Stem	Pronoun		Present form indicative	Person number
Ego	Pronoun	fi-	-u	>	fube	1st sg.
		fi-	-u'i	>	fu'ibe	1st dl.
		fi-	-u	>	fune	1st pl.
Non- ego	Stem	fi-	-a	>	fine	2nd sg.
		fi-	-i	>	fibe	3rd sg.
		fi-	-a'i	>	fi'ibe	2nd/3rd dl.
		fi-	-a	>	fibe	2nd/3rd pl.

Table X

PAST TENSE COMPOSITE

	Past Tense morpheme	Verb <i>to be</i>	Person number
Ego	o-	hube	1st sg.
	o-	hu'ibe	1st dl.
	o-	hune	1st pl.
	a-	hane	2nd sg.
	e-	hibe	3rd sg.
Non-ego	e-	ha'ibe	2nd/3rd dl.
	e-	habe	2nd/3rd pl.

Table XI

PARADIGM OF VERB *to hit* IN PAST TENSE

Monofocal	ho'ohube	1st sg.
	ho'ohu'ibe	1st dl.
	ho'ohune	1st pl.
	ho'ahane	2nd sg.
	ho'ehibe	3rd sg.
Polyfocal	he'eha'ibe	2nd/3rd dl.
	he'ehabe	2nd/3rd pl.

5.2.3 Emphatic, Question, Mood Suffixes

The remaining three suffixes that occur with the final verb are the emphatic, question and mood morphemes. Each one exhibits allomorphic variants conditioned by subject designations and these are shown in Table XII. From this table, consistent correlation of variants is seen to exist between the suffixes.

5.2.3.1 The emphatic suffix *-na~ta*, which occurs in the third order after the stem, indicates emphasis by (a) expressing factualization or assertion, and (b) with the past tense, by expressing an added degree of completedness or remoteness.

Emphatic may occur freely with all tenses and moods, but when used with the present tense it shows a predilection for the simultaneous occurrence of the operative prefix *no~ne-* (5.3.2). When used with the indicative mood, the separate clause closure word *yabe* is used in lieu of the attached mood suffix *-be~ne*.⁵ When the emphatic is used with the rhetorical mood, the question suffix is obligatory, but only the variant *-fi* may occur in emphatic constructions. Some examples follow.

fi'ohu-na yabe *I definitely pierced it.*
bila-ta yabe *You will definitely go.*
nomolo-na yabe *I am certainly placing it.*
minala-na-fi-he? *Will they definitely stay?*

5.2.3.2 The question suffix occurs in fourth order after the stem. An interrogative sentence is frequently manifested by a sentence final verb carrying the question suffix *-fi~pi*.⁶ It is used to ask a question or make a request which requires, as a response, affirmation or negation. When in combination with the emphatic morpheme (*-na*), only the *-fi* form occurs; and apart from this constraint, the allomorphic variants, *-fi~pi*, occur as shown in Table XII. Examples are as follows.

bilu-pi-he? *Shall we go?*
bilu-ta-fi-he? *Shall we definitely go?*
bilu-na-fi-he? *Shall I definitely go?*
nobi-fi-he? *Is he going?*
bu'ehi-fi-he? *Did he go?*

5.2.3.3 The two mood suffixes *-be~ne* indicative, and *-he* rhetorical, occur in final position, that is in the fifth order after the verb stem.

The indicative mood expresses a statement of fact and is used with any of the tenses. The allomorph *-ne* occurs with first person plural and

Table XII

ALLOMORPHIC VARIANTS OF THIRD, FOURTH
AND FIFTH ORDER SUFFIXES

3	4	5		Person
Emphatic	Question	Indicative	Mood Rhetorical	
-na	-fi	-be	-he	1st sg. dl. 2nd dl. 3rd all numbers
-ta	-pi	-ne	-he	1st pl. 2nd sg.

second person singular, and *-be* occurs with all other persons.

The rhetorical suffix *-he* is mutually exclusive with the indicative, and is an obligatory component within question constructions. It expresses interrogation and conclusion.⁷ Some examples of indicative and rhetorical constructions follow.

nobl-be	<i>He is going</i>
noba-ne	<i>You are going</i>
nobifi-he?	<i>Is he going?</i>

5.2.4 Imperative

Imperative constructions are distinct from other final forms of the verb in that most orders of suffixes previously described do not occur with the imperative, and since these constructions are limited to second person subject forms. Imperative constructions are composed of verb stems which inflect for second person singular, dual or plural imperative subjects throughout. These suffixes are *-bo* 'second person singular', *-liyo* 'second person dual' and *-lo* 'second person plural'.

The imperative mood may occur in either of two distinct types: (a) the form indicating a simple command or imperative request, (b) the form indicating the command with intensity.

5.2.4.1 The simple imperative occurs with the basic verb stem (that is, past tense form) for the monofocal sector, and the future stem for the polyfocal sector in each of the verb classes. See Table XIII.

Any prefix may occur with the simple imperative, except the operative.⁸

5.2.4.2 The intensive imperative uses the basic stem allomorphs for all forms and takes the past tense suffixation, abstracting from the past tense matrix only two forms: *-ohu* 'monofocal' and *-ehi* 'polyfocal'. The imperative suffixes (which are the same as those described for the simple imperative) complete the essential affixation. Prefixation, which is optional, is as described for the simple imperative. Table XIV gives a paradigm for the intensive imperative for all three verb classes.

5.2.4.3 Another type of imperative construction is the causative which is used with the meaning of *cause something to happen* or *cause someone to do something*. It has two forms, dual and non-dual, indicated by *-'ino* and *-no* respectively. There is no contrast between singular and plural. The stem is in the polyfocal form throughout. A paradigm of the causative imperative illustrating all three verb classes is given in Table XV.

Table XIII

PARADIGM OF SIMPLE IMPERATIVE

	Class A	Class B	Class C	Person number
	<i>hit</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>pierce</i>	
Mono-focal	ho-bo	bu-bo	fi-bo	2nd sg.
Poly-focal	ha-liyo	bi-liyo	fi-liyo	2nd dl.
	ha-lo	bi-lo	fi-lo	2nd pl.

Table XIV

PARADIGM OF INTENSIVE IMPERATIVE

	Class A	Class B	Class C	Person number
	<i>hit</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>pierce</i>	
Mono-focal	ho'ohu-bo	bu'ohu-bo	fi'ohu-bo	2nd sg.
Poly-focal	he'ehi-liyo	bi'ehi-liyo	fi'ehi-liyo	2nd dl.
	he'ehi-lo	bi'ehi-lo	fi'ehi'lo	2nd pl.

Table XV
PARADIGM OF CAUSATIVE IMPERATIVE

	Class A	Class B	Class C	Person number
	<i>hit</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>pierce</i>	
Non-dual	he-no	bi-no	fi-no	2nd-3rd*
Dual	he-'ino	bi-'ino	fi-'ino	2nd-3rd

*2nd-3rd means that the command is to the 2nd person to cause the 3rd person to carry it out.

Table XVI
PARADIGM OF IMMEDIATE INTENTIVE, bu- *go*

Number	Aspectual verb	Auxiliary verb	Person
Singular	bilube'mu	nohube	1st
	bilube'mu	nohane	2nd
	bilube'mu	nohibe	3rd
Dual	bilu'ibe'mu	nohu'ibe	1st
	bilu'ibe'mu	neha'ibe	2nd and 3rd
Plural	bilune'mu	nohune	1st
	bilune'mu	nehabe	2nd and 3rd

5.2.5 Intentive

The intentive constructions have been described as to their syntactic structure in section 3.5. It will be recalled that the intentive constructions are special auxiliary constructions comprised of an aspectual component and an auxiliary component. Since the form of the auxiliary is that of a normal sentence final verb, it is only necessary here to discuss the affixation of the aspectual verb in the intentive constructions.

The affixation of the aspectual verb in intentive constructions is similar to, but not identical with, the normal sentence final affixation. The aspectual verb of the intentive construction is restricted to future tense.

The emphatic intentive utilizes the same affixation as described for emphatic, but requires the addition of the intentive morpheme -'mu as the last suffix. Some examples follow.

bilu-na-'mu yabe *I definitely intend to go.*
 minala-ta-'mu yabe *You will certainly stay.*

The immediate intentive differs from the usual final affixation in that (a) the intentive affix -'mu is required as the last suffix, (b) the mood suffix which occurs in pre-final order is -be for non-plural and -ne for plural (compare with 5.2.3.3), and (c) subject suffixes contrast only dual (-u'i) and non-dual (-u) number and make no distinctions for person. Table XVI gives a paradigm illustrative of the immediate intentive. Some examples follow.

kafalu-ne-'mu nohune *We are just about to plant it.*
 bilu-be-'mu nohibe *He intends to go now.*
 halu'i-be-'mu nohu'ibe *We two are about to shoot it.*

5.3 PREFIXES

Unlike that of the suffixes, the segmentation of the prefix from the verb stem is straightforward, there being no fusing of morphemes. The relative order of prefixes has been stated in 4.1 and the prefixes are now described in order from the stem outward.

5.3.1 Object

The occurrence of the object prefix gives a three way division of verbs which does not coincide with the three classes defined earlier. The division of verbs on the basis of the object prefix is as follows: (a) those with which the object prefix is obligatory, (b) those with which it is optional, and (c) those verbs which may not take an object.

However, many verbs which do not take an object prefix may appear in object constructions through the process of compounding. The benefactive compound (3.4) is an example. The verb *fi-pierce* does not take object prefixes but as noted here can appear in the compound that takes an object.

$fi_1 ne\text{-}to'ehibe_2$ (*pierce₁ me-benefactive₂*). *It pierced me.*

Another commonly used verb which compounds to make a non-object verb into an object construction is the verb *le'mo-~le'me-* *take* or *carry* (animate objects). This verb occurs as first member of the compound and is the base to which the object prefix attaches. An example follows.

$ne\text{-}le'mo_1 hoti'ehibe_2$ (*me-take₁ stand₂*). *He caused me to stand.*

As stated in 3.4, compounds can carry an object prefix provided there is a verb included which may take an object prefix, and in such cases the object so signaled applies to the whole compound. An example follows.

$no\text{-}ho_1 fililifihe_2?$ (*me-hit₁ die₂*). *Will he kill me?*

Another important characteristic of the Bena-bena object prefixation is that this prefix is used to indicate either direct or indirect object. Though both direct and indirect object may not at the same time be indicated by verb affixation, a clause may contain both: the indirect object in bound form and the direct object in free form in the noun phrase.

The object prefixes comprise a set of nine persons, derived from the free set of pronouns (see Tables XVII and XVIII). There is a consistent lack of an overt form for third person singular.⁹ Harmonization of the final vowel of the prefix with the first vowel of the verb stem occurs consistently in all instances, the same phenomenon being typical also of possessive suffixes on nouns (Young and Young 1965:81). Examples of vowel harmonization follow.

$na\text{-}halibe$	<i>He will hit me.</i>
$no\text{-}ho'ehibe$	<i>He hit me.</i>
$ne\text{-}he'ehabe$	<i>They hit me.</i>
$nu\text{-}nu ki'ehibe$	<i>He hugged me.</i>
$ni\text{-}mi\text{-}ehibe$	<i>He gave it to me.</i>

The basic forms of the object prefix are taken from the free-form pronouns (Table XVII) and are shown in Table XVIII. This table shows that there is a three way contrast of persons in three categories of number. Thus the object affixation contrasts all nine persons, as compared with the subject affixation which shows only seven formal contrasts within the verb morphology.

There are two important verbs which when prefixed for object differ from those already described: the verb *to give* and the benefactive verb (see 3.4). These two verbs manifest the following differences from other object constructions: (a) harmonization is only partial (for third person singular and second and third person plural there is no harmonization); (b) third person singular is e- instead of zero and this morpheme is used also for third person plural instead of ena-; (c) le- is used for both first and second plural persons and so replaces lena- for second person plural; (d) the stem of the verb has allomorphic variants for the second and third person object. The form of these stem allomorphs differs slightly between the two verbs. However both verbs have variants with initial p in the stem for second and third plural object. These stem allomorphs follow: *to give* pi- second and third plural object, and mi- all other persons; *benefactive* polo-~pele-~pala- second and third plural object, and to-~te-~ta- all other object persons. (The verb *to give* is a Class C verb and so has no stem allomorphs for subject, whereas the benefactive verb, being a Class A verb has stem allomorphs for both subject and tense). Table XIX gives a paradigm of the verb *to give* conjugated for object.

5.3.1.1 There is a special group of verbs which remain static as to subject, by being consistently third person singular, but which inflect for object. Thus the speaker uses an object prefix for what, in an English gloss, translates as subject in each instance.¹⁰ These are called impersonal verbs. The prefixes are those typical of the vast majority of object constructions already described. As a rule, stem forms do not change for object.¹¹ Some examples follow.

ni-ginaga	nofibe	<i>I pity.</i>
ne-besibe		<i>I am sick.</i>
ne-ke	su habe	<i>I forget.</i>
ni-bitá	nohibe	<i>I prefer.</i>

5.3.2 Operative prefix

The second order verb prefix is the operative prefix. It is used to indicate (a) an action which is in operation at the time of speaking, though it may have begun in the past and continue into the future, or (b) an action which is customary. The operative prefix generally associates with the verb in the present tense, but it has been observed with the verb in future tense (for example no-alibe *he will be coming*).

There are two allomorphic variants of the operative prefix, no-~ne-

Table XVII
FREE PRONOUNS

Person	Number		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	nani	le'a'i	lali
2nd	kai	letali	lenali
3rd	ai	etali	enali

Table XVIII
OBJECT PREFIXES

Person	Number		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	na-	le'a-	la-
2nd	ka-	leta-	lena-
3rd	∅	eta-	ena-

Table XIX
 PARADIGM OF VERB *to give* (IN PRESENT TENSE)

Object		Subject
Person	Number	
1st		ni-mibe
2nd	Singular	ki-mibe
3rd		e-mibe
1st		le'i-mibe
2nd	Dual	leti-mibe
3rd		eti-mibe
1st		li-mibe
2nd	Plural	le-pibe
3rd		e-pibe

which occur with the monofocal and polyfocal subject forms of the verb respectively. Some examples of the verb in the operative form are as follows.

no-abe	<i>He is coming.</i>
no-ni-mibe	<i>He is giving it to me.</i>
ne-babe	<i>They are going.</i>
ne-hafihe?	<i>Are they (there)?</i>

5.3.2 Negative prefix

The morpheme *me-* *negative* is prefixed to the verb in third order from the stem. There are no constraints on its co-occurrence with other verb affixation. Examples follow.

me-ho'ehibe	<i>He did not hit.</i>
me-nobibe	<i>He is not going.</i>
me-fililibe	<i>He will not die.</i>
laita me-hu'ehibe	<i>He did not cook it.</i>
okala me-hu ketalube	<i>I will not wash it for you.</i>
li me-molo'ehibe	<i>He did not place it.</i>

N O T E S

1. The same is true of verb stems (see 4.2).
2. Young 1964:53.
3. A slightly different picture of predomination emerges if the stem forms chosen as basic are different. A display based on an alternative choice of stem forms may be seen in Young 1964:54-56.
4. The glottal stop is an aberrant phoneme in Bena-bena, being the only phoneme which occurs syllable final and causing the consonant clusters 'm, 'n, 'y. Almost every occurrence of the glottal stop can be identified as linking morphemes.
It is possible that the past tense was at one stage in the development of the language an auxiliary construction (3.5) using the verb *to be* as auxiliary, (e.g. *bu no-hibe he went*) and that in the process of development the auxiliary became more tightly bound to the verb stem and changed slightly in form. There is, in fact, one small group of people tri-lingual in Bena-bena, Kamano and Bagaka (as a result of intermarriage) who form the past tense this way.
5. Compare with Emphatic Intention (3.5).
6. There is a set of question words used at the beginning of a sentence which preclude the co-occurrence of the interrogative suffix attached to the verb.
7. This mood is called rhetorical because it also occurs with the reason suffix in the reason type of paired-chain sentence (7.4).. It has been

observed that there is fluctuation between *-he* and *-ye* with some speakers, but only in the question construction.

8. There is only one exception, the verb *hu-~hi- be* or *do*. When the implication is *be* the operative is essential, when *do* it is excluded (e.g. *nohubo remain hubo do it*).

9. This absence of an overt form for third person singular is parallel to the use of possessive prefixes on nouns, where third person singular is also unmarked.

10. It is perhaps an interesting sidelight that impersonal verbs are used to express emotions and circumstances over which the person specified has no control.

11. Recently it has been in vogue for some speakers to pattern the second and third person plural of some verbs on the verb *to give* as an equally acceptable alternant. One such example is *enebesibe* or *epesibe they are sick*.

Chapter VI

VERBS OCCURRING INTERNAL TO THE STANDARD SENTENCE

6.1 GENERAL STATEMENT

As described in Chapter II, the standard sentence may be comprised of one or more chains of linked clauses. Clause-chains which occur at the end of the sentence terminate with the typical sentence final form of the verb, as described in Chapter V.

Chains of clauses which occur within the sentence terminate with verb affixes which indicate the chain closure but the verbs in the chain terminus are otherwise similar in form to sentence final verbs. That is, the stem variants and the tense and subject affixes are identical in form with those of the sentence final forms (5.2.1 and 5.2.2). For this reason both sentence final verb forms and chain terminal forms have been termed 'final'.

In the following scheme of the chain terminal verb morphology it will be noted that the underlined portion of the formula is identical with that of the sentence final verb, but that the final suffix differs. The forms of the morphemes underlined are the same as those described in 5.1.

±Prefixes +STEM +Tense +Subj. ±Emph. +Chain Closure

There are two chain closure affixes which may occur within the standard sentence, -pa and -mo, which are mutually exclusive and which appear to indicate some kind of break in the time sequence between the clauses in the first chain and those in the following chain. The actions which occur in the clause or chain which follows are not seen as having any dependent relationship with the actions of the chain containing -pa or -mo, but are seen as unrelated happenings. The meaning and function of both -pa and -mo seems to be the same, but -pa is restricted to present tense whereas -mo may occur with past or present. It is noteworthy that neither can occur with future tense. This seems reasonable since it is difficult to

project a break in actions which are still to take place or to project a sequence of actions which are unrelated and incidental to that which is foreseen or intended.

Both *-pa* and *-mo* occur as the last suffix of the verb to which they attach. Suffix *-pa* occurs immediately after the subject-stem fusion (which typifies present tense; see 5.2.2.2). Suffix *-mo* occurs after the emphatic affix. There are some examples of *-mo* without the emphatic, but there is a predilection for emphatic (*-na~ta*) and *-mo* to occur. The following are some examples of these affixes; the morpheme under consideration is indicated by capitals in these and later examples.

lobisa₁'i₁ moneuba₂ maya₃ hekoloba hekoloba nohi-PA₄/ ko'i₅
igo₆ buto₇ . . . A₂ lizard₁ was planting₄ sweet potato₃/
rain₅ came and₆ he went and₇ . . .

kafe₁ sigi netago₂ tito₃ polisi₄ samo nomolo-PA₅/ to₆ Mopae₇
noago₈ nagami'i₉ limitoti₁₀ . . . He opened₂ the door₁
for me and₂ I went in and₃ was cooking₅ porridge₄/ and₆
Mopae₇ comes and we go₈ down₁₀ to the water₉ and₁₀ . . .

limito₁ oto₂ kapomogu₃ noota-MO₄/ nohi₅ nolago₆ emagati₇ safag₈
kale₉ belo₁₀ i-MO₁₁/ tibigo₁₂ . . . We were going down and₁
coming_{2,4} in the road₃/ a house₅ was burning and₆ from down
there₇ a red₈ car₉ its bell₁₀ ringing₁₁/ went up₁₂ . . .

ana₁ nopo₂ ho sebeta₃ tele nebina₄ e go-MO₅/ lali₆ lomoto₇ oto₈
oyafamofih₉ nopolo'i₁₀ Tebiti₁₁ nohigo₁₂ Lasou₁₃ le'ele'moto₁₄
oto₁₅ . . . We watched₅ them putting out (the fire) and₃ pulling
down₄ that₁ house₂/ we₆ came down and₇ came and₈ David₁₁ was₁₂
at₁₀ the old man's₉ house₁₀ and Russell₁₃ took us both and₁₄
came and₁₅ . . .

Clauses which occur internal to the clause-chain terminate in verb forms which differ from the final forms. These verb forms are termed medial, and they express in their affixation the links or relationships between the clauses of a chain.

The differences between sentence medial and sentence final verbs has been referred to in Chapter II (section 2.1). Summarized briefly, these are: (a) a difference in stem form; (b) a difference in the form and function of affixes; (c) differing distributions. However, as this current chapter will demonstrate, the only verb forms which contrast with the sentence final forms in all three of the conditions just enumerated are those which occur medial to the clause-chain. Chain

closure verbs occurring medial to the sentence differ in distribution and affixation from the sentence final forms but are based on the stem categories which operate for sentence final verbs. It is therefore important to draw the distinction between 'medial' and 'final' verbs carefully. And it will be seen that, although it is a good generalization in terms of New Guinea Highlands languages as a whole to contrast 'medial' and 'final' with reference to the unit of sentence, for Bena-bena this generalization needs some refinement, especially if form as well as distribution is used as a criterion.¹ If formal difference is a criterion, then the formal distinction between 'medial' and 'final' verbs is one of degree: verbs which occur at the sentence terminus, verbs which occur at the chain terminus and verbs which occur within the clause-chain all have significant formal differences from each other. To qualify as 'medial', therefore, Bena-bena verb forms must differ in terms of stem category as well as affixation, over and above their distribution. The term 'medial' will therefore be taken to apply to those forms which occur medial to the clause-chain, and 'final' to apply to those forms which occur final to the clause-chain (whether the chain occurs within the sentence or at its end). 'Medial' thus excludes both sentence final verbs and chain closure verbs.

Medial verbs operate on a more restricted matrix of stem allomorphs than do final verbs. They also draw on a somewhat modified matrix of tense and subject morphemes. The tense morphemes fulfill a different function in medial forms from that in final forms. And, medial verbs also have two additional affixes which relate the clauses in terms of subject. Medial verb forms are therefore the only forms of the verb which have more than one subject suffix.

The most important dimensions which enter into the affixation of the medial verb are (a) subject and (b) time.² Both of these are used, not only in terms of the clause in which they occur, but also as indicators of the time and subject of the clause which immediately follows. Thus the clauses of the chain are linked in a relationship of time and subject.

However, before describing the subject and time dimensions in more detail, it will be helpful to first view schematically the medial verb morphology.

6.2 SCHEME OF THE MEDIAL VERB MORPHOLOGY

In the following scheme of the medial verb morphology it will be noted that the first portion (which is underlined) of the formula is schematically identical (though the forms of the morphemes differ to

some degree) with that of the final verb (described in 5.1), but that the last three affixes differ.

±Prefixes +STEM +Tense +Subj.₁ ±Cond. +Subj.₂ ±Subj.₃

Prefixes are optional and are identical with those occurring with the final verbs.

The *stem* forms of medial verbs contrast monofocal and polyfocal subjects but do not have allomorphs conditioned by the tense affixes (as do final verbs). The monofocal and polyfocal stem allomorphs are described in Chapter IV, but are listed here again for ease of reference.

	Class A	Class B	Class C
Monofocal	ho-	bu-	fi-
Polyfocal	he-	bi-	fi-
	<i>hit</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>pierce</i>

Tense is obligatory and differs only slightly from the forms used with final verbs. The role and the actual forms of the tense suffixes will be described in more detail in section 6.4.

The *conditional* morpheme, which occurs in third order from the stem, between Subject₁ and Subject₂, in certain constructions, will be described in section 6.5.

Subject₁ and Subject₂, which occur in second and fourth order, are obligatory; whereas Subject₃, which occurs in final order, is optional. A discussion of subject follows immediately in section 6.3.

6.3 SUBJECT DIMENSION

The above scheme of the medial verb morphology brings to immediate attention the emphasis the Bena-bena language places on subject. There are no less than three separate affixes which indicate subject. The stem also manifests the subject dimension as monofocal or polyfocal, as mentioned above in 6.2.

Subject₁ marks the integral subject; that is, the subject of the clause in which it occurs.

Subject₂ marks the subject relationship between the clause in which it occurs and the following clause, and so is here termed the relational subject.

Subject₃, which is optional,³ predicts the actual subject of the following clause, and so may be called the anticipatory subject, or the preview subject.⁴

Preview subject will be described in the section which immediately

follows: 6.3.1. A section on relational subject will follow next, 6.3.2. Integral subject is best handled in the context of relational subject because clauses indicating one kind of subject relationship employ a different matrix of integral subject forms from those which indicate another kind of subject relationship.

6.3.1 Preview Subject

Preview subject is indicated by the use of pronoun suffixes occurring in fifth (that is, last) order. These suffixes are borrowed from the possessive pronoun set and are the same as those used on nouns to denote possession. For example:

noha-'ni	<i>My house</i>
buto-'ni	<i>I go and I . . .</i>
malago-'ni	<i>He placed and I . . .</i>

Table XX lists the possessive pronouns and abstracts that portion of each pronoun which is used as the preview subject affix. Note that there are nine persons indicated.

6.3.2 Relational Subject

The phenomenon of the relational subject is a widely characteristic aspect of New Guinea Highland languages.⁵ It is, however, a phenomenon which is very difficult to account for with precision. Bena-bena is no exception. Seeming inconsistencies of morpheme usage in long sentences tend to obscure the essential syntactic pattern. But as a generalization, the relational subject affixation indicates whether the subject of the successive clause is the same or different.⁶ This is essentially true, being upheld consistently in short two clause sentences and in the majority of instances in longer sentences, but it is an over-simplification of the phenomenon. Not all the exceptions to this general rule can be explained, but some explanations will be advanced later.

First, however, it is necessary to describe the forms of the relational subject affix. From Table XXI it can be seen that the same subject is predicted by a morpheme which may be either monofocal or polyfocal in form, -to~te. The different subject morpheme makes no distinction between monofocal and polyfocal and so has only one form, -go. Some examples of these relational subject affixes are as follows.

ai ₁	limi-to ₂	somo ₃	molo-to ₄	lifi-to ₅	nolo-to ₆	nominabe ₇ .	He ₁
	<i>came down</i> ₂ ,	<i>put on</i> ₄	<i>the saucepan</i> ₃ ,	<i>served up and</i> ₅	<i>having</i>		
	<i>eaten</i> ₆ ,	<i>remains</i> ₇ .					

Table XX

PREVIEW SUBJECT AS ABSTRACTED FROM
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Possessive Pronouns	Person number	Subject Suffix
nani'ni*	1st sg.	-'ni
kaika	2nd	-ka
ai'a	3rd	-'a
le'aliti'a	1st dl.	-ti'a
letalititi	2nd	-titi
etali'atiti	3rd	-'atiti
laliti	1st pl.	-ti
lenalitini	2nd	-tini
enali'ani	3rd	-'ani

*The glottal stop acts as ligature
See 5.2.1.

Table XXI

RELATIONAL SUBJECT MORPHEMES

	Same	Different
Monofocal	-to	-go
Polyfocal	-te	-go

nani₁ foyagu₂ nohu-go₃ e-te₄ nimi'ehabe₅. While₃ I₁ was₃ in
the garden₂, they came and₄ gave it to me₅.

kokole₁ mu'a₂ mololeno-go-'ni₃, li-to₄ laita hu-to₅ nalube₆.
When₃ the chicken₁ lays₃ an egg₂, I₃ will₆ take it and₄
cook it and₅ eat it₆.

6.3.2.1 Deviations

The general rule that -to~te predicts a continuation of the same subject and -go predicts a change to a different subject, is not automatic in every instance. Of the deviations from this general rule, there are two common ones which can be readily plotted and accounted for. Such deviations occur in longer sentences, where the relational affix -go signaling a different subject for the following clause would be expected, but is not always used even though the subject actually does change. Different subject is not formally signaled under the following conditions.

(a) In cases where the subject of the successive clause is included in the subject of the first clause no different subject is predicted and the same subject relational morpheme, -to~te, is used instead. Some examples are as follows.

lali₁ kata₂ okala hu-to-ti₃ li-to₄ nagato₅ mololo-to₆ ema₇
limi-TO-'ni₈/mino'ohuna yabe₉. We₁ washed₃ the clothes₂
and we₃ took them and₄ put them₆ on the line₅ and then₆ went
down₈ there₇ and I₈/remained₉.

In this sentence the subject of the last clause, I is semantically included in the subject of the preceding clause, we. There seems to be a consistent predilection for this kind of deviation from the norm within the scope of ego subjects, but it is not so consistent with non-ego subjects.

(b) When the subject changes for a brief one clause interpolation, the different subject relational affix -go is not used to signal the departure from the original subject, but it is used to signal the return to the original subject. For example:

ati-TO₁/nesi'asi₂ ka₃ lu bilane₄ li-GO₅/ati-to₆ ya'masi₇
ti-to-'ni₈ ka₉ lu nobube₁₀. I came up and₁/he said₅ will
you record₄ a little₂ message₃ and₅/I came up₆ here₇ and I₈
am recording₁₀ a message₉.

lomo-to₁ o-to₂/ mono nonugu₃ ti'eha-GO₄/ bu-to₅ fayahi₆ go-to₇
 nohunati₈ ti-to₉ mono nonugu₁₀ mino-to₁₁ leke ho limi-to₁₂ ka₁₃
 enelep'i'ohube₁₄. *I came down and₁ came and₂/ they had gone into₄*
church₃/ and I went₅ from where I was₈ writing₇ a letter₆ and
went into₉ church₁₀ and remained and₁₁ came out and₁₂ taught
them₁₄ the language₁₃.

6.3.3 Integral Subject

The integral subject, in second order from the stem, indicates the actual subject of the clause in which it occurs. The forms of the integral subject differ depending on whether the subject relationship between the clauses in sequence is marked as the same or different or whether the relationship is marked as a conditional one; the affixes which indicate integral subject are drawn from the subject matrix described for final verbs (5.2.1 Table IV). The description of integral subject affixes in conditional constructions will be dealt with in 6.5. The description of integral subject affixes in same subject constructions and in different subject constructions follows immediately in 6.3.3.1 and 6.3.3.2 respectively.

6.3.3.1 Same Subject Sequences

Integral subject affixes only show formal contrast for monofocal versus polyfocal when same subjects are involved in the clause sequence. These are (a) for past tense, -u monofocal and -i polyfocal; and (b) for future tense, -o monofocal and -e polyfocal. Present tense does not utilize an integral subject morpheme and so the stem subject fusions typical of the present tense (as described for final verbs 5.2.2.2) are not found in medial verbs marked for same subject sequences. It will be recalled however, that the stem of medial verbs differentiates monofocal versus polyfocal (as does the same subject relational morpheme -to~te). So the maximum subject specification of clauses involving same subjects is monofocal versus polyfocal, unless the preview subject affix is included. Examples follow.

nani₁ bu-to₂ . . . I₁ go and₂ . . .

lali₁ bu-to₂ . . . We₁ go and₂ . . .

enali₁ bi-te₂ . . . They₁ go and₂ . . .

kai₁ bu'oh-u-to₂ e go-to₃ . . . You₁ went and₂ saw and₃ . . .

etali₁ bi'eh-I-te₂ li'eha'ibe₃. *The two of them₁ went and₂ took it₃.*

bil-E-te₁ kifi-te₂ i-te₃ alabe₄. *They will go and₁ dig it up and₂ take it and₃ come₄.*

bul-0-to-'a₁ kehelilibe₂. *After he goes he₁ will understand₂.*

bu-to₁ e gol-0-to-'ni₂ kehelilube₃. *When I have₂ gone and₁ seen it I₂ will understand₃.*

6.3.3.2 Different Subject Sequences

In verbs that are marked for clause sequences involving different subjects, the integral subject is identical with that described for final verbs (5.2.1), except for future tense forms. The stem and subject fusions which typify the present tense in final verbs (5.2.2.2) also apply to the stem and integral subject affixes of medial verbs marked for sequences of clauses involving different subjects. For future tense integral subject affixes only contrast dual versus non-dual (-a and -a'i). Examples follow.

no-b-I-go₁ e-te₂ gumina li'ehibe₃. *While he was going₁ they came and₂ stole it₃.*

no-b-U'I-go₁ kehe i'ehibe₂. *As we two were going₁ he called out₂.*

i-te₁ b-A'I-go₂ limi-to₃ . . . *The two of them₂ take it and₁ go and₂ he goes down and₃ . . .*

bu'oh-U-go₁ mine'ehabe₂. *When we had gone₁, they stayed₂.*

bu'eh-I-go₁ obe₂. *After he has gone₁, I come₂.*

bul-A-go₁ foyaga₂ bilibe₃. *When you have gone₁, he will go₃ to the garden₂.*

bi-l-A'I-go-ka₁ nalane₂. *When the two of them have gone, you₁ can eat₂.*

bu-l-A'I-go₁ kalibe₂. *When we two have gone₁, he will sleep₂.*

6.4 TIME DIMENSION

In addition to the subject dimension, the other important dimension which enters into the medial verb structure is tense.

The tense affixation of medial and final verbs differs very little in form. But the greatest difference as mentioned earlier, is in the role of tense. Repeating what was said earlier, in the final verbs tense

is absolute and its function is to state the time setting of the total sequence, with the tense of the sentence terminus dominating the whole sentence. Tense in the medial verb is relative and its function is to relate the clauses of the chain in terms of time sequences.

Although the clauses in sequence are arranged in the approximate chronological order of the actions, the tense affixes in Bena-bena are used to signal much more than simple successiveness of action. The tense affixes relate the actions of one clause to another in a time dependency. There is an interlocking of adjacent clauses in terms of time. Thus the time sequence expressed by medial verbs should not be viewed as beads on a string so much as links in a chain. Tense affixes are used to link clauses together in the following types of sequential dependency: (a) simple succession, (b) simultaneity or cooccurrence, (c) completion, and (d) priority. It is important to note that as with subject, so with tense; it is the tense of the first clause which signals its relationship to the clause which follows.

6.4.1 Succession

Simple succession of action is indicated without the operative prefix (no-). When a sequence of clauses is in simple succession without involving any time dependency, the present tense is used. The present tense thus has a neutral relational function. The whole sequence of clauses so marked is subordinate to the next clause marked for a different time dependency, or, in the case of the final verb, marked for the absolute tense of the whole sentence.⁷

The present tense in medial verbs is formally manifested in different ways depending on whether the verb is marked for a same subject or a different subject sequence. In different subject constructions present tense is indicated by the usual stem and subject fusions, but in same subject constructions it is indicated by the lack of a subject affix.

Examples of succession sequences follow.

bU-to₁ e GO-to₂ 0-to₃ lu kimilube₄. *I will₄ go and₁ see it
and come and₃ tell you₄.*

maya₁ kifI-to₂ li gu I-to₃ noobe₄. *I₄ dig up₂ the sweet potato₁
and put it in the bag₃ and come₄.*

efahi₁ II-to₂ 0-to₃ molo'ehi-go₄ . . . *After he had₄ taken₂
the money₁ and₂ come and₃ put it₄ . . .*

ana₁ h-I-go₂ afo'afu₃ limI-to₄ ka mek-I-go₅ folo fa hu'ehibe₆.
*He did₂ that₁ and₂ his father₃ came down and₄ upbraided him and₅
he hid₆.*

nani₁ maya₂ I-to₃ bu-to₄ laita h-U-go₅ E-te₆ nele-te₇ . . .
 When₇ I₁ have₇ taken₃ the sweet potato₂ and₃ gone and₄
 cooked it and₅ they have₇ come and₆ eaten it₇ . . .

6.4.2 Simultaneity

When the operative prefix (no-^{ne}-) is added to the medial verb in the present tense, the time relationship signaled is one of simultaneity or overlap. Some examples are as follows.

NO-no-to₁ bu'ehibe₂. He went₂ eating₁.

anaga₁ NO-h-u-go₂ NE-a-go₃ . . . While I was₂ there₁ they were coming and₃ . . .

nama₁ NO-l-i-go₂ NO-kehelu-to₃ minalane₄. While he is singing₂ a song₁ you will stay₄ listening₃.

kaga₁ NO-lu-to₂ bila-go₃ . . . When he has gone₃ talking (saying₂ talk₁) . . .

6.4.3 Completion

When the sequence requires that one action be completed before the next is begun, the past tense is used.

There are some minor differences between the past tense forms of the verb in same subject constructions and in different subject constructions. The past tense forms in verbs marked for different subject relationships are identical with those used in final verbs. In verbs marked for the same subject relationship, past tense forms utilize only two of the three allomorphs of the past tense morpheme, and utilize these two allomorphs to contrast monofocal and polyfocal integral subject: o- monofocal and e- polyfocal. Since e- is used in final forms with third person singular (which is normally classified as monofocal) as well as with polyfocal subjects, this medial use constitutes a modification of the past tense matrix. Table XXII demonstrates the matrix within which the same subject medial verb operates for past tense. Compare this with Table X (5.2.2.3) which shows the forms of the past tense morpheme as used in final verb forms and in different subject medial forms. Examples of sequences of clauses involving completion follow.

nani₁ Goroka₂ bu-'O-HU-to₃ mina filube₄. When₃ I₁ go to (i.e. after I get to)₃ Goroka₂ I will buy it₄.

yafa₁ kofo-'E-H-i-go₂ notibe₃. *He planted₂ the tree₁ and₂ it is growing₃.*

pana'i₁ keto-'O-HU-to-'a₂ kalibe₃. *After she has given birth to₂ the child₁ she₂ will sleep₃.*

yaha'a₁ laga hu-EH-i-go₂ sa gi'ohube₃. *She had cut₂ her hand₁ and₂ I bound it up₃.*

yaga₁ laita hi-te₂ hitalo₃ mele-'EH-a-go₄ namamagi₅ e-te₆ ne-n-a-go₇ e go'ohube₈. *After they had₄ cooked₂ the pork₁ and₂ placed it₄ on the platform₃ I saw₈ the birds₅ coming and₆ eating it₇.*

6.4.4 Priority

The future tense, which has the same form as described for final verbs (5.2.2.1) is used to indicate a sequential relationship in which the first action is prerequisite to the following one and therefore must take place prior to the action which follows. It is very difficult to indicate the difference between clause sequences involving completion and those involving priority. But it should be noted that actions which are prerequisite to others do not necessarily have to be completed before the next action begins. Some examples of sequences involving priority follow.

bi-L-e-te₁ mina filabe₂. *When they go₁ they will buy it₂.*

ke-L-e-te₁ bi'ehabe₂. *They slept and then₁ went₂.*

fili-L-a-go₁ keli nehabe₂. *He died and₁ we are burying him₂.*

naga'i₁ emi-L-a'i-go₂ gu'i₃ hu lepalalibe₄. *When the two of you give her₂ twine₁ she will make you₄ bags₃.*

6.5 CONDITIONAL

The conditional relationship in a clause sequence involves the use of present or future tense. The verb of the first clause must be in either the present or future tense and the verb of the following clause must either be in the future tense, or be in the imperative mood.

In clauses marked for same subject relationship there is no formal difference between conditional and succession or priority. But in clauses marked for different subject sequences the conditional time relationship requires the addition of the conditional suffix (-no~to) in third order. The allomorph -no is used with all integral subjects except second person singular and first person plural which use -to.⁸

Table XXII

PAST TENSE FORMS OF MEDIAL VERBS MARKED FOR
 SAME SUBJECT RELATIONSHIP ILLUSTRATED
 BY *fi-pierce*

Person	Number		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	fi'Ohuto*	fi'Ohuto	fi'Ohuto
2nd	fi'Ohuto	fi'Ehite	fi'Ehite
3rd	fi'Ohuto	fi'Ehite	fi'Ehite

*The past tense morpheme is in capitals, and, as for final verbs is immediately followed by the verb *to be* (hu^vhi). The glottal stop is a ligature which ties the past tense composite to the verb stem. The final suffix (-to^v-te) indicates same subject relationship.

For different subject conditional constructions which are in the future tense, the integral subject contrasts only dual and non-dual (in this case -e'i and -e respectively).⁹ For different subject conditional constructions in the present tense integral subjects are the same as those described in 6.3.3.2 above.

Use of the future indicates possibility and translates approximately as *when*. Where the present is used, the approximate meaning is *if*.

Examples of clauses marked for conditional sequence are as follows.

ko'mo₁ i-NO-go₂ minalube₃. *If it rains (if₂ rain₁ does₂) I will stay₃.*

ko'mo₁ laga hu-l-e-NO-go₂ bilune₃. *When₂ the rain₁ stops₂ we will go₃.*

kagabu'i₁ gi-NO-go₂ malasini₃ li-to₄ nobo₅. *If₂ your pain₁ increases₂ take₄ the medicine₃ and₄ eat it₅.*

ke-l-e'i-NO-go₁ bilo₂. *When they are both asleep₁ you all go₂.*

e go-l-e-TO-go₁ lu nimibo₂. *When you see it₁ tell me₂.*

N O T E S

1. The verb dichotomy 'medial' versus 'final' has been frequently referred to in the literature describing New Guinea Highlands languages, but the exact application of the two terms varies from language to language thus reflecting the diversity of structure among the languages. But in each of the languages so described the terms denote a difference in both form and distribution. Wurm 1964:81 draws attention to this general distinction of form and distribution between medial and final verb forms and goes on in successive pages to describe these distinctions in terms of a number of different languages of the 'East New Guinea Highlands Stock'.

Vincent 1962:13 describes medial verb forms for Tairora as those forms which include a 'portmanteau anticipatory subject suffix which indicates a change of subject in the following construction'. This differs from Bena-bena in that Bena-bena medial verbs also differ from final verbs in stem form as well as affixation, and include those which indicate no change of subject as well as those which indicate a change.

P. Healey 1966:4 uses the terms 'non-finite' and 'finite' respectively in describing a similar phenomenon in Telefol and defines these terms (p. 59) as the absence or presence of certain suffixes: 'person-number-gender suffixes'. Deibler 1963:3 describing Gahuku, categorizes clauses as dependent or independent medial and dependent or independent final.

2. The importance of time and subject has been emphasized in several publications on New Guinea languages in recent years. See McCarthy 1965:59; Kerr 1967:9; Deibler 1963:19.

3. Wurm 1964:84-85 remarks that in Bena-bena the presence of this morpheme is almost as frequent as its absence.

4. McKaughan 1966:3-4 describes a portmanteau suffix in Tairora which he terms 'anticipatory subject marker', which occurs with clauses involved in different subject sequences, and which appears to cover the function of both the relational subject suffix and the preview subject suffix in Bena-bena. McCarthy 1965:67 describes an affix somewhat similar to the Bena-bena preview subject as 'secondary subject', occurring after the 'primary subject marker' in same subject constructions and linked to the primary subject marker by a 'transitional morpheme' in different subject constructions. Her 'transitional morpheme' is probably somewhat similar to the Bena-bena relational subject suffix, but whereas the Kanite affix occurs only in different subject constructions, the Bena-bena affix occurs in both same and different subject constructions and fills a functional role beyond mere transition. Healey 1966:14 describes 'subject preview suffixes' for Telefol and it is her term 'preview' that is taken for the description of Bena-bena here.

5. See Wurm 1964:81.

6. Wurm 1964:81 uses the terms 'identity' and 'non-identity' for what is here called 'same subject' and 'different subject'. Healey 1966:14 refers to 'homopersonal' and 'heteropersonal' sequences being indicated by the preview subject. Vincent 1962:21 and McKaughan 1966:3 use the terms 'same subject' and 'different subject' describing Tairora. So also does McCarthy for Kanite (1965:67), and Deibler 1963:19. Kerr 1967:9 refers to 'single subject' sentences and 'multisubject' sentences.

7. McCarthy 1965:66 discusses a similar phenomenon in Kanite when there is no aspect or mood indicated. McKaughan 1966:4 itemizes what appears to be a neutral tense or aspect which is similar in some respects to Bena-bena present tense. Healey 1966:16 also refers to a neutral tense.

8. Compare this with the Emphatic suffix, the Question suffix and the Indicative Mood suffix (5.2.3) all of which operate within a similar matrix.

9. Compare with 6.3.3.2 (different subject constructions in the future tense) and 3.5 (immediate intensive auxiliary construction) which also contrast dual and non-dual but each does so with different vowels: immediate intensive, -u'i and -u; different subject future -a'i and -a; and, here, different subject future conditional, -e'i and -e.

Chapter VII

PAIRED-CHAIN SENTENCES

7.1 GENERAL STATEMENT

The paired-chain sentence, as indicated in Chapter II (section 2.3), is composed of a pair of interdependent clause-chains. The clause-chains of a paired-chain sentence are interdependent because both are obligatory components of the sentence. In its minimal form the paired-chain sentence may, therefore, be manifested as two verbs each exhibiting the formal characteristics of the terminus of the component chains of the sentence. Thus in its elementary form the paired-chain sentence contrasts sharply with the standard sentence. Two components are essential to the paired-chain sentence and these two components each depend on the other. The elementary form of the standard sentence, on the other hand, has only one component, which is independent. A further difference between the standard sentence and the paired-chain sentence is the difference in expansion potential. The standard sentence may be expanded by the addition of any number of dependent clauses or clause-chains prior to the sentence terminus. The paired-chain sentence is much more restrictive as regards expansion potential. The first chain may be quite long and include a number of dependent clauses, but the second chain, even with the inclusion of dependent clauses, must be limited to a single breath-pause group, as mentioned in Chapter II (section 2.3). This restriction on the length of the second chain is a manifestation of the interdependent relationship that ties the two chains together as a kind of twin nucleus to the sentence.

The form of the verb in the terminal clause of each chain indicates the type of interdependency involved. There are three types: (a) conjecture, (b) alternative and (c) reason.

7.2 CONJECTURE

Conjecture sentences are those which speculate about what would have happened had circumstances been different.¹ The first chain expresses the circumstance which would have caused the conjecture expressed in the second chain to eventuate or which did not favor the conjecture taking place. The absolute tense of the conjecture sentence may be either past or present, but future tense is precluded. The stem forms employed in the chain terminus of either component are those typical of sentence final verbs in past or present tense.

Conjecture affixes occur in final position in each chain and attach directly after the subject suffix, that is, in third position from the stem. The conjecture affix occurring on the terminal verb of the first chain is *-tita*; and on the terminal verb of the second chain is *-tine*. Another slightly different form of the conjecture sentence uses an auxiliary construction at the end of the second chain which bears a resemblance to the emphatic intensive construction described in Chapter III (section 3.5). It is marked by the portmanteau morpheme *-tita'mu* and the clause closure word *yabe*. Some examples of the conjecture sentence follow.

*kai*₁ *noha-tita*₂ / *ega-tine*₃. *If*₂ *you*₁ *were (here)*₂ / *you would have seen (it)*₃.

*nani*₁ *malasinimo*₂ *emi-tita*₃ / *mefili-tita'mu yabe*₄. *If*₃ *I*₁ *had given him*₃ *medicine*₂ / *he would not have died*₄.

*ai*₁ *yaga*₂ *le'moto*₃ *mebu'ehi-tita*₄ / *hoto*₅ *no-tine*₆. *If*₄ *he*₁ *had not*₄ *taken*₃ *the pig*₂ *and gone*₄ / *we would have*₆ *killed*₅ *and eaten it*₆.

*go'i*₁ *.ligo*₂ *ba-tita*₃ / *kiya'nefa*₄ *ha-tita'mu yabe*₅. *If you had gone*₃ *when*₂ *dawn*₁ *broke*₂ / *you would have shot*₅ *a cassowary*₄.

7.3 ALTERNATIVE

Alternative sentences are those which express a degree of uncertainty between two alternative courses of action. The terminal verb of each chain is exhibited as a sentence final verb, but the verb of the first chain omits mood and obligatorily takes the question suffix. The second chain, on the other hand, must terminate in the indicative mood. Examples of the alternative sentence follow.

*bilu-fi*₁ / *minalu-be*₂? *Shall I go or*₁ / *shall I stay*₂?

mino'ehi-fi₁/ memino'ehi-be₂? *Has he stayed or₁/ has he not stayed₂?*

yege₁ lali-fi₂/ ko'i₃ ili-be₄? *Will₂ the sun₁ shine or₂/ will it rain_{3,4}?*

afokafu₁ olenogo₂ kafala-pi₃/ meago₄ kafala-ne₅? *Will you plant_{3,5} when₂ you father₁ comes or₃/ before he comes₄?*

7.4 REASON

In reason sentences the first clause-chain expresses the reason for a course of action, and the second chain expresses the resultant action as a corollary. Reason sentences always involve a change of subject between the two chains. Not only are the actions of the two chains interdependent, but the actor of the second chain is influenced by the actor of the first.

Reason sentences are marked by the occurrence of the reason suffix *-gi*, which translates as *because*, *since*, or *so*. It necessarily requires the co-occurrence of the emphatic morpheme *-na~ta* in pre-position (see 5.2.3.1). Note that the reason suffix is mutually exclusive with the question suffix (5.2.3.2) and occurs in fourth order from the stem. Verbs which affix for reason are formally patterned on sentence final verbs.

Reason sentences are indicated by either of two formal devices.

(a) The first chain terminates in *-gi* and the second with any of the sentence final forms described for the standard sentence. For example,

nani₁ minaluna-gi₂/ kai₃ bubo₄. *I₁ will stay so₂/ you₃ go₄.*

(b) The second chain terminates in *-gi* plus the mood suffix *-he* and the first chain terminates with a sentence medial verb marked by the relational subject suffix for different subject *-go*. For example,

efahi₁ nimi'ehi-go₂/ gelo bi'ohuna-gi-he₃. *Because he gave me₂ the money₁/ I was happy₃.*

Other examples of the reason sentence follow.

faya'i₁ mina fito₂ ito₃ o ketalina-gi₄/ geba hubo₅. *Since he will₄ buy₂ fish₁ and bring (take₃, come₄) it for you₄/ you wait₅.*

kai₁ buleto-go₂/ nani₃ minaluna-gi-he₄. *If₂ you₁ go₂/ I₃ will stay₄.*

safa'mo₁ nonimi-go₂/ lito₃ nobuna-gi-he₄. *Since₂ the white man₁ gave it to me₂/ I am taking it_{3,4}.*

N O T E S

1. A structure similar to the Bena-bena conjecture sentence in other New Guinea languages is often called 'contrary to fact' (Vincent 1962:13 and McKaughan 1966:8; Kerr 1967:49). But to use this designation for Bena-bena is to emphasize the negative semantic aspect of this construction (that is, that what was conjectured did not take place). I therefore prefer the term conjecture which emphasizes the positive semantic aspect (that what was conjectured would most certainly have taken place) which seems to me to be more in keeping with the contexts in which I have heard the sentence used.

REFERENCES CITED

CAPELL, A

- 1950 *Distribution of Languages in the Central Highlands, New Guinea.* Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company. Reprinted from *Oceania* Vol.XIX nos.2, 3 and 4, 1948/9.

DEIBLER, ELLIS W. Jr.

- 1963 "Grammatical Structure of Gahuku." *Workshop Papers No.2: Grammar.* Ukarumpa, Territory of New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

FRANKLIN, KARL J.

- 1967 "Kewa Sentence Structure." *Pacific Linguistics, Series A,* 13:27-59.

FRANTZ, CHESTER, and HOWARD MCKAUGHAN.

- 1964 "Gadsup Independent Verb Affixes." *Verb Studies in Five New Guinea Languages* 10:84-99. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.

HEALEY, P. M.

- 1965 "Telefol Verb Phrases." *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications (Pacific Linguistics)* Series A, 5:27-53.
- 1966 "Levels and Chaining in Telefol Sentences." *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications (Pacific Linguistics)* Series B, 5:1-59.

KERR, HARLAND B.

- 1967 A Preliminary Statement of Witu Grammar: *The Syntactic Role and Structure of the Verb*. Unpublished M. A. thesis Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

KOOYERS, ORNEAL.

- 1966 *Hieratchy of Washuk (Kwoma) Clauses*. Typescript.

McCARTHY, JOY.

- 1965 "Clause Chaining in Kanite." *Anthropological Linguistics* 7:59-70.

McKaughan, HOWARD P.

- 1966 "Sequences of Clauses in Tairora." *Oceanic Linguistics* 5:1-11.

VINCENT, ALEX, and LOIS VINCENT.

- 1962 "Introductory Notes on Tairora Verb Morphology and Syntax." *Oceania Linguistic Monographs* 6:4-27. Sydney: University of Sydney.

WURM, S. A.

- 1964 "Australian New Guinea Highlands Languages and the Distribution of their Typological Features." *American Anthropologist* 66:77-97.

YOUNG, ROBERT A.

- 1964 "The Primary Verb in Bena-bena." *Verb Studies in Five New Guinea Languages* 10:45-83. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.

YOUNG, ROBERT A. and ROSEMARY YOUNG.

- 1965 "The Three Dimensional Classification System of Bena-bena Nouns." *Anthropological Linguistics* 7:80-3.

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

(Series A, Nos.1-9, Series B, Nos.1-6, Series C, Nos. 1 and 3, and Bulletins 1 and 2 were called LINGUISTIC CIRCLE OF CANBERRA PUBLICATIONS)

SERIES A - OCCASIONAL PAPERS

- No. 1 WURM, S.A. *Some Remarks on the Role of Language in the Assimilation of Australian Aborigines.* 1963; 12 pp. \$0.30
- No. 2 HEALEY, Alan *Handling Unsophisticated Linguistic Informants.* 1964; iii + 30 pp. \$0.75
- No. 3 PENCE, Alan, DEIBLER Jr., Ellis, HEALEY, Phyllis M. and HOOLEY, Bruce A. *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.1.* 1964; iv + 42 pp. Reprinted 1971 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series A, No.3* \$0.95
- No. 4 WURM, S.A. *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.2.* 1964; iv + 41 pp.; 1 map. Reprinted 1971 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series A, No.4* \$0.95
- No. 5 HEALEY, Phyllis M. *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.3.* 1965; iv + 53 pp.; 3 tables \$1.25
- No. 6 BEE, Darlene *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.4.* 1965; iv + 68 pp.; 4 diagrams. Reprinted 1971 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series A, No.6* \$1.50
- No. 7 FRANTZ, C.I. & M.E., OATRIDGE, D. & J., LOVING, R., SWICK, J., PENCE, A., STAALSEN, P. and BOXWELL, H. & M. *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.5.* 1966; viii + 93 pp. Reprinted 1971 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series A, No.7* \$2.15
- No. 8 SHETLER, J., PITTMAN, R., FORSBERG, V. and HUSSEY, J. *Papers in Philippine Linguistics No.1.* 1966; iv + 38 pp. Reprinted 1971 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series A, No.8* \$0.95
- No. 9 NGUYEN DANG LIEM, A. TRAN HUONG MAI and DELLINGER, David W. *Papers in South East Asian Linguistics No.1.* 1967; iv + 43 pp. + 30 tables + 3 chart tables + 27 charts. Reprinted in 1970 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series A, No.9* \$2.15

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Occasional Papers - *continued*

- | | | |
|-------|--|--------|
| No.10 | GLASGOW, D. & K., KIRTON, Jean F., OATES, W.J. and SOMMER, B.A. & E.G. <i>Papers in Australian Linguistics</i> No.1. 1967; v + 59 pp.; 18 charts | \$1.25 |
| No.11 | VON BRANDENSTEIN, C.G., CAPELL, A. and HALE, K. <i>Papers in Australian Linguistics</i> No.2. 1967; iii + 73 pp. + 7 maps. Reprinted 1971 | \$1.85 |
| No.12 | McELHANON, K.A. and RENCK, G. <i>Papers in New Guinea Linguistics</i> No.6. 1967; iv + 48 pp.; 6 charts; 2 figures. Reprinted 1971 | \$1.00 |
| No.13 | GODDARD, J. and FRANKLIN, K.J. <i>Papers in New Guinea Linguistics</i> No.7. 1967; iv + 59 pp. Reprinted 1971 | \$1.25 |
| No.14 | AGUAS, E.F. and TRYON, D.T. <i>Papers in Australian Linguistics</i> No.3. 1968; iii + 46 pp. + 1 map; 1 table. Reprinted 1971 | \$1.00 |
| No.15 | CAPELL, A., PARKER, G.J. and SCHÜTZ, A.J. <i>Papers in Linguistics of Melanesia</i> No.1. 1968; iii + 52 pp. + 1 map. Reprinted 1971 | \$1.25 |
| No.16 | VOORHOEVE, C.L., FRANKLIN, K.J. and SCOTT, G. <i>Papers in New Guinea Linguistics</i> No.8. 1968; iv + 62 pp.; 2 maps. Reprinted 1971 | \$1.35 |
| No.17 | KINSLOW HARRIS, J., WURM, S.A. and LAYCOCK, D.C. <i>Papers in Australian Linguistics</i> No.4. 1969; vi + 97 pp.; 3 maps | \$2.15 |
| No.18 | CAPELL, A.; HEALEY, A., ISOROEMBO, A. and CHITTLEBOROUGH, M.; and WILSON, D.B. <i>Papers in New Guinea Linguistics</i> No.9. 1969; vi + 110 pp.; 1 map. Reprinted 1971 | \$2.15 |
| No.19 | MILLER, J. and MILLER, H.W. <i>Papers in Philippine Linguistics</i> No.2. 1969; iii + 32 pp. Reprinted 1971 | \$0.85 |
| No.20 | PRENTICE, D.J. <i>Papers in Borneo Linguistics</i> No.1. 1969; iv + 41 pp. Reprinted 1971 | \$1.05 |
| No.21 | CAPELL, A., CHOWNING, A. and WURM, S.A. <i>Papers in Linguistics of Melanesia</i> No.2. 1970; v + 105 pp.; 5 maps | \$2.25 |
| No.22 | LAYCOCK, D.C., LLOYD, Richard G. and STAALSEN, Philip <i>Papers in New Guinea Linguistics</i> No.10. 1969; v + 84 pp. | \$1.95 |

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Occasional Papers - *continued*

- No.23 BUNN, G. & R.; PENCE, Alan, GEARY, Elaine and BJORKMAN, Doris; \$2.00
WEIMER, H. & N.; and CLAASSEN, O.R. and McELHANON, K.A. *Papers
in New Guinea Linguistics* No.11. 1970; v + 78 pp.; 1 map
- No.24 ABRAMS, N., FORSTER, J. and BRICHOUX, R. *Papers in Philippine* \$1.95
Linguistics No.3. 1970; vi + 77 pp.
- No.25 VOORHOEVE, C.L., McELHANON, K.A. and BLOWERS, Bruce L. & Ruth \$1.25
Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.12. 1970; iv + 60 pp. +
1 map
- No.26 BLOWERS, B.L., GRIFFIN, Margie and McELHANON, K.A. *Papers in* \$1.35
New Guinea Linguistics No.13. 1970; iv + 48 pp.
- No.27 KIRTON, Jean F. *Papers in Australian Linguistics* No.5. 1971; \$1.50
iv + 70 pp.

In preparation:

- No.28 DUTTON, T., VOORHOEVE, C.L. and WURM, S.A. *Papers in New Guinea Lin-*
guistics No.14
- No.29 GLOVER, W., HARI, Maria and HOPE, E. *Papers in South East Asian Lin-*
guistics No.2
- No.30 HOPE, E., KATSURA, Makio and NISHIDA, Tatsuo *Papers in South East*
Asian Linguistics No.3
- No.31 ALLEN, Janice, LAWRENCE, M., LEWIS, R.K. and LEWIS, Sandra C. *Papers*
in New Guinea Linguistics No.15

SERIES B - MONOGRAPHS

- No. 1 WURM, S.A. and HARRIS, J.B. *POLICE MOTU, An introduction to* \$1.85
the Trade Language of Papua (New Guinea) for Anthropologists
and other fieldworkers. 1963; vi + 81 pp.
- No. 2 WURM, S.A. *Phonological Diversification in Australian New* \$1.85
Guinea Highlands Languages. 1964; iii + 87 pp.; 1 map. Re-
printed 1971 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series B, No.2*
- No. 3 HEALEY, Alan *Telefol Phonology.* 1964; iii + 1 figure + \$1.25
53 pp. + 5 tables
- No. 4 HEALEY, Phyllis M. *Telefol Noun Phrases.* 1965; iii + 51 pp.; \$1.25
3 tables

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Monographs - *continued*

- No. 5 HEALEY, Phyllis M. *Levels and Chaining in Telefol Sentences*. 1966; iv + 64 pp.; 5 tables. Reprinted 1971 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series B, No.5* \$1.50
- No. 6 TRYON, Darrell T. *Nengone Grammar*. 1967; x + 91 pp.; 10 tables. Reprinted 1971 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series B, No.6* \$2.00
- No. 7 TRYON, Darrell T. *Dehu Grammar*. 1968; ix + 111 pp.; 10 tables. Reprinted 1971 \$2.50
- No. 8 TRYON, Darrell T. *Iai Grammar*. 1968; xii + 125 pp.; 11 tables. Reprinted 1971 \$2.95
- No. 9 DUTTON, T.E. *The Peopling of Central Papua: Some Preliminary Observations*. 1969; viii + 182 pp. \$3.75
- No.10 FRANKLIN, K.J. *The Dialects of Kewa*. 1968; iv + 72 pp.; 20 maps. Reprinted 1971 \$2.50
- No.11 SOMMER, B.A. *Kunjen Phonology: Synchronic and Diachronic*. 1969; iv + 72 pp.; 3 maps \$1.95
- No.12 KLOKEID, T.J. *Thargari Phonology and Morphology*. 1969; viii + 56 pp.; 1 map \$1.25
- No.13 TREFRY, D. *A Comparative Study of Kuman and Pawaian*. 1969; iv + 94 pp.; 1 map \$2.00
- No.14 McELHANON, K.A. *Selepet Phonology*. 1970; v + 47 pp.; 1 map \$1.25
- No.15 TRYON, D.T. *An Introduction to Maranungku (Northern Australia)*. 1970; vi + 111 pp.; 1 map \$2.50
- No.16 McELHANON, K.A. and VOORHOEVE, C.L. *The Trans-New Guinea Phylum: Explorations in Deep-level Genetic Relationships*. 1970; v + 107 pp.; 4 maps \$2.50
- No.17 KUKI, Hiroshi *Tuamotuan Phonology*. 1970; ix + 119 pp.; 2 maps \$2.50
- No.18 YOUNG, R.A. *The Verb in Bena-Bena: its Form and Function*. 1971; v + 68 pp. \$1.50

In preparation:

- No.19 PATON, W.S. *Ambrym Grammar*
- No.20 CAPELL, A. *Arosi Grammar*

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

SERIES C - BOOKS

- No. 1 LAYCOCK, D.C. *The Ndu Language Family (Sepik District, New Guinea)*. 1965; xi + 224 pp.; 1 map \$5.00
- No. 3 NGUYEN DANG LIEM *English Grammar (A Contrastive Analysis of English and Vietnamese vol.1)*. 1966; xliv + 177 pp.; 16 tables. Reprinted in 1970 as *Pacific Linguistics, Series C, No.3* \$5.00
- No. 4 NGUYEN DANG LIEM *Vietnamese Grammar (A Contrastive Analysis of English and Vietnamese vol.2)*. 1969; xliii + 209 pp.; 37 tables \$5.50
- No. 5 NGUYEN DANG LIEM *A Contrastive Grammatical Analysis of English and Vietnamese (A Contrastive Analysis of English and Vietnamese vol.3)*. 1967; xv + 151 pp.; 15 tables. Reprinted 1971 \$3.25
- No. 6 TRYON, Darrell T. *Dehu-English Dictionary*. 1967; v + 137 pp. Reprinted 1971 \$2.95
- No. 7 TRYON, Darrell T. *English-Dehu Dictionary*. 1967; iii + 162 pp. Reprinted 1971 \$3.25
- No. 8 NGUYEN DANG LIEM *A Contrastive Phonological Analysis of English and Vietnamese (A Contrastive Analysis of English and Vietnamese vol.4)*. 1970; xv + 206 pp.; 22 charts; 19 tables \$5.25
- No. 9 TRYON, D.T. and DUBOIS, M.-J. *Nengone Dictionary. Part I: Nengone-English*. 1969; vii + 445 pp. \$9.00
- No.10 OATES, W. and OATES, L. *Kapau Pedagogical Grammar*. 1968; v + 178 pp. Reprinted 1971 \$3.75
- No.11 FOX, C.E. *Arosi-English Dictionary*. 1970; iv + 406 pp.; 1 map \$8.95
- No.13 WURM, S.A. and LAYCOCK, D.C., eds. *Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell*. 1970; viii + 1292 pp.; 25 maps; 1 photograph. \$25.00
- Articles authored, or co-authored, by:
 B.W. Bender, Catherine M. Berndt, R.M. Berndt, H. Bluhme,
 J.E. Bolt, C.G. von Brandenstein, †C.D. Chrétien, J.R.
 Cleverly, C. Court, R.M.W. Dixon, W.H. Douglas, T.E. Dutton,
 I. Dyen, S.H. Elbert, A.P. Elkin, E.H. Flint, K.J. Franklin,
 Marie Godfrey, G.W. Grace, K. Hale, Joy Harris, A. Healey,
 H. Hershberger, Ruth Hershberger, W.G. Hoddinot, P.W. Hohepa,

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Books - *continued*

No.13 (continued)

N.M. Holmer, B.A. Hooley, Dorothy J. James, H. Kähler, Susan Kaldor, H. Kerr, Jean F. Kirton, D.C. Laycock, Nguyen Dang Liem, K.A. McElhanon, H. McKaughan, G.N. O'Grady, A. Pawley, Eunice V. Pike, R. Pittman, D.J. Prentice, A.J. Schütz, M.C. Sharpe, †W.E. Smythe, A.J. Taylor, D.T. Tryon, E.M. Uhlenbeck, C.F. Voegelin, F.M. Voegelin, C.L. Voorhoeve, S.A. Wurm, J. Z'Graggen.

- No.14 GEERTS, P. *'Are'āre Dictionary*. 1970; iv + 185 pp.; 1 map \$3.95
- No.15 MCELHANON, K.A. and N.A. *Selepet-English Dictionary*. 1970; \$3.95
xxi + 144 pp.
- No.16 FRANKLIN, K.J. *A Grammar of Kewa, New Guinea*. 1970; \$2.95
ix + 138 pp.
- No.17 PARKER, G.J. *Southeast Ambrym Dictionary*. 1970; xiii + 60 pp. \$1.50
- No.18 PRENTICE, D.J. *The Murut Languages of Sabah*. 1971; \$6.50
ix + 311 pp.; 1 map
- No.19 Z'GRAGGEN, J.A. *Classificatory and Typological Studies in Languages of the Madang District*. 1971; viii + 179 pp.; 4 maps \$3.95

In preparation:

- No. 2 WURM, S.A. *Handbook of New Guinea Pidgin*
- No.12 LAYCOCK, D.C. *Basic Materials in Buin: Grammar, Texts, and Dictionary*
- No.20 LANG, Adrienne *Enga Dictionary with English Index*
- No.21 PATON, W.S. *Ambrym (Lonwolwol) Dictionary*
- No.22 LONGACRE, Robert E., ed. *Philippine Discourse and Paragraph Studies in Memory of Betty McLachlin*.
Articles authored by: †Betty McLachlin and Barbara Blackburn, Hazel Wrigglesworth, Claudia Whittle, Charles Walton.
- No.23 TRYON, D.T. and DUBOIS, M.-J. *Nengone Dictionary. Part II: English-Nengone*
- No.24 ELBERT, S.H. *Puluwat Dictionary*

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

SERIES D - SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

(Bulletins, archival materials and other publications)

- | | | |
|-------|--|--------|
| No. 1 | <i>Bulletin No.1.</i> 1964; 9 pp. | \$0.25 |
| No. 2 | <i>Bulletin No.2.</i> 1965; 84 pp. | \$1.50 |
| No. 3 | WURM, S.A. <i>New Guinea Highlands Pidgin: Grammar Notes and Materials.</i> 1971; vii + 175 pp. | \$3.50 |
| No. 4 | WURM, S.A. <i>Language Map of the Eastern, Western and Southern Highlands, Territory of Papua and New Guinea (in 14 colours).</i> 1961 | \$0.35 |
| No. 5 | LAYCOCK, Don <i>Materials in New Guinea Pidgin (Coastal and Lowlands).</i> 1970; xxxvii + 62 pp. | \$2.50 |
| No. 6 | NGUYEN DANG LIEM <i>Four-Syllable Idiomatic Expressions in Vietnamese.</i> 1970; v + 60 pp. | \$1.50 |
| No. 7 | ELBERT, S.H. <i>Three Legends of Puluwat and a Bit of Talk.</i> 1971; viii + 85 pp.; 1 map; 1 photograph | \$2.15 |
| No. 9 | <i>Index to Pacific Linguistics, Series A-D, as at the end of 1970.</i> 1971; iv + 75 pp. | \$1.85 |

In preparation:

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| No. 8 | LANG, A., MATHER, K.E.W. and ROSE, M.L. <i>Information Storage and Retrieval: a Dictionary Project</i> | |
| No.10 | PATON, W.S. <i>Tales of Ambrym</i> | |
| No.11 | PATON, W.S. <i>Customs of Ambrym, with Texts</i> | |

