

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BINANDERE VERB

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1. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

1.01. INTRODUCTION

1.01.1. The language here called "Binandere" is that which is spoken about the Mamba River, the area in which the Reverend Copland King began work about the turn of the twentieth century, and in which all the literary work of the Anglican Mission has been carried out.

1.01.2. The phonemes of the language are treated in another part of this volume. The spelling used by the Anglican Mission has been retained here, however, for the two reasons that the examples are in large part based on printed translation - as well as on material collected by the author - and that any study of the language made from the printed materials will be in the standard orthography. This orthography is not entirely phonemic: /d/ becomes a palatal plosive before /i/, and is spelled j; /t/ becomes /s/ in the same position, and /w/ becomes bilabial v, and these three symbols are used by the Mission. The only departure made from the Mission orthography is that in the latter ng is used after a vowel to represent nasalisation, e.g. /ũ/, 'water' is written ung. The nasal marker /~/ is employed here. Otherwise ng represented /ŋg/ in this dialect - a simple /ŋ/ occurs in Notu.

1.01.3. The present essay is concerned with the analysis of the Binandere verb. However, verbal forms occur in a sentence context whose structure determines which of a number of forms must be chosen, and this structure is very different from that of English. It seems therefore advisable to prefix to the analysis of the verb a brief exposition of the sentence structure of the Binandere language. The exposition will be presented in almost tabular form, so as to permit of making the maximum space available for the discussion of the verbal system. Material not supplied from the author's field notes is drawn mainly from the Binandere translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the latest and best translation work

produced in the Mission, together with Bible translation and some original work available.

1.02. Utterance and Word Classes in Binandere

1.02.1. The brief outline following is couched in terms of the tagmemic system developed by Kenneth L. Pike and developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This seems to allow most easily the possibility of a maximal statement in a minimal space. The following definitions are assumed:

- i. An *utterance* is a passage of speech, divisible into sentences which are utterances preceded and followed by silence.
- ii. An *uttereme* is such a period of speech preceded and followed by silence.
- iii. A *word* is a minimum utterance which can be meaningfully isolated.
- iv. A *morpheme* is the smallest meaningful unit of phonetic structure.
- v. A *phoneme* is the minimal distinctive unit of sound in a given language.

1.03. Types of Utteremes

The normal sentence composition in Binandere consist of

± actor + goal ± action.

There are five main types of uttereme to be distinguished.

Uttereme 1. Affirmation of activity: Minimum + predicate which is the exponent of a transitive verb - *sisina* 'he said'. The expanded form is:

± actor: N goal: N ± location particle + predicate: V trs

embo mi ganuma butu de gosisira
man (agent) stone ground on saw

embo mi rorae ika - aında mamaı tote da yai - kando esisina
man (agent) goods his - his son two of place - division did
'The man divided his goods between his two sons.'

Uttereme 2. Description of an item. Minimum:

item + description.

awa - mai nato
he - son my 'He is my son.'

amo - embo beiamana
 he - man good 'He is a good man.'

Expansion: + (+ item + description) ± manner ± place ± time

Uttereme 3. Question.

(a) Question of identification, consisting minimally of + (item + interrogative):

amo - rori?
 this - who? 'Who is this?'
 dawo ito - averi?
 name your - what? 'What's your name?'

(b) Question of information consisting of Uttereme I + interrogation marker:

imo jimbo iji engo de edo era - gae - ta?
 you deeds day these in they-have-done - not know - ?
 'Don't you know what they have been doing lately?'

On the morphological level there are formal changes in verb ending involved in the asking of a question, of either kind.

Uttereme 4. Answer to question. This may assume very varied forms, consisting of any of the units which may be found in responses, e.g.

ã?ã; tote; na embo gena
 yes two I man see

and many others.

Uttereme 5. Utterances in sequence. This is the section of Binandere syntax that shows most peculiarities. The basic rule is that two clauses, as understood in most European languages, do not occur as main clauses. There is a "periodic" construction, according to which a sentence contains one main clause, all others being subordinated in some way. The verbs which according to Binandere rules occur at the end of a clause, are divisible into sentence-final (SF) and sentence-medial (SM) on the morphological level. The SM forms vary also according as to whether the same actor appears in both clauses (SM₁) or whether there is a different actor in each clause (SM₂). There are also dependent forms which may appear in both SM and SF positions. For detailed explanation of SF and SM forms see 2.05.2.ff., and for dependent forms 2.05.5. and 2.12.1.ff.

1.04. Word-Classes in Binandere

On the level of morphology, the word classes, which are actually also form classes, to be distinguished in Binandere are as follows:

1. Words which can occupy (a) the actor spot or (b) the goal spot in an utterance of the types given above may be defined as nouns:

embo totorisina

man went

na totoritena

I went

embo mi ni gira

man (agent) tree saw

embo mi na gira

man (agent) me saw

Words definiable as nouns in these terms may be followed by (a) certain particle, e.g. mi marking agent or instrument; da, marking possession or location; or (b) qualifying words of quantity, quality or definiteness:

(a) embo mi na gira na kasi mi dera
man me saw me club with he-hits

embo da jisi da
man of eye in 'in the man's eye(s)'

(b) embo beiamana dakaki
man good one 'one good man'

ũ eiwa beiamana be
water this good indeed 'This water is very good.'

Some members of this group take other affixes, number markers, etc. as well.

ii. Words which occupy the action spot in any utterance may be defined as verbs; they are marked by certain suffixes which never apply to nouns. This class is studied in detail in 2.

iii. Words which occupy neither actor, goal nor action spots in an utterance, but are in a position of dependency on one of these classes may be defined as particles. Descriptive words of all types, which might seem to fall under the heading of "Particles" are best subsumed in the class of nouns, as a subclass within it.

This brief outline may now lead into a more detailed analysis of the

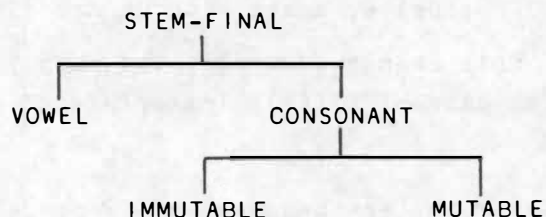
Binandere verbal system as a whole.

2. VERB STRUCTURE

2.01. Verbal Types

2.01.1. The Binandere verb has only voice - the active. It has a number of different types of verbal base, but all can be reduced to one class. The substantival form of the verb always terminates in *-ari*. This may be either an ending, as in *ategari* 'greet, thank', or a separate element as in *adu ari* 'be afraid'. It is simplest to regard all verbs as really compounds of *ari*, which by itself means 'to do', and a substantive base, *adu ari* 'to do a fearing'. In such an analysis, *ategari* becomes **ateg*' *ari* 'to do a greeting'. The advantage of this type of analysis (which need not be reflected in the orthography) is that all verbs can then be regarded as of one class, i.e. compounds of *ari*. Consonant changes within the body of the verb are frequent, but these can be treated as morphophonemic variations, not involving subdivision of the verbs into several classes or conjugations. Such subdivision becomes needful at only one point.

2.01.2. Accordingly, two subgroups of one verbal type will be recognised here. The ending *-ari* is first to be abstracted from the substantival form. Then two varieties of stem are left, (1) vowel endings and (2) consonant endings. Vowel endings are exemplified in *pi-ari* 'give', *e-ari* 'poke'. Consonant endings appear in *g-ari* 'perceive', *t-ari* 'say', *ategari* 'greet'. The group ending in consonants is further subdivisible into (i) immutable and (ii) mutable stem finals, e.g. *bur-ari* 'dig' and *kumb-ari* 'bring'. The following table shows the typing of Binandere verbs:



There are some verbs whose stems are irregular, e.g. *aimbari* 'go' > *ausisina* 'he went (long ago)', but in all cases the person endings are regular, and even the stems can largely be accounted for.

2.02. Morphophonemic Changes

2.02.1. As stated, some consonant stem finals are mutable, but all the

mutations are morphophonemic, i.e. they are due to the action of sound on sound, and can be explained on a phonemic basis, without morphological implications.

2.02.2. The principal rules which have to be observed in the conjugation of the Binandere verbs are:

i. Before the high front vowel *i*, dentals are palatalised: *d + i > ji*, and *t + i > si-*, e.g. *t-ari > sisina* 'he said'; *badari > bajido* 'having grown up'.

ii. *w* becomes *v* (bilabial) before front vowels, both *i* and *e*: *ari > awate* 'you are to do' (plur.); but *ave* (same meaning, alternative form); plural imperative *ewavi*, not *ewawi*. Before *-u-*, the *-w-* disappears: *dawari* 'go by water' > *da-utana*, Past II. In Korafe the *w - v* change takes place also before *-u-*.

iii. Changes of the homorganic nasal-plosive combinations:

(a) *mb > m*; *nd > n*. This change takes place whenever there is an *n* in the person ending which is added to the verbal stem: *gumb-ari > gumeNa* 'I come', but *gumbeta* 'you come'; *indari* 'eat' > *inaNa* 'I shall eat', but *indata* 'you will eat'.

(b) *mb > p*. This change takes place in the Past II tense, when the following vowel is *-u-*; it may be associated with reduplication of the stem also in Past IV but does not depend on it, and in the latter tense the following vowel is *-i-*. EXAMPLES: *gumb-ari* 'come' > *guputena* 'I came'; *kumb-ari* 'bring' > *kupana*, Past II; *kuputena*, Past IV. In the former example, *gupuna* is Past II, but the future is *gumana* by rule iii(a) above, because the ending has *-n-*. It may prove that the change in this second case is morphological, not just phonemic, like the others. The same change takes place in the present form of sentence-final I: *temb-ari* 'cross over' > *tepeite*, again without association with *-u-*.

(c) *nd > nj(i)*. This change occurs in the past tense forms, where it is really a special case of iii(a): *ind-ari* 'eat' > *inj-isina* 'he ate'.

iv. The suffix *-r*-*: the *-r-* becomes *-n-* if preceded by a nasal in the stem of the word to which it is attached.

v. Contraction and assimilation take place in verbs with homorganic nasal-plosive stem finals, in sentence medial I forms ending in *-do*: *gumba-ari* 'come' > *gundo*; *bamb-ari* 'go' > *baundo*. There are, however, some as yet unexplained exceptions to this, e.g. *katemb-ari* 'understand', *think*' > *kotembedo*.

2.03. Reduplication

2.03.1. Reduplication of the verbal stem is a regular phenomenon in the Definite Past Tense (Past III). Not all verbs appear to be subject to it, but most are. Morphophonemic rules operate in the processes of reduplication as they do elsewhere. Thus *t-ari* > *tesitena*, because **tetitena* would not be phonetically possible in this dialect.

2.03.2. Theoretically the reduplication is that of the first syllable, and this holds good in most cases, e.g.

jir-ari *jijir-isina*
wot-ari *wowos-isina*
vit-ari *vivis-isina*

There are, however, modifications of this theoretical procedure:

i. the *-mb-* pattern is simplified:

jimb-ari *jijimb-edo*

ii. stems consisting of a single consonant require a supporting vowel to be inserted:

t-ari *tes-isina*

iii. stems ending in a vowel are variously treated:

a. *pi-ari* *pipi-tena*

b. *do-ari* *dadu-rote*

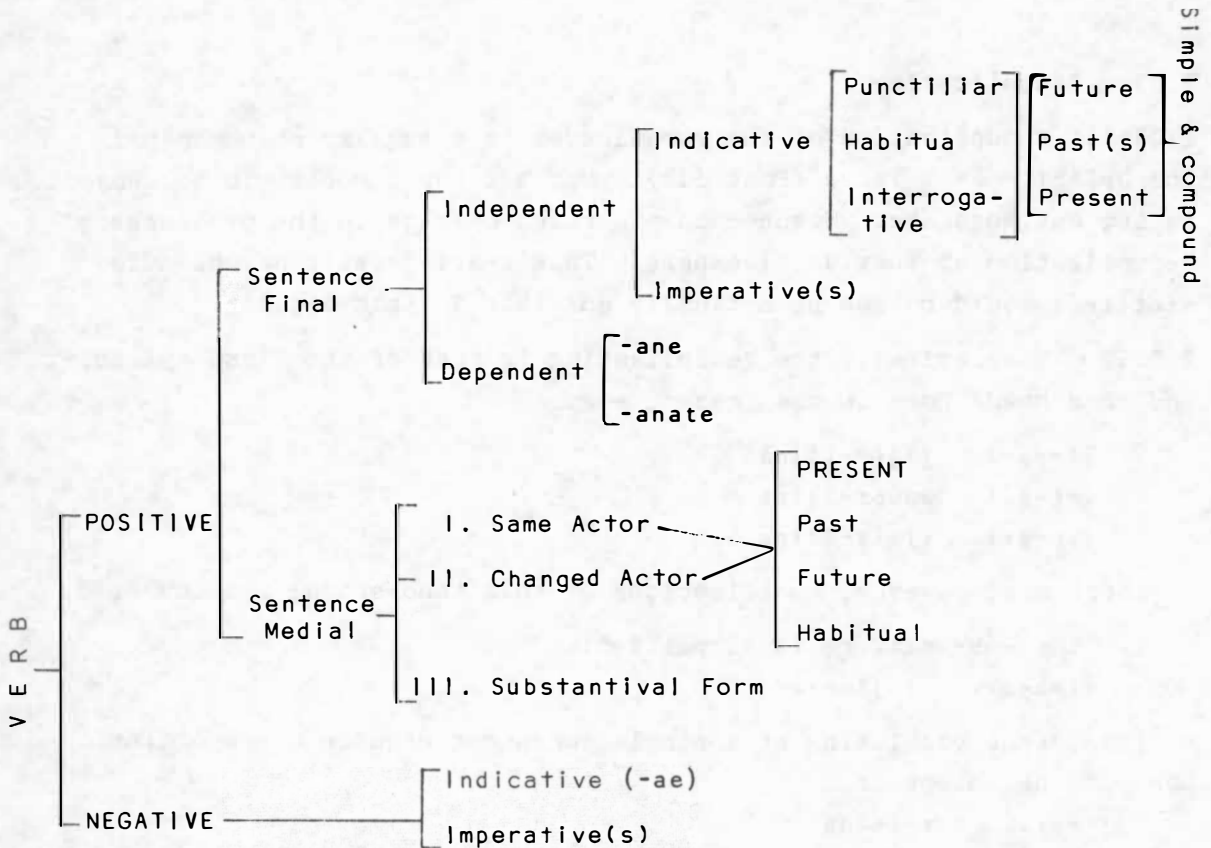
2.03.3. Some stems are irregular in that they reduplicate the later instead of the earlier part of the word, e.g.

atop-ari *ato-papo-sisina*

It is logical to suspect that these are really compounds, and would theoretically be written, e.g. **ato p-ari*, with a break between the elements.

2.04. Scheme of the Binandere Verb

2.04.1. The following table sets out the elements of the verb and the parts from which each is derived.



2.05. System of Aspects and Tenses

2.05.1. Although the Binandere verb has only one voice - Active - it is divisible into two Aspects - Positive and Negative - and a number of mood and tense forms. The moods are two: Indicative and Imperative. The scheme of tenses is somewhat complicated. The first division among them is that between sentence-final (henceforth called SF) and sentence-medial (henceforth called SM) forms. The construction of the utterance in Binandere requires explanation in order that these two major subdivisions of tense-forms may be understood.

2.05.2. English prefers an utterance arranged paratactically, with a number of full verbs connected by "and" or some other conjugation, e.g. 'the man came and I spoke to him'. In Binandere the construction is different. There must be only one main verb in a sentence; all others are subordinated in one way or another, e.g.

embo mi gundo tesiri gena
 man having-come when-he spoke I-heard him

Here only the last verb is a full form: g-ena, Present or Colloquial Past of g-ari 'hear', 'perceive (by any of the senses)', 1st person singular. Moreover, this full verb is placed at the end of the utterance; therefore

it may be called sentence-final (SF). The SF forms change to express all persons, tenses and moods, as well as the two Aspects. The verb gundo < gumbari 'come' expresses nothing final; it cannot stand by itself. Its nearest English equivalent is 'having come'. But it also implies that the same actor will appear again in the next verb, and makes no statement as to who the actor is: that must be gathered from the subject, here 'embo mi' and the next verb: gundo sisina 'having come he spoke'; gundo sitena 'having come I spoke', etc. It is in these last two examples only 'sisina' and 'sitena' that make it possible to determine who came.

2.05.3. The second verb tesiri < t-ari 'speak' is also sentence-medial (SM), but it implies that a different actor is to follow: g-ena 'I heard'. The nearest English would be 'he-having-spoken I-heard', or 'he spoke and I heard'. Both these incomplete forms are 'sentence-medial' (SM); type I involves the same actor for both actions; type II involves a change of actor.

2.05.4. In the following sections, sentence-final forms will be treated first, sentence-medial forms later.

2.05.5. The next subdivision to be made is that of Independent and Dependent. This concerns both SM and SF forms; of course the sentence-medial are naturally dependent, though not in the same sense as that under discussion at the present moment. As the name indicates, Independent forms can stand alone, and form the main verb of the statement. Dependent forms, however, must always be coupled with another verb, though they either precede or follow that verb as the sense requires. In the sentence

Awamane kakoa esitera piaro torari, edo ainda do da piaro
durarate (Lk.5:18)

*They looked for (a way) to make (him) enter, and to put him to lie
down before him*

the SF verb is kakoa esitera 'they looked for', 'tried to find'; piaro is more like 'that they might put', and torari is the substantive form 'to enter'; both together mean 'cause him to enter', 'bring him in'; durarate 'that he might lie down'. Both torari and durarate, although morphologically different, are dependent on piaro, and that in turn on kakoa esitera. So the Binandere rule that an utterance can have only one sentence-final form (unless this is circumvented by a use of 'edo') is obeyed. There are many other usages in which these dependent forms occur, but the use with piari 'give', 'put', 'cause to' is a very common example and entirely typical.

2.05.6. Person is marked by a set of suffixes used with very little variation in all forms of the sentence-final verb (of both types), and in SM II forms with change of final vowel. As this change of final vowel is a common phenomenon in Binandere, it is convenient to use a sort of shorthand expression by which to indicate a variable vowel of this nature, and here an asterisk after the consonant is used, so that, e.g. r* will mean that 'forms -ra, -re, ri- and -ro are used'. A final -u occurs only in one instance and is not transmutable, but the other four vowels occur generally in such sequences. The person endings of the verb are therefore to be tabulated as follows:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. incl.	---	-n*
1. excl.	-n*	-r*
2.	-t* ~ -si	-w* ~ -vi
3.	-r*, -n*	-r*

The third person singular is usually -r*, but becomes -n* in Dependent forms and certain of the Independent forms, e.g. Future tense.*

2.05.7. The vowels added to these personal suffixes are:

- a Statements, sentence-final Independent.
- e Statements, SF, Dependent.
- i Interrogative, all forms, and some SM.
- o Sentence final, dependent.

EXAMPLES:

- a: e-n-a 'I do'; e-site-n-a 'I did' (definite past); a-n-a 'I shall do'
- e: a-n-e 'let me do', 'I may do'; a-r-a-te 'let him do'
- i: t-ete-n-i 'did I say?'; t-e-o-si 'do you (habitually) say?'
- o: t-a-n-o gata 'when I speak you will hear'. In certain persons -i is used in these SM forms instead of -.

* The author long hesitated whether to include a Realis-Irrealis distinction in Binandere, on the ground of this particular type of variation, but decided that the distinction Independent-Dependent was more productive.

2.06. Vowels Added to Stems

2.06.1. In 2.01.2. it was shown that the stem of a Binandere verb is obtained by removing the *-ari* which marks the substantival form. This stem, however, is not yet ready for use with person endings. It needs a linking vowel of some kind to connect it with those endings. This vowel varies, as does the final vowel added after the person sign. The vowels that are used as connecting links between the stem and the person endings vary somewhat with the tenses and other forms, but the following table summarises the uses:

- i. -e- ~ -i- SF forms, non-future.
- ii. -a- Future, and certain past forms.
- iii. -a- ~ -o- Dependent forms.
- iv. -o- Habitual forms, Dependent or Independent.

EXAMPLES:

- i. -e- ~ -i-: *t-ari 'say' > t-e-na 'I say'; s-i-si-na 'I said (some time back)'. The -i- form marks certain of the past tenses.*
- ii. -a-: *t-ari 'say' > t-a-n-a 'I shall say'; kumb-ari 'bring' > kup-an-a 'brought (yesterday)'.*
- iii. -a- ~ -o-: *t-ari 'say' > t-a-n-e 'let me say'; ari 'do' > ore 'let him do'.*
- iv. -o- Usually in combination with *-e-*: *t-ari 'say' > t-e-o-n-a 'I usually say'; t-e-o-si 'do you usually say?'; it-ari 'remain' > it-o-ta 'you shall remain (always)'.*

Nothing has been said in this concerning Imperatives, which have forms peculiar to themselves. The same remark applies also to the Negative Aspect.

2.07. Verbal Compounds

2.07.1. Verbal expressions in Binandere may be either simple or compound. A simple verb consists of only one form, e.g. *gupatana 'I came (yesterday)*; compound verbs consist of two expressions or even three. Of these compound verbs there are two sorts. One is semantic in the sense that each verb carries its full force and the two may be separated, e.g. *kundo gumbari 'bring', lit. 'having-taken come'*. Each verb can be used independently of the other. In the other type of compound, each verb may indeed appear independently, but the two are used together to

express a modification of the action expressed by the first one, as regards its kind or duration. In this sense it is justifiable to speak of auxiliary verbs. The commonest of these auxiliaries is *ari* 'to do', but there are others, such as *jirari* 'continue', *itari* 'remain'. Thus:

isima ari 'dwell permanently in a place'
adu ari 'be afraid', lit. 'do a fearing'
adu ari jirari 'be in a state of fear'
anumbari 'sit down' > *anumbedo itari* 'remain seated'

It will be noticed that *ari* and *jirari* can be combined, as in the second example. Compare also: *Frank pepeta eiri jirira* 'Frank is lost (in the bush)'. At the same time these verbs here used as auxiliaries can be independent: *mũia jirira* 'how dark it is', implying that it remains so for an appreciable space of time; *iji dudumo eiri* 'what a cool day it is'.

2.07.2. The uses of these auxiliaries varies from the viewpoint of syntax. *jirari* requires normally a SM II type verb in front of it: *adu eno jirira* 'I am in a state of fear'; *adu eto jirira* 'you are in a state of fear'; *adu eiri jirira* 'he or she is in a state of fear'. *jirira* is the 3rd person singular Present, used impersonally, 'I being fearful it remains'. Other tenses are then shown by a change of both verbs:

Past III *adu eno jijirisina*
 Future *adu eiano jinaina*
 Habitual *adu eimono jijirevira*

2.07.3. A further possible combination is with SM I Present + SM II Present + *jirira*: *bundari* 'bind' > *bundeite eno jirira* 'I am in process of binding'; or SM I Past + SM II Present + *jirira*, as *indari* 'eat' > *injido eno jirira* 'having eaten when-I-do it remains', i.e. 'I am in a state of having finished eating', 'my meal is over'. So with *anumbari* 'sit': *anumbedo eno jirira* 'I am remaining seated'; Past tense, *anumbedo iteno jijirisina*. A further example given by Copland King is: *mai eiwa bouwa abu da isiri jirira* 'this boy dwells (habitually) in the cave'. The simple present tense of *jirari*, functioning independently, is seen, e.g. in *manguro boroko jira* 'the door is now shut'.

2.07.4. Another verb used both independently and as auxiliary is *awari* 'lie down', as in *jatao awari* 'to lie asleep'. The conjugation of this verb is complicated by the number of morphophonemic modifications that enter into it.

2.08. Supplementary Notes: The Verbal Stems

2.08.1. Difficulty arises in the conjugation of the Binandere verb because more than one stem is found - different forms and tenses are derived from different stems. It is not easy to work out a consistent series of stems, but the following suggestions are made tentatively.

Type I: One stem only. This is found with verbs whose stem ends in a vowel: pi-ari 'give'.

Type II: Two stems.

(a) t-ari 'say': te- ~ si-. Here the change is purely morphophonemic, and might be classed as a sub-group of I.

(b) aw-ari 'lie down': aw ~ au. Again morphophonemically determined, but the aw- can undergo similar changes.

(c) bamb-ari 'go': bamb- ~ baunt-. The changes are in part morphological.

Type III: Three stems.

(a) gumb-ari 'come': gumb- ~ gup- ~ gun-. These are partly morphophonemic, partly morphological.

(b) g-ari 'perceive': ge- ~ gi- ~ go-.

2.08.2. The next problem that arises is that of the distribution of tenses among the various stems. It does not arise, of course, with verbs of Type I, but only with the other two types. In Type II(a), the change of stem arises only when t- is followed immediately by -i-, when it naturally becomes s-. Otherwise there is no problem.

Type II(b). In the example above stem (i) is aw-/am-/av- according to its environment, by the rules already given. Stem (ii) au- is used when a consonant immediately follows, and so is found, e.g. SM I Past, au-de; Past II, au-tana, etc. Hence under aw- stem fall: Present, Past I, Future, Past IV, Habitual, SM I Present, Prohibitive, SM II forms. The remainder under stem (ii).

Type II(c) has similarly two stems, which are in part morphophonemically governed, so that bamb- becomes bam- when a nasal is present in the suffix, as in bam-ana 'I shall go', bam-ena 'I went' (Past IV). If a consonant follows the stem immediately, baunt- is used, becoming bauns- before -i-; before the -do of SM I past the -t is eliminated, giving baun-do. Hence under stem I fall the Present, Future, Imperative, Past I(?), SM I Future, SM II(?), SM IV, and the Habitual forms.

Type III(a) involves three stems. In gumb-, the alternate gum- is used when the suffix contains a nasal; and gumb- ~ gum- in the tenses where -e- or -a- is found as a linking vowel (and of course -o- of

Habitual), i.e. Present, Past I, Future, SM I Future, SM II, Habitual; *gup-* is used where a linking vowel *-u-* is found, and so in Past II, Past III, SM I continuous (and also SM I Present, *gupeite* 'coming', as well as *gupumene*). The form *gun-* is used where there is no linking vowel at all, and so in SM I Past, *gun-do*. This form is, however, unreliable. This *bund-ari* 'bind', gives *bud-* (~ *buj-* before *-i-*), as in *bujitena*, Past III, 'I bound', but quite unexpectedly gives SM I Past *bundedo* 'having bound'. See note below on SM I Past formation.

Type III(b) has been found so far only with *g-ari* 'perceive', although one or two other verbs do show *-o-* where it is not normally found. *g-ari* gives the following arrangement:

<i>ge-/ga-</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>go-</i>
Present	SM I Past	SM I Present
Future	Imperative (b)	Past III
SM I Future		Habitual
Imperative (a)		Dependent
Past I		Past II
		Past IV (?)

2.09. Note on SM I (Past) Formation

2.09.1. The ending here is *-do*. A few verbs use *-ma* in place of it, but the reason for this is still unknown. The following rules relate to the vowel preceding *-do*.

i. No vowel at all, in stems whose root ends in a nasal combination or *-w*:

<i>gumbari</i>	<i>gundo</i>
<i>bambari</i>	<i>baundo</i>
<i>awari</i>	<i>audio</i>

If, however, the root contains two or more syllables, this abbreviation does not take place, and the normal vowel *-e-* is inserted:

<i>kotembari</i>	<i>kaotembedo</i>
<i>anumbari</i>	<i>anumbedo</i>

Also, *bunad-ari* > *bund-edo*, unexpectedly.

ii. The normal linking vowel is *-e-*, i.e. the form belongs to stem I in multiple stems, unless otherwise determined:

<i>ari</i>	>	<i>edo</i>	<i>ajijig ari</i>	>	<i>ajijigedo</i>
<i>tari</i>	>	<i>tedo</i>	<i>wareregari</i>	>	<i>wareregedo</i>
<i>watari</i>	>	<i>wotedo</i>	<i>bawari</i>	>	<i>bavedo</i>

iii. If the stem vowel is *-i-* or *-u-*, the same vowel is used as a

linking vowel by a rule of vowel harmony:

sir-ari > sirido

ind-ari > injido

ing-ari > ingido

dur-ari > durudo

There are a few exceptions to this rule, e.g. there is no apparent reason for g-ari > gido; and do-ari gives dodo as well as doedo.

2.10. Moods and Tenses

2.10.1. The Negative Aspect possess only Indicative and Imperative Moods. The Positive Aspect contains Indicative and Hortative Moods, and the Imperative forms are to be regarded only as a subdivision of the latter. The Past tense distinguishes various degrees of time, which will here be marked as Past I up to Past IV.

2.10.2. An important distinction was made by the Reverend Copland King in notes on which S.H. Ray based his grammar sketch in volume III of the *Reports of the Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, where on page 370 he states: "There are two forms which Mr. King distinguishes as 'present state' and 'present action'. For the first -e-, and for the second -ete- is inserted before the person endings. These become -esi- in the 3rd person singular and -i- in the 3rd plural." In the later grammar (1927), Mr King gives these and similar forms for other tenses than the Present, but without mention of any distinction between them. While the matter requires further investigation, it will be here taken that the original distinction was correct, and "stative" and "active" forms will be distinguished where necessary.

2.10.3. The primary Indicative tenses in Binandere are Present, Past and Future, but the Past is subdivided as stated. The resultant forms are best referred to by number, and the scheme of tenses in the Indicative of the SF is therefore:

Present: t-e-na 'I say' (Stat.); t-ete-na (Act.)

Past I: Immediate Past, referring to action earlier in the day: t-ete-na 'I said' (as this morning). It does not seem to be possible to distinguish between this and the Present Active except by context.

Past II: A "yesterday" Past: anub-ata-na 'I sat' (Act.); is-ita-na 'I stayed'. A stative -ana form is also found.

Past III: A definite Past, of any period longer ago than yesterday: baunsisina 'I went'; siutana 'I said'.

Past IV: A far Past tense, used in historic narratives. It is remarkable in that this is the only tense in the language that does not use all the set of person endings found in other tenses; in the 1st singular and 1st plural inclusive it has -ema, and in the 1st singular variants -etema, -eima, -uma.

Future: t-ana '*I shall say*'. Confusion between this and Past II is avoided by using different stems in each, e.g. guputana '*I came*', but gumaina '*I shall come*'. In some instances also 3rd singular Past II has -utara: guptara '*he came*', gumaina '*he will come*'.

2.10.4. These are the tenses of the Indicative Mood, Independent SF. The other Moods usually carry as far as sense permits the division into Past, Present and Future, but the Past is not usually subdivided. Interrogative forms can be manufactured by the normal change of final -a to -i.

2.10.5. If the rules given in 2.05.6., 2.05.7. and 2.06. are applied, the forms of the verb *ari* '*do*' result as follows in the various Indicative tenses:

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
Present Stative:	1. incl.	--	ena
	1. excl.	ena	era
	2.	eira	era
Present Active:	1. incl.	--	etena
	1. excl.	etena	etera
	2.	eteta	etewa
	3.	esira	etera
Past I: same as Present Active.			
Past II Stative:	1. incl.	--	ana
	1. excl.	ana	ara
	2.	ata	awa
	3.	evira	ara
Past II Active:	1. incl.	--	atana
	1. excl.	atana	atara
	2.	atata	atawa
	3.	etevira	atara

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
Past III:	1. incl.	--	esitena
	1. excl.	esitena	esitera
	2.	esiteta	esitewa
	3.	esisira	esitera
Past IV:	1. incl.	--	ema
	1. excl.	ema (etema)	era
	2.	ata	awa
	3.	ena	ewa
Future:	1. incl.	--	ana
	1. excl.	ana	ara
	2.	ata	awa
	3.	aina	ara

2.10.6. There is no call for detailed examples of the uses of these tense forms. They illustrated in all the examples given throughout this grammatical sketch. Some comment is needed, however, to make clear which of different possible forms are used. In general, the stem used as a base to which these suffixes are added is determined by the morphophonemic laws already given. The Past III forms present the most variety, and reduplication is very common in these (see 2.03.1. and 2.03.2.). The forms of Past II are in general covered by 2.02.2.iii. Where there is likely to be conflict, the Future takes the simple root, the Past II the inflected root.

2.10.7. Past II Formation

Past II forms present a number of apparent irregularities in stem, and the available material does not permit them to be entirely cleared up. The suggestions that can be made at this stage are the following:

i. Simple vowel bases add the endings: pi-ari > pitena '*I gave*'. In the case of the root ari > -i-utana. With this siutana '*I said*', from t-ari, agrees, but there is also an example sitana, for which see ii.

ii. Single consonant bases add the endings, mediated by a vowel, which is determined by the position of the consonant in the mouth; a front consonant takes -i-, a back consonant -o-:

t-ari > si-tana '*I said*'

g-ari > g-o-tana '*I perceived*'

iii. Monosyllabic bases vary according as to whether their final consonant is mutable or not. A nasal combination is simplified, as in 2.02.,

and the linking vowel harmonises with that of the base as in:

kumb-ari > kup-u-tana 'I brought'

gumb-ari > gup-u-tana 'I came'

If the preceding vowel is an -a-, the consonant vanishes and a nasalised diphthong results:

bamb-ari > baũ-tana 'I went'

iv. A disyllabic base does not resolve a nasal combination, if the examples are correct: anumb-ari > anbutana 'I sat down'. A final -w in any case behaves like a final -mb, as in

daw-ari > dau-tana 'I crossed',

but without nasalisation. However, aw-ari > avetana 'I lay down' requires explanation.

2.10.8. Past III Formation

This is the tense in which reduplication occurs, as outlined in 2.03.2. It is to be noted that such reduplication seems to be limited to monosyllabic stems, whether a vowel or consonant is final. See the examples given in 2.03.2. In some cases both reduplicated and simple forms are found, e.g. pi-ari > pipitena, pitena 'I gave'. Of the non-reduplicated forms the following are to be noted:

ari > esitena 'I did'

t-ari > sitena 'I said'

g-ari > g-o-sitena 'I perceived'

These answer the pattern found in Past II. Much the same applies to other non-reduplicating verbs, generally with the stem modifications found in Past II. EXAMPLES:

aw-ari > au-tena 'I lay down'

bamb-ari > baũs-itena 'I went'

But er-ari > erori-tena 'I stood up' supplies a somewhat irregular type of reduplication.

2.10.81. The common element in all cases is the -tena suffix. Copland King gives as marks of Past III the following five endings:

-esitena -sitena -itena -jitená -tena

Some of these are obviously part of the stems of the verbs from which he has abstracted them, e.g. -jitená where -j- is the modification of -d- (in terms of 2.03.1.), as in indari > injitená 'I ate'. The data seem to point to the following tentative analysis:

i. -i- is the normal vowel unless otherwise conditioned.

ii. -e- is found where the verb is to be regarded as a compound of ari, actually or analogically, for ari > esitena. Some of the analogies may be false, but of course they are still quite real.

iii. -u- is found by vowel harmony when the vowel of the root is -u-: gupu-, kupu-, etc.

iv. -o- is found in g-ari, as usual.

v. In a nasal combination or a final -w the procedure is as in Past II, but there are some unexplained exceptions to the rule. In the case of bad-ari > baboj-itena '*I grew up*', there is irregular reduplication. In bamb-ari > baũs-itena the theoretical intermediate form is undoubtedly *baund-itnea, for the SF I form is baundo.

2.11. Interrogative Forms

2.11.1. In 2.05.7. it was shown that interrogative forms can be made by changing final -a to -i, obeying the morphophonemic rules that -ta > -si and -wa > -vi. These forms can be made to cover all the tenses of the Indicative. There are a few irregularities which are found in the Interrogative, e.g. Present Active 3rd sing., theoretically *-etiri becomes actually not only -esiri but sometimes -iri.

2.11.2. Besides indicating question, e.g. gani '*shall I see?*', the Interrogative is sometimes used also in a dubitative sense: Copland King gives as examples viteni '*I should come up*'; waoteni '*I should go down*'; gumeni '*I should come*' and pieni '*I should give*'. The suffix -ko to be dealt with in 2.11.3. seems to imply this meaning of the -i forms as its base.

2.11.3. Here again there is one exceptional form, viz., Far Past (Past IV) 3rd sing. ends in -u: enu? '*did he do?*': God ro enu? '*what did God do?*'; sakaramenta nandogo Ekalesia da Keriso mi tenu? '*how many sacraments did Christ ordain i*'.

2.11.4. The Interrogative form is used to ask questions, and may be followed by the interrogative particle ta. If there is no verb, ta is obligatory, otherwise it is optional and not widely used. EXAMPLES: God tamonde ta? '*are there three Gods?*'; God imo goteviri ta? '*can God (habitually) see you?*'; but gesi? '*do you see?*'. The Interrogative forms are used even if there is already a naturally interrogative word in the sentence: imo awa inda ango gasi? '*from where will you see him?*'.

2.11.5. Suffixing -ko to Present Interrogative

The suffix -ko can be added to the Present Interrogative. In this

case the 3rd singular -eiri becomes -ei, giving -eiko. This combined form then expresses a negative desire or order: u goroba indeiko 'he is not to drink strong drink'; ro rorae beiae na mi eriko, edo ro adu ari da tumberiko 'evil things let us not do, and into dangers let me not run'. The utterance may be strengthened by means of nongaĩ 'by no means': nongaĩ tesiko 'you must certainly not say'; nongaĩ peroveta ainda nasi da mai mi kumberiko 'a prophet in his own country people will certainly not accept'.

2.11.51. From this dehortative and denying function the -ko passes over into the meaning 'lest': Lk.5:36, no one sews new cloth on to old, teka nongaĩ matu de dada eriko, 'lest the new tear away the old', or pours new wine into old skins, waina teka ainta matu da vereugeiko, 'lest he pour out the new wine from the old skin'.

2.12. Dependent Form

2.12.1. The Dependent form substitutes -e for -a of the Independent personal endings. Like the former, it has Active and Stative forms, but makes no distinction of tense. The endings therefore are:

		I	II
Singular	1.	-ane	-anate
	2.	-ate	-atate
	3.	-are	-arate
Plural	1. incl.	-ane	-anate
	1. excl.	-ore	-orote
	2.	-ave	-awate
	3.	-ore	-orote

With the exception of the 1st plural excl., these are modifications of the Future tense endings, i.e. they represent really a Dependent Future. The second series looks like the Plain Future endings with te, the stem of t-ari 'say', i.e. 'I will do it, say', 'let me do it'. Analogous construction is to be found in other areas, including North West Australia. These forms are used only in the Positive; in the Negative a substitute construction has to be found.

2.12.2. There is also a Future Dependent formed occasionally by the addition of -r* (2.19.1.) to the Past III forms, e.g. gositenane 'let us see' (Lk.2:15), and a Habitual form in which -o- replaces -a- in the first syllable of the suffix. Two examples of this occur in the Benedictus: peroveta tedo ore 'you shall be a prophet' (full time occupation) (Lk.1:76) and in v. 77, edo ainda embo torari ewasi gore 'and men

salvation do (and) they shall see it (permanently)'.

2.12.3. The uses of the Dependent are:

(a) Hortative, expressive of a determined purpose as yet unfulfilled: amo Bada da jisi da badare '*he shall go before the face of the Lord*' (Lk.1:15), kaë bamane '*let's go*' (Lk.2:15); mande wotanate '*will you come in the canoe?*'; singa ito de te bambare, Bada '*Lord, now you may let your servant depart*' (Lk.2:39), lit. '*speak and he shall go*'; nanga aundo nenei gane '*let's go and look for more*'.

(b) Expression of consequence, as the second element of two verbs, immediately following each other, and both SF (a combination that cannot otherwise occur): tesiri gorote '*when he spoke that they might hear*'. See several examples in Lk.4:18-19, e.g. tano gorote '*that when I speak they may hear*'. The use of tari followed by some form of gari is the regular Binandere idiom for '*tell*'.

(c) Sometimes for the Imperative. Copland King's example is niao atate '*make a fire*'. This seems to be chiefly northern.

2.13. Suffixes to the Dependent

2.13.1. There are two suffixes commonly added to the Dependent form of the verb, viz., -tae and -kae. The second is the Negative of the first, the first expressing a wish or purpose, the second negating it, and providing the only available form of Negative Dependent.

i. -tae: The ending -tae is added to the Dependent form to express a wish or purpose, e.g. na bamanetae '*I wish or intend to go*'; nakare kumbo-retaе '*we are to take it*'; wasiri matawa itari kumboretae '*they will have eternal life*' (Jhn.3:16); na tanatae etena '*I intend to speak*'. This last is perhaps a little stronger than na tai etena. The use of the ending is optional, however, and it is sometimes dispersed with without any change of sense: te ni nenei kundo purare '*tell him to bring some more firewood*'. There are, however, other ways of expressing this idea of an indirect command, e.g. ko butu ami keviegate tedo '*but the world you-shall save having-said, i.e. (God) sent him to save the world*' (Jhn.3:17). The thought then passes on to the idea of a condition, '*if*': embo ge taretae... '*if a man speaks...*' (1 Pet.4:11).

ii. -kae: This is the Negative of -tae, added to a Dependent form to express an indirect order, '*is not to...*', etc.: tema, dago turari nato de tororekae '*I said they should not enter into my rest*' (Ps.95:11); tewasi tumorekae '*tell them not to run*'; pleurikaе sisina '*he said he was not to give*' (Lk.7:43). In the second example -kae is the only available means of expressing a Negative, for tewasi tumbore would be '*tell*

them to run'. Other ways of expressing the Negative Intention are available also, e.g. a Negative Imperative may be used: tewavi ruvegeove 'tell them don't forget', i.e. 'tell them not to forget'. Sometimes the -kae is omitted, with resulting ambiguity that can be solved only by a knowledge of the universe of discourse at the moment: tewavi tumbore may be 'tell them to run' or 'tell them not to run'; to be safe tumbore-kae should be used in the latter.

2.14. Habitual Forms of the Verb

2.14.1. Habit is indicated chiefly by the insertion of the vowel -o- before the personal suffix, and although there is not the elaboration of Past tenses, yet certain forms occur which look like a Past tense, not mentioned in Copland King's Grammar but documented in the translation of St. Luke. The Stative and Active forms are distinguished:

		STATIVE	ACTIVE
Singular	1.	-ona	-etona
	2.	-ota	-etota
	3.	-evira	-evetira
Plural	1. incl.	-ona	-etona
	1. excl.	-ora	-etora
	2.	-owa	-etowa
	3.	-ora	-etora

2.14.2. These endings are added to the stem of the verb as found by omitting -ari; in the case of ari itself the stem is e-. EXAMPLES: begata nato gae eora 'they do not know my ways' (Ps.95:10); imo matawa itota 'you shall live for ever' (Ps.102:26); ami mi utu da ango wowete-vira 'he (permanently) dwells in heaven' (Jhn.3:14); embomai berari mi beiae eora, awa parara dumo eora 'everyone who does evil hates the light' (Jhn.3:20); God da be da anumbedo itota 'thou remainest seated at the right hand of God'. Examples will be found in the *Catechism* and the *Preparation for Communion*. Interrogative forms can be made by the usual change of final -a to -i: teosi? 'do you (usually) say?'.

2.14.3. Although no mention of a Past tense is made in the Grammar, several examples in Lk.2 suggest such a form. These are: V.36. isinesina 'she used to live'; 37. kera enesina 'she used to serve', tumondebai enesina 'she used to worship'. These show a 3rd singular ending -nesina based on e- < ari, and in the case of it-ari, a linking vowel -i- harmonising with the root vowel, and modification of the -t- before the -i- as usually takes place. The full forms of this tense and its exact signification need to be examined.

2.15. Sentence Medial Forms

2.15.1. General notes on the uses and meanings of these forms were given in 2.05.1.-4. As the name indicates, they can never be final or complete in themselves, but always require another verb to follow and complete the sense. In English two main verbs or a subordinate clause would be required, as shown in the preliminary illustrations.

2.15.2. There are two main sentence medial types, to be indicated by the abbreviations SM.I and SM.II. SM.I implies that the same actor is the subject both of the medial and of the final verb: *baundo sino nato kumbate 'go and fetch my dog', lit. 'you having gone fetch my dog'*. There is no need to indicate person and number under such circumstances; the second verb will make these clear. Consequently only tense needs to be shown, and not all subdivisions are necessary here. The list as given by Kopland King needs to be supplemented by the addition of a Near Past (Past II) which is documented once in the translations. The list is:

Present	-te
Near Past	-site
General Past	-do ~ -ma
Future	-a [~]
Continuative	-mene

These forms may be derived from existing Binandere verbs, of which each is a root or stem. Thus:

-te ~ -ite	itari	'staying', 'in process'
-do	do ari	'finish', 'ceasing'
-a [~]	aimbari	'going to'
-si-te	cf. e-si-te-na	'I did'

The form *isiunte* is also found, e.g. *mai buo buro da isiunte 'the elder son being in the garden'* (Lk.15:25). Its exact force has yet to be established. The form in *-ma* can be explained through *Tsia* (Waria R.) which has a root *m-ari* 'take', but there is no literal equivalent in Binandere.

2.15.3. Examples of the Uses of the SM.I Forms

1. *Present*: *na sino goteite adu etena 'while looking at the dog I was afraid'*; *bada isite 'as the Lord liveth'*; *imo Bada da gisi da baunteite ainda begata sirige 'going before the Lord you shall prepare His ways'* (Lk.1:76). The ending is added to the same part of the verb as the *-do* ending (q.v.).

ii. *Near Past*. Only one instance occurs in the Gospel: kotembesite sitera '*understanding they said*' (Lk.1:76). This seems to imply that the understanding immediately preceded the speaking.

iii. *General Past*: na sino gotedo adu etena '*when I saw the dog I was afraid*'. If this example is compared with the first in (i) above, it will be seen that the time of the first verb is relative to that of the second. The first is not an Absolute Present nor is this an Absolute Past. The latter is expressed rather by (ii) if needed. No clarity has yet been reached concerning the -ma ending. King suggests that it is limited to certain verbs which do not have a -do ending. These have never been listed, but include pu-ma '*having come*', mambusi-ma '*having gone*', asi-ma '*having dwelt*'. The ending -do is added according to the rules given for the formation of Past II and Past III. F.R. Elder once hazarded the opinion that the form in -ma carried an idea of permanence, as, e.g. in the Lord's Prayer, isima eta '*thou art*' and mentions also nyima < yari '*go*' (a quite irregular form) and sauma < sawari '*go south*'.

iv. *Future*. The usage here is rather different. If two actions are both to happen in Future time, one being Past relatively to the other, the Past SM form is employed, viz., -do, and only the second verb is made Future, e.g. sini ito de watou jirido, jianda kumbuio '*you shall conceive and bring forth a child*'. The chief uses of the Future SM form are:

(a) to build compound tenses expressing intention of immediate action, by combining the SM form with some SF forms of ari: aĩ etena '*I am going to do*'; tumondebaĩ orote '*they are to bow their heads*'.

(b) to express purpose: wo gumaĩ petegetno guputeta '*when I had finished fishing you came*'; edo Zacharias taĩ '*intending to call him Zacharias*' (Lk.1:59), engo de embo toregaiĩ katata '*then you decided to save men*' (Te Deum); kaviegaĩ tedo '*having said he would save, i.e. intending to save*' (Is.63:2).

(c) with ae '*not*', to express a negative order: adu aĩ ae '*don't be afraid*'.

v. *Continuative*. This is the SM form answering to the SF Habitual forms, and is used when the activity concerned is either habitual or at least continues for an appreciable time: tepumene baunsisina '*he went walking*'. This also is formed from the Past stem of the verb. Another example is Lk.10:38, pepeta emene baundo '*having gone walking*'.

2.15.4. There is a tendency, more marked in Notu and Orokaiva, to avoid sentence medial forms by the use of edo < ari '*(which) having done*' > '*after*', '*then*', '*and*': benunun ito goteira, edo aro ito ito yai jianda

kumbari, edo dawore John teio *'they have heard your prayer, and your wife shall bear a child and they shall call his name John'* (Lk.1:13). It is difficult to say whether this is really a legitimate usage or not. The idea seems to be to avoid a sequence of SM forms; or two are acceptable, but more than that create difficulty in the speaker's mind in completing the statement.

2.15.5. For the vowel preceding the -do of the SM.I Past, see page 14.

2.16. The Comparative Suffix - Arago

2.16.1. This is a SM.I form, invariable for person and independent of tense. It is used whenever a comparison is stated or implied; angó 'as', or be...inge 'as' are sometimes, but not necessarily, coupled with it. EXAMPLES:

angó nakare embo nenei da buria natokare yai kotembarago dotera
lit. *'as we cease, when we have forgiven other people ill deed to us'*.

Copland King: na bero arago, ro arago, awa tedo na gari jiwae *'I am clever ('perceiving much') after (lit. this having said) work as-I-have-done, something as-I-have-done, something else as-I-have-done.*

kotembesira awaro garago esisina *'they understood that he had seen something'* (Lk.1:22); jitao audo be betarago *'having lain down he was like to die, at the point of death'*; Asisi Kotopu tano be do be gumbarami, wotarago esisina *'the Holy Spirit came down like a dove'* (Lk.3:22).

amo be embomi arago *'he is like a man who...'* (6:49); edo piarago sima borere eu *'as-having-given remaining slowly do', i.e. 'lend and be patient'*. Here piarago implies not *'giving'* but acting as though giving, i.e. lending. Similarly 4:13, satan... bambarago esisina *'did as-though-departing', i.e. 'departed for a time only'*.

2.17. Compound Tenses Formed by means of SM.I

2.17.1. The -do ending may be used followed by an auxiliary verb to form compound tenses in a variety of ways. The auxiliaries most commonly found are ari, tari, itari. EXAMPLES:

anumbedo itero *'as they were seated'* (Lk.5:17); injido orote *'that they should (habitually) eat'* (6:4); atopasido eiri *'while he was teaching'* (5:17); petedo isira *'he as standing'*; atopasido evira *'he used to teach'* (4:32); ipa berari jido esiri kaviegesitera *'when he touched them they were healed'* (4:40).

With gari 'perceive', the meaning is rather 'to find that one has such and such': injido gae 'without eating' (4:1), cf. kumbae gena 'I find I haven't got...' (5:1); embo petedo isiunte gido 'seeing the people had arisen', lit. 'having-stood being'. In the first instance the idea is rather, 'having eaten (I etc.) do not perceive'.

If the SM form ends in -ma the construction can still be used: isima ena 'I habitually stay' (1:19); isima eta 'you continually live'. There is a use of forms in -ngo which is similar: puio, edo pumango eira 'come... and he comes' (Lk.7:8), but the root meaning of this -ngo is unknown as yet.

2.18. Sentence-Medial II Forms

2.18.1. Sentence medial form II is used when there is a change of actor between the two verbs, e.g. 'when the dog saw me I was frightened'. Here the actor is 'dog' in the first phrase and 'I' in the second. In these sentences the person and number must be expressed in the first verb as well as in the second, otherwise it would not be clear who the first actor was. Consequently Type II presents person and number endings similar to those of SF forms, but ending in -o instead of -a. The following forms occur:

		PRESENT	GEN. PAST	FUTURE	HABIT
Singular	1.	-eno	-teno	-ano	-imono
	2.	-eto	-teto	-ato	-iwoto
	3.	-eiri,ero	-siri	-eirari	-euri
Plural	1. incl.	-eno	-teno	-eiano	-eimono
	1. excl.	-ero	-tero	-eiaro	-eioro
	2.	-ewo	-tewo	-eiawo	-eiowo
	3.	-ero	-tero	-eiaro	-eioro

A few samples will show the uses of these forms, which cannot usually be translated by participles in English, but require various conjugations to render them according to circumstances.

teno gotewa 'when I speak you hear'; tato gana 'speak and I shall hear'; na teteno geta 'when I spoke you heard'; na tano gido gata 'when I speak you will hear'; buro doteno gido guputeta 'when I had stopped work you came'; sina no gosiri gido adu eteno 'when the dog saw me I was afraid'; ...ae asisi bebegae esiri kaviegesitera '...he healed many of evil spirits (Lk.7:23); God dasiga esitera jiawe teuri gotora awa 'they praised God for all that he had said and they had heard' (Lk.2:20); utu jienda 3 kariga 6 euri takimbetevira 'the heavens were closed while-it-made ('during') 3 years and 6 months' (Lk.4:25); edo tepo ategeteiano

gido ewasi '*and having seen that we humbly pray, do...*' (Pr.p.196); imo kotembeteiario puwasi kataĩ tedo '*we believe you will come to judge*' (Te Deum 19).

2.19. The Suffix -r* ~ -n*

2.19.1. This suffix occurs in the forms -ra, -re, -ri and -ro, changing the consonant to -n- after a nasal in the verbal stem. It is essentially the mark of emphasis, but there is considerable variation in its actual uses. Form and use are best treated separately.

Form. By form the suffix becomes:

- ra with SF Independent
- re with SF Dependent
- ri with SF Interrogative
- ro with all SM forms

Tense does not enter into consideration, but if the suffix is added to a verb, it is added to the full form, in which tense, etc. already appear; if it is added to a non-verb, tense is not required to be shown. The above four forms, therefore, with the vowel endings already familiar, are all that are found.

2.19.2. Morphophonemic modification: if the -r- is preceded by a nasal in the word to which it is attached, it becomes -n-, e.g. gumenane '*I have come*' (*emphatic*) for *gumena-re; dodomo naka ito jisi da piano bambarate enane '*when I sent my messenger before your face, he did it*' (*emphatic*), for *ena-re; vereugainane '*it will* (*certainly*) *be spilled*' for *vereugaina-re (Lk.5:37); ikaitomane '*it is yours*' (Lk.6:21) for *ikaitoma-re; in Lk.6:45 there is a clear contrast between beimana-ne '*it is good*' and beiae-re '*it is bad*': the nasal in the first word causes the change of -r- to -n-.

2.19.3. Uses of the Suffix

- i. -ra frequently places the word to which it is added in the Predicate of the sentence, e.g. awa-ra '*that is it*', commonly used for '*yes*'; dubo bari-ra '*it is love*' (Hymn 48).
- ii. -re used with Dependents is emphatic: dawore John teio '*his name you shall call John*' (Lk.1:13); tena ge-re tepo teio '*but speak JUST the word*' (Lk.7:7); ami sunagogo kaenato-re esisina '*he built a synagogue for us* (*actually for us!*)' (Lk.7:5). Added to -ra, as -rare, it forms a supposition: emo peroveta rare '*if he were a prophet*' (7:39); or it

makes an explanation: *amo bapataito ae rare 'in that they were not baptised'*; or a purpose: *amone iwata ominde rare 'so that it might be a sign to them'* (5:14). *wasiri de siwo embo-re jipapa ae 'it is not for the healthy that I want ointment'*, *ko kambo egeregari-re 'but it is for those that are sick'* (5:31).

- iii. -ri marks a question, *'is it?'*: *ave-ri 'who is it?'*; *dawo ito averi? 'who is your name?'*; *ategari itomane nongo ari-ri? 'what is your greeting about?'* (Lk.6:32); *ge ango, sabate da beimana ari-ri ta beiae ari-ri? 'is it lawful to do good or to do evil on the Sabbath?'* (6:9); *awamane be ro ingeri? 'what are they like?'* (7:31). It should be noted that the suffix is used in Binandere even if the utterance begins with a question word.
- iv. -ro used where SM forms are required: *na beiamana ra-ro eno nato du da puresi 'if I were good I should cause that you enter my house'* (Lk.7:6); *edo ro tuvedo ra-ro piaro torekare 'and when they found nothing by which to bring him in'* (Lk.5:19).

2.20. The Substantive Form

2.20.1. The Substantive form of the verb ends in -ari. It is not quite correct to call it an Infinitive; it does not perform the functions of a European Infinitive. It is far closer to the category of Substantives in European grammar. As the category of Substantives is divisible into two sections, Noun and Adjective, so are the Binandere forms in -ari. Each is illustrated below.

1. -ari form functioning as a Noun: *tamo erari 'the resurrection of the body'*; *kaviegari 'salvation'* (Lk.19:9); *matawa itari 'eternal life'* (Jhn.3:16, etc.); *sinopu da indari 'eating-place of the cattle'*.

Such an expression can be treated as a Simple Noun, and be followed by a particle (postposition): *sinopu da indari da piesira aunsisina 'she laid him in a manger'*.

This form may serve, as in the last example, as a Noun of Place; also as a Noun of Agent: *torari 'Savior'*, e.g. *torari amo Keriso Bada 'a Savior who (is) Christ the Lord'* (Lk. 2:10).

- ii. -ari form functioning as Adjective. The function exercised in this case is really that of a Past Participle Passive in

Latin terminology, 'having been...', 'that which has been ...': wo taiari 'cooked food', 'meat having been cooked', 'meat which has been cooked'. wo taiari kundo pu 'bring the cooked meat'. piari gari palawa 'shewbread', lit. 'bread given seen'; enembo...dubo dave ari 'men of good will' (Lk.2:14); moai worumi DOIARI ra tuwewo 'you shall find the child WRAPPED in cloth' (Lk.2:12).

In some instances a plural is formed by partial reduplication: bebetegari 'the dead (people)'. Sometimes there is a plural differing from the singular in form: betari 'die', 'a dead person' > bebetegari 'the dead'; bedari 'break', 'fragment' > bebedegari 'broken pieces'. Alternative forms also appear: doregari 'assemble', 'assembly', but also dorebegari as Noun.

2.21. The Imperative Mood

2.21.1. The Imperative Mood Positive is different in construction from the Negative. Copeland King gives the following list of endings for the 2nd person:

SINGULAR	PLURAL
-e	-eu
-wasi	-wavi
-ewasi	-ewavi
-eio	-ewo
-u, -uio	-uwo
-o	-owo

The basic forms involved are:

-e	-eu
-wasi	-wavi,

or rather in the first instance, simply a variable vowel (*) in the singular, and the same vowel followed by -wo in the plural:

-*	-*wo
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When this vowel is -e, the morpheme alternant is -eu in the plural for -ewu < -ewo. The forms in -o- and -u- are morpheme alternants of those in -e, and are used if the stem of the verb terminates in -o or -u. Thus pu, pl. puwo 'come'.

bambu	pl. bambuwo	'go'
kumbuio	pl. kumbuwo	'take'

The form to be used for any given verb is to be found from the stem

used for the SM.I (Past) - do, e.g.

bamb-ari	>	baundo	<	*bambudo	>	bambu, bambuwo
t-ari		tedo				te, teu
g-ari		gido				gi, giu

There are, however, some alternatives which appear to be actually false analogies, e.g. giu and gaue are both used < gàri.

2.21.2. The longer forms in -wasi, -wavi are a little less abrupt: toregewasi, etc. in Lord's Prayer are cases in point. Other forms as in kotembetewo 'know' (Lk.24:6); toregewo 'beware' (12:15); tuvewo 'you shall find' (2:12) are intermediate, though some of them are almost certainly mistranslations. See Note in 2.21.3.

2.21.3. The -e, -eu form is frequently not Imperative at all, in spite of the statement in Copeland King's Grammar. It is a Determined or Certain Future, perhaps expectational or hortative: kumbuio 'you are to bear' (Lk.1:31). Others again are apparently mistakes in translation from Wedau, which does not distinguish Future and Imperative, and in the Binandere Luke they are made to serve as Present Interrogatives, e.g. Lk.24:17 ...tepeu 'you are walking', 'are you walking?' (perhaps -u for -vi, Interrogative by some morphophonemic alteration not accounted for); 9:20, na ave ge teu 'who do you say I am?'; 7:24, dumo da wotetewa ta ra geteu? 26. ango ae-ra ta ro gaĩ tedo woteteu?

2.21.4. Persons other than the second cannot be expressed directly by the Imperative Mood. A third person form may be supplied from the Immediate Past Indicative: kotopu etera 'let them make holy'; puresira 'may it come'; etera 'let them do'. First person forms are supplied sometimes by the use of the Dependent: bamane 'let us go' - with the -r* suffix for emphasis.

2.21.5. For the Negative Imperative see below, 2.22.2.

2.22. The Negative Aspect

2.22.1. The Negative in Binandere is an aspect, not a tense. It shows only one form, -ae, in the Indicative. It is really better described as a Negative Substantival form, i.e. -ae is the Negative of -ari (2.19.1.). It does not change for person, number or tense. Further delimitation of the idea must be obtained by use of ari as an auxiliary verb. Examples from Copland King need to be slightly re-spelled:

na adu ae		<i>I do not fear</i>
na indae (ind'ae)		<i>I am not eating</i>
na bundae (bund'ae)		<i>I am not binding</i>

na ambae (amb'ae) *I am not sick*

In the Future tense the SF.I Future is used before the Negative:

na aduai ae *I shall not fear*

na inaĩ ae *I shall not eat*

na bunaĩ ae *I shall not bind*

na amaĩ ae *I shall not be sick*

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES: na beono ae '*I am not tired*'; na durae itena '*I have not dug*'; imo kotembae eteta '*you do not believe*'; ta piaĩ aeri? '*or shall he not give?*' (Lk.11:13; for -ri see 2.18.1.); edo kakoa ero gae '*and when he does not find*' (Lk.11:24).

2.22.2. The Negative Imperative has a special form, conjugable for all persons and both numbers, but used only in Present and Habitual forms. For these the endings are:

		PRESENT	HABITUAL
Singular	1.	-one	-eone
	2.	-ote	-eote
	3.	-ure	-eure
Plural	1. incl.	-one	-eone
	1. excl.	-ore	-eore
	2.	-ove	-eove
	3.	-ore	-eore

For suffixes to other parts of the verb which serve the purpose of a Negative Imperative see 2.11.5. The forms given here are used as Direct Prohibitions: adu (e)ote '*don't be afraid*'; pi eove '*don't give*'; kundo gumbote '*don't bring (it)*'; ango eote '*don't do it like that*'; imo ruvegeote no bate ni awo embo '*don't forget to bring wood for the fire*'.

2.22.3. The addition of dowasi '*leave it*', '*let it alone*' < doari '*leave*', '*stop*' is optional as a means of emphasising the order: beono eove dowasi '*do not steal - let (stealing) alone*'.

2.22.4. mana is a particle used with a Positive to express inability: na awa mana inana '*I can't eat that*'. It is thus not really an Imperative Negative but a Potential Negative. It enters into a few words as compounds, which are perhaps not really verbal at all, e.g. bei-ae '*bad*' > bei a-mana '*good*', '*unable to be bad*'.

2.23. Derived Forms of Verbs

2.23.1. Derivation in verbs is something that needs further analysis, and the existing Binandere material does not make it possible. Thus there

appears to be a form -eg- used as a transitiviser of a verb, cf.

dod-ari '*come untwisted*' > dod-eg-ari '*untwist*'.

Not all cases, however, show both forms, with and without -eg-, e.g. erigari '*break*', but er-ari is '*rise*', while the Intransitive '*become broken*' is bedari.