Binandere Verbal Structures

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Abbreviations

AJP	Adjective phrase
AJP_{PRED}	Predicate adjective phrase
COM	Comitative
CNT	Continuous aspect
COP	Copula
CR	Current relevancy marker
CUST	Customary aspect
DAT	Dative
DL	Dual
DM	Diminutive
DS	Different subject
DUR	Durative aspect
ERG	Ergative
EXC	Exclusive
FOC	Focus
F	Future
GEN	Genitive
H	Hortatory mood
IMP	Imperative mood
INC	Inclusive
INCR	Increment
IND	Indicative mood
INSTR	Instrument
INT	Intensifier
IPF	Imperfective aspect
ITR	Iterative aspect
LOC	Locative
LP	Locative phrase
LP_{PRED}	Predicate locative phrase
NEG	Negative
NOMZ	Nominalizer
NP	Noun phrase
NP_{DO}	Direct object noun phrase
NP_{IO}	Indirect object noun phrase
NP_{L}	Locative noun phrase
NP_{PRED}	Predicate noun phrase
NP_{S}	Subject noun phrase
P	Plural
PRES	Present tense

Q	Question mood
QH	Quoting hortatory mood
Y/N	Yes/No question mood
RED	Reduplication
RP	Remote past tense
SDUR	Short duration
SEQ	Sequential action
SIM	Simultaneous action
S	Singular
SM	Sentence marker or pause marker
SS	Same subject
STEN	Stentorian imperative mood
TMP	Temporal
TP	Today's past tense
URG	Urgent imperative mood
VP	Verb phrase
VP_{DITR}	Ditransitive verb phrase
VP_{INTR}	Intransitive verb phrase
VP_{TR}	Transitive verb phrase
YP	Yesterday's past tense
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
Ø	Null
-	morpheme break
=	break between word and accompanying clitic, phonologically one word
+	break between words in compound words, duplicated words and word complexes

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 Phonemes

Binandere phonemes consist of 11 consonants and 10 vowels. Plosives encompass both voiced and voiceless bilabials, alveolars, and velars. Nasals include the labial and alveolar distinctions. The final three consonants are the flap /ɾ/, the voiced bilabial fricative /β/, and the palatal approximant /j/. Binandere vowels consist of the common oral vowels /ɑ e i o u / and their 5 nasal counterparts.

TABLE 1: CONSONANT PHONEMES

	Bil	LDen	Dent	Alv	PsAl	Retr	Pala	Velr	Uvlr	Phar	Glot
Plos	p b			t d				k g			
Nasl	m			n							
Flap				ɾ							
Fric	β										
Appr							j				

TABLE 2: VOWEL PHONEMES

	Front Unrounded	Back Unrounded	Back Rounded
High	i ĩ		u ũ
Mid	e ẽ		o õ
Low		ɑ ɑ̃	

1.2 Diphthongs

Oral vowels may combine to form 11 diphthongs. Four nasal diphthongs have also been attested. It is possible that more diphthongs will be found in the language.

Oral Diphthongs: /iu/ /ei/ /eo/ /eu/ /ɑi/ /ɑe/ /ɑo/ /ɑu/ /oi/ /oe/ /ou/

Nasalized Diphthongs: /ẽĩ/ /ɑ̃ĩ/ /ɑ̃õ/ /õũ/

1.3 Syllable Patterns

Binandere words exhibit four open syllable types: V, CV, VV, CVV. Apparent closed syllables (e.g., VC, CVC, VVC) result from the orthographic convention of nasalized vowel(s). These are written as vowel(s) + nasal consonant (See the following section for a more complete explanation).

1.4 Orthographic Conventions

Two allophones persist in the present orthography as a result of early Anglican missionary teaching and influence. The phoneme /t/ is written <s> before /i/, and <t> elsewhere. The phoneme /d/ is written <j> before /i/, and <d> elsewhere.

The voiced stops /b, d, g/ are written <mb, nd, nj, ng> following a syllable with a nasal consonant onset. This exhibits their phonetic prenasalized quality, not their phonemic status. Educated Binandere prefer these phonetically motivated graphemes possibly because of pattern pressure from English (e.g., [mɑ̃^{n}do] /mɑdo/ <mando> 'house'; [nɑ̃^{m}bɔri] /nɑbɔri/ <nambori> 'brother-in-law').

The bilabial fricative /β/ is written <v>. This provides a practical means of transition to an English grapheme by using a phonetically related symbol. It should be noted that I am using the grapheme <v> exclusively in this paper to stand for the phoneme /β/. This revision simplifies the earlier solution I posed in *Binandere Nominal Structures* (1996:9).

The vowel phonemes /ɑ̃, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ/ are written with an <n> following the nasalized vowel (i.e., <an, en, in, on, un>). Before /b/ however, <n> goes to <m>. This agrees with past Anglican Binandere literature and current educated Binandere use.

Binandere people which have adopted English names usually prefer their English spelling and pronunciation. Therefore, in this paper they will be spelled according to their customary English spelling.

2. VERBS

2.1 Distinctives

2.1.1 Verb classes

Binandere verbs may be divided into three separate classes based on their abrupt imperative singular forms. Each of these forms consist of a verb root plus a unique stem final vowel [-e, -i, or -u]. The verb *do* 'release' is the only abrupt imperative verb form which takes [-o] as its final vowel. For this reason, it is not presented in the general description which follows, but is cited in the description of irregular verbs (see section 2.1.8, table 4). Verbs with imperative forms terminating with the same unique vowel characteristically undergo similar morphophonemic processes. A few examples from each vowel class follow.

e class		**i class**		**u class**	
ang-e	'carve'	g-i	'see'	b-u	'hold'
kap-e	'cut'	is-i	'remain'	gumb-u	'come'
pet-e	'stand'	jir-i	'weave'	omb-u	'pull.down'
ur-e	'plant'	vis-i	'ascend'	temb-u	'cross'

2.1.2 Verb stems

The ***e*** verb class hosts the largest membership and like the *-i* and *-u* class employs two verb stems when undergoing suffixation. The primary verb stem (stem1) manifests a stem final *-e* and the secondary verb stem (stem2) manifests a final *-i*. The stem2 form for any verb (whether *-e*, *-i*, or *-u* class) may be determined by deleting the tense/person/number/mood suffix from its remote past tense form. Thus, ***ategesi-tena*** 'greet-RP.1S.IND' yields ***ategesi*** as its stem2 form.

e verb	**stem1**	**stem2**
'greet'	atege	ategesi
'hit'	de	dori
'bathe'	gute	gusi
'cut'	kape	kapi
'haul'	sige	sigi

The ***i*** verb class has a smaller set of members which regularly manifest two different verb stems.[1] Stem2 is usually a reduplicated form of stem1. Most *i* verb stem2 forms are generated by reduplicating the first CV of the stem1verb form. After CV reduplication, in *i* verbs of two syllables, if the first vowel of the original CVCV stem1 verb was not *i*, the original first vowel of the CVCV stem1 is first raised or backed and then rounded by subsequent vowel disharmony rule. For example: *eri* 'rise' + Regressive Reduplication Rule → *ereri* + Vowel Disharmony Rule → *erori* 'stem2'. Also consider *pasi* 'press' + Regressive Reduplication Rule → *papasi* + Vowel Disharmony Rule → *paposi* 'stem2'. The output of the Vowel Disharmony rule however is conditioned by a Binandere speaker's idiolect preference for the vowels *u* and *o*. Therefore, present, yesterday's, and remote past tense stem2 forms exhibit *u* and *o* variation accordingly. Consider *erorisina/erurisina* 'rise-RP.3S.IND', *papotana/paputana* 'press-YP.1S.IND', and *totoreva/totureva*[2] 'enter-PRES.2P.IND' which respectively occur with no meaning difference between Binandere speakers' idiolects. However, in order to streamline the presentation, the Nindewari village idiolect is utilized in all paradigms and examples which follow. Nindewari is the Binandere village in which we presently reside.

i verb	**stem1**	**stem2**
'fasten'	ji	jiji
'weave'	jiri	jijiri
'rise'	eri	erori
'press'	pasi	paposi
'enter'	tori	totori
'ascend'	visi	vivisi

Members of the ***u*** verb class consistently employ two verb stems.[3] Though both stem1 and stem2 almost always terminate with a final ***u,*** an internal stem change marks stem2 forms. The *mb* sequence which marks the onset of the final syllable in most *u* verbs is replaced by ***p*** in stem2 forms. The verb *bu* 'hold' is unique in that it manifests *buri* as its stem2 form. Despite this difference, both stems for the verb 'hold' conjugate in typical *u* verb fashion with their respective tense suffixes.

u verb	**stem1**	**stem2**
'hold'	bu	buri
'bite'	gambu	gapu
'scoop'	jimbu	jipu
'pull.down'	ombu	opu
'cross'	tembu	tepu

[1] The stem1 form of the verb *i* 'go' has been observed in the language, but no stem2 form of this verb has been identified to date. The irregular nature of the verb 'go' is also attested in Korafe by C. Farr (1996:30) and in Suena by D. Wilson (1974:63).

[2] The verb *tori* 'enter' is an exception in that it may forego application of the Vowel Disharmony Rule. Thus, one idiolect prefers the stem2 form *totori*, while another idiolect prefers the stem2 form *toturi.*

[3] One apparent exception to this rule is the verb *pu* 'come (a short distance)' which exhibits a stem1 form in the imperative mood. *Pu* employs this stem plus what appears to be an epenthetic *r*? in the future indicative—*pu-r-ata* 'come-Ø-F.2S.IND'. Otherwise no other stem form of this particular verb 'come (a short distance)' occurs in the language. C. Farr (1993:161) notes that in Korafe, *fu* 'come' behaves as an irregular verb also.

The choice between stem1 or stem2 verb stems in sentence medial verb forms seems related to the speaker's punctiliar or durative view of the action described. This is most apparent in the formation of sequential punctiliar medial verbs versus sequential durative and simultaneous medial verb forms. Medial verb forms encoding punctiliar aspect routinely employ stem1, whereas, medial verbs encoding durative and simultaneous aspects routinely employ stem2. Most sentence final verbs, unlike most medial verbs are specifically marked for tense. Final verbs using stem1 almost always manifest future or today's past tense suffixes. Contrastively, final verbs using stem2 most frequently take present, yesterday's past, or remote past tense suffixes. The explanation for this tendency deserves further research.

2.1.3 Non-finite verb forms

Non-finite verb forms are inflected verbs which lack tense or person/number marking. Deverbals and same subject medial verb forms may be classified as non-finite verb forms. As such they host a verb stem and an immutable suffix.

Positive, negative and purpose deverbals all occur with stem1 verb forms. Positive deverbals use the suffix *-ari* to generate nominalized actions. Negative deverbals are inflected with the suffix *-ae* to signal unrealized actions. Purpose deverbals use the suffix *-ain* to encode intentional actions.

2.1.4 Finite verb forms

2.1.5 Perfective versus imperfective

2.1.6 Realis versus irrealis

2.1.7 Verbal morphophonemics

2.1.8 Summary

The Binandere language boasts a large number of verbs within the three vowel classes cited above. The majority of these verbs conjugate in a predictable manner. In the table below a surface structure sampling of seven different regular verbs from the *e*, *i*, and *u* verb class is given. The second person singular imperative verbs of column one instantiate stem1 verb forms which serve as the basis for future and today's past tense verb formation. Present, yesterday's past, and remote past tense forms however depend on stem2 verb forms to construct their respective paradigms. The verb forms presented in columns two through six vary according to tense, but share the same first person singular number and indicative mood suffixes. Regular verb forms are discussed in greater detail as they occur in the sections which follow.

TABLE 3: REGULAR VERBS

	Command	Future	Present	Today's Past	Yesterday's Past	Remote Past
e-verbs:						
'cut'	**kape**	**kap-ana**	**kap-ena**	**kape-tena**	**kapi-tana**	**kapi-tena**
'bathe'	**gute**	**gut-ana**	**gut-ena**	**gute-tena**	**gusi-tana**	**gusi-tena**
'haul'	**sige**	**sig-ana**	**sig-ena**	**sige-tena**	**sigi-tana**	**sigi-tena**
i-verbs:						
'press'	**pasi**	**pat-ana**	**papot-ena**	**pat-ena**	**papot-ana**	**paposi-tena**
'weave'	**jiri**	**jin-ana**	**jijin-ena**	**jin-ena**	**jijin-ana**	**jijiri-tena**
u-verbs:						
'scoop'	**jimbu**	**jim-ana**	**jip-ena**	**jim-ena**	**jip-ana**	**jipu-tena**
'cross'	**tembu**	**tem-ana**	**tep-ena**	**tem-ena**	**tep-ana**	**tepu-tena**

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Despite the large number of regular verbs in the language, there is a smaller set of irregular verbs which defy straight forward systemization. Table 4 presents a surface structure sampling of seven different irregular verbs which are members of the *e*, *i*, *u*, and *o* classes. As in table 3 above, the second person singular imperative forms are listed in column one. Verb forms occurring in the five remaining columns vary according to tense but are each first person singular constructions. Irregular verb forms are discussed in greater detail as they occur in the sections which follow.

TABLE 4: IRREGULAR VERBS

	Command	Future	Present	Today's Past	Yesterday's Past	Remote Past
e-verb:						
'do'	**e**	**ana**	**ena**	**e-tena**	**e-ana/eu-tana**	**esi-tena**
'say'	**te**	**t-ana**	**t-ena**	**te-tena**	**te-ana/ siu-tana**	**si-tena**
i-verb:						
'eat'	**inji**	**in-ana**	**in-ena**	**in-ena**	**inji-tana**	**inji-tena**
'ascend'	**visi**	**vit-ana**	**vivit-ena/ vit-ena**	**vivit-ena/ vit-ena**	**vivit-ana**	**vivisi-tena**
'remain'	**isi**	**it-ana**	**it-ena**	**it-ena**	**isi-tana**	**isi-re-tena**
u-verb:						
'go'	**mambu**	**mam-ana**	**maunt-ena/ mam-ena**	**maunt-ena/ mam-ena**	**maunt-ana**	**maunsi-tena**
o-verb:						
'release'	**do**	**do-v-ana**	**dotur-ena/ do-tena**	**dotur-ena/ do-tena**	**dotur-ana**	**doturi-tena**

2.2 Deverbals

2.2.1 Positive deverbal: stem1 + -ari

Verbs may be suffixed to derive nominals in Binandere. A stem1 verb form plus the nominalizing suffix *-ari* 'NOMZ' yields a positive deverbal noun.

1) Imo vo **jimb-ari** tao eta.
2S animal **scoop-NOMZ** can do.PRES.2S.IND
'You can catch fish.' [A-98-I 242]

2) E-do mamai tote Ipa=ae Keipa=de ava
do-SEQ.SS child.RED two Ipa=DL.COM Keipa=COM that.FOC
kotemb-ari bu-do…
think-NOMZ hold-SEQ.SS
'Then, those two children, Ipa with Keipa got an idea…' [Bird 002]

3) Blakey ainda **atopat-ari** g-ira.
Blakey that.GEN **teach-NOMZ** see-TP.3S.IND
'Blakey saw his teacher.' [B-96-I 286]

The nominalizing suffix *-ari* may also be employed to derive deverbal adjectives.

4) …Eutu **bet-ari** da=mi mai bur-eiri…
woman **die-NOMZ** one=ERG child hold-SIM.3S.DS
'…One dead (spirit) woman gave birth to a child… ' [Naming 002]

5) Na-to asi **kap-ari** is-ira.
1S-GEN string **cut-NOMZ** remain-PRES.3S.IND
'My cut up vine is there.' [A-96-I 238]

Binandere employs a reduplicated stem1 + *-ge* 'do.FOC' and the nominalizing suffix *ari* to encode the emphatic plural positive deverbal form. When a person uses a positive deverbal form which incorporates *-ge*, they emphasize the plurality of the subject or object thus marked.[4]

6) **Atopapasi-g-ari** mamai atopasi-do era.
teach.RED-do.FOC-NOMZ child.RED teach-SEQ.SS PRES.3P.IND
'Several teachers are teaching the children.' [A-98-I 446]

7) Ginuma mamai iji boroko ava-mane=da **atopapasi-g-ari**
school child.RED day now that.FOC-P=GEN **teach.RED-do.FOC-NOMZ**
kando pipit-era.
gift put-PRES.3P.IND
'The school children right now are giving gifts to their teachers.' [A-98-I 473]

However, the simple deverbal form may function as either a singular or plural nominal. In the following example the final verb indexes the plurality of the subject.

8) **Atopat-ari** mamai atopasi-do era
teach-NOMZ child.RED teach-SS.SEQ PRES.3P.IND
'The teachers are teaching the children.' [B-96-I 440]

The reduplicated stem1 + pro-verb *-ge* and the nominalizing suffix *-ari* may also be employed to derive a deverbal adjective. This adjective form draws attention to the plural number of the nominal it modifies.

9) …Embo ava rorae **bebete-g-ari** butu=da ind-eite…
man that.FOC thing **die.RED-do.FOC-NOMZ** earth=LOC eat-SIM.SS
'…While that man is routinely eating rotten stuff (things) on the ground…' [Cassowary 041]

[4] Deverbals which utilize *-ge* may also be emphasizing the diversity of plural subjects or objects thus marked. The investigation of this possibility however must await future research. See section 6.1 for brief discussion on the use of *-ge* in verbal predications.

2.2.2 Negative deverbal: stem1 + -ae

Verbs may be suffixed to form negative participles in Binandere. A stem1 verb plus -`*d* 'NEG' yields a negative deverbal participle.

10) Imo ivava dambu **dar-ae** gi-do,
2S tongue outside **straight-NEG** see-SEQ.SS
na-ne-mi imo ao dar-ana.
1S-ERG.INCR-ERG 2S stern straight-F.1S.IND
'If I see your pronunciation is not straight, I will steer you straight.' [New 011]

11) …Va **do-v-ae,** matava de-siri,
rain **release-Ø-NEG** continually hit-SEQ.3S.DS
mau-do sipo ate-sira.
go-SEQ.SS morning dawn-TP.3S.IND
'…The rain not letting up, continually fell, time passed and morning dawned.' [Hunt2 006]

The deverbal suffix *-ae* is most often used to negate verbs or verb phrases. If no fully inflected verb follows, the exact time of the action must be deduced from the context.

12) Na ito bido **kap-ae** ena.
1S 2S.GEN banana **cut-NEG** do.PRES.1S.IND
'I am not cutting your banana plant.' [A-98-I 129]

13) Na **g-ae**.
1S **see-NEG**
'I didn't see.' [A-92-I 325]

14) Embo nasi nasi berari **g-ae** eva.
man village village all **see-NEG** do.PRES.2P.IND
'You do not see people in any of the villages.' [Monster 010]

15) …Na-to buro embo da ainda dao ava ruege-do
1S-GEN work man one that.GEN name that.FOC forget-SEQ.SS
imo-de **t-ae** dotur-ana ava.
2S-DAT **say-NEG** release-YP.1S.IND SM
'…My one work man, his name I forgot to tell you and left (it off the list).' [Letter4 005]

2.2.3 Purpose deverbal: stem1 + -ain

Purpose deverbals are formed by fusing stem1 forms with the suffix *-ain* 'PURP'. The resulting construction may stand sentence final or be part of a sentence final verb phrase.

16) Na **mam-ain**.
1S **go-PURP**
'I am intending to go.' [B-96-I 406]

A purpose deverbal which occurs in a sentence final verb phrase is often followed by a final fully inflected *e* ‘do’ verb.

17) Vo **jim-ain** e-ata.
animal **scoop-PURP** do-YP.2S.IND
‘You intended to catch fish.’ [A-98-I 122]

Often a purpose deverbal occurs sentence medial followed by a form of the verb *te* ‘say’. This construction is illustrated in the following two examples.

18) …Vao gombu ava **b-ain** te-do ava…
Vao head that.FOC **hold-PURP** say-SEQ.SS SM
‘…(I) intended to reach the source of (the stream named) Vao…’ [Hunt1 003]

19) …Ni ava is-iri jir-iri gi-do
bird that.FOC remain-SIM.3S.DS weave-SEQ.3S.DS see-SEQ.SS
mamai ava **gai-y-ain** te-do wot-esiri…
child.RED that.FOC **spear-Ø-PURP** say-SEQ.SS descend-SEQ.3S.DS
‘…While that bird was there he saw those children,
then he voiced his intent to kill and descended…’ [Bird 002]

A double deverbal which expresses emphatic denial combines the purpose deverbal *-ain* with the negative deverbal *-ae.*

20) Imo **d-ain-y-ae** esi-tena!
2S **hit-PURP-Ø-NEG** do-RP.1S.IND
‘I did not intend to hit you!’ [A-98-I 147]

21) …Va aina gi-do na **mam-ain-y-ae**!
rain do.F.1S.IND see-SEQ.SS 1S **go-PURP-Ø-NEG**
‘…If it rains, I do not plan to go!’ [A-92-II 1043]

2.3 Non-finite medial verb forms

Five non-finite medial verb forms have currently been identified in the language. They are by definition “non-finite” because they are unmarked for person of subject and mood. Though these forms are marked for relative tense—sequential (SEQ) events versus overlapping/simultaneous (SIM) events—they must ultimately comply with the parameters of absolute tense dictated by the sentence final verb. Each of the non-finite forms here described index co-reference of subject between the marked verb and the verb following. Three forms are ubiquitous, occurring in both realis and irrealis propositions. Ambi-status non-finite medials include the same subject (simple) sequential, same subject (simple) simultaneous, and same subject simultaneous iterative verbs. The same subject durative sequential medial verb only occurs in propositions depicting realis status. In contrast, the same subject simultaneous continous medial verb must occur in propositions manifesting irrealis status.

2.3.1 Same subject (SS) sequential medial form: stem1 + -do

The stem1 verb form combines with the suffix *-do* 'SEQ.SS' to generate this non-finite medial verb. This suffix may have originated from the Binandere verb *do* 'release' which is often used to signal the terminus of an action. When occurring with stem1 forms the *-do* signals that the action encoded by the marking clause terminates before the action encoded by the reference clause begins.

e-class	**i-class**	**u-class**
kape-do	pasi-do	jimu-do
cut-SEQ.SS	press-SEQ.SS	scoop-SEQ.SS
'having cut'	'having pressed'	'having scooped'

Both tense and person/number assignment for the 'SEQ.SS' verb form are dependent on the following reference clause. This dependency is demonstrated in the following text examples.

22) Na bino **gi-do** ava imo-mane be=ateget-ena.
1S news **see-SEQ.SS** SM 2S-P INT=greet-PRES.1S.IND
'I heard the news and give you a special greeting.' [Letter2 004]

23) …Adade **mau-do** ava ba ava usi-tera.
both **go-SEQ.SS** SM taro that.FOC pull.up-RP.3P.IND
'…Both of them went, then pulled up the taro.' [Wallaby 008]

24) Kaen **anumbe-do** ind-oré.
1P.INC **sit-SEQ.SS** eat-H.1P.CR
'Let's sit down and eat.' [Visitors 017]

2.3.2 Same subject (SS) durative sequential realis medial form: stem2 + -eunte

When the stem2 verb form conflates with the suffix *-eunte* 'SEQ.DUR.SS' it generates the same subject non-finite medial verb. Binandere speakers Wilberforce Jiwaibae and Henry Justin Tabara agree that *-eunte* signals a sequential action which is of longer duration than the *-do* same subject sequential medial verb suffix. The *-eunte* suffix may be a combination of two smaller suffixes. The first suffix *-eun* seems to index a 'perfective' action. The second suffix *-te* is homophonous with the verb *te* 'say', but in this stem2 suffix seems to signal duration. Like the same subject sequential suffix *-do* above, *-eunte* signals that the action encoded by the marking clause terminates before the action encoded by the reference clause begins.

e-class	**i-class**	**u-class**
kap-eunte	papot-eunte	jip-eunte
cut-SEQ.DUR.SS	press-SEQ.DUR.SS	scoop-SEQ.DUR.SS
'having cut for a while'	'having pressed for a while'	'having scooped for a while'

In terms of modality the *-eunte* durative sequential suffix is restricted to Binandere sentences which express real world or 'realis' events. Therefore, only sentences ending with present, today's past, yesterday's past, and remote past tense final verb forms may inflect their medial verbs with this suffix.

25) Iji einde imo doun **kap-eunte** toro da ind-eta.
day this.TMP 2S sugar.cane **cut-SEQ.DUR.SS** finger one eat-PRES.2S.IND
'Today you cut sugar cane for a while and (now) are eating a section.' [A-98-II 182]

The following example is malformed (*) because the final verb of the sentence employs a future tense suffix.

26) *****Audo imo doun **kap-eunte** toro da ind-ata.
tomorrow 2S sugar.cane **cut-SEQ.DUR.SS** finger one eat-F.2S.IND

A sentence which contains a same subject durative sequential realis medial verb is ungrammatical if it ends with an imperative final verb.

27) *****Dasiga oro butu **papot-eunte** dasivi b-ain mambu-vo!
praise men's.house earth **press-SEQ.DUR.SS** post hold-PURP go.IMP-2P.STEN

The next two examples are grammatically sound because their same subject durative sequential realis medial verb forms are followed by final verbs bearing realis tense suffixes.

28) Dasiga oro butu **papot-eunte** dasivi b-ain maunsi-tera.
praise men's.house earth **press-SEQ.DUR.SS** post hold-PURP go-RP.1P.IND
'We packed the dirt (floor) of the church for a while then we went to get posts.' [A-98-II 203]

29) Na Ainsi=da **maunt-eunte** mau-do tapororo eu-tana.
1S Ainsi=LOC **go-SEQ.DUR.SS** go-SEQ.SS worship do-YP.1S.IND
'I traveled for a while to Ainsi then went and worshiped (there).' [A-98-II 238]

2.3.3 Same subject (SS) simultaneous medial form: stem2 + -eite

Stem2 verb forms which host the suffix *-eite* signal total or partial overlap between the action denoted by the marked verb and the action of the following reference clause. The suffix *-eite* may be divided into two smaller suffixes: *-ei* indexing 'imperfective' and *-te* 'durative'. Farr (1996:35) notes several Binandere family languages which form the simultaneous same subject medial forms by adding the stem1 form of the verb 'say' to the stem2 form of the verb.

e-class	**i-class**	**u-class**
kap-eite	papot-eite	jip-eite
cut-SIM.SS	press-SIM.SS	scoop-SIM.SS
'while cutting'	'while pressing'	'while scooping'

30) Ine doun **kap-eite** ind-ate.
2S.ERG.INCR sugar.cane **cut-SIM.SS** eat-H.2S.CR
'While you are cutting the sugar cane you may eat it.' [A-98-II 155]

31) Mai bajina ava ambo=da tuturo e-do **tup-eite**
child big that.FOC behind=LOC first do-SEQ.SS **run-SIM.SS**
ge pitawa si-sina.
talk false say-RP.3S.IND
'Later the older boy started (to run) and while running spoke lies.' [Monster 064]

32) **Jiji-y-eite** peva tote pire-do vudani
fasten-Ø-SIM.SS peva.fruit two string-SEQ.SS vudani.vine
peva=da gaiye-do si-tera.
peva.fruit=LOC spear-SEQ.SS say-RP.3P.IND
'While they tied together the raft they strung two peva fruit
and speared them with their vudani vine then spoke.' [Monster 074]

33) Dr. Waiko giriri=de yai **tep-eite** g-aina.
Dr. Waiko dragon.fly=COM place **cross-SIM.SS** see-F.3S.IND
'While Dr. Waiko is crossing over the place with a helicopter he will see it.' [A-96-I 032]

2.3.4 Same subject (SS) simultaneous continuous irrealis medial form: stem2 + -eima

Stem2 verb forms which host the suffix *-eima* signal total or partial overlap between the action denoted by the marked verb and the action of the following reference clause. The suffix *-eima* may be divided into two smaller suffixes: *-ei* indexing 'imperfective' and *-ma* 'continuous'. The 'imperfective' marker signals an ongoing action with no defined end point. The 'continuous' marker indexes an action which is undertaken without any major interruptions. Wilberforce Jiwaibae says the *-eima* suffix normally indexes an uninterrupted simultaneous action which is normally carried out for 4 or 5 hours or more.

e-class	**i-class**	**u-class**
kap-eima	papot-eima	jip-eima
cut-SIM.CNT.SS	press-SIM.CNT.SS	scoop-SIM.CNT.SS
'while cutting continuously'	'while pressing continuously'	'while scooping continuously'

In terms of modality the *-eima* simultaneous continuous suffix is restricted to sentences which express non-actual world or 'irrealis' events. Therefore, only sentences ending with deverbal, future tense, customary aspect, hortatory, counterfactual or imperative mood forms may host medial verbs with this suffix.

34) Na doun **kap-eima** isi-ano imo
1S sugr.cane **cut-SIM.CNT.SS** remain-SIM.IR.1S.DS 2S
gun-do ateg-ata.
come-SEQ.SS greet-F.2S.IND
'While I am continuously cutting the sugar cane I will be there
and you will come and greet me.' [A-97-I 425]

35) Un dauma gun-do buro=da **papot-eima** do-y-uri
water flood come-SEQ.SS garden=LOC **press-SIM.CNT.SS** release-Ø-CUST.3S.DS
ba=de ana=de depeka e-do era.
taro=COM potato=COM rotten do-SEQ.SS do.PRES.3P.CUST
'The flood comes and while (still) covering the garden recedes,
and the taro and potatoes rot.' [A-97-II 428]

36) Audo imo-mane ma teka **dup-eima** nasi=da gumb-ave.
tomorrow 2S-P canoe new **pull-SIM.CNT.SS** village=LOC come-H.2P.CR
'Tomorrow while pulling the new canoe steadily
you should come to (my) village.' [A-98-II 368]

The following example is ungrammatical because it attempts to pair a same subject simultaneous continuous irrealis medial form with a realis remote past tense final verb.

37) *****Sino na-to pu ito **gap-eima** inji-sina.
dog 1S-GEN pig 2S.GEN **bite-SIM.CNT.SS** eat-RP.3S.IND

2.3.5 Same subject (SS) simultaneous iterative medial form: stem2 + -eimene

Stem2 verb forms which host the suffix *-eimene* routinely signal total or partial overlap between the action denoted by the marked verb and the action of the following reference clause. The suffix *-eimene* may be divided into two smaller suffixes: *-ei* indexing 'imperfective' and *-mene* 'iterative'. Binandere language helper Wilberforce Jiwaibae asserts that medial verbs marked with *-eimene* normally encode actions that are repeated four or more times. An action described in this manner can include intervals of the repeated activity which alternate with occasional rest periods.

e-class	**i-class**	**u-class**
kap-eimene	papot-eimene	jip-eimene
cut-SIM.ITR.SS	press-SIM.ITR.SS	scoop-SIM.ITR.SS
'while repeatedly cutting'	'while repeatedly pressing'	'while repeatedly scooping'

The same subject simultaneous iterative medial verb suffix may be utilized in propositions which express either realis or irrealis events. Example (38) is the description of the customary activity (irrealis) of preparing food for a feast. Example (39) is from a first person account of a spear fishing trip just completed (realis).

38) Eutu+mai ana jiwae kun-do **kap-eimene**
woman+child potato many grasp-SEQ.SS **cut-SIM.ITR.SS**
ou=da siri-do tai e-do era.
pot=LOC stuff-SEQ.SS cook do-SEQ.SS do.PRES.3P.IND
'The women get lots of potatoes and while they are repeatedly cutting them up stuff them in the pots and cook them.' [A-98-II 394]

39) …Woda **gagur-eimene** taut-ero ava,
prawn **spear-SIM.ITR.SS** move.upstream-SIM.R.3S.DS SM
va beiyae=be munyae=de de-sira, adade.
rain bad=INT dark=TEMP hit-TP.3S.IND both
'…While we were repeatedly spearing prawns we went upstream, then in the night a very bad rain hit both of us.' [Hunt2 004]

Medial verbs inflected with the *-eimene* suffix are often followed by verbs of locomotion such as: 'come', 'go', 'cross (over)', 'move upstream', etc.

40) Nakare 7 Septemba Ubutu=da mau-do riri
1P.EXC 7 September Ubutu=LOC go-SEQ.SS bridge
papot-eimene temu-do tav-ara.
press-SIM.ITR.SS cross-SEQ.SS move.upstream-F.1P.IND
'On 7 September we will go to Ubutu and while repeatedly planting our feet on the (slippery) bridge we will cross over and head upstream.' [A-98-II 395]

41) Ambo=da **jip-eimene** mau-do,
behind=LOC **scoop-SIM.ITR.SS** go-SEQ.SS
do-do nasi=da gup-ara.
release-SEQ.SS village=LOC come-YP.3S.IND
'Later while repeatedly scooping up (fish)
he went, left and came to the village.' [A-98-II 393]

2.4 Finite verb forms - the suffix sets

Binandere finite verbs include final verbs and different subject medial verbs. These host three-part suffixes which index: (1) tense-aspect-mood and realis/irrealis status, (2) person and number of subject, and (3) speech act value. The recurrent partials which compose most final verb suffixes may be separated out and positively identified. Nevertheless, there are a few partials which defy straightforward parsing such as the third person singular suffix and hortatory mood suffix set's coexistent initial and final partials. Therefore, in this section, a general overview will be presented in which some recurrent partials will be assigned tentative positions and identity based on my current knowledge of the language. In the remainder of this paper, however, these recurrent partials will be viewed as inseparable morphemes fused together within their respective portmanteau suffixes.

The suffix sets portrayed in table 5 are uniformly split into two sets of forms per column. The majority of suffix sets may be differentiated via indicative *-a* and interrogtive mood *-i* terminal partials. An exception to this trend is the hortatory mood which is differentiated instead via its positive *-a*/*-o* and negative *-o*/*-u* intial partials.

TABLE 5: SUFFIX SETS FOR FINAL VERBS

	TODAY'S PAST Stem1		YESTERDAY'S PAST Stem2		REMOTE PAST Stem2	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1S	(t)e-n-a	(t)e-n-i	(t)a-n-a	(t)a-n-i	te-n-a	te-n-i
2S	(t)e-t-a	(t)e-s-i	(t)a-t-a	(t)a-s-i	te-t-a	te-s-i
3S	(s)ira	(s)iri	(t)ara	(t)ari	sina	sini
1/3P	(t)e-r-a	(t)e-r-i	(t)a-r-a	(t)a-r-i	te-r-a	te-r-i
2P	(t)e-v-a	(t)e-v-i	(t)a-v-a	(t)a-v-i	te-v-a	te-v-i

	PRESENT Stem2		FUTURE Stem1		REMOTE PAST CUSTOMARY Stem2	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1S	e-n-a	e-n-i	a-n-a	a-n-i	o-n-a	o-n-i
2S	e-t-a	e-s-i	a-t-a	a-s-i	o-t-a	o-s-i
3S	eira	eiri	aina	aini	evira/evina	eviri/evini
1/3P	e-r-a	e-r-i	a-r-a	a-r-i	o-r-a	o-r-i
2P	e-v-a	e-v-i	a-v-a	a-v-i	o-v-a	o-v-i

	HORTATORY Stem1	NEGATIVE HORTATORY Stem1
1S	ane	one
2S	ate	ote
3S	are	ure
1/3P	oré	ore
2P	ave	ove

2.4.1 Status/tense-aspect-mood

The initial partial of the final verb suffix sets encodes tense, aspect or mood. Therefore, the initial partials are differentiated as follows: ***-(t)e*** for today's past tense, ***-(t)a*** for yesterday's past tense, ***-te*** for remote past tense, ***-e*** for present tense, ***-a*** for future tense, and ***-o*** for remote past customary aspect. The hortatory mood (positive) is unique in that its meaning is explicated using the initial partials ***-a/-o*** together with the terminal partial ***-e.*** The negative hortatory suffix set, like the positive set, differs only in its choice of the ***-o/-u*** initial partials.

2.4.2 Person/number of subject

There 5 different person/number options in final verb suffix sets. First, second, third person singular, and second person plural manifest different individual markers. First and third person plural in contrast conflate their distinctions into one common marker. Table 6 lists the 5 subject markers together with their occurrence in some final suffix sets.

TABLE 6: PERSON/NUMBER SUBJECT MARKERS OF SUFFIX SETS

	Subject Marker	Today's Past	Hortatory	Negative Hortatory	Present	Future
1S	-n	(t)e-n-a	a-n-e	o-n-e	e-n-a	a-n-a
2S	-t	(t)e-t-a	a-t-e	o-t-e	e-t-a	a-t-a
3S	-Ø?	(s)i-ra	a-re	u-re	ei-ra	ain-a
1/3P	-r	(t)e-r-a	o-r-é	o-r-e	e-r-a	a-r-a
2P	-v	(t)e-v-a	a-v-e	o-v-e	e-v-a	a-v-a

At least six different patterns of third person singular suffixes are evident in table 5**.** They are: *ira/iri*, *ara/ari*, *ina/ini*, *eira/eiri*, *aina/aini*, and *are/ure*. Given their irregular forms in comparison to the other 4 subject markers, it seems reasonable to posit that the third person singular subject marker is the null set (*-Ø*). C. Farr (1996:38) describing a similar phenomenon in Korafe suggests an alternative interpretation would posit "an underlying morpheme that triggers the mid to high vowel shifts (e → i and o → u)". This would explain the shift from *-eta* (2S) → *-ira* (3S), *-eta* (2S) → *-ina* (3S), *-ote* (2S) → *-ure* (3S). The *-ra* appears to be a borrowing of the 'indicative' copula, *-ri* appears to be a borrowing of the content 'question' copula, and *-re* appears to be a borrowing of the 'current relevance' copula. The prior origin of the *na* of the *-ina* remote past tense and remote past customary aspect requires further investigation.

The third person singular present tense suffix *-eira* is possibly a combination of the *-ei* 'imperfective' morpheme and the copula *ra*. This interpretation would complement the imperfective nature of this present tense form. A reasonable explanation behind the formation of the third person singular future tense suffix *-aina* could be the fusion of the *-ain* 'purpose' suffix with the copula *ra.* The consonant *r* goes to *n* by assimilating nasalization from the preceding nasalized vowel sequence.

2.4.3 Speech act value

The terminal partial of the suffix set encodes the speech act value the speaker assigns to the statement. Binandere speakers may choose from the four speech act value markers *-a*, *-i*, *-e*, and *-o* to qualify a final verb.

The markers *-a* and *-i* consistently pattern as mood markers on the final verb suffix sets. Statements which express indicative assertions normally mark the final verb with the terminal partial *-a*, whereas, questions which ask for information mark their final verb with *-i.* Therefore, given a typical question and answer dialogue, the following assignment of the speech act values could be expected.

42) Embo ouua iji nonde **mamb-iri**?
man that.FOC day when **go-TP.3S.Q**
'When did that man over there go?' [A-92-II 1033]

43) Embo boroko **mamb-ira**.
man now **go-TP.3S.IND**
'The man (just) now went.' [A-92-II 1034]

The markers *-e* and *-o* seem to function as deictics indexing spatial and temporal positions in much the same way as the demonstrative roots *e* 'this' and *o* 'that, over there'. In table 6 the two sets of hortatory suffixes consistently use the speech act value partial *-e.* The speaker may therefore be using *-e* to mark the temporal nearness of the action at hand and request the addressee's involvement or avoidance of the same.

44) “Apie=da ji pie! **g-an<u>e</u>**!…”
grandparent=GEN tooth put.IMP **see-H.1S.<u>CR</u>**
‘ “Give me grandfather’s tooth! Let me see!…” ’ [Monster 062]

45) Jimbago tai=mi **pat-or<u>e</u>**!
snake foot=INSTR **press-NEG.H.1P.<u>CR</u>**
‘Let’s not step on a snake!’ [A-98-I 058]

The partial *-o* is the final marker commonly employed by a speaker who is projecting a directive to an addressee some distance away. This marker is also used in different subject medial verb forms as the final recurrent partial (third person singular forms are the exception).

46) Ava=ra, **isi-v<u>o</u>**!
that.FOC=COP **remain.IMP-2P.<u>STEN</u>**
‘Alright, you all stay!’ [Letter2 013]

47) Ango si-te **it-er<u>o</u>** ava sinokoro gupu-sina.
that.way say-SIM.SS **remain-SIM.R.3P.<u>DS</u>** SM sinokoro.bird come-RP.3S.IND
‘In that way they were talking there when the bird, sinokoro, came.’ [Wallaby 014]

2.5 Finite verb forms - final verb paradigms

The verb paradigms which follow are all combinations of the final suffix sets presented in the preceding section plus one of the two verb stems available to each verb. Each paradigm is identified in terms of the tense, aspect, or mood it denotes. Binandere has 3 past tenses each of which quantify a different degree of temporal distance from the actual speech act moment. These include the today’s, yesterday’s and remote past tenses. The other final paradigms covered below are: present tense, future tense, remote past customary aspect, question mood, yes/no question mood, positive and negative hortatory mood, and imperative mood. Tense and the customary aspect paradigms are presented in the indicative mood in contrast with the remaining hortatory paradigms.

Three representative verb paradigms are listed for each finite verb form presented below. The *e* class paradigm uses the verb *kape* ‘cut’, the *i* class uses *pasi* ‘press’, and the *u* class uses *jimbu* ‘scoop’.

2.5.1 Today’s Past: stem1 + {-tena/-ena}

The today’s past tense encodes an action which occurred within the last twenty-four hours, up to but not including the present moment of utterance. Some overlap into the yesterday’s past tense appears to be an acceptable usage of the today’s past tense forms (e.g., an event occurring twenty-six hrs. prior to the present moment was encoded with the today’s past tense). Members of the ***e***, ***i***, and ***u*** verb class employ stem1 in generating today’s past forms. To this stem1 base, *e* class verbs add the suffix set which has the form *-tena*, while *i* and *u* class verbs add the suffix set which has the form *-ena*.

Person	**e-class** ‘cut’	**i-class** ‘press’	**u-class** ‘scoop’
1S	kape-tena	pat-ena	jim-ena
2S	kape-teta	pat-eta	jimb-eta
3S	kape-sira	pas-ira	jimb-ira
1/3P	kape-tera	pat-era	jimb-era
2P	kape-teva	pat-eva	jimb-eva

Consider the following examples of today’s past tense verb forms.

48) Ugaro asi=da de-siri **kape-sira**.
dry.coconut.leaf string=LOC hit-SEQ.3S.DS **cut-TP.3S.IND**
‘The dry coconut leaf hit the clothes line and it broke.’ [B-93-I 156]

49) Jusi, tai=mi kokora de=da **pat-eta**.
Justin foot=INSTR chicken waste=LOC **press-TP.2S.IND**
‘Justin, you stepped in the chicken manure.’ [B-92-I 008]

50) Ge si-te it-ero tovero=mi tai na-to **gamb-ira**.
talk say-SIM.SS remain-SIM.R.3P.DS horse.fly=ERG foot 1S-GEN **bite-TP.3S.IND**
‘While we were talking here a horse fly bit my leg.’ [B-92-I 403]

For the irregular verb ‘go’, both ***mambu*** (stem1) and ***maunsi*** (stem2) are acceptable stems for present and today’s past tense formation (An exception to this pattern for ‘go’ occurs in third person singular present tense verb formation and is accounted for in examples (74) and (75) of section 2.5.4). Therefore, the correct tense of a proposition using the above forms must be deduced from its context. As was presented above in table 4, there are other irregular verbs such as *visi* ‘ascend’ and *do* ‘release’ which may use either stem1 or stem2 to build their present and today’s past tense forms. Nevertheless, for sake of expedience, only some representative examples of the verb ‘go’ are presented below.

51) Iji eminde na buro=da **mam-ena**.
day this.TMP 1S garden=LOC **go-PRES.1S.IND**
‘Right now I am going to the garden.’ [A-98-I 637]

52) Turo gisi na buro=da **mam-ena**.
afternoon before 1S garden=LOC **go-TP.1S.IND**
‘Yesterday afternoon I went to the garden.’ [A-98-I 638]

53) Iji eminde na buro=da **maunt-ena**.
day this.TMP 1S garden=LOC **go-PRES.1S.IND**
‘Right now I am going to the garden.’ [A-98-I 651]

54) Turo gisi na buro=da **maunt-ena**.
afternoon before 1S garden=LOC **go-TP.1S.IND**
‘Yesterday afternoon I went to the garden.’ [A-98-I 652]

The verb *inji* ‘eat’ is unusual in that homophonous stem1and stem2 forms exist. Therefore, when this verb is used in the present or today’s past tense, the context must be depended on to make obvious which tense is actually in use. As was noted in table 4, the verb *isi* ‘remain’ also exhibits homophonous stems in the present and today’s past tense. Nonetheless, expedience permits only representative examples of the verb ‘eat’ to be presented here.

55) Avera.ango.de iji=de iji+rorae **in-ena**.
yesterday day=TMP day+thing **eat-TP.1S.IND**
‘Yesterday noon I ate lunch.’ [A-96-I 170]

56) na pisi yate-do **in-ena**.
1S meat chew-SEQ.SS **eat-PRES.1S.IND**
‘I chewed the meat and am eating (it).’ [B-93-I 189]

2.5.2 Yesterday’s Past: stem2 + {-tana/-ana}

The yesterday’s past tense encodes any event which has occurred within the last twelve months up to but not including events which have occurred twenty-four hours prior to the present moment. Some uses of yesterday’s past tense forms for events thirteen and fourteen mths. prior to the present moment have been attested. Members of the ***e***, ***i***, and ***u*** class employ stem2 to conjugate the yesterday’s past tense paradigm. To their stem2 base, most *e* class verbs add the suffix set which has the form *-tana*, while *i* and *u* class verbs add the suffix set which follows the form *-ana*.

Person	**e-class** ‘cut’	**i-class** ‘press’	**u-class** ‘scoop’
1S	kapi-tana	papot-ana	jip-ana
2S	kapi-tata	papot-ata	jip-ata
3S	kapi-tara	papot-ara	jip-ara
1/3P	kapi-tara	papot-ara	jip-ara
2P	kapi-tava	papot-ava	jip-ava

Some examples of yesterday’s past tense verb forms are:

57) Deguta gisi ito aro ambe **sigi-tara**.
week before 2S.GEN wife sago **transport-YP.3S.IND**
‘Last week my wife carried sago.’ [A-98-I 756]

58) Embo+mai dasiga oro butu dure-do **papot-ara**.
man+child praise men’s.house earth dig-SEQ.SS **press-YP.3P.IND**
‘The people dug up the earth and packed it down at the (site of the new) church.’ [B-96-I 143]

59) Pu kive=mi **jip-ara**.
pig snare=INSTR **scoop-YP.3S.IND**
‘The pig was caught with a snare.’ [A-92-I 031]

60) …Ainda dao ava ruege-do imo-de t-ae
that.GEN name that.FOC forget-SEQ.SS 2S-DAT say-NEG
dotur-ana ava.
release-YP.1S.IND SM
'…His name I forgot to tell you and left (it off the list).' [Letter4 005]

Yesterday's past tense forms of the irregular verbs 'do' and 'say' respectively may employ two different stems to encode their meanings. The choice of verb stem determines which yesterday's past tense suffix set {*-ana/-tana*} may be used to inflect the verb. For the verb 'do', stem *e* must combine with *-ana* and stem *eu* with *-tana.* For the verb 'say', stem *te* must combine with *-ana* and stem *siu* with *-tana.*

61) Imo-mane jimu-do mamai=de **e-ava**.
2S-P scoop-SEQ.SS child.RED=COM **do-YP.2P.IND**
'You all married and then had children.' [C-91-I 712]

62) Na Ainsi=da maunt-eunte mau-do tapororo **eu-tana**.
1S Ainsi=LOC go-SEQ.DUR.SS go-SEQ.SS worship **do-YP.1S.IND**
'I traveled for a while to Ainsi then went and worshiped (there).' [A-98-II 238]

63) …Embo nei=mi Bada benunu **te-ara**…
man another=ERG Lord pray **say-YP.3S.IND**
'…Another man prayed to the Lord…' [A-98-I 323]

64) Gisi=be na ge beyae **siu-tana**.
before=INT 1S talk bad **say-YP.1S.IND**
'At first I talked bad.' [A-92-II 1012]

2.5.3 Remote Past: stem2 + {-tena}

The remote past tense encodes any event which has occurred beyond one year prior to the present moment. Usages of the remote past tense forms for events occurring earlier have been attested. Such instances, however, are not the norm. As in the yesterday's past tense, members of the ***e***, ***i***, and ***u*** class employ verb stem2 to conjugate the remote past tense paradigm. All remote past tense forms use the ***-tena*** suffix set in all person/number forms except the third person singular which takes the ***-sina*** suffix.

Person	**e-class** ‘cut’	**i-class** ‘press’	**u-class** ‘scoop’
1S	kapi-tena	paposi-tena	jipu-tena
2S	kapi-teta	paposi-teta	jipu-teta
3S	kapi-sina	paposi-sina	jipu-sina
1/3P	kapi-tera	paposi-tera	jipu-tera
2P	kapi-teva	paposi-teva	jipu-teva

Some examples of remote past tense verb forms are:

65) Ge, dono siroro ari ge ava **jijiri-tera**,
talk snake.kind origin do.NOMZ talk that.FOC **weave-RP.3P.IND**
ainda moka=be ava tamonde.
that.GEN core=INT SM three
‘The talk, the dono snake’s origin story that they told, it has 3 real meanings.’ [Snake 002]

66) Mutari igi vote-do asi pasi-do **kapi-sina**.
coconut leaf descend-SEQ.SS string press-SEQ.SS **cut-RP.3S.IND**
‘The coconut leaf fell down and broke the clothes line.’ [A-97-I 007]

67) Mamai tote embo Dodoima ava kun-do **maunsi-tera**.
child.RED two man Dodoima that.FOC grasp-SEQ.SS **go-RP.3P.IND**
‘The two children carried the man Dodoima away.’ [Monster 080]

The irregular verb ‘do’ employs the stem *esi* to encode its remote past tense forms.

68) Baji-do gun-do embo=be **esi-tera**.
grow-SEQ.SS come-SEQ.SS man=INT **do-RP.3P.IND**
‘They grew and became full grown men.’ [Monster 009]

The irregular verb ‘say’ uses the stem form *si* for its remote past tense conjugation.

69) “Ba na-to buro=da jiwae=be is-ra,” **si-sina**.
taro 1S-GEN garden=LOC many=INT remain-TP.3S.IND **say-RP.3S.IND**
‘ “The taro at my garden is plentiful,” he said.’ [Wallaby 007]

The remote tense form of ‘remain’ is unique in that the morpheme *-re* is infixed between the expected remote tense suffix set {*-tena*} and the stem *isi.* Possibly the *-re* morpheme is related to the *-ere* ‘imperfective’ endocentric marker which is common in Korafe (C. Farr 1996:25). If so, in this construction it could be indexing the inherent imperfective (IPF) durative nature of the verb: *isi-re-tena* ‘remain-IPF-RP.1S.IND’.

70) Ni ji-ero vava=da **isi-re-tena**.
bird fasten-SEQ.R.3P.DS platform=LOC **remain-IPF-RP.1S.IND**
'They decorated (me) with bird feathers and I was on the platform.' [Initiation 010]

2.5.4 Present: stem2 + {-ena}

The present tense encodes an action which is occurring at the same time as the utterance. A stem2 verb form plus the ***-ena*** suffix set indicates present tense in all persons except third singular. Third person singular forms employ the *-eira* suffix. See section 2.4.2 (above) for one hypothesis regarding the origin of the third person singular present tense suffix. The present tense regular verb paradigm has the following finite independent forms:

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-ena	papot-ena	jip-ena
2S	kap-eta	papot-eta	jip-eta
3S	kap-eira	papot-eira	jip-eira
1/3P	kap-era	papot-era	jip-era
2P	kapeva	papot-eva	jip-eva

The contrast between the third person singular suffix and the normal present tense suffix set can be seen in the paradigms above and in the following examples.

71) Imo butu dure-do **papot-eta**.
2S ground dig-SEQ.SS **press-PRES.2S.IND**
'You dug the dirt and are packing it down.' [B-96-I 133]

72) Eutu vo **jip-eira**.
woman animal **scoop-PRES.3S.IND**
'The woman is catching a fish.' [Primer 008]

73) …Eutu=mi ambe **sig-era**.
woman=ERG sago **transport-PRES.3P.IND**
'…The women are transporting the sago.' [B-92-I 246]

The irregular verb 'go' in the present tense may be declined using either ***mambu*** 'stem1' or ***maunsi*** 'stem2' as its base. Only the third person singular form of the verb 'go' is excluded from this rule. Therefore, the stem2 form of 'go' in the third person singular is considered well-formed Binandere, but the stem1 form is not. Example 74) illustrates the well-formed stem2 use of the verb 'go', versus example 75) which illustrates the unacceptable (*) stem1 form use. The reason for excluding the third person singular present tense stem1 form of 'go' is not known.

74) Iji einde embo buro=da **maunt-eira**.
day here.TMP man garden=LOC **go-PRES.3S.IND**
'Right now a man is going to the garden.' [A-98-I 655]

75) *****Iji einde embo buro=da **mamb-eira**
day here.TMP man garden=LOC **go-PRES.3S.IND**

2.5.5 Future: stem1 + {-ana}

The future tense encodes an action which is to occur after the utterance. A stem1 verb form plus the ***-ana*** suffix set indicates future tense in all persons except third singular. Third person singular forms routinely employ the *-aina* suffix. See section 2.4.2 (above) for one hypothesis concerning the origin of the third person singular future tense suffix. The present tense regular verb paradigm has the following finite independent forms:

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-ana	pat-ana	jim-ana
2S	kap-ata	pat-ata	jimb-ata
3S	kap-aina	pat-aina	jim-aina
1/3P	kap-ara	pat-ara	jimb-ara
2P	kap-ava	pat-ava	jimb-ava

Consider these examples:

76) Na un **jim-ana**.
1S water **scoop-F.1S.IND**
'I will get the water.' [A-92-II 877]

77) Embo kamboro **in-aina**.
man yam **eat-F.3S.IND**
'The man will eat the yam.' [Word list 2-92-182]

78) Ava embo imo-mane goroba **bad-ava**.
therefore 2S-P strong **grow-F.2P.IND**
'Therefore, you will grow strong.' [Monster 012]

2.5.6 Remote Past Customary (aspect): stem2 + {-ona}

Verbs encoding the remote past customary aspect are included in this section because they conjugate in much the same manner as final verb tense forms. Remote past customary verbs encode customary or habitual actions which have transpired at least twelve months prior to the present moment. Remote past customary actions are routinely described using the stem2 verb form plus the customary three-part suffix. The speech act value *-a* 'indicative' terminates all remote past customary verb forms except for 3S. Third singular forms are unique in that they appear to use the indicative copula *ra* or an allomorph *na* as their speech act value termini. The rules determining which 3S speech act value (*ra* or *na*) will terminate the customary suffix are not yet known. Remote past customary aspect is indexed suffix initial by means of *-o* for all singular and plural forms except 3S. The contrastive 3S verb receives *-evi* as its designated 'customary' initial suffix. The medial suffix slot indexes person/number and these suffixes are identical to the present, today's past, and yesterday's past tense indicative and question mood person/number markers. However, the 3S person/number suffix is unique and appears to use the null set (*-Ø*) as its marker.

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-ona	papot-ona	jip-ona
2S	kap-ota	papot-ota	jip-ota
3S	kap-evira/evina	papot-evira/evina	jip-evira/evina
1/3P	kap-ora	papot-ora	jip-ora
2P	kap-ova	papot-ova	jip-ova

Consider the following examples of final verbs expressing the remote past customary aspect.

79) Imo buro ounda mau-do bido jiwae **kap-ota**.
2S garden there.LOC go-SEQ.SS banana many **cut-RP.CUST.2S.IND**
'You used to go to the garden over there and cut lots of bananas.' [B-96-I 323]

80) Un Gira=da vo **jip-evira**.
water Gira=LOC animal **scoop-RP.CUST.3S.IND**
'He always used to catch fish at the Gira river.' [A-97-461]

81) E-do embo nasi berari ava.embo ava adu e-do
do-SEQ.SS man village all therefore that.FOC fear do-SEQ.SS
banga to=da abu=da nasi **jiji-ora**.
rock hole=LOC jungle=GEN village **fasten-RP.CUST.3P.IND**
'Therefore the men of all the villages were scared
and used to make their homes in the jungle caves.' [Monster 004]

2.5.7 Content question interrogative mood: stem1 or 2 + -tense/aspect/modality.subject + -i

The content question interrogative mood is employed by the speaker when further information is required. To employ this mood one simply replaces the final speech act value marker with *-i* and then adds an appropriate interrogative pro-word to the preceding sentence. The positive hortatory mood is unique in that it uses future tense interrogative forms to encode its interrogative forms.

82) Voi na=ka, nongo **e-tesi**?
wow 1S=GEN.DM how **do-TP.2S.Q**
'Wow! My dear, how did you do this?' [Snake 021]

83) Embo ouva iji nonde **mamb-iri**?
man that.FOC day when **go-TP.3S.Q**
'When did that man over there go?' [A-92-II 1033]

84) Doun anda **kap-eri**?
sugar.cane whose **cut-PRES.3P.Q**
'Whose sugarcane are they cutting?' [A-98-I 157]

The future tense and positive hortatory mood encode their interrogatives in identical fashion. Therefore, the speaker's intended meaning must be deduced from the context of the utterance when one of these forms occur.

85) Nongo e-do mando pon **wad-aini**?
how do-SEQ.SS house behind **sweep-F.3S.Q**
'How may/will she sweep behind the house?' [A-98-II 665]

86) Nakare yai ouva nonda **mamb-ari**?
1P.EXC place that.FOC where **go-F.1P.Q**
'Let's/We will go to which place over there?' [A-98-II 660]

Since first and third person plural hortatory interrogative suffixes are identical to their respective future tense interrogative suffixes, they need not be confused with contrastive first and third person plural remote customary interrogative suffixes.

87) Nakare yai ouva nonda **mamb-ori**?
1P.EXC place that.FOC where **go-RP.CUST.1P.Q**
'We used to go to which place over there? [A-98-II 717]

2.5.8 Polar question interrogative mood: stem1 or 2 + -tense/aspect/modality.subject.Q + -ta

The polar question interrogative mood is characterized by *-ta*. A final verb form utilizing the *-ta* suffix must combine with a preceding *-i* 'content question interrogative' suffix to encode its meaning. However, a sentence with a final verb hosting the *-ta* 'yes/no' suffix needs no accompanying question word to complete its sense.

Another possible way to explain the polar question mood marker would be to combine *-i* and *-ta* into one inseparable suffix (i.e., *-ita*). Despite the acceptability of this additional solution, I have chosen the former. In doing so I have sought to make obvious the underlying base components of this suffix.

88) Aua **pi-asi-ta**?
that.FOC **put-F.2S.Q-Y/N**
'Will you give them (to us)?' [Letter2 011]

89) Nange umbo **t-ani-ta**?
DL.INC uncle **say-F.DL.Q-Y/N**
'Shall we both call him uncle?' [Monster 047]

90) Pu ipa da **inji-tevi-ta**?
pig hand one **eat-RP.2P.Q-Y/N**
'Did you eat five pigs?' [A-98-I 205]

91) Imo na **kondade-ae** **e-tesi-ta**?
2S 1S **help-NEG** **do-TP.2S.Q-Y/N**
'Could you help me?' [Letter8 012]

92) Duberi matu e-do gun-do **it-osi-ta**?
year old do-SEQ.SS come-SEQ.SS **remain-RP.CUST.2S.Q-Y/N**
'Did you come many years ago and stay here?' [A-98-II 572]

2.5.9 Hortatory mood: stem1 + {-ane}

The hortatory mood (H) is used by the speaker to suggest that a particular action be engaged in. All hortatory verbs must combine stem1 forms with the hortatory suffix set to complete their meanings. This mood is unique in that it utilizes the speech act value marker *-e* to fill its final three-part suffix position. The *-e* signals current relevancy (CR) to the recipient and in doing so urges his or her immediate response to the suggestion at hand. The hortatory mood is encoded by means of a suffix initial *-a* for 1S, 2S, 3S, and 2P verb forms. However, 1/3P forms use *-o* in the initial suffix position. The person/number markers which follow the initial mood partial of the hortatory suffix are identical to the present, today's past, and yesterday's past tense indicative and interrogative mood person/number markers.

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-ane	pat-ane	jim-ane
2S	kap-ate	pat-ate	jimb-ate
3S	kap-are	pat-are	jimb-are
1/3P	kap-oré	pat-oré	jimb-oré
2P	kap-ave	pat-ave	jimb-ave

Primary stress placement in hortatory verbs normally falls on the first syllable of the suffix. Hortatory verb forms encoding 1/3P person/number are the exceptions requiring primary stress on their final syllable. As illustrated in the first example below, a hortatory verb is often preceded by an imperative verb.

Consider the following examples of verbs in the hortatory mood:

93) "Apie=da ji pie **g-ane**!"
grandparent=GEN tooth put.IMP **see-H.1S.CR**
' "Give me grandfather's tooth! Let me see!. . ." ' [Monster 062]

94) Imo siri **kap-ate**.
2S cane **cut-H.2S.CR**
'You may cut the cane.' [A-97-I 296]

95) Kaen anumbe-do **ind-oré**!
1P.INC sit-SEQ.SS **eat-H.1P.CR**
'Let's sit d own and eat!' [Visitors 017]

2.5.10 Negative hortatory mood: stem1 + {-one}

The negative hortatory mood is used by the speaker to urge someone to halt or abstain from an action. A negative hortatory verb requires a stem1 verb form plus the appropriate three-part suffix to complete its meaning. As in the positive hortatory mood, the negative hortatory uses the current relevance marker *-e* to terminate its final three-part suffix. Negative hortatory mood 1S, 2S, 1/3P, and 2P verb forms all use *-o* in the initial suffix position. Contrastively, 3S verb forms manifest [-ʔu] /-u/ <-u> in the initial suffix position. The glottal stop blocks the vowel gobbling rule and causes the primary verb stem to maintain its vowel class identity after suffixation. In third singular negative hortative *u* class verbs (e.g., /jĩbu + -uɾe/ 'scoop + -NEG.H.3S.CR') the resulting /uu/ geminate is simplified by a degemination rule and becomes /jĩbuɾe/ or <jimbure> 'he should not scoop'. The person/number suffixes of the negative hortatory set are identical to those of the positive hortatory suffix set. Three representative verb paradigms of the negative hortatory mood are presented below.

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-one	pat-one	jim-one
2S	kap-ote	pat-ote	jimb-ote
3S	kape-ure	pasi-ure	jimb-ure
1/3P	kap-oɾe	pat-ore	jimb-ore
2P	kap-ove	pat-ove	jimb-ove

Primary stress on negative hortatory verbs falls on the first syllable of the suffix. Unlike the positive hortatory verbs, the negative hortatory 1/3P person/number verb forms do not deviate from this rule. Therefore, 1/3P positive hortatory and negative hortatory verb suffixes are identical except for stress placement (e.g., *kap-oré* 'cut-1/3P.H', or 'Lets cut (it)' vs. *kap-óre* 'cut-1/3P.NEG.H' or 'Lets not cut (it)'.

96) …Namenji siaka aoro+gate-do, "Ai, namenji na-to,
brother small yell-SEQ.SS oh brother 1S-GEN
d-ote![5]" s-ite…
release-NEG.H.2S.CR say-SIM.SS
'… The small brother yelled, "Oh, my brother!
Don't let yourself fall !" he was saying…' [Hornbill 007]

97) Bido **kape-ure**!
banana **cut-NEG.H.3S.CR**
'He may not cut the banana plant!' [A-98-I 045]

98) Jimbago tai-mi **pat-ore**!
snake foot-INSTR **press-NEG.H.1P.CR**
'Let's not step on a snake!' [A-98-I 058]

[5] When the verb *do* 'release' is inflected with the 2S negative hortatory mood suffix *-ote* a gemminate vowel cluster *oo* results. A degemmination rule reduces the cluster to a single *o* and the surface form becomes *d-ote* 'release-NEG.H.2S.CR.

2.5.11 Imperative mood

The imperative mood is realized by three unique sets of verb forms. These differ from the indicative and question moods in that they are unmarked for tense. Imperative person/number forms are also limited to second person singular and plural. The stem1 verb form is used by the imperative for its basic verb stem.

The 'abrupt' imperative employs stem1 for its 2S form and adds the /-t/ <u> for its '2P' form. The 'urgent' imperative verb forms differ from the former in that they manifest 2 syllable suffixes. The '1S' *-s* (underlying /-t/) of the urgent imperative suffix *-vasi* distinguishes it from the *-v* of the *-vavi* '2P' suffix. The 'stentorian' or loud imperative encodes the 2S verb form by suffixing *-y* '2S' plus the stentorian *-o* to the stem1 verb form. However, in slow speech 2S stentorian verbs often employ an unwritten glottal [-ʔ] to demarcate stem and suffix boundaries. Second person plural stentorian imperatives inflect the stem1 verb form with the *-v* '2P' marker plus the stentorian imperative *-o* suffix.

	e-class 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
Abrupt S	kape	pasi	jimbu
Abrupt P	kape-u	pasi-u	jimbu-u
Urgent S	kape-vasi	pasi-vasi	jimbu-vasi
Urgent P	kape-vavi	pasi-vavi	jimbu-vavi
Polite S	kape-yo	pasi-yo	jimbu-yo
Polite P	kape-vo	pasi-vo	jimbu-vo

Abrupt imperatives are used when the speaker is in a hurry.

99) Ana **bu**!
potato **hold.IMP**
'Get the potatoes!' [A-97-I 216]

100) "Apie=da ji **pie**!" si-te si-te
grandparent=GEN tooth **put.IMP** say-SIM.SS say-SIM.SS
siaka=da ambo=da tupu-sina.
small=GEN behind=LOC run-RP.3S.IND
'While saying again and again, "Give (me) grandfather's tooth!" he later ran to where his younger brother was.' [Monster 065]

101) **Tumbu-u**!
run.IMP-2P
'You all run!' [A-98-I 034]

An urgent imperative is used to reinforce an abrupt imperative which has not been obeyed promptly or to simply voice an urgent directive.

102) Imo na **atopasi-vasi**!
2S 1S **teach.IMP-2S.URG**
'You teach me!' [B-91-I 054]

103) **Kape-vasi**!
cut.IMP-2S.URG
'You cut it!' [A-98-I 002]

104) Imo-mane **anumbe-vavi**!
2S-P **sit.IMP-2P.URG**
'You all sit down!' [B-91-I 609]

Stentorian imperatives are the most common imperatives used in daily conversation and are often called out loudly between speakers.

105) "Na dao **te-yo**!"
1S name **say.IMP-2S.STEN**
' "Say my name (Give him my name)!" ' [Naming 005]

106) Ava=ra **isi-vo**!
that.FOC=COP **remain.IMP-2P.STEN**
'Alright, you all stay!' [Letter2 013]

107) "Imo-mane gisi **e-vo**!" si-sina.
2S-P before **do.IMP-2P.STEN** say-RP.3S.IND
' "You all go on ahead!" he said.' [Snake 007]

2.6 Finite verb forms - different subject (DS) medial verb paradigms

Two realis and four irrealis different subject medial verb paradigms have been currently identified in the language. Each paradigm consists of a verb stem and suffix set. The *-ei* imperfect marker which indexes ongoing action only inflects different subject simultaneous irrealis (future) and simultaneous irrealis customary medial verb forms.

The different subject medial verb patterns as follows:

Verb StemI/II (IPF) + Suffix Set.

The suffix sets have three basic components:

Relative Tense/Status + Subject:Person/Number + {-o}.

The initial partial with or without the imperfective marker denotes the relative tense and status of the inflected medial verb. Depending on the choice of the initial partial, the inflected medial verb may encode an action which took place prior to (SEQ) or an action taking place at the same time as (SIM) the action of the reference clause. The choice of the initial partial also determines whether or not the inflected medial verb encodes a realis or irrealis action. The middle partial denotes the person and number of the subject referent of the medial verb. The final partial {-o} draws attention away from the marking clause and signals that a different subject (than that of the marking clause) is forthcoming in the reference clause.

The suffix sets for different subject medial verb forms are presented in table 7. These have been divided into sets without and sets with an imperfective marker.

TABLE 7: SUFFIX SETS FOR DS MEDIAL VERB FORMS

SETS WITHOUT AN IMPERFECTIVE MARKER:

STEM	SIM.R II	SEQ.R I	SEQ.IR.(F) I	SEQ.IR.CUST I
1S	e-n-o	(t)e-n-o	a-n-o	o-n-o
2S	e-t-o	(t)e-t-o	a-t-o	o-t-o
3S	eiri	(s)iri	ari	uri
1/3P	e-r-o	(t)e-r-o	a-r-o	o-r-o
2P	e-v-o	(t)e-v-o	a-v-o	o-v-o

SETS WITH AN IMPERFECTIVE MARKER:

STEM	SIM.IR.(F) II + {-ei}	SIM.IR.CUST II + {-ei}
1S	ei-a-n-o	ei-v-o-n-o
2S	ei-a-t-o	ei-v-o-t-o
3S	ei-ari	ei-uri
1/3P	ei-a-r-o	ei-v-o-r-o
2P	ei-a-v-o	ei-v-o-v-o

2.6.1 DS realis sequencing paradigm: stem1 + {-teno/-eno}

The different subject realis sequencing medial verb paradigm is almost identical to the today's past tense final verb paradigm. Both paradigms require stem1 verb bases to host their respective suffix sets. However, the different subject realis sequencing suffix set employs different final recurrent partials than the today's past tense *-a* final partial. Different subject realis sequencing verbs contrastively employ *-o* for 1S, 2S, 1P, 2P, and 3P forms and *-i* for 3S.

Person	**e-class** ‘cut’	**i-class** ‘press’	**u-class** ‘scoop’
1S	kape-teno	pat-eno	jim-eno
2S	kape-teto	pat-eto	jimb-eto
3S	kape-siri	pas-iri	jimb-iri
1/3P	kape-tero	pat-ero	jimb-ero
2P	kape-tevo	pat-evo	jimb-evo

In the examples which follow, different subject realis sequential medial verbs signal actions which have terminated sometime before or immediately prior to the action encoded by the reference clause. Realis by nature, medial verbs in this category may occur only in sentences which end with present, today’s past, yesterday’s past or remote past tense final verb forms.

108) Boroko imo doun **kape-teto** gup-ena.
now 2S sugar.cane **cut-SEQ.2S.DS** come-PRES.1S.IND
‘You just cut the sugar cane and I am coming.’ [B-96-I 201]

109) …Va bajina **gumb-iri** ni goroba tutu=da
rain big **come-SEQ.3S.DS** tree black.palm base=LOC
pete-do it-ero…
stand-SEQ.SS remain-SIM.3P.DS
‘…A big rain came and they stood and remained at the trunk
of a black palm tree…’ [Monster 027]

110) Nakare gova tai=mi **pat-ero** gagur-ara.
1P.EXC stone.fish foot=INSTR **press-SEQ.1P.DS** spear-YP.3P.IND
‘We stepped on some stone fish and they speared us.’[A-96-I 358]

2.6.2 DS realis simultaneous paradigm: stem2 + {-eno}

The different subject realis simultaneous medial verb paradigm is like the present tense final verb paradigm in that both require stem2 verb bases as starting points. Different subject realis simultaneous medial verbs, however, employ the recurrent final partials: *-o* for 1S, 2S, 1P, 2P, and 3P, and *-i* for 3S. This is in contrast with the present tense final verb suffix which employs *-a* as its final partial.

Person	**e-class** ‘cut’	**i-class** ‘press’	**u-class** ‘scoop’
1S	kap-eno	papot-eno	jip-eno
2S	kap-eto	papot-eto	jip-eto
3S	kap-eiri	papot-eiri	jip-eiri
1/3P	kap-ero	papot-ero	jip-ero
2P	kapevo	papot-evo	jip-evo

The highlighted different subject realis simultaneous medial verbs in the examples which follow signal actions which overlap completely or partially with the action encoded by the following reference clause. The realis status of these verb forms restricts their use to sentences which end with present, today's past, yesterday's past or remote past tense final verbs.

111) Kape-siri ororo **vovot-eiri** ororo ava
cut-SEQ.3S.DS blood **descend-SIM.3S.DS** blood that.FOC
ba igi=da pie-siri nuki-sina.
taro leaf-LOC put-SEQ.3S.DS fill.up-RP.3S.IND
'(Her hand) got cut and as the blood ran down she put it in a taro leaf and it filled (the leaf container) up.' [Monster 006]

112) Imo-mane un **jip-evo** gun-do it-ena
2S-P water **scoop-SIM.2P.DS** come-SEQ.SS remain-PRES.1S.IND
'While you all were fetching water I came and am here.' [A-96-I 350]

113) Ava-mane siporo **ind-ero** aiya gumb-ira.
that.FOC-P orange **eat-SIM.3P.DS** mom come-TP.3S.IND
'While they were eating the orange their mom came.' [A-97-I 021]

2.6.3 DS irrealis (future) paradigms: Sequencing paradigm: stem1 + {-ano} Simultaneous paradigm: stem2 + -ei + {-ano}

Different subject irrealis (future) sequencing and simultaneous medial verbs use the same suffix sets. The sequencing paradigm, however, contrasts with the simultaneous paradigm by requiring stem1 verb bases. The different subject irrealis simultaneous paradigm requires stem2 verb bases and the *-ei* 'imperfective' marker. The sequencing paradigm is identical to the future tense final verb paradigm except for its final recurrent partials. Instead of the terminal partial *-a* 'indicative' speech act value of the future tense, the 'different subject' terminal partial *-o* (for 1S, 2S, 1P, 2P, and 3P) and *-i* (for 3S) mark the sequencing paradigm's suffix set.

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-ano	pat-ano	jim-ano
2S	kap-ato	pat-ato	jimb-ato
3S	kap-ari	pat-ari	jimb-ari
1/3P	kap-aro	pat-aro	jimb-aro
2P	kap-avo	pat-avo	jimb-avo

By definition, the different subject sequential medial verb forms presented above must occur in statements encoding irrealis status. Therefore, statements with final verbs which index future tense, positive hortatory mood, positive hortatory quotes, counterfactual mood, positive or negative deverbals or the imperative mood may employ these medial verbs. The following examples highlight different subject sequential medial verbs occurring in statements indexed verb final as future tense (114) and (117), positive hortatory (115), and a positive hortatory quote (116).

114) Vao=da de-do isi-r-ato, na-ne-mi dodomo
trap=LOC hit-SEQ.SS remain-Ø-SIM.IR.2S.DS 1S-ERG.INCR-ERG invite
mau-do **t-ano** gun-do bu-do ind-ara.
go-SEQ.SS **say-SEQ.IR.1S.DS** come-SEQ.SS hold-SEQ.SS eat-F.3P.IND
'At the place the deadfall struck you, you will be, I will go invite (my friends) and tell them, then they will come get you and eat you.' [Bat 010]

115) Imo **gumb-ato** doun kap-ane.
2S **come-SEQ.IR.2S.DS** sugar.cane cut-H.1S.CR
'You come and let me cut the sugar cane.' [A-97-I 211]

116) "…Money ava **pi-ato** **gumb-ari**
money that.FOC **give-SEQ.IR.2S.DS** **come-SEQ.IR.3S.DS**
ava **pi-ano** b-arate."
SM **give-SEQ.IR.1S.DS** hold-H.3S.QH
S-ite ava ove ito ena eire.
say-SIM.SS SM mark 2S.GEN do.PRES.1S.IND here.EMP
' "…That money you will send and I will give it so he may have (it)!" I am explaining as I write your letter right here.' [Letter4 007]

117) Tambara ve nanekare ure-do **pat-aro,**
corn seed 1P.EXC.ERG.INCR plant-SEQ.SS **press-SEQ.IR.1P.DS**
ambo=da imo gumb-ata.
behind=LOC 2S come-F.2S.IND
'We (exclusive) will plant the corn seed and cover it, then later you will come.' [A-97-I 145]

Three representative different subject simultaneous irrealis medial paradigms are presented below.

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-ei-ano	papot-ei-ano	jip-ei-ano
2S	kap-ei-ato	papot-ei-ato	jip-ei-ato
3S	kap-ei-ari	papot-ei-ari	jip-ei-ari
1/3P	kap-ei-aro	papot-ei-aro	jip-ei-aro
2P	kap-ei-avo	papot-ei-avo	jip-ei-avo

The highlighted different subject irrealis simultaneous medial verbs in the examples which follow signal actions which overlap completely or partially with the action encoded by the following reference clause.

118) Na doun **kap-ei-ano** imo gumb-ata.
1S sugar.cane **cut-SIM-IR.1S.DS** 2S come-F.2S.IND
'While I am cutting the sugar cane you will come.' [A-97-I 196]

119) Imo un **jip-ei-ato** na jitao+av-ana.
2S water **scoop-SIM-IR.1S.DS** 1S sleep-F.1S.IND
'While you are fetching the water I will sleep.' [A-98-II 653]

120) Justin **dagumbet-ei-ari** na gum-ana.
Justin **submerge-SIM-IR.3S.DS** 1S come-F.1S.IND
'While Justin is submerging himself in the water I will come.' [A-97-I 201]

121) Ango **ei-ato**[6], na egenembe-do ito mina pi-ane.
That.way **do.SIM-IR.2S.DS** 1S return-SEQ.SS 2S.GEN in.exchange put-H.1S.CR
'While you are acting (helping him) in that way, I can come back and repay you.' [Helper 050]

122) Amo ma paporo **jiji-ei-ari** nakare mamb-oré.
3S canoe platform **fasten-SIM-IR.3S.DS** 1P.EXC go-H.1P.CR
'While he is fastening the canoe platform let's go.' [A-98-II 654]

2.6.4 DS irrealis customary paradigms: sequencing paradigm: stem1 + {-ono} simultaneous paradigm: stem2 + -ei + {-ono}

Different subject customary medial verbs only occur in statements which end with remote past customary aspect final verbs or customary verb sequences. These paradigms are classified "irrealis" because they encode characteristic habitual or customary actions which are not clearly specified instances. Both customary sequencing and simultaneous forms take the same {-ono} suffix set. The customary sequencing paradigm, however, must be constructed using a stem1 verb base as opposed to the customary simultaneous paradigm which must use stem2. The simultaneous paradigm also requires the *-ei* 'imperfective' marker be juxtaposed between the verb stem2 and the {-ono} suffix set. Representative paradigms of different subject customary sequential medial verb forms are:

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-ono	pat-ono	jim-ono
2S	kap-oto	pat-oto	jimb-oto
3S	kape-uri	pasi-uri	jimb-uri
1/3P	kap-oro	pat-oro	jimb-oro
2P	kap-ovo	pat-ovo	jimb-ovo

Different subject irrealis customary sequencing medial verbs encode customary actions which precede the action of the following reference clause. When a customary sequential medial verb employs a stem which retains a final vowel, an unwritten qlottal stop [ʕ] is inserted to demarcate the syllable boundary between the stem terminus and suffix onset. In example 123) the highlighted customary sequencing medial verb occurs in a sentence which terminates with a remote past tense customary aspect final verb.

[6] In the different subject simultaneous irrealis verb form *eiato* 'while you are acting' the verb stem *e* 'do' and the *-ei* 'imperfective' marker have coalesced into one inseparable sequence *ei* 'do.SIM'. However, one may assume that this sequence is the result of *e* 'do' consuming the leading *e* of the *-ei* 'imperfect' marker and conjoining with the final *i.* Thus, the original identity of the *e* 'do' verb stem has been maintained.

123) Mai na-to ito garau=da
child 1S-GEN 2S.GEN house.wind=LOC
visi-uri ategot-ota.
ascend-SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS greet-RP.CUST.1S.IND
'My son regularly climbed up on your porch and you always greeted him (long ago).' [B-96-I 411]

Different subject sequential customary verbs are especially common in procedural texts. Example 124) comes from a story which explains how fish traps are made and 125) from a story describing how dug out canoes are made. Note that the highlighted sequential customary medial verbs in examples 124)-126) each occur in sentences which end with customary verb sequences.

124) …Ao pirige-do ava dutu **de-oro**
bottom open-SEQ.SS SM lower.level **hit-SEQ.IR.CUST.3P.DS**
vo **vote-uri**…
animal **descend-SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS**
'…They open the bottom (of the fish trap), then customarily
hit the lower compartment and the fish fall out…' [Fish 016]

125) Ji-do mangi dari-do ava **pi-oro**
fasten-SEQ.SS outrigger straight-SEQ.SS SM **put-SEQ.IR.CUST.1P.DS**
un=da vote-do eira ava.
water=LOC descend-SEQ.SS do.PRES.3S.IND SM
'We fasten (the canoe together), straighten the outrigger, and customarily put it
(the canoe) in the water and it goes down.' [Canoe 003]

126) Un **jimb-ovo** inji-do ena.
water **scoop-SEQ.IR.CUST.2P.DS** eat-SEQ.SS do.PRES.1S.IND
'You all are habitually fetching the water and I am always drinking it.' [A-97-I 443]

Different subject irrealis customary simultaneous medial verbs encode customary actions which overlap with the action of the following reference clause. Some representative paradigms are:

Person	**e-class** 'cut'	**i-class** 'press'	**u-class** 'scoop'
1S	kap-ei-v-ono	papot-ei-v-ono	jip-ei-v-ono
2S	kap-ei-v-oto	papot-ei-v-oto	jip-ei-v-oto
3S	kap-ei-uri	papot-ei-uri	jip-ei-uri
1/3P	kap-ei-v-oro	papot-ei-v-oro	jip-ei-v-oro
2P	kap-ei-v-ovo	papot-ei-v-ovo	jip-ei-v-ovo

Customary simultaneous medial verbs are not as common as customary sequential. Nevertheless, they do occur in Binandere legends and occasionally in everyday conversation. In such instances they encode habitual or customary actions which occur (or did occur) at the same time as other routine events.

It should be noted that a vowel gobbling rule employed by the imperfective ***-ei*** marker reduces the verb stem to a consonant final form in all three verb classes. The different subject irrealis customary simultaneous medial verb is unique in that it utilizes the voiced bilabial fricative (here represented as a *-v-*) to define the boundary between the imperfective marker and the final irrealis customary person number suffix. The third person singular verb forms behave differently from the other person number verb forms by employing a glottal stop [ʕ] to demarcate the boundary between the imperfective marker and the following medial verb suffix.

127) "Nange ni be ikane ava-va **in-ei-v-ono**
DL.INC tree fruit high that.FOC-RED **eat-SIM-Ø-IR.CUST.DL.DS**
ava butu=da vote-do eira."
that.FOC ground=LOC fall-SEQ.SS do.PRES.3S.IND
' "While we both eat that tree fruit up high,
it is always falling on the ground." ' [Cassowary 015]

128) …Embo ma=de **ei-v-oro** vote-do gaie-do
man canoe=COM **do.SIM-Ø-IR.CUST.3S.DS** descend-SEQ.SS spear-SEQ.SS
inji-do esisina.
eat-SEQ.SS do.RP.3S.IND
'…While the men with canoes rowed along,
he (the giant eagle) descended, impaled, and habitually ate them.' [Bird 001]

129) Hunti mutari **op-ei-uri**, ainda mai Jacob
Hunti coconut **pull.down-SIM-IR.CUST.3S.DS** that.GEN child Jacob
kun-do mau-do kando e-do eira.
grasp-SEQ.SS go-SEQ.SS gift do-SEQ.SS do.PRES.3S.IND
'While Hunti picks coconuts, his son Jacob takes them
and gives them away.' [B-96-I 418]

2.7 Nominal + verb combinations in Binandere

The most basic classification of verbs is that which distinquishes between simple or compound. Simple verbs consist of only one root. Compound verbs consist of a noun or noun-like word plus a generic verb. Foley asserts that this variety of verb compounding is "very widespread among Papuan languages" (1986:119).

Some nominal + verb combinations are listed below:

Binandere N + V	English Gloss	Free Translation
ainto e	skin do	'walk'
aturo e	dream do	'dream'
buro e	work do	'work'
ove e	mark do	'write'
ambe de	sago hit	'make sago'
ipa de	hand hit	'clap'
damana gambu	rust bite	'rust'
sini gambu	belly bite	'anger'
Binandere N + V	English Gloss	Free Translation

be ji	mouth fasten	‘smile’
ipa ji	hand fasten	‘shake hands’
arebo te	cough say	‘cough’
asinya te	sneeze say	‘sneeze’
benunu te	prayer say	‘pray’
ji te	cry say	‘cry’

Compound verbs function in the same way as simple verbs. However, the negative morpheme ***mana*** ‘not’ and other adverbs may be optionally placed between the nominal and the verb base in compound verbs.

3. VERB PHRASES

Several Binandere verb sequences have been identified which express specific aspectual distinctions. However, most of these require more than one clause to complete their meaning. Therefore, these sequences are discussed in section 6 below.

4. SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Stripped down verb stems in serial constructions are common in many Papuan languages according to Foley (1986:116-7). Binandere, however, appears to be an exception to the norm. Although specific semantic verb pairs and grammatically-oriented verb pairs occur in the language, these invariably must be composed of at least one inflected verb stem to complete their sense. The stripped down stem occurs singly when it does occur or in combination with a preceding nominal adjunct or medial verb form.

130) Iu na-to, un+sigi asi=da **siri**!
husband 1S-GEN water+container string.bag=LOC **stuff.IMP**
‘My husband, stuff the water bottle into the string bag!’ [B-96-I 121]

131) Imo **buro+e**!
2S **work+do.IMP**
‘You work!’ [A-98-I 798]

132) Kun-do **pu**!
grasp-SEQ.SS **come.IMP**
‘Bring it (the coconut) here!’ [C-91-I 500]

133) Bido tari toke-do **bu**!
banana ripe pluck-SEQ.SS **hold.IMP**
‘Pick the ripe banana!’ [C-91-316]

134) Buki warerege-do **gi**!
book turn.around-SEQ.SS **see.IMP**
'Turn the book right-side-up and look at it!' [C-91-445]

5. SWITCH REFERENCE CONSTRUCTIONS

Switch reference constructions are a common feature of everyday Binandere discourse and of Papuan languages in general (Wurm 1982:80-5). Haiman and Munro (1983:ix) define switch reference as an "inflectional category of the verb, which indicates whether of not its subject is identical with the subject of some other verb."

5.1 Fundamental uses

The fundamental uses of the switch reference markers are illustrated in the following two examples. In example 135) the medial verb ending *-do* indicates the subject of the following verb will be identical with the subject of the preceding verb.

135) Namenji bajina overege-do nasi=da
brother big turned.around-SEQ.SS village=LOC
maun-do da si-sina.
go-SEQ.SS one say-RP.3S.IND
'The big brother went back to the village and said (this) one thing.' [Snake 031]

In example 136) the verb 'descend' is marked with the *-do* 'same subject' suffix indicating that the falling flower will be the subject of the following verb 'lodged'. The verb 'lodged' however is marked with *-siri* a third person 'different subject' suffix indicating that a different subject will follow. The small boy upon whose head the flower fell is the implied subject of the verb sequence 'carried it and came' which terminates this sentence.

136) …Uji vote-do mai siaka=da kopuru=da datembe-siri
flower descend-SEQ.SS child small=GEN head=LOC lodge-SEQ.3S.DS
kun-do gupu-sina.
grasp-SEQ.SS come-RP.3S.IND
'…A flower fell and lodged itself on the head of the small boy
and he (unknowingly) carried it and came.' [Monster 027]

5.2 Switch reference forms used wth conjunctions

Switch reference constructions (SRC) frequently occur side by side without intervening connectives and encode coordinate relationships. Occasionally a SRC employs a conjunction which specifies more fully the relationship existing between two clauses. The conjunction *edo* may be used to mark an 'and then' relationship between two clauses or a simultaneous 'and' relationship. The conjunction *gido* is often used to mark 'so' [enabling cause] and *ava embo* 'therefore' [sufficient cause].

The conjunction *edo* in 137), when preceded by a sequential medial verb indicates a sequential chain of events. The rat fell in front of the pig, and then (following that action) the boar ate the rat. Transposing the order of events would make the sentence incomprehensible.

137) …Kandoro ava do-siri, pu=da do=da dur-iri,
rat that.FOC release-SEQ.3S.DS pig=LOC in=LOC fall-SEQ.3S.DS
e-do pu jianda=mi kandoro inji-sina.
do-SEQ.SS pig male=ERG rat eat-RP.3S.IND
'…(Bat) dropped rat, (rat) fell in front of the pig,
and then the boar ate rat.' [Bat 008]

In example 138) below, the conjunction *edo* links two simultaneous actions. Unlike the obligatory sequence of events set forth above, the '(spirit) woman gathering fish' could precede the 'man intending to bring the child to the village'. Since both actions occurred at the same time, to swap their order in the sentence would not radically alter the plot of the story.

138) Mai ava kun-do nasi=da gum-ain gup-eiri
child that.FOC grasp-SEQ.SS village=LOC come-PURP come-SIM.3S.DS
e-do eutu ava vo bur-eiri…
do-SE.SS woman that.FOC animal hold-SIM.3S.DS
'He picked up that child and (carrying it) was intending to bring it to the village
and the (spirit) woman was gathering fish…' [Tot 005]

139) Ango ava kotembe-do te-siri **gi-do** imo kena
that.way that.FOC think-SEQ.SS say-SEQ.3S.DS see-SEQ.SS 2S toward
te-do got-ena.
say-SEQ.SS know-PRES.1S.IND
'He was thinking that way and spoke, **so** I am asking you.' [Letter1 007]

140) Te-sira=da+ango e-do it-ae e-do e-tero,
say-TP.3S.IND=GEN+that.way do-SEQ.SS remain-NEG do-SEQ.SS do-SEQ.3P.DS
ava embo ainda kopuru enembo=da ava sir-eite
therefore that.GEN head man=GEN that.FOC peel-SIM.SS
jimango=da e-siri, gororo e-do wowot-eite
snake=GEN do-SEQ.3S.DS loose do-SEQ.SS descend-SIM.SS
doun gando pipi-tera ainda darabu, darabu esi-sina.
sugar.cane track put-RP.3P.IND there.LOC slither slither do-RP.3S.IND
'Just like he said they did and finished doing, and **therefore** his head, that man's, was peeling off and a snake's (head) appeared, and he became flabby and descending (from the house wind) slithered, slithered away over the pieces of sugar cane they had laid there.' [Snake 034]

5.3 Switch Reference Constructions used to encode a variety of semantic relations

A variety of semantic relations may be encoded by juxtaposing medial verbs with different subjects. Binandere speakers use SRCs to encode cause-effect, change of location, change of state and transfer relations.

5.3.1 5.3.1 Cause-effect relations

Cause-effect SRCs often use lexically fixed verbs which encode generic causative actions as their initial constituent. Therefore, in the formula:

(X) V_1 = transitive verb $_{SEQ.DS}$ + (X) V_2 = intransitive or transitive verb

the initial transitive verb is characteristically *e* 'do/make', *te* 'say', or *do* 'release'. The final V_2 may be expounded by any suitable intransitive or transitive verb. The object referent in the first clause of this type of SRC becomes the referent of the subject in the second clause.

141) "…Kaen=de embo eiva nongo nongo **ano**
1P.INC=COM man this.FOC how how do.SEQ.IR.1P.DS
butu=da vot-ari?"
earth=LOC descend-F.3S.Q
' "…How will we make this man (cassowary) go down to the ground?" ' [Cassowary 008]

142) Nasi tetu ainda ode-do nasi nasi berari
village clearing there.LOC butcher-SEQ.SS village village all
te-tero **gun-do** inji-tera.
say-SEQ.3P.DS come-SEQ.SS eat-RP.3P.IND
'At the village clearing there, they butchered (the monster), told all the villages and they came and ate.' [Monster 082]

143) …Kandoro ava **do-siri**, pu=da do=da **dur-iri**,
rat that.FOC release-SEQ.3S.DS pig=LOC in=LOC fall-SEQ.3S.DS
e-do pu jianda=mi kandoro inji-sina.
do-SEQ.SS pig male=ERG rat eat-RP.3S.IND
'…(Bat) dropped rat, (rat) fell in front of the pig, and then the boar ate rat.' [Bat 008]

5.3.2 5.3.2 Change of state and change of location

Change of state and change of location are two specific types of cause-effect relations which Binandere encodes in similar fashion. SRCs expressing these relations pattern as follows:

(X) V_1 = transitive verb$_{DS.SEQ}$ + (X) V_2 = intransitive verb

Like the previous generic cause-effect formula, this type also employs the object referent of the first clause as subject referent of the second clause. However, change of state and location relations differ from their generic counterpart in that: V_2 cannot be expounded by a transitive verb, V_1 is not limited to one of three generic verbs, and V_2 cannot be filled by any available verb. Instead, both V_1 and V_2 can only be filled with a select set of verbs which are limited semantically, lexically , and idiomatically. Furthermore, collocational restrictions must be applied to V_2 choices once the V_1 for a sequence has been specified.

Some examples encoding change of state are:

144) Ava tedo **pas-iri** **erige-siri** ava,
therefore press-SEQ.3S.DS break.in.half SM
ruvoravo gup-eira ava.
tumble come-PRES.3S.IND SM
'Therefore, he (cassowary) pressed down (his wing as he tried to fly),
it broke in half, and he comes tumbling (out of the sky).' [Cassowary 030]

145) …Tasia=mi **de-tero** **bete-siri** e-do kun-do maun-do
stone.club=INSTR hit-SEQ.3P.DS die-SEQ.3S.DS do-SEQ.SS grasp-SEQ.SS go-SEQ.SS
ode-do inji-tera.
butcher-SEQ.SS eat-RP.3P.IND
'…(They) hit it (the bird) with their clubs, it died and then they carried it off,
butchered and ate it.' [Bird 003]

Change of location is encoded in similar fashion:

146) Ma ava gisi=be **de-oro** **dur-uri** ava…
canoe that.FOC before=INT hit-SEQ.IR.CUST.1P.DS fall-SEQ.IR.CUST.1S.DS SM
'First we customarily chop the canoe tree (and it falls) down…' [Canoe 002]

147) E-do imbosi un=da eutu ava kakua eiri
do-SEQ.SS mother.in.law water=LOC woman that.FOC search do.SIM.3S.DS
ihq,hqh `rh `u` ***ctla,hqh*** ***uhuhrh,rhm`***-
weave-SEQ.3S.DS string.bag that.FOC pull-SEQ.3S.DS ascend-RP.3S.IND
'And then the mother-in-law was looking for the woman (her daughter-in-law)
in the water for a while, then she pulled up that string bag.' [Figs 025]

148) Ove e-do t-ano gi-do ava embo einda money ava
mark do-SEQ.SS say-SEQ.IR.1S.DS see-SEQ.SS SM man here.LOC money that.FOC
pi-ato **gumb-ari**…
put-SEQ.IR.2S.DS come-SEQ.IR.3S.DS
'I will write a letter and tell you so you will send (lit. put and it will come)the man
who is here (his) money…' [Letter4 012]

149) Jana yai=da Justin=da voda tote ava **pie-tero** **b-iri**…
Jana place=LOC Justin=GEN prawn two that.FOC put-SEQ.1P.DS hold-SEQ.3S.DS
'At Jonathan's place we delivered Justin's two prawns and he got them…' [Hunt2 007]

6. FORMULAIC VERB SEQUENCES

6.1 Distributive Verb Sequence

This distributive verb sequence encodes the distribution of an action over several individuals—subjects, objects, or instances. The formula for this sequence is:

Stem1 + Reduplicated CV + -ge 'do.FOC'

In verbal predications *ge* behaves like a pro-verb which draws attention to the distribution of an action over several individuals or objects. Farr (1997:12) says Korafe utilizes the reduplicated stem1 + *-ge* verb forms "as an emphatic set for distributing the action over individuals," but in Baruga this same device is the normal means of expressing plural subjects. Current research indicates that the Binandere *-ge* functions most like the Korafe *-ge.*

Distribution of an action over several subjects:

150) Embo+mai jivae demo=da **pepete-ge-tera**.
man-child many beside=LOC **stand.RED-do.FOC-TP.3P.IND**
'Many people were standing nearby.' [A-98-I 745]

Distribution of an action over several objects or participants:

151) Sipo=de na-to mamai tamonde **tanjiji-ge-tena**.
morning=TMP 1S-GEN child.RED three **embrace.RED-do.FOC-TP.1S.IND**
'This morning I hugged my three children.' [A-98-I 833]

Distribution of an action over several instances:

152) Un **jijimbu-ge-yo**!
water **scoop.RED-do.FOC.IMP-2S.STEN**
'Scoop up the water again and again!' [A-98-I 502]

6.2 Superlative Verb Sequence

The superlative verb sequence is used to denote an action which is done with special care or thoroughness. Any lexical verb which is inflected for same subject sequential action may combine with the superlative *gogo.* This verb sequence patterns:

Stem1 + -do 'SEQ.SS' + gogo 'well' + e 'do'

153) Imo-mane **atege-do+gogo+ena**.
2S-P **greet-SEQ.SS+well+do.PRES.1S.IND**
'I give you all a special welcome.' [A-98-II 619]

The following example is ungrammatical because the stem1 verb form has not been inflected for same subject sequential action.

154) *****Imo-mane **atege+gogo+ena**.
2S-P **greet+well+do.PRES.1S.IND**

The superlative verb sequence may be used as an imperative (155) or dependent verb sequence sentence medial (156).

155) Unguta **ji-do+gogo+e-yo**!
stick **fasten-SEQ.SS+well+do.IMP-2S.STEN**
'Hold on to the stick well!' [A-98-II 623]

156) Iji+ango=de na-to ato gumb-iri nakare riri
day+that.way=TMP 1S-GEN father-in-law come-DS.3S.SEQ 1P.EXC bridge
Ubutu=da tai=mi **pasi-do+gogo+e-do** tep-ara
Ubutu=LOC foot=INSTR **press-SEQ.SS+well+do-SEQ.SS** cross-YP.1P.IND
'When my father-in-law came we planted our feet well
and crossed over the bridge at Ubutu (Village).' [A-98-II 625]

6.3 Counterfactual Mood Verb Sequence

The counterfactual verb sequence is used to express an action which has not yet occurred but could occur given the appropriate circumstances. This verb sequence employs the stem1 verb plus deverbal suffix *-ae* 'NEG' sequence initial. The deverbal paired with the appropriate today's past tense form of the verb 'do' generates the counterfactual verb sequence. Depending on the form of the verb 'do', counterfactual verb sequences may occur sentence final or sentence medial. The sentence final counterfactual sequence combines the deverbal with the today's past indicative form of the verb'do' to complete its meaning. The resulting formula patterns:

Stem1 + -ae 'NEG' + e 'do' + {-tena}

Consider these examples of sentence final counterfactual verb sequences.

157) Nakare asi **kap-ae** **e-tera**.
1P.EXC string **cut-NEG** **do-TP.1P.IND**
'We could cut the rope.' [A-98-II 523]

158) Benoma **pat-ae** **e-teta**.
thorn **press-NEG** **do-TP.2S.IND**
'You could step on a thorn' [A-98-II 534]

159) Aiya-o! Na oposi toro da=de ba buto eiva
oooh-oh 1S eel piece one=COM taro piece this.ABS
ind-ae **e-tena** ava.
eat-NEG **do-TP.1S.IND** SM
'Oooh oh! I could sure eat a small piece of eel along with
this small piece of taro.' [Snake 010]

Since today's past tense verb forms of the negative deverbal also exist, how are they distinguished from counterfactual verb sequences? According to language helper Wilberforce Jiwaibae, the precise meaning of each construction is easily determined from context. Consider the following examples.

160) Justin vo **jimb-ae** **e-sira**, ainda+be ainda gori it-ae.
Justin animal **scoop-NEG** **do-TP.3S.IND** because that.GEN hook remain-NEG
'**Justin did not catch** fish because his hooks were gone.' [A-98-II 591]

161) Justin=da monga it-ae.
Justin=GEN net remain-NEG
Ata ainda gori it-era.
but that.GEN hook remain-PRES.3P.IND
Gori=mi vo **jimb-ae** **e-sira.**
hook=INSTR animal **scoop-NEG** **do-TP.3S.IND**
'Justin's net is gone. But his hooks are there.
He could catch fish with a hook.' [A-98-II 546]

Furthermore, one of the most frequent constructions used to encode the meaning of the negative deverbal omits the 'do' verb completely following the initial negated verb. This truncated construction is never used to encode a counterfactual verb sequence.

162) Gori=mi vo **jimb-ae**.
hook=INSTR animal **scoop-NEG**
'**He did not catch** fish with a hook.' [A-98-II 552]

Counterfactual verb sequences which occur within sentences employ different subject sequential medial forms of the verb 'do'. Since negative deverbals do not employ 'different subject' sequential medial forms of the verb 'do' sentence medial, and because the counterfactual sequences within sentences always employ 'different subject' sequential forms of the verb 'do', no reason for confusion exists between them sentence medially. The formula for the counterfactual medial verb sequence is:

Stem1 + -ae 'NEG' + e 'do' + {-teno}

Consider the following examples of sentence medial counterfactual mood verb sequences.

163) Na ganda **tumb-ae** **e-teno**
1S up.stream **run-NEG** **do-SEQ.1S.DS**
imo ma dav-ae e-teta.
2S canoe paddle-NEG do-TP.2S.IND
'I could run upstream and you could paddle the canoe.' [A-98-II 562]

164) Imo peji tai=mi **vit-ae** **e-teto**
2S mountain foot=INSTR **ascend-NEG** **do-SEQ.2S.DS**
na ombo+ma=de vit-ae e-tena.
1S shore+canoe=COM ascend-NEG do-TP.1S.IND
'You could climb the mountain by foot
and I could go up with the car.' [A-98-II 563]

6.4 Customary Verb Sequence

This sequence encodes customary, habitual, gnomic, or repeated actions. The basic format of the customary verb sequence includes a same subject sequential verb form (which carries the lexical content of the sequence) plus the auxillary verb 'do':

Stem1 + -do 'SEQ.SS' + e 'do'

Procedural texts frequently use the customary verb sequence.

165) Ji-do mangi dari-do ava pi-oro
fasten-SEQ.SS outrigger straighten-SEQ.SS SM put-SEQ.IR.CUST.1P.DS
un=da **wote-do** **eira**, ava.
water=LOC **descend-SEQ.SS** **do.PRES.3S.IND** SM
'We fasten it together, straighten the outrigger, customarily position
the canoe at the river and it customarily goes down.' [Canoe 004]

Legends also employ the customary verb sequence when describing habitual actions.

166) …Embo ma=de ei-v-oro vote-do gaie-do
man canoe=COM do.SIM-Ø-IR.CUST.3S descend-SEQ.SS spear-SEQ.SS
inji-do **esisina**.
eat-SEQ.SS **do.RP.3S.IND**
'…While the men with canoes routinely rowed along,
he (the giant eagle) descended, impaled, and habitually ate them.' [Bird 001]

Often, in every day conversation the customary verb sequence is used.

167) Ambo=da na-to mai Binandere ge **gi-do** **aina**.
Last=LOC 1S-GEN child Binandere talk **see-SEQ.SS** **do.F.3S.IND**
'Later my son will understand Binandere.' [B-96-I 325]

168) Pura gisi na doun **kape-do** **eu-tana**.
week before 1S sugar **cut-SEQ.SS** **do-YP.1S.IND**
'Last week I repeatedly cut sugar cane.' [B-96-I 341]

6.5 Inchoative Aspect Verb Sequence

Two different inchoative verb sequences occur in Binandere, however, both employ the same nominal + verb complex, *tuturo + e* 'start do/make', to encode their meaning. The first patterns:

(X) V_1 : tuturo + e 'do' + -do 'SEQ.SS' + (X) V_2 : any appropriate verb form

NP arguments (X), may optionally precede V_1 and V_2 in this verb sequence.

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