

FORE FINAL VERBS

GRAHAM SCOTT

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0. INTRODUCTION

The importance of the verb in Fore¹ should never be underestimated. Always appearing clause-finally, it is the only item obligatory to a clause. Furthermore, whole utterances can be made without the addition of other clause fillers. An example is *wama kanáiyó uwaimítegina kanaakapa kabaabukuwe*.² These five verbs have the meaning, "When you have gone and told them to come, and then come back, I will take you with me".

Two categories of verb structure occur in Fore, and these we term MEDIAL and FINAL. A Medial Verb always expresses a relationship between itself and a succeeding action, being used to denote sequences such as those signified by the English conjunctions "and, then, when, while, if"; etc. In contrast, the Final Verb described in these pages expresses no such relationship, but is used to close an utterance.³

While Medial Verbs form the basis for continuous narrative, the simpler Final Verb is most important to everyday back-and-forth conversation.

1. DIVISION AND MULTIPLICATION

A system of division and multiplication aids explanation of Final Verb structure. The centre of consideration is the SIMPLE Final Verb, which is defined as containing only one verb stem. On one hand the Simple Verb may be divided into classes according to the contrastive features of Stem Type and Transitivity, while on the other it may also be multiplied by "to be", "to do", "to put", or "to go" Compounds.

2. DIVISION OF STEMS

The Stem of a verb is ascertained from Past Tense forms of the Simple Verb. When only obligatory items are present (as described in Section 3), the Stem is that part of the verb preceding the Past Tense morpheme. For example, in *watúwe* (*wa-t'-uw-e⁴* go-past tense-I-indicative) 'I went', *wa-* is the Verb Stem "to go".

2.1. Division by Stem Type

Stems are divided into four classes according to their final vowel, which is either *a-*, *e-*, *i-* or *u-*. Each Stem Type has its respective features. Firstly, *e-* and *i-* Stems make use of a transitional *-y* when the following morpheme commences with a vowel. *a-* and *u-* Stems do not, but prefer vowel elision or fusion. Secondly, *i-* and *u-* Stems cause conditioning of following morphemes which commence with *-a*, changing this *-a* to *-e*. *a-* and *u-* Stems do not. Table I outlines this division by Stem Type.

TABLE I

Division of Verbs according to Stem Type, with examples

USE OF TRANSITION -y:	CONDITIONING OF -a:	
	NOT CONDITIONED	CONDITIONED TO -e
NOT USED	a- STEMS	u- STEMS ⁵
	wa- 'to go' waane 'You go.'	tumu- 'to go down' tumene 'You go down.'
USED	e- STEMS ⁶	i- STEMS
	mae- 'to get' maeyaane 'You get.'	i- 'to go up' iyene 'You go up.'

2.2. Division by Transitivity

Stems are further classified according to their Transitivity. Here again there are four divisions: Intransitive, and Common, Direct and Indirect Transitives. The three Transitives differ from INTRANSITIVE in their ability to take an optional free-form clause-level Direct Object. Direct and Indirect Transitives contrast with the COMMON TRANSITIVE by taking obligatory internal Pronominal Referents (described in Section 3.1.). DIRECT TRANSITIVE and INDIRECT TRANSITIVE further contrast in that Indirect Transitives are alone able to support an optional clause-level Indirect Object. Table II shows the extended division caused by Transitivity.

(See Table II overleaf.)

Transitive Stems present no problems, as these are unadorned. Direct and Indirect Transitive Stems, however, take obligatory Pronominal Referent prefixes. Although it would be quite in order to include these in the Simple Verb formula as a separate item, it seems more reasonable to handle them as part of the Verb Stem because of their peculiar nature: obligatory to some verbs, obligatorily absent from others. Thus as fillers of the Verb Stem slot we have the following:

- Intransitive:* Intransitive stem, wa- 'to go'
Common Transitive: Common Transitive stem, na- 'to eat'
Direct Transitive: + Pronominal Referent + Direct Transitive root, a-ga- 'it-to see'
Indirect Transitive: + Pronominal Referent + Indirect Transitive root, a-bigá- 'him-to ask'

With Direct Transitives the Pronominal Referent refers to the optional clause-level Direct Object, while with Indirect Transitives it refers to the optional Indirect Object. In both instances the forms of the Referents are the same. These are set out in Table III.

TABLE III
Pronominal Referents for Direct and Indirect Transitive Roots

NUMBER	P E R S O N		
	<i>1st</i>	<i>2nd</i>	<i>3rd</i>
<i>Singular</i>	na-	ka- ⁸	a-
<i>Plural</i>	ta-	ti- ⁹	i-
<i>Dual</i>	tasi-	tisi-	isi-

3.2 Aspect 1

This is an optional slot, able to be filled by Completive, Intensive, Permissive or Cautionary Aspects.

COMPLETIVE Aspect may be added to give a sense of finality to an action. Allomorphs are: -gasá used preceding -y or -a; -gas' before other vowels; -gai' and -ge' preceding other consonants, the former following a- and e- Stems, the latter u- and i- Stems.

nagasáyé (na-gasá-#-y'-e eat-completive-present-he-indicative) 'He has finished eating'

INTENSIVE Aspect morpheme -gá is used to give intensity to an action. It is not widely used except in a few verbs, of which the most common is the verb "to do" in its various forms and compounds.

pugaye (pu-gá-#-y'-e do-intensive-present-he-indicative) 'He does very much', or 'He does it intensely'

PERMISSIVE Aspect adds the meaning "should" or "may". It occurs only in Present Tense forms in clause-level Interrogative Mood (explained under Mood - Section 3.6.), and always without Emphasis (Aspect 2 - Section 3.5.). Its morpheme is -s.

nasinó (na-s-#-in-ó eat-permissive-present-you singular-interrogative) 'Should you eat?' or 'May you eat?'

CAUTIONARY Aspect has the morpheme -ís. It is also limited in its usage, being restricted to the Present Tense, without Emphasis. Generally this aspect occurs in conjunction with a'yúguwe 'It is inadvisable'.

a'yúgu náisine¹⁰ (a yúgu na-ís-#-in-e inadvisable eat-cautionary-present-you singular-indicative) 'It is not good that you eat'

The aspects mentioned do not occur concurrently. There is a possibility, however, of one or two other aspects filling this slot, but they at least can co-occur with Completives. Because of the uncertainty surrounding their analysis, and their limited occurrence, they are treated as part of complete verb stems.

nawáe- 'to eat all' (or na-wáe- 'to eat-all')

maerú- 'to get' (or mae-rú- 'to get-towards??')

3 3. Tense

Four tenses occur in Final Verbs. In general, PRESENT Tense is used to signify any time from the present moment back to and including the previous night; PAST Tense includes any time from yesterday to one or two weeks ago; FAR PAST is used for periods prior to that signified by Past Tense; FUTURE represents any time in the future. A special note is needed regarding Far Past Tense. This often has a "perfect" sense such as in the English phrase "He has arrived". Consequently it is often used in place of a Present Tense.

ibaa miye or ibaa mintíyé (ibaa 'today', mi-#-y-e or mi-nt'-(i)y-e be-present/far past-he-indicative) 'He is there today'

Just occasionally a Past Tense is heard being used in the future, or a Present Tense concerning the past. It is quite probable that the tenses do not line up completely with a temporal definition, but rather have some kind of aspect about them such as Future showing incompleteness, Past completeness and so on. Further study of Fore may yet reveal this.

PRESENT Tense morpheme is -# (a zero morpheme).

nauwe (na-#-uw-e eat-present-I-indicative) 'I eat'

PAST Tense allomorphs are the norm -t', and -tá which is used only when the following morpheme commences with -y or -a.

natúwe na-t'-uw-e eat-past-I-indicative) 'I ate'

natáane na-tá-an-e eat-past-you singular-indicative)
'You ate'¹¹

FAR PAST uses -nt'' normally, but -nta¹² occurs with Set 2 Subject morphemes which commence with -a (Section 3.4.).

nantúwé (na-nt''-uw-e eat-far past-I-indicative) 'I ate'

nantaampéne na-nta-ampé-n-e eat-far past-you
singular-emphasis-indicative) 'You really ate'

FUTURE allomorphs are -k as the norm, -kib when Subject morphemes commence with -a, -e or -i, and -kub when they

commence with -o.

nakuwe (na-k-uw-e eat-future-I-indicative) 'I shall eat'

nakibene (na-kib-an-e¹³ eat-future-you singular-indicative) 'You will eat'

nakubóné (na-kub-ó'-n-e eat-future-I-emphasis-indicative) 'I will really eat'

3.4. Subject

Subject is a fusion of Person and Number. There are three basic sets of Subject morphemes, as displayed in Table IV. SET 1 is considered the norm. SET 2 is used exclusively in conjunction with Emphasis and Improbability Aspects (Aspect 2 - Section 3.5.). Accents on Set 2 morphemes override any caused by Tense morphemes. SET 3 occurs exclusively with Imperative Mood (Section 3.6.).

Some very interesting points concerning these Subject morphemes are brought forward by Pike.¹⁴ He explains the possibility of separation of these composites into Person (the initial vowel) and Number (the consonants and following vowels). Broken lines in Table IV show how the vowels separate 1st Persons (introduced by -u and -o) from 2nd and 3rd (-a), and make 3rd Singular a possible separate entity. There seems to be no simple rule for the conditioning of the consonant portions, except that s in Sets 1 and 3 and me in Set 2 designate Dual. Worthy of note, though, is the criss-crossing patterns in Set 1 of w and n, representing Singular and Plural in 1st Person, but reversing to represent Plural and then Singular in 2nd Person. This criss-crossing pattern is again present in Set 2 morphemes in the usage of # and mpé. In all Final Verbs 3rd person forms of Plural and Dual are the same as their 2nd Person counterparts.

Morphemes commencing with -a are subject to conditioning. When they immediately follow u- or i- Verb Stems or Future Tense allomorph -kib, this -a is conditioned to -e. When they follow Permissive Aspect (Aspect 1 slot), the -a is conditioned to -i.

tumene (tumu-#-an-e go down-present-you singular-indicative) 'You go down'

nasinó (na-s-#-an-ó eat-permissive-present-you singular-interrogative) 'Should you eat?'

3rd Person -y is preceded by a transitional -i when following a consonant.

nakiye (na-k-(i)y-e eat-future-he-indicative) 'He will eat'

TABLE IV
Basic Sets of Composite Subject Morphemes

NUMBER	SET 1			SET 2			SET 3
	PERSON			PERSON			PERSON
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	2nd ¹⁵
<i>Singular</i>	-uw	-an	-y or -y' ¹⁶	-ó'	-ampé	-amí or -í' ¹⁷	-#
<i>Plural</i>	-un	-aw	-aw	-ompé	-á'	-á'	-íy
<i>Dual</i>	-us	-as	-as	-omé	-amé	-amé	-ís

3.5. Aspect 2

This is the second optional slot in the tagmemic formula, and may be filled by Emphasis, or by Improbable or Alternative Aspects.

EMPHASIS may be added by the inclusion of the Emphasis morpheme -n. Its presence necessitates usage of Set 2 Subject morphemes.

náoné (na-#-ó'-n-e eat-present-I-emphasis-indicative)
'I really ate'

IMPROBABLE Aspect morpheme -sin' is usually used in conjunction with a special Medial Verb form to give an Improbable Conditional construction, which will not be handled here. Again only Set 2 Subject morphemes are used.

náosiné (na-#-ó'-sin'-e eat-present-I-improbable-indicative) 'I would have eaten'

ALTERNATIVE Aspect has the allomorphs -bayaaw', -payaaw' and -sabayaaw', and gives an "either... or" construction expressing doubt. This suffix may only be followed by the Indicative Mood morpheme -e, and in this respect parallels

the Questioner word class described in Section 3.6. The w ending the allomorphs is virtually a Predicative morpheme (see under Equatives - Section 5), but for simplicity of analysis here it is included in Alternative Aspect when associated with verbal forms, and listed as part of this Aspect 2 filler.

mikubayaawé (mi-k-u-bayaaw'-e be-future-I-alternative-indicative) 'Will I be there or not?'

mikibempépayaawé (mi-kib-ampé-payaaw'-e be-future-you singular-emphatic alternative¹⁸-indicative) 'Will you really be there or not?'

It will be noted in the first example that the Number portion of the Set 1 Subject morpheme appears to be absent. (This supports Pike's conjecture that Person and Number could be separated.) Its influence, however, is still there if not its presence. Where there was a w or y as the Number portion of the Subject composite, -bayaaw' is the allomorph used. Where there was an n, -payaaw' is used. Where an s, -sabayaaw' occurs. Thus there is never confusion in the mind of the hearer. With Set 2 Subject morphemes (second example), -payaaw' is always used. This usage shows that an n was previously present, which in this instance was the Emphasis morpheme -n. Thus even though Emphasis is not present segmentally, it certainly is morphophonemically. This could necessitate a separate tagmemic slot between Aspect 2 and Mood, or be handled as a limited duplication of the Aspect 2 slot. It has been mentioned in the morpheme breakdown here simply as "emphatic alternative". The phenomena of w causing -b... and n causing -p... are in accordance with morphophonemic changes as outlined by R. and R. Nicholson.¹⁹ For various reasons s seems to be a more recent addition to Fore phonemes, and as such does not conform to the general morphophonemic patterning.

Apart from the peculiarity mentioned, the various aspects of Aspect 2 slot are not co-occurrent, and none appear with the Imperative Mood.

3.6. Mood

Indicative, Interrogative and Imperative are the moods of Fore Final Verbs.

INDICATIVE Mood, whose morpheme is *-e*, is used in narratives and statements.

naana (na-#-an-e eat-present-you singular-indicative)
'You eat'

INTERROGATIVE Mood, morpheme *-ó*, is used for yes/no questions.

naanó (na-#-an-ó eat-present-you singular-interrogative)
'Are you eating?' or 'Have you eaten?'

Interrogative Mood may also be formed on the clause-level by using a Questioner plus Indicative Mood. (A Questioner is a non-verbal part of speech which asks a question such as 'What?', 'Where to?', 'How?', etc.) When this clause-level construction is used, accent from the Interrogative morpheme *-ó* remains on the Indicative morpheme *-é*. Alternatively it could be stated that there are two allomorphs of Interrogative mood. *-ó* and *-é*, with *-é* being used whenever a Questioner is present.

naaná naané (naaná na-#-an-é What? eat-present-you singular-indicative??) 'What are you eating?'

IMPERATIVE Mood, morpheme *-ó*, is used in commands. Since Imperative Mood occurs only in the Present Tense, takes exclusively Set 3 Subject morphemes, and does not occur in association with Aspect 2 slot, Imperative and Interrogative morphemes can never be confused.

náo (na-#-#-ó eat-present-you singular-imperative)
'Eat!'

4. MULTIPLICATION OF COMPOUNDS

As explained in Section 1, the Simple Verb may be multiplied by various compounding verbs. Although it is common to hear compounds with "to be", or with "to do", or "to put" or "to go", extended multiplication is much less common. The structural system, however, allows for this possibility, and in the right situations many may be elicited.

punatáyaba mikenabiye (pu-na-tá-yaba'-mi-kena-pu-#-
(i)y-e²⁰ do-for me-put-habitulative-be-desiderative-
do-present-he-indicative) 'He wants to be always
doing it for me'

Extended multiplication, with explanation and examples, is handled in Section 4.5. For our purposes each compound will be dealt with separately at first. The tagmemic formula for a single compound is:

Compound = + Verb Stem + Aspect 3 + Compounding
Verb Stem + Aspect 1 + Tense + Subject
+ Aspect 2 + Mood,

in which Aspect 3 depends on which Compounding Verb is used. When Aspect 3 slot is filled by segmental phonemes, Completive Aspect from Aspect 1 slot changes position to precede it. All morphemes following a Compounding Verb Stem are conditioned in accordance with it and not with the original Stem.

4.1. Multiplication by "to be"

When the Compounding Verb is *mi-* 'to be', the fillers of Aspect 3 slot are *-yaba'* and *-'*.

HABITUATIVE Aspect is formed using *-yaba'*, giving the sense of something always occurring.

nayaba·miye (*na-yaba'-mi-#-y-e* eat-habitulative-be-present-he-indicative) 'He is in the habit of eating', or 'He is always eating'

Preceding *-yaba'* the Completive Aspect allomorph is *-gasi'*. Why it is not *-gasá* (Section 3.2.) I am not able to explain at present.

CONTINUATIVE Aspect is formed when *-yaba'* is absent and an accent is used instead. This gives continuation to an action. In this construction the accent falls on the penultimate syllable.

kanamíye (*kana-'-mi-#-y-e* come-continuative-be-present-he indicative) 'He is coming', or 'He is in the act of coming'

4.2 Multiplication by "to do"

The Compounding Verb *-pu* 'to do' uses the morphemes *-kena* and *-'* as its fillers of Aspect 3 slot.

DESIDERATIVE Aspect is formed when *-kena* is used. This aspect does not occur in the Future Tense, probably because

-kena may be a combination of -k (Future) and -ena (Nominaliser).

nakenabene (na-kena-pu-#-an-e eat-desiderative-do-present-you singular-indicative) 'You desire to eat', or 'You want to eat'

ABILITATIVE Aspect occurs when -kena is absent and an accent instead is present. Again, as with the Continuative Aspect, this accent falls on the penultimate syllable. In both instances this accent is superseded by any caused by Tense and Subject Morphemes.

nabéne (na-'-pu-#-an-e eat-abilitative-do-present-you singular-indicative) 'You are able to eat', or 'You know how to eat'

4.3 Multiplication by "to put" or "to go"

Compounds caused by use of the verbs "to put" and "to go" constitute the third multiplication. They are included together in the composite tagmemic formula (mentioned in Section 1 and detailed in 4.4.) for the simple reason that they have never been observed in the same word. No amount of elicitation has been able to produce such a combination, so for the moment it must be assumed that "to put" and "to go" Compounds are mutually exclusive. They are similar in that the only Aspect 3 morpheme they take is an accent.

BENEFACTIVE Aspect is formed using the Compounding Verb a-ta- 'him/it-to put'. So far, although occurrences of the Benefactive are relatively rare except with the verb pu- 'to do', no consistent limitations of its use have been noted. Accent falls on the Root except when other accents follow, in which event it shifts to the Pronominal Referent.

punatáye (pu-'-na-ta-#-y-e do-benefactive-for me-put-present-he-indicative) 'He does it for me'

STATIVE Aspect is formed using wa- 'to go'. Some verbs necessitate usage of a following glottal stop, while others take none, yet there appears to be no consistent ruling. Very few verbs seem able to take this particular compound. Accent falls on the syllable following wa-, and when this syllable is word-final, wa- is also accented.

atisa.wáyé (atisa(·)-'-wa-#-y-e break-stative-go-present-it-indicative) 'It is broken'

4.4 Extended Multiplication

A composite tagmemic formula including all compounds is:

Extended Compound = + Verb Stem ± (+Aspect 3
 + "to put" or "to go")
 ± (+Aspect 3 + "to do")
 ± (+Aspect 3 + "to be")
 ± Aspect 1 + Tense + Subject
 ± Aspect 2 + Mood,

in which Aspect 3 is restricted to use of the morphemes occurring with their respective Compounding Verbs. Table V gives examples of the compounded combinations observed to date.

TABLE V

Extended Multiplication of Compounds, with examples

<i>"to be"</i>		
<i>be</i> : nayaba·miye 'He is always eating'	<i>"to do"</i>	
<i>be do</i> : mayaba·mikenabiye 'He wants to be always eating'		
	<i>do</i> : nakenabiye 'He wants to eat'	<i>"to put/go"</i>
<i>be put</i> : punatáyaba·miye 'He is always doing it for me'	<i>do put</i> : punatákenabiye 'He wants to do it for me'	
<i>be go</i> : atisa·wayába·miye 'It is always being broken'	<i>do go</i> : atisa·wakénabiye 'It wants to be broken (it will break)'	<i>put</i> : punatáye 'He does it for me'
		<i>go</i> : atisa·wáyé 'It is broken'
<i>be do put</i> : punatáyaba·mikenabiye 'He wants to be always doing it for me'		
<i>be do go</i> : atisa·wayába·mikenabiye 'It is always wanting to be broken'		

5. EQUATIVES

From one point of view an Equative is not strictly a verb, yet when it appears it has the status of a Final Verb filling the clause-level Action slot. An Equative is a non-verbal item which has been verbalised by the addition of Predicative and Mood morphemes, according to the formula:

Equative = + Non-verbal Item + Predicative
+ Mood.

kaasáané (kaasáa'-n-e new-predicative-indicative) 'It is new'

NON-VERBAL items in this formula may range over any parts of speech (except actual verbs), and include their various optional affixes.

naamápintiwe (naamá-pintí-w-e house-into-predicative-indicative) 'It is in the house'

PREDICATIVE allomorphs are -n and -w, and occasionally -y. All Non-Verbals fall into one of three arbitrary classes, each with its own peculiarities. Class I items use -w as their Predicative allomorph, though occasionally -y in some words and with some speakers fluctuates with it. Classes II and III use -n. These classes will be fully handled in a Non-Verbal paper dealing with morphophonemics at a later date. They have already been mentioned by R. and R. Nicholson.

MOOD slot may be filled by either Indicative -e or Interrogative -ó/-é morphemes, but never by Imperatives.

It is probably good to restate the importance of the ACTION slot in Fore. No statement can be made without it. Thus *any* utterance *must* include either a Medial or Final Verb or an Equative.

NOTES

1. Fore belongs to the Gende-Siane-Gahuku-Kamano-Fore family of the Eastern Highlands District of the Territory of New Guinea - see S.A. Wurm, "The Languages of the Eastern, Western and Southern Highlands, Territory of Papua and New Guinea", in A. Capell, *Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific*, new and revised edition (Noumea, South Pacific Commission, 1962).

2. Orthography used throughout is based on that suggested by R. and R. Nicholson in "Fore Phonemes and Their Interpretation", *Oceania Linguistic Monographs*, 6, 128-48 (1962). Changes have been made to the stops in that medially the voiced allophones have been written b, r, g, and the voiceless lengthened allophones p, t, k. Glottal stop is written '. Accent (') is a pitch-stress combination as outlined by K.L. Pike and G. Scott in "Pitch Accent and Non-Accented Phrases in Fore (New Guinea)", *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*, 16: 179-89 (1963). I have benefited from some personal consultation by Pike, and also from Ruth Nicholson's "Introductory North Fore Verb Paper", *1961 Workshop Papers*, Summer Institute of Linguistics, New Guinea, 151-63 (mimeo). This present analysis has also been made in the Northern dialect.

3. A similar Medial/Final contrast exists in the other languages of this language family. An outline of this in Kanite (Kamano Sub-Family) from the point of view of Dependent and Independent clauses is given by Joy McCarthy in "Clause Chaining in Kanite", *Anthropological Linguistics*, 7(5): 59-70 (1965).

4. An acute following a morpheme indicates induced accent on the next syllable. Accent associated solely with Verb Stems is that which exists when only unaccented affixes are

present. Where a complex syllable is accented, the acute is marked over the first vowel only.

5. u- Stems followed by a vowel or -y lose the u- of the Stem. When the u- of the Stem is followed by a consonant it fluctuates with i-, with the tendency towards i- except when the vowel following is also u. There are some irregular Verb Stems. a-egú- 'him-to hit' takes transition -y instead of u- loss. kai- 'to remove' becomes kas'- preceding a vowel.

6. e- Stems take -ya as the transition when the following vowel is -a.

7. Stems to fill these vacant boxes have not yet been recorded.

8. In the split root u-...-mú- 'to tell to', the Referent which is normally a prefix becomes an infix. Then in accordance with the general morphophonemics relating to Fore consonants, 2nd Singular ka- changes to ga- and 1st Plural ta- to its voiced equivalent ra-. Further, 3rd Singular a- fuses with the initial u- of the stem to become o-, and initial i of 3rd Plural and Dual forms becomes wai. These changes also occur in Benefactives (where the Referents follow pu- 'to do' - Section 4.3.).

ugamúwe (u-ka-mú-#-uw-e tell-you singular-tell-present-I-indicative) 'I tell you';

omúwe (u-a-mú-#-uw-e tell-him-tell-present-I-indicative) 'I tell him'

9. Referents which end in i- take a transitional -y when they precede a Stem commencing with a vowel.

tiyegúye (ti(y)-egú-#-y-e you plural-hit-present-he-indicative) 'He hits you all'

10. Two consecutive accents occur, but where three consecutive accents would appear, the centre one is lost.

11. This analysis differs slightly from that used by K.L. Pike in "Theoretical Implications of Matrix Permutation in Fore (New Guinea)", *Anthropological Linguistics* (November 1963). There the vowel of the -tá allomorph was included in the Subject morpheme. The present method accommodates some-

what the Central dialect group where the equivalent to natúwe (na-t'-uw-e) is natáuwé (na-tá'-uw-e) 'I eat'. See G.K. Scott, "The Dialects of Fore", *Oceania*, 33, 280-6 (1963).

12. This could also be postulated as -nta' or even -ntá', but any inherent accent is overridden by that on Set 2 Subject morphemes.

13. -an 'you singular' is conditioned to -en by the Future Tense marker -kib. This conditioning is outlined in Section 3.4.

14. op. cit.

15. 1st and 3rd Person forms do exist, but only in a medial construction, so have been omitted here.

16. An accent is induced in most Present Tense forms when a preceding accent occurs on the stem or suffixes to which this is directly attached. Limitations to this rule have not been fully explored.

nagasáyé (na-gasá-#-y'-e eat-completive-present-he-indicative) 'He has finished eating'

17. These fluctuate freely. -í is the shortened form of -amí.

18. Explanation follows below.

19. op. cit., p.132.

20. Morphophonemically p becomes b when preceded by a vowel, in line with k/g and t/r changes mentioned previously.

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

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

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Occasional Papers - *continued*

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| 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 |

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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.
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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*

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

In preparation:

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| No.19 | PATON, W.S. <i>Ambrym Grammar</i> |
| No.20 | CAPELL, A. <i>Arosi Grammar</i> |

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

SERIES C - BOOKS

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| No. 1 | LAYCOCK, D.C. <i>The Ndu Language Family</i> (Sepik District, New Guinea). 1965; xi + 224 pp.; 1 map | \$5.00 |
| No. 3 | NGUYEN DANG LIEM <i>English Grammar</i> (A Contrastive Analysis of English and Vietnamese vol.1). 1966; xlv + 177 pp.; 16 tables. Reprinted in 1970 as <i>Pacific Linguistics, Series C, No.3</i> | \$5.00 |
| No. 4 | NGUYEN DANG LIEM <i>Vietnamese Grammar</i> (A Contrastive Analysis of English and Vietnamese vol.2). 1969; xliii + 209 pp.; 37 tables | \$5.50 |
| No. 5 | NGUYEN DANG LIEM <i>A Contrastive Grammatical Analysis of English and Vietnamese</i> (A Contrastive Analysis of English and Vietnamese vol.3). 1967; xv + 151 pp.; 15 tables. Reprinted 1971 | \$3.25 |
| No. 6 | TRYON, Darrell T. <i>Dehu-English Dictionary</i> . 1967; v + 137 pp. Reprinted 1971 | \$2.95 |
| No. 7 | TRYON, Darrell T. <i>English-Dehu Dictionary</i> . 1967; iii + 162 pp. Reprinted 1971 | \$3.25 |
| No. 8 | NGUYEN DANG LIEM <i>A Contrastive Phonological Analysis of English and Vietnamese</i> (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. <i>Nengone Dictionary. Part I: Nengone-English</i> . 1969; vii + 445 pp. | \$9.00 |
| No.10 | OATES, W. and OATES, L. <i>Kapau Pedagogical Grammar</i> . 1968; v + 178 pp. Reprinted 1971 | \$3.75 |
| No.11 | FOX, C.E. <i>Arosi-English Dictionary</i> . 1970; iv + 406 pp.; 1 map | \$8.95 |
| No.13 | WURM, S.A. and LAYCOCK, D.C., eds. <i>Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell</i> . 1970; viii + 1292 pp.; 25 maps; 1 photograph.
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, | \$25.00 |

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Books - *continued*

No.13 (continued)

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

In preparation:

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

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

SERIES D - SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

(Bulletins, archival materials and other publications)

No. 1	Bulletin No.1. 1964; 9 pp.	\$0.25
No. 2	Bulletin No.2. 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 Low-lands).</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>	

