SOME GRAMMATICAL COMPARISONS
OF THE FINISTERRE-HUON LANGUAGES, NEW GUINEA

by

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MAP: LANGUAGES OF THE FINISTERRE-HUON GROUP
LANGUAGES OF THE FINISTERRE-HUON GROUP

Finisterre Group

WAR Warup Family
  a. Degenan
  b. Asat
  c. Morafa
  d. Dahating

GUS Gusap-Mot Family
  a. Gira
  b. Ngaing
  c. Neko
  d. Nekgini
  e. Ufim
  f. Nahu
  g. Rawa

URU Uruwa Family
  a. Komutu
  b. Hamelengan { Komutu
  c. Kumdauron
  d. Worin { Worin
  e. Yawan
  f. Mitmit
  g. Mup
  h. Sindamon
  i. Sakam
  j. Som

YUP Yupna Family
  a. Kewieng
  b. Nokopo
  c. Domung
  d. Nankina
  e. Bonkiman
WAN Wantoat Family
a. Awara
b. Leron
c. Wantoat
d. Saseng
e. Bam
f. Yagawak
g. Irumu

ERA Erap Family
a. Mamaa
b. Uri
c. Finungwan
d. Gusan
e. Nimi
f. Sauk
g. Numanggang
h. Nakama
i. Nek
j. Nuk
k. Munkip

KOV Kovai (stock-level language isolate)

Huon Peninsula Group

WHF Western Huon Family
a. Kip
b. Zankoa
   } Ono
c. Karako
d. Sialum
e. Nomu
f. Kinalakna
g. Kumukio
h. Kosorong
i. Burum
j. Mindik
k. Tobo
l. Kube
m. Timbe
n. Selepet
o. Komba
p. Nabak
q. Momolili
EHF  Eastern Huon Family
   a.  Dedua
   b.  Migabac
   c.  Momare
   d.  Sene
   e.  Mågobineng
   f.  Wamorå  }        Kåte
       g.  Wemo
       h.  Naga
   i.  Mape-West  }   Mape
       j.  Mape-East
0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 General

The non-Austronesian Finisterre-Huon languages are spoken by the inhabitants of the Finisterre and Saruwaged mountain ranges in the south-eastern portion of the Madang District and the northern portion of the Morobe District, New Guinea (see map). Preliminary lexical studies utilizing basic diagnostic vocabulary lists together with the inspection method of recognizing probable cognates resulted in a hypothesis that these languages constituted a single micro-phylum (Hooley and McElhanon, 1970: 1091). In a later study (McElhanon and Voorhoeve, 1970) these languages were demonstrated to be genetically related to the languages of a posited Central and South New Guinea Phylum which stretched eastward from Etna Bay in West Irian to the Papuan Gulf in Papua. These two groups and the Binandere Family (Wilson, 1969) were combined into a single phylum, the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. However, since McElhanon and Voorhoeve were comparing languages involving deep level genetic relationships, i.e., relationships at a proposed phylum level, and comparing these languages without prior extensive reconstruction, the writers did not propose subgroupings of the languages within the phylum. Although the lexicostatistical method could be relied upon to indicate a probable genetic relationship it was not regarded as suitable for producing an adequate subclassification of the languages. According to the lexicostatistical classification in Hooley and McElhanon (1970) the Finisterre-Huon language group includes sixty-four languages constituting ten families and a stock level isolate, Kovai.2

As in many lexicostatistical classifications which include a significantly large number of languages, there exists among the Finisterre-Huon languages a chaining phenomenon in which lexicostatistical relationships generally decrease as the number of languages separating the two compared languages increases. Thus the languages at the extremities of the group show very low percentages of relationship. Moreover, the
lower percentages of relationship among these languages are in some cases lower than some of the percentages of relationship between these languages and languages of other groups; e.g., the Kovai language isolate has in some cases quite low percentages of shared vocabulary with the languages of the Erap Family, viz., Munkip at 3%.

As mentioned in Claassen and McElhanon (1970: 58) the languages of the Rai Coast Stock of the Madang Phylum are generally 4-8% lexicostatistically related to the languages of the Finisterre group, but they are separated from the latter because of differences in a few lexical items which are quite stable throughout the Finisterre-Huon languages and because of different typological features.

Although the writer has considerable data showing the grammatical features of the twenty-one Huon Peninsula languages, it appears that it will be a number of years before a comparable corpus of data will be collected in the forty-three Finisterre languages. Therefore, one could not expect detailed grammatical comparisons of the majority of these languages for many years, perhaps decades, to come.

Of the Finisterre languages, however, three languages from separate lexicostatistical families have been studied in detail by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics: Rawa (Rw.) of the Gusap-Mot Family by O.R. and M.F. Claassen, Wantoat (Wn.) of the Wantoat Family by D.R. and L. Davis and Uri of the Erap Family by T. and G. Webb. Moreover, the writer has considerable data in the Kewieng language (Kw.) of the Yupna Family. Thus languages from four of the five families in the Finisterre group have been studied in more or less greater detail. Combining these four languages with five others from the Huon Peninsula group plus the Kovai (Kv.) language yields a collection of languages which may be said to be representative of the larger Finisterre-Huon group as a whole. The five from the Huon Peninsula group are: Kâte (Kt.), Ono, Selepet (Sl.), Nabak (Nb.) and Kube (Kb.). Verb paradigms for Nabak, Kube, Uri, Kewieng, Rawa and Kovai are given in the Appendix. For verb paradigms of the other languages see Davis (1964) for Wantoat; Pilhofer (1926-27, 1933) for Kâte; Wacke (1930-31) for Ono; and McElhanon (1970a) for Selepet.

In comparing these languages, particular attention is given to those features which are similar throughout the languages compared. Thus, strictly speaking, a typology is not the goal of this comparison; rather the goal is to show that the languages share enough features to allow one to conclude that they bear a close genetic relationship. A secondary goal is to provide features which may be sought for in other posited groups of non-Austronesian languages, e.g., the East New Guinea
Highlands Stock posited by Wurm (1960) and the Ok Family established by Healey (1964).

To facilitate the comparison of these ten languages a certain amount of restatement of the analyses of other researchers was necessary but this by no means reflects upon the work of these other researchers. For example, Davis (1964) posited verb stem classes on the basis of allomorphic variation and described the morphology by charting the affixes outward from the stem and stating co-occurrence restrictions. In the writer's restatement the division of verbs into intransitive roots or stems, and transitive stems, as well as the distinction between dependent and independent verb morphology is followed.
0.2 Abbreviations

1d  first person, dual number
1p  first person, plural number
1s  first person, singular number
2-3d second or third person, dual number
2-3p second or third person, plural number
2s  second person, singular number
3s  third person, singular number
acc.  accompaniment enclitic
ajzer.  adjectivizer
ante.  antecedent action
avzer.  adverbalizer
bene./cau.  benefactive/causal enclitic
b.pr.  verbal benefactive-marking suffixes
ctf.  contrary-to-fact mode
du.  dual number
fut.  future tense
hab.  habituative mode
hetero.  subject of following verb is heteropersonal (different)
homo.  subject of following verb is homopersonal (same)
inch.  inchoative future tense
interpt.  intermediate past tense
ipt.  immediate past tense
Kb.  the Kube language
Kt.  the Kâte language
Kv.  the Kovai language
Kw.  the Kewieng language
lit.  literally
loc.  locative enclitic
Nb.  the Nabak language
nomzer.  nominalizer

num.  numeral class
past.  past tense
p-FH  the proto-Finisterre-Huon language
per.  person
perm.  permissive mode
pl.  plural number
p.m.  nominal possession-marking suffix
poss.  possessive enclitic
pres.  present tense
proh.  prohibitive mode
punct.  punctiliar mode
rft.  remote future tense
rpt.  remote past tense
rinch.  remote inchoative tense
Rw.  the Rawa language
sg.  singular number
simul.  simultaneous action
Sl.  the Sel epet language
s.m.  verbal subject-marking suffix
vbzer.  verbalizer
Wn.  the Wantoat language

{ } Braces enclose a morpheme with allomorphic variants other than those based upon morphophonemic processes

: A colon in the formula means "is expounded by"
1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 Phonemes

Table A presents a tabulation of the phonemes which have been tenta-tively identified in each of the ten representative languages. A question mark indicates that the phonemic status of that phone is in doubt.

Note that all of the languages indicate a contrast between voiceless stops and voiced (often prenasalized) stops at the labial, alveolar and velar positions. Only Rawa has a contrastive series of voiced prenasalized stops in distinction to voiced stops (see Table A). All of the languages except Rawa (which has open syllables) have final unreleased variants of the voiceless stops (except the labio-velar stop). The labio-velar series of stops include both labialized velar variants, \([k_w]\) and \([g_w]\) and double stops, \([kp]\) and \([gb]\). This series has not been established in Kovai although a few phonetic labialized velar stops have been observed.

All of the languages evidence nasals at the labial, alveolar and velar points of articulation but only Wantoat has a labio-velar nasal \([\eta^w]\).

There are two series of fricatives, flat and grooved. The former includes \(w, f, y\) and \(h\) whereas the latter includes the \(s\) and \(z\). The \(z\) includes a voiced affricate variant \(dz\) and may also include \(ts\) as a variant.

A six vowel pattern predominates although the number of languages with a five vowel pattern is not insignificant. Vowel length is not a common feature and consonant length is even less common.

Table A: Phonemes

|    | p | t | k | kp | b | d | g | gb | m | n | \(\eta\) | w | f | y | s | z | h | r | l | e | a | \(\tilde{a}\) | o | u |
|----|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|----|---|---|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kt. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Ono | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Sl. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Kb. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Nb. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Uri | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Wn. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Kw. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Rw. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Kv. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |

In addition Wantoat has \(\eta^w\) and \(m\); Rawa has \(mb, nd, \eta g\) and the voiced stop phonemes have voiced variants in the
northern dialect which correspond to voiceless unaspirated variants in the southern dialect; Kube and Nabak evidence probable phonemically lengthened consonants; Kâte and Kewieng evidence phonemically lengthened vowels as also do Wanoat and Uri, but not in the full series; Kewieng has a possible phonemically distinct ts.

1.2 Syllable Structure

The syllable structure is quite simple throughout the representative languages. In all the languages, apparently any consonant may commence a syllable, although there is a usual restriction that $r$ does not occur word initially (except in Kovaï). Syllables are commonly closed by $p$, $t$, $k$, $m$, $n$, or $ŋ$ (except in Rawa with only open syllables), and occasionally $l$ (Kewieng and Kovaï), $z$ or $s$ (Kovaï).

Each language has its peculiarities regarding which consonants may occur continuously at syllable boundaries within the word. Syllable nuclei are either simple or complex in that they may manifest single vowels or vowel clusters. Where vocoid or vowel clusters do occur there are usually restrictions on their sequence.

1.3 Morphophonemics

Morphophonemics processes vary from the very simple (e.g., Rawa) to the very complex (e.g., Wanoat). Most of the languages which evidence syllables closed by $p$, $t$, and $k$ also evidence a common morphophonemic rule which operates on morpheme-final unreleased stops and initial voiced stops. The rule generally is that when a morpheme which ends with a final voiceless unreleased stop or begins with an initial voiced stop occurs contiguous to a vowel, the voiced or voiceless stop is replaced by a flat fricative (or lateral) phoneme at the corresponding point of articulation. Initial $b$, $d$ or $g$ are replaced respectively by $w$, $r$, or $g/h$ and final $p$, $t$ or $k$ are replaced respectively by $w$, $r/l$ or $g/h$.

These morphophonemic processes are illustrated by the following data (C indicates the occurrence of a consonant or a pause contiguous to the affected phoneme; V indicates the occurrence of a vowel):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Syllable Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>final $p + w$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>nep work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>sip blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>siw-ak blood-only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>final $t + r/l$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hat forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>new-ān work-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hal-ān forest-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tat Stay!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Let him stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>final $k + g/h$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nak tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nah-ān tree-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tāk rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tāh-an rope-with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>ńereu-ne wife-his</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kb.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>kik-na eye-my</th>
<th>kpak-na name-my</th>
<th>oruk-na head-my</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>kiu-a eye-his</td>
<td>kpar-a name-his</td>
<td>oruh-a head-his</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kt.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>pitik-ne small</th>
<th>hesik-ne bent</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>pitiw-a to become small</td>
<td>hesir-e to become bent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URI</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
<th>uk hit Kumak die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ugumak kill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kw.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
<th>anąg-gamitsak he called you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anąg-amitsak he called him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Wn.** Final p, t, or k + u unless the initial phoneme of the following morpheme is z or unless the following morpheme is of a particular class (Davis, 1968: 9-10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KV.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>lap water</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
<th>ilsik-ŋon joined together</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>lab-on water-its</td>
<td></td>
<td>ilsig-e to join s.th.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>kat-be I will put it</th>
<th>kat-de we (du.) will put it</th>
<th>bąt-ge hand-your</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>ari-we I will go</td>
<td>ari-re we (du.) will go</td>
<td>hâme-he nose-your</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nb.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>tat-bl I must stay</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
<th>ekñen-gat them-for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>sa-wi I must give him</td>
<td></td>
<td>nâ-hat me-for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ono</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>okan-be I must do it</th>
<th>doku-roku slimy</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>ari-we I must go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kt.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
<th>bek-te pig-for</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>no-re me-for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kw.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>gąk-wom I should have killed you</th>
<th>(no change observed)</th>
<th>nąmâ-gat whom-with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>ką-pom I should have gone</td>
<td></td>
<td>ni-gat what-with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Wn.** When the preceding morpheme ends in a vowel, the initial stops of the following morpheme undergo the following changes: t or k reduce; d becomes t or remains d; and g becomes k.
2. NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

There are certain features of the Noun Phrase structure which are found throughout the Finisterre-Huon languages here compared. A basic General Noun Phrase formula which incorporates only those tagmemes shared by these languages may be posited as follows: ± Possession ± Attributive ± Head ± Qualifier ± Numeral ± Demonstrative. Generally none of these tagmemes is obligatory. The regular personal pronouns substitute for a portion of the phrase, which in Selepet includes only the Possession, Attributive and Head tagmemes, but which in Wantoat includes the whole noun phrase.6

The Possession tagmeme is expounded by a Possession Axis-relator Phrase. The axis may be expounded by a variety of word classes or construction types and the relator is expounded by a clitic. Examples given below in each language include the axis expounded by (a) a clause, (b) a noun and (c) a regular personal pronoun. A fourth example (d) illustrates the emphatic personal pronoun expounding the Possession tagmeme.

Selepet
(a) mukan ariop-gât senge alsal (yesterday, he went-of, things) the things of the one who went yesterday
(b) biolipyeŋa-gât opon (their bros-in-law-of, men's house) the men's house of their brothers-in-law
(c) nâ-gât emet (me-of, house) my house
(d) nine emet my own house

Nambutubutub
(a) a gakin-galen bo (man, he died-of, pig) the pig of the man who died
(b) Awe toŋan-gât bo (Awen, owner-of, pig) the pig of a man of Awen village
(c) nâ-gat datn (me-of, my brother) my brother
(d) nen datn (my own, my brother) my own brother

Ono
(a) pamaike-wane aboŋ (e + w + ø) (he sleeps-of, things) the things of the one who sleeps
(b) nei-wane don (men-of, words) messages for men (to come)
(c) na-ŋane urum (me-of, men's house) my men's house
(d) nae naut my own tobacco

Koindou
(a) kopusik wandzu-ak ama (wrong, they did-of, village) the village of those who did wrong
(b) kebu-ak koa (important man-of, mouth) an important man's message
(c) no-ak opok (me-of, hat) my hat
(d) nena ama my own village
Kt. (a) råenarewêk-te furine (he put it for me-of, pay) the payment of the one who put it for me
(b) yakgon-te monej (corn-of, money) money for (buying) corn
(c) go-re hae (you-of, village) your village
(d) no nahakne sàkpe (me, my own, knife) my own knife

Uri (a) kaap abiling waarat-ning mambong (yesterday, they came, it-of, things) the things of those who came yesterday
(b) kane titi-gat waarat-ning mambong (work, doing-for, it-of, things) the things for doing it
(c) naa-ning mambong (me-of, things) my things
(d) naga-ning mambong (me only-of, things) my own things

Kw. (a) kalup apgut-do tâgal (long ago, he came-of, house) the house of the one who came long ago
(b) kpeŋok-do gen-ŋi (knife-of, tooth-its) the knife's edge
(c) nak-do tâgal (me-of, house) my house
(d) nakŋa tâgal my own house

Wn. (b) naga-tâni kamun (your father-of, dog) your father's dog
(c) nâ-tâni yot (me-of, house) my house
(d) nina yot my own house

Rw. (c) no-ro se (me-of dog) my dog

The Attributiv e tagmeme is generally expounded by a noun which qualifies the noun expounded in the Head. The following examples are Attributive-Head constructions.

Sl. nâi den-ŋe (bird, talk-its) the sound of a bird
Nb. bim kat-naŋ (neck, seed - its) goitre
Ono medep sam-ine (son, sack-his) uterus
Kb. tofak sir-a (shin, bone-its) shinbone
Kt. upe hândâŋ-tikne (neck, seed-its) larynx
Uri feŋ kane garden work
Kw. tap kâlap (sea, animal) fish
Wn. ñwanam kopap cassowary story
Rw. sono ngusi water bamboo
Kv. gilin pum-on (neck, knot-its) larynx

3. WORD FORMATION

The problem of root class identification which exists in the Selepet language (see McElhanon, 1972) also occurs in the other languages of the Finisterre-Huon group, although perhaps in a lesser degree. In Selepet, for instance, it is difficult to assign any class identification to some roots because they occur in the nuclei of various word types and in
higher level constructions. Word classes are formed from these roots by different methods of word formation or derivation which include affixation and/or reduplication and it seems preferable in comparing these languages to concentrate on these processes of derivation and word formation rather than to concentrate on the different kinds of classes.

The following processes of word formation have been observed to occur in most of the languages here compared.

3.1 Intransitive verbs derived by a verbalizer suffix. Note that the verbalizer suffix is apparently cognate for all the languages (cf. section 11).

Sl. kărih-e to become strong from kărik strong
Ono bomil-e to draw near from bomit short
Kb. gbaor-i to ripen from gbaok yellow
Kt. hesir-e to become bent from hesik bent
Uri kumak-e to die from kumak dead
Wn. kekek-a to resist from kekek-ña
Rw. saŋga-we to spear s.th. from saŋga spear
Kv. salaplap-i to be dry from salaplap-dry (of wood)

3.2 Transitive verbs derived by addition of bound object markers which act as transitive verbalizers:

Sl. kălap-ku-ap (arouse-him-it) it aroused him from kălap fire
Nb. na-sek-ep (me-carry-he) he carried me from sek skin
Ono kpesiŋ-ka-maike (help-him-he) he helped him from kpesiŋ support
Kb. sifık-gi-zak (spit-him-he) he spat upon him from sifık spittle
Kt. aŋak-nu-kak (please-me-he) he pleased me from aŋak sweetness
Kw. bən̥a-mi-zak (hiccup-him-it) he hiccuped from bən̥a hiccup
Rw. dəgi-nerâ-te (cold-me-it) it makes me cold from dəgi-ki wind
Kv. meme-ne (shame-me-he) he caused me shame from mimi shame

3.3 Intransitive verbs derived by the addition of the verb periferal suffixes. In these cases the root usually occurs with a different syntactic function as well.

Sl. girıŋ-ban I laughed from girıŋ laughter
Nb. gundu-n it bent over from gundu bent
Ono piŋ-maike it is stretched from piŋ stretch
Kb. efi-zak it is light from efe light (not heavy)
Kt. hu-kak it descended from hu down
Kw. bən̥a-zak it is bad from bən̥a
Kv. aŋt̥o-zok he forgot from aŋt̥ok mind

Kv. asul-pe he urinated from asul urine
3.4 Adjectives which are derived by an adjectivizer meaning with or from an Association Axis-relator Phrase marked by a relator clitic or root meaning with.

Sl. to-ŋe orop (water-its, with) juicy
Nb. tip sip-mak (dung, blood-with) dysentery
Ono ʒet-ne-rop (tooth-its-with) sharp
Kb. doku-a-guk (water-its-with) juicy
Kt. soc-hek (blood-with) bloody

3.5 Adjectives derived by an adjectivizer suffix. The adjectivizer is apparently cognate in all languages compared, and significantly, for all the languages it is either identical or nearly identical with the third person singular nominal possessive marker in the particular language. For each language in the examples below the adjective stem is followed by the root and then by a noun with the third person singular possession marker.

Sl. bâle-ŋe bad from bâle bad, sen-ŋe eye-his
Nb. katik-ŋaŋ strong from katik strength, sek-ŋaŋ skin-his
Ono bomit-ŋe short from bomit short, ket-ŋe ear-his
Kb. gbaor-ŋa yellow from gbaok yellow, kpar-ŋa name-his
Kt. afek-ŋe light (not heavy) from afek light, sahak-ŋe skin-its
Uri timi-ŋi old from tim before, dee-ŋi eye-his
Kw. mep-ŋa cold from mep wind, binap-ŋa waist-his
Wn. kekek-ŋa strong from kekek strength, katak-ŋa hand-his
Rw. kuri-ŋi old from kuri before, (3s marker is -me)
Kv. gu-ŋaon washed from guwash, dzi-ŋaon eye-his

3.6 Nouns by reduplication. Usually the nouns are derived by reduplication from a verbal form.

Sl. ise-ise weeping from ise to weep
Nb. gaki-ki death from gaki to die
Ono seu-seu death from seu to die
Kb. ne-ŋe food from ne to eat
Kt. nā-nā taro from nā to eat
Uri kuŋ-kumak death from kumak death
Wn. na-ŋam food from na to eat
Rw. ne-ŋe eating as in oni man nene cannibal from ne to eat
Kv. ʒu-ŋi-on picture-its from ʒi- (?)

3.7 Adverbs derived by reduplication with or without heterophonic reduplication (i.e., a reduplication of the total word but with a vowel and/or consonant shift).
Adjectives by reduplication. Often these forms occur with an adjectivizer suffix (see 3.5).

Sl. kewere kewere swollen, fat from kewere to swell
Nb. gakiki-ŋaŋ dead from gaki to die
Ono piŋ piŋ-ine stretched from piŋ stretch
Kt. hehesik bent from hesik bent
Kw. zəmbok zəmbok-ŋa joined together from zəmbok to join
Kv. məmar-ən fat from mar- waist
   buzi buzi rotten from buzi to rot

4. NOUNS

There are two subclasses of nouns found throughout the Finisterre-Huon languages. The first subclass includes body parts and kinship terms and occurs with obligatory possession-marking suffixes. The second subclass includes other nouns and the possession-marking suffixes are optional. In most of the Huon Peninsula languages (Nabak and Momolili excepted) the first subclass of nouns has the structure + nucleus + number + possession with the morphemes occurring in the number tagmeme indicating singular, dual and plural. In Kâte the possession markers function as phrase level clitics. The morphemes indicating dual are related to the numeral two and are cognate in many of these languages. The languages of the Finisterre group and the Kovai language apparently do not indicate number in this manner although Rawa has a plural marker occurring between the nucleus and the possession-marking suffixes. A vowel shift in the possession-marking suffix indicates singular or plural number in Uri.

Sl. sg. ata-ŋ-ne (el.br.-sg.-my) my elder brother
du. ata-yāhāt-ne (el.br.-du.-my) my two elder brothers
pl. ata-lip-ne (el.br.-pl.-my) my elder brothers
num. yāhāp two
Ono sg.  tat-Ø-ne (el.br.-sg.-my) my elder brother
du.  tat-etke-ne (el.br.-du.-my) my two elder brothers
pl.  tat-ekop-ne (el.br.-pl.-my) my elder brothers
num. etke two

Kb. sg.  dak-Ø-na (el.br.-sg.-my) my elder brother
du.  dak-gehek-na (el.br.-du.-my) my two elder brothers
pl.  dak-fok-na (el.br.-pl.-my) my elder brothers
num. gehek two

Kt. sg.  hahak-Ø-nane (el.br.-sg.-my) my elder brother
du.  hahak-yahek-nane (el.br.-du.-my) my two elder brothers
pl.  hahak-fâk-nane (el.br.-pl.-my) my elder brothers
num. yahek two

Uri sg.  saba-na my son
pl.  saba-ne my sons

Kw. sg.  pe-no my elder brother
du.  pe-no borôn my two elder brothers
pl.  pe-no-i my elder brothers
num. borôn two

Wn., Kv. For Wantoa t and Kovai number is shown by numerals on the phrase level.

Rw. sg.  dâbâ-Ø-ne my friend
du.  dâbâ-ne eraya my two friends
pl.  dâbâ-guri-ne (friend-pl.-my) my friends

5. DIS TINCTIONS IN PERSON AND NUMBER

All of the representative languages evidence a distinction in person between first, second and third, and a distinction in number between singular, dual and plural. The maximum fulfillment of these distinctions yields a nine cell person-number matrix with each cell manifesting a distinct form. Only a small number of languages evidence a matrix with the maximum number of distinctions so that the larger number of languages evidence matrices in which two or more cells are manifested by identical forms. It is the occurrence and distribution of these matrices with partial fulfillment of distinctions which are interesting.

The distinctions in person and number are found in the following morpheme classes.

(1) Personal pronouns. In most languages this category includes all the free pronoun series, but in a few languages particular pronoun series, e.g., emphatic or contrastive pronouns, have distinct patterns.
(2) Nominal possessive suffixes.
(3) Verbal object-marking affixes in transitive verb morphology.
(4) Independent verbal person-number composites indicating subject. Many languages evidence different distinctions in different tenses and/or modes.
(5) Dependent (heteropersonal) verbal person-number composites indicating subject. (Note that Uri lacks the heteropersonal subject-marking person-number composites.)

5.1 Matrix A is the most common and is found to varying degrees in all of the representative languages.

Matrix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occurrence of Matrix Type A is given in Table B: (x = occurrence, --- = non-occurrence; limitations (if any) are stated in the cells).

Table B: Occurrence and Distribution of Matrix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal pronouns</th>
<th>Nominal suffixes</th>
<th>Object markers</th>
<th>Indep.per.-num. composites</th>
<th>Dep.per.-num. composites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>x⁷</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rpt., interpt., ctf.</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>lacking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>rpt., ipt., future</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>inch., ctf.</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>x⁸</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2 Matrix B occurs in only four of the 10 representative languages. Three of these four are from the Huon group and the fourth is Kovai.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & D & P \\
1 & a & d & g \\
2 & b & e & h \\
3 & c & f & i \\
\end{array}
\]

It is distributed among these four languages as follows:

Nabak: regular personal pronouns. The third person dual and plural forms may be a compound involving the third person singular form which yields forms distinct from the second person dual and plural forms. If this distinction were lacking these pronouns would evidence the pattern of Matrix A.

Ono: personal pronouns and nominal possessive suffixes. Note that the third person singular and plural regular pronoun forms are identical. Because the emphatic pronouns do not evidence such identical forms, this feature is regarded as not representing a significant pattern.

Kate and Kovai: personal pronouns, nominal possessive suffixes and verbal object-marking suffixes.

5.3 Matrix C is found in three languages of the Finisterre group: Uri, Kewieng and Wantoat. For each of these languages it is found only in the verbal object-marking affixes. A variant of this matrix occurs in Uri nominal possessive suffixes where the third person singular form is identical to the first person dual and plural forms. This phenomenon may be attributable to chance and so would not warrant a distinct matrix type.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & D & P \\
1 & a & d & d \\
2 & b & e & e \\
3 & c & f & f \\
\end{array}
\]

The remaining twelve matrix types are peculiar deviations of these basic types involving various neutralizations of distinctions in person or number. All but two of these twelve types occur in the Uri, Wantoat or Rawa languages.

Wantoat, with five different matrix patterns, evidences the largest number of peculiarities.
5.4 Matrix D occurs in Wantoat nominal possessive suffixes. This matrix evidences an extension of the neutralization of number in the third person dual and plural (Matrix C) to include the singular as well.

**Matrix D**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5 Matrix E occurs in Wantoat emphatic pronouns and independent verb (obligative mode). In the latter, however, the first person singular form is the same as the second and third person dual and plural form, but this phenomenon is probably a chance occurrence and does not reflect a significant pattern.

**Matrix E**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6 Matrix F occurs in the Wantoat independent verb (inchoative mode) and the dependent heteropersonal verb.

**Matrix F**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.7 Matrix G occurs in the Wantoat independent contrary-to-fact verb.

**Matrix G**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rawa, with four different matrix patterns, evidences the second largest number of peculiarities.
5.8 Matrix H occurs in Rawa verbal object pronoun affixes.

Matrix H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.9 Matrix I occurs in Rawa dependent heteropersonal verbs.

Matrix I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.10 Matrix J occurs in Rawa independent verbs, immediate and remote past tenses, and in the Kovai independent verb, contrary-to-fact mode, and the heteropersonal dependent verb.

Matrix J

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.11 Matrix K occurs in Rawa personal pronouns.

Matrix K

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.12 Matrix L occurs in Uri regular personal pronouns.

Matrix L

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nabak shows peculiarities which also result in two matrices.

5.13 Matrix M occurs in Nabak independent verbs in the immediate past, present, immediate future and remote future tenses and in the dependent heteropersonal verb.

\[
\text{Matrix M} \\
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & D & P \\
1 & a & d & e \\
2 & b & d & f \\
3 & c & d & f \\
\end{array}
\]

5.14 Matrix N occurs in Nabak independent verb (inchoative mode).

\[
\text{Matrix N} \\
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & D & P \\
1 & a & d & f \\
2 & b & e & e \\
3 & c & e & e \\
\end{array}
\]

One may surmise that the ideal matrix, i.e., Matrix B with each cell represented by a peculiar form, was present in the earliest stage of development in these languages. Tendencies toward a neutralization of distinction in persons developed at an early stage, and this is evidenced by Matrix A (in which the distinction between second and third person in both the dual and plural was neutralized) occurring in all the languages. This process continued in Matrix J where the distinction between second and third person was also lost in the singular. This loss of distinction included the first person in the dual (Matrix M) and the first person in all numbers (Matrix I).

After the division into two groups (the Finisterre and the Huon) occurred, tendencies toward a neutralization of distinction in number developed in the Finisterre group. This neutralization is present for three Finisterre languages in Matrix C in which the distinction between dual and plural is lost in all three persons. In Matrix F this loss of distinction between dual and plural is found in the second and third persons, in Matrix G only in the third person and in Matrix K only in the first person. In Matrix D, however, it included the singular number as well, but only in the third person.

Matrix H reflects both types of tendencies in that the lack of any distinction of person in the non-singular forms (i.e., dual and plural are not distinguished) may be regarded as the result of both tendencies affecting identical cells of the matrix. Such may also account for the
fact that Uri does not distinguish person or number in the dependent heteropersonal forms.

Also note that Matrices E and N, in which second and third person are represented in the dual and plural number by a single form, include Wantoat forms and the Nabak independent verb (inch. mode). The fact that Nabak is included here does not force one to conclude that the tendency towards neutralization of distinction in number is also present in the Huon Peninsula group of languages, because this single case could be an isolated instance of forms falling together. Moreover, the Nabak people have had the greatest amount of contact with the peoples speaking Finisterre languages, so that influence from the Finisterre languages is not unlikely. The fact that this loss of distinction is so prevalent among the Finisterre languages represented in this comparison and almost totally absent among the Huon Peninsula languages lends some support for the division of the Finisterre-Huon languages into two subgroups.

In general, the languages of the Finisterre group evidence more irregularities in their matrix patterns and this irregularity may be the result of both types of tendencies toward neutralization being operative.

6. REGULAR PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Table C: Regular personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>ld</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>3d</th>
<th>lp</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>gâ</td>
<td>yâk</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>yet</td>
<td>yâkyet</td>
<td>nen</td>
<td>yen</td>
<td>yâkyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>gâ</td>
<td>ek</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>ekget</td>
<td>nen</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ekget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ege</td>
<td>nêre</td>
<td>nire</td>
<td>eke</td>
<td>nêne</td>
<td>nîne</td>
<td>ege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>niri</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>e</td>
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<td>nôhe</td>
<td>yahe</td>
<td>nâge</td>
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<td>sidi</td>
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<td>indi</td>
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<td>adi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>nâk</td>
<td>gâk</td>
<td>uqun</td>
<td>nit</td>
<td>dzil</td>
<td>dzil</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>dzi</td>
<td>dzil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>nâ</td>
<td>gâ</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>nit</td>
<td>git</td>
<td>git</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>gin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>nûr</td>
<td>nàre</td>
<td>yari</td>
<td>eraga</td>
<td>nàre</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>garo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>gok</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>nôt</td>
<td>yot</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>nôn</td>
<td>yon</td>
<td>yon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The regular personal pronouns (Table C) show strong stability, and cognate forms occur throughout the Finisterre-Huon languages. The sub-morphemic formatives (see Pike, 1963) making up the pronoun person-number composites are significant in their stability. An analysis of the pronoun composite yields the structure + person + number + number, in which the person formative is manifested by a consonant, the first number formative by a vowel and the second number formative by a consonant. This formula holds for Selepet, Nabak, Uri, Kewieng and Wantoat.
For proto-Finisterre-Huon (p-FH) the field structure and proto-formatives may be posited as in Matrix 0.

**Matrix 0: Regular Personal Pronoun Formatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>non-sg.</th>
<th>du.</th>
<th>non-sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(*a)</td>
<td>(*k)</td>
<td>(*i)</td>
<td>(*t)</td>
<td>(*i)</td>
<td>(*n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(*n)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(*ŋg)</td>
<td>ŋg</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ŋg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(*y)</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the proto-FH forms as given above, the vowel *a indicating 'singular' represents a back vowel as opposed to a front vowel (represented by *i) indicating 'non-singular' number. At an earlier stage the vowels may have been identical but a shift to a front vowel occurred in the 'dual' and 'plural' number. The *k formative indicating 'singular' has been generally lost in the 'first' and 'second' person forms in all the Huon languages and remains in the 'third' person form in only a few languages. The formative *t indicating 'dual' is found throughout most of the languages as either t or as one of its possible morphophonemic variants. Thus in Kube, One and Rawa, the addition of a final vowel necessitates a change from t to r. In Uri of the Erap family of languages the *t is represented by either nd or d, the latter reflecting a loss of prenasalization. In Kewieng and a couple of the Uruwa languages the final t has occasionally weakened to a final l, often accompanied by slight friction. The formative *n indicating 'plural' is found in all those languages which distinguish 'dual' 'plural'. In Uri and most of the other languages of the Erap family the plural forms are absent and their function has been taken on by the dual forms. Note in Kâte that the 'dual' is indicated by h and the 'plural' by ŋ. One might suppose that in the development of the Kâte language a vowel was added to a final glottal stop which represented a neutralization of the contrast between syllable-final p, t and k. The addition of the vowel, however, may not have yielded the original morphophonemic variants; thus final glottal stop was replaced by h rather than by r and final ŋ remained ŋ. An alternative hypothesis, however, might be to consider the final t and k (before neutralization occurred) as reflexes of a single proto-form (see McElhanon and Voorhoeve, 1970: 27, 53 for t and k as reflexes of *C). Note that in a few languages, e.g., Kewieng and Rawa, the formative *n indicating 'plural' was lost in the second and third person forms.

The formative *n indicating 'first person' is found throughout the Finisterre-Huon languages, although in a few languages, e.g., Nabak,
Kube, Uri and Kovai, it is lost in the dual and plural forms. In the
Ono dual and plural forms the formative is identical to the second
person formative \( \eta \) and it may be theorized that the distinction between
first and second person was lost in the consonantal formatives because
the distinction was present in the vowel formatives e 'first and third
person' and i 'second person'.

The second person formative \( *\eta g \) has a variety of reflexes. In the
second person singular form of most of the languages it is \( (\eta)g \) with
the prenasalization absent in some languages or sub-phonemic in others.
In the dual and plural forms the reflex \( \eta \), representing the velar pre-
nasalization of the proto forms, is found in a number of the Huon
Peninsula languages (e.g., Nabak (only in third person forms), Ono and
Kâte) and in Kovai. The reflexes \( z \) in Kewieng, \( s \) in Uri and \( y \) in most
other languages may reflect a process of palatalization of the \( g \) after
the vowel change from a back vowel to a front vowel took place (see

7. EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS

For all of the languages (except Rawa and Kovai) a series of em-
phatic personal pronouns has been observed. These are given in Table D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table D: Empathetic personal pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first person singular and second person singular forms are the
most stable forms and apparent cognates are easily recognizable.
Certain morphological similarities in the formation of this series are
recognizable in a number of the languages. Firstly, these pronouns are
formed by reduplication and/or the addition of a suffix which in many
cases is homophonous with the adjectivizer. Secondly, the forms in
some languages probably occur with an obligatory suffix meaning only,
alone (e.g., Kâte -ak), while the forms in other languages occur with
this suffix optionally present (e.g., I myself alone as in Selepet.
Reduplication is most evident in the first person singular and second person singular forms but in some languages it occurs in other persons and numbers as well: e.g., Selepet ni-ne, gi-ke; Kube ne-na, ge-nqa; Wantoat ni-na, gi-ka; Kewieng l-yi 3s, zizi 2-3rd and zizi 2-3p. It is also evident in some of the compound forms: e.g., Kewieng nit da nit 1d, ninda nin 1p; Kâte nâhe nâhâk 1p and Kube niri neka 1d, nini neka 1p.

Where reduplication does not occur the occurrence of the adjectivizer-like suffix is found: e.g., Selepet ik-ke 3s, Nabak ik-qa 3s, and Kewieng nak-qa 1s, gak-qa 2s.

8. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Table E: Nominal possessive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>3d</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>nàq</td>
<td>(n)it</td>
<td>(n)it</td>
<td>(n)it</td>
<td>n**</td>
<td>(n)in</td>
<td>(n)in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ñone</td>
<td>ine</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>ñite</td>
<td>etne</td>
<td>dze</td>
<td>ñine</td>
<td>ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>nira</td>
<td>gira</td>
<td>gira</td>
<td>nina</td>
<td>gina</td>
<td>gina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
<td>nane</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>tikne/ne</td>
<td>nâhek</td>
<td>ñekik</td>
<td>yekik</td>
<td>nâhek</td>
<td>ñenik</td>
<td>yênik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>sic</td>
<td>sic</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>sic</td>
<td>sic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>ñi</td>
<td>nit</td>
<td>dzil</td>
<td>dzil</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>dži</td>
<td>dži</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.*</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ñâ</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>sâ</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>sâ</td>
<td>nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>yari</td>
<td>yari</td>
<td>nane</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv. I</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>uwit</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ño</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv. II</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>goñ</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>ton</td>
<td>ñeton</td>
<td>yoton</td>
<td>innon</td>
<td>ñenon</td>
<td>yonon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* allomorphc forms observed for all Wantoat suffixes.
** n represents a reduction or contraction of nin.

The nominal possessive suffixes show striking similarities throughout. For each language, with the exception of the third person singular form, all forms are either identical to or similar to the regular personal pronoun forms. The third person singular form is always identical to or similar to the adjectivizer suffix (see section 11). The Selepet possessive suffixes probably represent a fusion of the noun with a following adjective which was derived from the regular personal pronoun suffixed by the adjectivizer (McElhanon, 1972: 64). These fossilized adjectivizers are evident in the possessive suffixes for Selepet, Ono, Kube and Kovai (II). As with the regular personal pronouns, cognate
forms are found throughout the languages. The Kovai series I forms evidence considerable vowel harmony with the preceding stem/root vowels.

9. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The demonstrative pronouns are quite stable throughout the languages of the Finisterre-Huon group. These demonstratives denote five positions relative to the speaker and hearer: this (near the speaker), that (near the hearer), that over there (removed from both speaker and hearer), that up there (removed from both speaker and hearer) and that down there (removed from both speaker and hearer). The demonstratives are given in Table F.

Table F: Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>what</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>that</th>
<th>there</th>
<th>up</th>
<th>down</th>
<th>which</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>wuån</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>eda</td>
<td>ewa</td>
<td>eba</td>
<td>wosa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>kuleki</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>inda</td>
<td>gwa</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>ono(ka)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>eri</td>
<td>we(ti)</td>
<td>gbe(ti)</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>nemak</td>
<td>yo(mi)</td>
<td>i(mi)</td>
<td>eri(mi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
<td>wemo</td>
<td>zi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>okni</td>
<td>faik</td>
<td>yuwik</td>
<td>weni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ura</td>
<td>naasit</td>
<td>i/ya</td>
<td>u/wa</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td>inde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>asto</td>
<td>kwe</td>
<td>mok-</td>
<td>zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>dâsi</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ato</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>amu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>nda</td>
<td>ña</td>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ande</td>
<td>awe</td>
<td>ame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>muk</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ya/i</td>
<td>drl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>awon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form which is most stable is that for that over there which is cognate in all the languages. Second in stability is the form meaning which with a common element (underlined in Table F) occurring in most languages. This element occurs compounded with another element wo in Selepet, and apparent cognates of wo occur in Kâte and Kovai. Note that the forms meaning this and that are often involved in semantic shifts; the form meaning this in one language will have a cognate form meaning that in another language and vice versa. Moreover, some languages evidence a vowel difference which in Selepet reflects nearness or remoteness but which in the other languages may not have any distinction.

The demonstrative pronouns occur in the axis of Locative axis-relator phrases and the resultant forms (demonstrative and clitic) function as locative words. The word meaning why is an occurrence of the word what in the axis of the Causal axis-relator phrase and marked by the clitic for. A sampling of the various occurrences of the
demonstratives with these and other clitics as observed in the different languages is given below. This feature is more pronounced in the Huon Peninsula languages than in the Finisterre languages.

Sl.: **yu-an (this-at) here, ya-ken (that-towards) thither, eda-keba** (that over there-from) thence, wosa-keba (which-from) whence, ya-kat (that-for) therefore, wuan-gat (what-for) why.

Nb.: **pi-en (this-at) here, ba-en (that down there-at) down below, gwa-en (that up there-at) up there, inda-en (that over there-towards) thither, de-en (which-at) where, ke-yat (that-for) therefore.**

Ono: **iwa-o (this-at) here, eriwa-o (that over there-at) over there, dia-o (which-at) where, onoka-o (what-at) where, okoka-wane (what-for) why, iwa-rop (this-with) together with this one, dia-no (which-sub.) which one.**

Kb.: **yo-mu (this-at) here, yo-mukgen (this-towards) hither, erimuken (that over there-from) thence, nemak-ni (what-for) why, nemak-na (what-sub.) which one, yo-muk (this-like) like this.**

Kt.: **zi-ra (this-at) here, i-rek (that-from) thence, okni-rek (that over there-from) thence, wemo-kte (what-for) why.**

Uri: **naasit-ganen (what-at) when, naasit-gat (what-for) why, i-ŋŋi10 (this-at) here, do-niŋ (that over there-of) that one's, yaa-ri (this-with) with this one, naasit-guk (what-with) together with what.**

Kw.: **o-ton (this-at) here, kwe-n (that up there-at) up there, asto-n (that over there-at) over there, ni-kwon (what-at) where, ni-kwonan (what-from) whence, o-teŋ (this-like) like this, ni-to (what-for) why.**

Wn.: **a-ndaŋ (this-at) here, u-ndanga (that-from) thence, amu-nziŋ (that down there-like) like that one down there, ato-patŋ (that over there-at) over there, ndasi-ge (what-for) why, u-ne (this-for) therefore.**

Rw.: **ŋa-no (this-at) here, ŋu-ndo (that-sub.) that one, nda-no (which-at) where, amu-ro (that one down there-of) that one's (down there).**

Kv.: **i-non (that-for) for that, owon-o (which-at) where, iri-n (that over there-towards) thither, i-nai (that-with) with that one.**
10. VERBS

Throughout the languages of the Finisterre-Huon group the verb structure may be described by positing a verb nucleus as opposed to a verb periphery. The nucleus manifests either a transitive verb stem or an intransitive verb root/stem. The transitive verb stem consists of a root form plus an object marking affix (see object affixes under section 10.4). Most intransitive verbs thus far observed are roots although intransitive verb stems are not totally absent; e.g., in Selepet, intransitive verbs may be derived from roots by the suffixation of -e as in lohole- to become weak from lohot weak. Verbs may generally be divided into two structural subclasses, independent and dependent. The independent verbs manifest a number of tenses and/or modes, and the independent verb periphery manifesting these tenses and/or modes may be divided into two subtypes on the basis of linear order of suffixal tagmemes, one subtype involving the inchoative future tense. The dependent verb periphery may also be divided into two subtypes on the basis of linear order of suffixal tagmemes, heteropersonal and homopersonal.

10.1 Independent Verb Peripheries

Generally speaking there are two distinctive subtypes of independent verb peripheries. There is some variation among the languages as to which tenses and/or modes fall within each periphery. For all the languages, however, the inchoative future tense with or without other tenses occurs in one periphery and the past and present (indicative) tenses occur in a second periphery.

10.1.1 Verb periphery subtype I indicates the inchoative future tense and generally has the following structure:

+ bene. + num. ± mode-tense + per.(num.) ± mode-tense

The distinguishing features of this subtype of periphery are the occurrence of a separate tagmeme indicating number and the occurrence of only one tagmeme indicating mode-tense. Note that the mode-tense tagmeme has two possible positions; either word final or between the number tagmeme and the tagmeme manifesting the person(number) composites.

The tagmeme indicating number manifests morphemes which have consonantal formatives which are cognate throughout the Finisterre-Huon languages. These formatives are highly stable in the first person forms which are given for comparison in Table G. The vowels in these forms apparently indicate tense.
Note that singular number is marked by a labial stop or fricative. Dual is generally marked by an alveolar obstruent and plural generally by an alveolar nasal. Except for Kâte and Kovai these formatives are syllable initial. Kovai is one of the most divergent of these languages and in these morphemes the consonant and vowel has metathesized. Kâte represents an aberrant family of languages and the structure of the 1st person dual and plural forms appears to be based by analogy upon the structure of the second and third person, dual and plural forms. Most of these languages have complex person-number composites in the second and third person, dual and plural. The analysis of these forms must await the collection of more data in those languages which are represented only by basic vocabulary lists and ultimately it must await an application of the comparative method and reconstruction.

Structural variants of this verb periphery are determined by whether or not these is another mode-tense periphery identical in structure to the inchoative future tense periphery, and if these is one, then whether this other mode-tense is signaled by a change of a phoneme or by a separate suffix added to the inchoative forms.

For two languages, Kube and Nabak, there is no other mode-tense sharing the verb peripheral structure with the inchoative so that one cannot posit with certainty any separate mode-tense tagmeme. That is to say, a single suffix may be regarded as a composite form indicating mode-tense, person and number.

In Selepet the inchoative future tense has the same structure as the immediate future tense. The Wantoat inchoative future has structure similar to the future tense, the contrary-to-fact mode, the obligatory mode and the interrogative mode. The inchoative periphery of these two languages has the structure: ± benefactive + number + mode-tense + person-number.
The Rawa language has contrary-to-fact forms which are very similar to the inchoative forms, the only difference being found in the first person dual and plural forms which are respectively -re and -ye in the inchoative future and -woro and -woto in the contrary-to-fact. If one were to posit that the form -wo indicates 'contrary-to-fact' mode then the verb peripheral structure would be the same as that for Selepet and Wantoat. Such an interpretation, however, would assume too much and it is better to reserve analysis until more data are available and the analysis of Rawa is beyond its initial stages.

The inchoative and remote future tenses in Uri share the same verb peripheral structure. In the Kewieng language the inchoative future tense occurs with the immediate future tense and the contrary-to-fact mode in a single verb periphery. In Ono the inchoative future and contrary-to-fact mode occur in the same periphery. For these three languages the periphery has the structure ± bene. + num. + per. - num. + mode.\textsuperscript{13}

Kâte is peculiar in clearly indicating an order of + person + number in the dual and plural forms of the inchoative verb. Although the first person singular form is apparently cognate with the first person singular forms of the other languages, the Kâte structure is regarded as an aberrant type: ± bene. + per. + num. + tense mode.

Another possible shared feature among several of the languages here compared is the phonemic shape of the third person singular inchoative future tense form. Note the following probable cognates: Selepet -âk, Nabak -ak, Kâte -ok, Uri -ot, Wantoat -yok and Kovai -o. In Uri the phoneme t and in Kâte the phoneme k represent a glottal stop in word final position.

The person-number composites of the inchoative future verb in all of these languages make the same distinctions in person and number, viz., that of Matrix A (5.1) which has separate forms indicating first person singular, first person dual, first person plural, second person singular, third person singular, second and third person dual, and second and third person plural. In many of these languages the suffixation indicating the inchoative future verb is identical with or similar to the suffixation indicating the heteropersonal dependent verb.

(1) Selepet: the two sets show resemblances in the second and third person plural.

(2) Nabak: the two sets are diverse and the forms for the heteropersonal verb are peculiar.

(3) Ono: the forms for the two sets are identical except in the third person singular where the heteropersonal form is -ki
and the inchoative form is -kep.

(4) Kube: the two sets are identical.

(5) Kâte: the two sets show identical forms only in first person singular; all other forms show no resemblances between the two sets.

(6) Uri: the heteropersonal verb morphology does not distinguish person nor number so no comparison is possible.

(7) Kewieng: the two sets differ only in the forms indicating second person singular, third person singular, and second and third person plural.

(8) Wantoat: the two sets are identical.

(9) Rawa: the heteropersonal forms distinguish only number and are identical to the third person forms of the inchoative verb.

(10) Kovai: the two sets are identical.

10.1.2 Verb periphery subtype II is quite regular throughout all the languages compared and usually includes two past tenses or one past tense and one present tense. The structure is ± bene. + mode + tense + per.-num. The distinguishing features of this periphery are that the order of the tagmemes is generally fixed and that the mode tagmememe is distinct from the tense tagmememe and is manifested by 'habituated mode' morphemes which may be shown to be derived from verb compounding. Generally there is little difficulty in identifying the constituent morphemes of this subtype of verb periphery.

Some languages, viz., Kube, Nabak, Ono and Rawa, have apparently additional suffixal morphemes occurring after the person-number composites. In Kube the contrary-to-fact forms are formed by the addition of a suffix to the prohibitive forms. In Rawa the additional morphemes indicate 'remote past tense' and in Nabak they possibly indicate various aspects or temporal states such as 'remote past time', 'near past time', 'present to future time' and 'unreal or imaginative time' (i.e., contrary-to-fact mode). In Ono the prohibitive forms are formed by the addition of a suffix to the remote past tense forms. In some of these cases these extra suffixal morphemes are similar in phonemic shape to clitics and further analysis may indeed show them to be clitics and as such not part of the basic verb structure. A listing of the languages and the respective tenses and modes occurring within the structure of independent verb periphery subtype II follows:
Sl.: remote past tense, immediate past tense, contrary-to-fact mode and future tenses (punctiliar and habituative).

Nb.: remote past tense, intermediate past tense, immediate past tense, present tense, immediate future tense, remote future tense and contrary-to-fact mode.

Ono: remote past tense, immediate past tense, future tense and prohibitive mode.

Kb.: remote past tense, immediate past tense, immediate future tense, contrary-to-fact mode and prohibitive mode.

Kt.: immediate past tense, present tense, remote future tense and remote inchoative future tense.\textsuperscript{14}

Uri: remote past tense, immediate past tense, present tense and immediate future tense.

Kw.: remote past tense and immediate past tense.

Wn.: remote past tense and immediate past tense.

Rw.: remote past tense, immediate past tense, present tense and future tense.

Kv.: remote past tense and immediate past tense.

The habituative mode (hab.) morphemes of these languages may be shown to be related to the verbs meaning \textit{to do} or \textit{to live} and to have a historical basis in verb compounding. In the historical development of these forms fusion has taken place so that some of the current habituative mode morphemes in some of the languages bear only slight resemblance to the original verb forms from which they developed.\textsuperscript{15}

Selepet

In Selepet the identification of the habituative mode morpheme with the verb \textit{m- to live} is only evident with the immediate past tense suffixes. The only similarity between the habituative mode morpheme \textit{-mini} occurring with the remote past tense and the verb \textit{m- to live} is the initial \textit{m}. In the future tense habituative mode the only possible evidence may be the fact that in the future tense habituative morpheme \textit{-bis\text{"a}} the initial phoneme \textit{b} is not replaced by a corresponding fricative phoneme \textit{w} when the morpheme occurs following a vowel. This replacement of \textit{b} by \textit{w} in this environment is a common morphophonemic change. Thus the phoneme \textit{b} in this environment is prenasalized \textit{mb} and this prenasalization may be evidence for breaking the morpheme up into constituents \textit{-m 'habituative mode' and -bis\text{"a} 'future tense'}.
Present (verb root/stem) + m- (very periphery in ipt.) as in ari-m-ap
  (to go-hab.-3s ipt.) he habitually goes.
Past (verb root/stem) -mini- (verb periphery in rpt.) as in
  ari-mini-op (to go-hab.-3s rpt) he used to go.
Future (verb root/stem) -m- (verb periphery in future tense) as in
  ari-m-bisåp (to go-hab.-3s future) he will habitually go.

Nabak

The Nabak habituative mode morphemes also show similarities with the
verbs ma- to live and tat- to stay. The compounding of these verbs to
yield habituative forms is peculiar in Nabak and the structure is
+ verb root ma- to live + (verb root/stem) ± to live/to stay.

Present ma- + (verb root/stem-verb periphery in pres.) as in ma-met-
  zin (to live-to go-3s pres.) he always goes.
Past ma- + (verb root/stem) + tat- (verb periphery in interpt.)
  as in ma-ko-tap-mayan (to live-to come-hab.-3s interpt.)
  he used to come.
Future ma- + (verb root/stem) + ma- (verb periphery in rft.) as in
  ma-we-ma-be (to live-to sleep-hab.-3s rft.) he will always
  sleep.

Ono

Two verbs, (ma-) ma- ~ mai- ~ mañ- to do and ge- to live are com-
pounded with the verb root/stem to yield the habituative forms.16

Present (verb root/stem) + mai- (verb periphery in ipt.) as in
  ari-mai-ke (to go-hab.-3s ipt.) he always goes.
Past (verb root/stem) + mañ- (verb periphery in rpt.) as in
  ari-mañ-kole (to go-hab.-1s rpt.) I used to go.
Future (verb root/stem) + mañ- (verb periphery in fut.) as in
  ari-mañ-kale (to go-hab.-1s fut.) I will always go.

Incho- (verb root/stem) + ma- + ge- (verb periphery in inch.)
  as in ari-ma-ge-we (to go-hab.-hab.-1s inch.) I must always
  go.

Kube

The habituative mode morphemes are derived from the verbs an- to do
and kek- to live.

Present (verb root/stem) + an- (verb periphery in ipt.) as in
  ke-an-zak (to go-hab.-3s ipt.) he always goes.
Past        (verb root/stem) + ker- (verb periphery in rpt.) as in
Hab.       ke-ker-ek (to go-hab.-3s rpt.) he used to go.

Kâte

The habituative mode morphemes are derived from the verbs e- to do and yu- to live.

Present (verb root/stem) - e- (verb periphery in pres.) as in
Hab.       ra-e-kak (to go-hab.-3s pres.) he always goes.

Past (verb root/stem) - yu- (verb periphery in ipt.) as in
Hab.       ra-yu-yek (to go-hab.-3s ipt.) he used to go.

Uri

The habituative mode in Uri is indicated by a second order suffix and this suffix appears to have been derived by compounding the verb with another verb which was cognate with the Rawá verb {árā-} to live. This verb may have had the form *ar- in Uri, but after the form had an established place in signaling habituative, the free verbal form was lost. The compound assumed the phonological characteristics of a single word and the second member of the compound, i.e., *ar-, assumed the character of a suffix. The following data are illustrative:

Present tense:
(verb stem/root) + ar- (verb periphery in pres.) as in
ka-ð-r-ik [karik] I am going and ka-ar-r-ik [kaatik] (to
go-hab.-pres.-ls) I always go (note: r + r + i).

Past tense:
(verb stem/root) - ar- (verb periphery in past.) as in ka-ð-ag-uk
[kaaguk] I went and ka-ar-agu-uk [karaguk] (to go-hab.-past.-ls)
I used to go (note: a + a + a).

Future tense:
(verb stem/root) + ar- (verb periphery in fut.) as in ka-ð -ot-ik
[kaotik] I shall go and ka-ar -ot-ik [karotik] (to go-hab.-fut.-ls)
I shall always go.

Kewieng

The writer has a limited amount of data in the Kewieng language and although the habituative mode morphemes may be isolated they are not yet clearly identified with any verb. The habituative morpheme -e in the past tense is similar to the verb A- to do.17 The data collected with the habituative in the present tense involve apparently irregular verb stems so that the habituative morpheme can only be tentatively identified as -A in the dual and plural and -aza in the singular.
Present (verb root/stem) + (A)- (verb periphery in ipt.) as in
Hab.  kA-aza-k (to go-hab.-3s ipt.) he always goes (note: 
A + A + A).

Past (verb root/stem) + e- (verb periphery in rpt.) as in
Hab.  kA-e-§Ak (to go-hab.-3s rpt.) he used to go.

Wantoat

The writer has not found a verb root in Wantoat which is suspect as
being the basis for the development of the Wantoat habituative mor-
pheme -ga. The position of this morpheme in the Wantoat verb periphery,
however, is analogous to that of the related languages, so that one
may surmise that a similar development occurred in Wantoat.

Rawa

In the Rawa language the development of the habituative morpheme may
be traced to a compound involving {arA-} to live.
Present (verb root/stem) -ro (homo.) + arA- (verb periphery in pres.)
Hab.  as in âro-ro-râ-te (to go-homo.-hab.-3s pres.) he always
goese.18
Past (verb root/stem) -ro (homo.) + âru- (verb periphery in past.)
Hab.  as in âro-ro-ru-wo (to go-homo.-hab.-3s past.) he used to go.19
Future (verb root/stem) -ro (homo.) + âru- (verb periphery in fut.)
Hab.  as in âro-ro-ru-wa (to go-homo.-hab.-3s fut.) he will always
go.

Kovai

In the Kovai language the habituative mode appears to have developed
from a compound with the verb gi- to live as the first member of the
compound as in me he spoke, ge-me he used to speak and as in gap I will
go, ga-gap I will always go.

10.2 Dependent Verb Peripheries

All of the languages of the Finisterre-Huon group have a distinction
between homopersonal and heteropersonal verb peripheries. As expected
there are minor variations among the languages with respect to the
structure of these peripheries but some general features may be iden-
tified.

In regard to the heteropersonal forms comment has already been made
to the fact that similarities exist between the heteropersonal forms
and the inchoative future tense forms (see 10.1.1). Moreover, the
tagmeme order in the heteropersonal periphery is generally as follows:
1 benefactive + mode + person-number + time. The mode tagmeme distin-
guishes between punctiliar action (frequently represented by a zero)
and prolonged action (frequently represented by the same morpheme indicating habitual action in the independent verb peripheries). A number of languages do not distinguish prolonged action, viz., Kewieng Rawa and Selepet, and in the latter two the morpheme manifested in the mode tagmeme may be described as a heteropersonal marker. Two languages, Kâte and Wantoat, manifest a time tagmeme before the person-number composites. The morphemes in this tagmeme distinguish whether the action of this verb is simultaneous with or antecedent to the action of the following verb.

A number of these languages exhibit a time tagmeme following the person-number composites but the morphemes occurring in this tagmeme need to be compared for similarities with the clitics of not only the language in question but also of related languages. In Kube the simultaneous action morpheme is homophonous with the accompaniment clitic and so the time tagmeme may be omitted if this could be regarded as a heteropersonal clause expounding the axis of an Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase, e.g.:

me-gik-guk ne-yek (*hold it*-they(pl.)-simul., *eat it*-he(rpt.))

while they held it, he ate it (lit. in association with them
holding it, he ate it).

Moreover, in the closely related Mape language simultaneity is indicated by the morpheme -kuk which, although not homophonous with the Mape accompaniment clitic, may be shown to be cognate with the Kube accompaniment clitic. Similarly in Selepet a morpheme -âne, analyzed by the writer as a suffix only occurring following dependent clauses, indicates that the action of the verb is antecedent to the action of the following verb. This morpheme is an apparent cognate with the Kâte locative clitic -onek from.

The Uri language is peculiar among the languages here compared in that it does not distinguish either person or number in the dependent heteropersonal verb morphology.

The dependent homopersonal verb periphery generally has the structure ± bene. + mode + identity ± time. The remarks made above relating to the mode and time tagmemes also apply here. In Wantoat, and perhaps in other languages as well, the benefactive markers are obligatorily absent, probably due to their presence in the morphology of the following heteropersonal or independent verb.

Selepet

The Selepet dependent verb morphology is described in McElhanon (1972: 70-1) and a summary is presented here. Two subtypes of verb
periphery were posited. The first was the heteropersonal verb with the structure + nucleus ± bene. + identity + number + person.

\( \text{tuhu-Ø-yingi-mu-t-då} \ (\text{build-it-for them-hetero.-du.-2-3 per.}) \)
\( \text{you/they(du.) built it for them and...} \)

The second was the homopersonal verb with the structure + nucleus ± bene. + identity + mode.

\( \text{tuhu-Ø-yingi-m-Ø} \ (\text{build-it-for them-homo.-punct.}) \) building it for them and...

The nucleus may be manifested as in the independent verb morphology.

Nabak

There are two subtypes of dependent verb periphery in Nabak; the homopersonal and the heteropersonal. The homopersonal verb has the structure + nucleus ± bene. + mode + homopersonal marker.

\( \text{met-sa-net-ti} \ (\text{go-for him-hab.-homo.}) \) always going for him and...
\( \text{n-ti} \ (\text{eat-homo.}) \) eat and...

The heteropersonal verb has the structure + nucleus ± bene. + mode + number -person.

\( \text{met-ma-lu} \ (\text{go-hetero.-du.}) \) we/you/they(du.) are going and another...
\( \text{kwiti-Ø-sa-ma-n} \ (\text{buy-it-for him-hetero.-lp}) \) we(pl.) are buying it for him and another...

Ono

Ono dependent verbs have the structure + nucleus ± bene. + mode ± per.-num. ± time.

The mode slot is expounded by mage continuative or prolonged action from the compound ma- to do and ge- to live. When the person-number composites are absent the verb is homopersonal but when they occur the verb is heteropersonal. The time slot indicates whether the action of the dependent verb is simultaneous with or antecedent to the action of the following verb. When the action is simultaneous no time morpheme occurs; when it is antecedent the morpheme \{-mo\} -mo ~ -so occurs. The person-number composites are identical to the person-number composites of the verb periphery type I except that the third person singular form is -ki.

\( \text{kpe-Ø-gin-mage-we-so} \ (\text{hit-it-for you-hab.-ls-ante.}) \) I was hitting it for you and then someone else...
\( \text{kpe-Ø-we} \ (\text{hit-it-ls}) \) when I hit it, someone else...
\( \text{ne-Ø-so} \ (\text{eat-it-ante.}) \) eat and then...
The Kube dependent verb has the usual two contrasting types of peripheries, viz., the homopersonal and the heteropersonal. The homopersonal verb has the structure $+\text{nucleus} \pm \text{bene.} + \text{mode} + \text{identity} + \text{time}.$

$$kpe-\emptyset-\emptyset-\text{ma-\emptyset} \ (\text{kill-it-for him-punct.-homo.-ante}) \text{ kill it for him and then...}$$

$$kpe-\emptyset-\text{mi-kek-ma-nek} \ (\text{hit-it-for him-hab.-homo.-simul.}) \text{ while hitting it for him...}$$

The heteropersonal verb has the structure $+\text{nucleus} \pm \text{bene.} + \text{mode} + \text{person} \pm \text{number} + \text{time}.$

$$kpe-\emptyset-\text{mi-kek-ni-guk} \ (\text{hit-it-for him-hab.-lp-simul.}) \text{21 when we were hitting it for him, someone else...}$$

$$kpe-\emptyset-\text{mi-kek-ni-\emptyset} \ (\text{hit-it-for him-hab.-lp-ante.}) \text{ we were hitting it for him and then someone else...}$$

Kâte

Two contrasting types of dependent verb peripheries are found. The first is the heteropersonal dependent verb with the structure

$+\text{nucleus} \pm \text{benefactive} + \text{mode} + \text{time} + \text{person} + \text{number}$

$$\text{kpa-\emptyset} \ \text{yare-} \ -\text{ku} \ -\text{ha} \ -\text{pe} \ -\text{ne}$$

$$\text{kill-it for them} \ \text{hab. simul. first plural}$$

while we(pl.) used to kill it for them(pl.)

$$\text{kpa-\emptyset} \ \text{-yare} \ -\emptyset \ -\text{ha} \ -\text{pi} \ -\text{e}$$

$$\text{kill-it for them} \ \text{punct. simul. 2-3 plural}$$

while they(pl.) killed it for them(pl.)

$$\text{kpa-\emptyset} \ \text{-yakte} \ -\emptyset \ -\emptyset \ -\text{pe} \ -\text{re}$$

$$\text{kill-it for them(du.) punct. ante. first dual}$$

after we(du.) killed it for them(du.)

The homopersonal dependent verb structure is:

$+\text{nucleus} \pm \text{benefactive} + \text{mode} + \text{time}$

$$\text{kpa-\emptyset} \ \text{-yare} \ -\text{hu} \ -\text{k}$$

$$\text{kill-it for them} \ \text{punct. simul.}$$

while killing it for them

$$\text{kpa-\emptyset} \ \text{-yare} \ -\text{ku} \ -\emptyset$$

$$\text{hit-it for them} \ \text{habit. ante.}$$

after continually hitting it for them

Uri

Uri dependent verb morphology is the most simple thus far described for the Finisterre-Huon languages. The homopersonal structure is

$+\text{nucleus} \pm \text{benefactive} + \text{identity}$.
The form indicates prolonged or continuous action by a form of stem reduplication:

- **au-ña going**  
- **au-wuut going on and on**
- **abu-ña coming**  
- **aba-buut coming on and on**
- **ti-ña doing**  
- **ti-tiit doing it on and on**

The heteropersonal verb structure is + nucleus ± bene. + mode + identity.

- **dina-a-yaam-u-ña (cut-it-for them-hab.-hetero.)**  
  while cutting it for them...

**Kewieng**

The homopersonal verb morphology has the structure + nucleus ± bene. + identity. No evidence was found for either the punctiliar/prolonged distinction or the simultaneous/antecedent distinction.

- **ya-ŋek owi-tak (speak-ing, come-he (ipt.) while speaking he came, he spoke and then came.**

The heteropersonal verb morphology has the structure + nucleus ± benefactive + mode + person-number.

- **ya-ŋap-do aŋak-dak (speak-hab.-we(du.), hit him-he (ipt.)**  
  we spoke on and on, and (then) he hit him.
- **ka-do γκδαk (go-we(du.), speak-he (ipt.) we went and (then)**  
  he spoke.

**Wantoit**

The Wantoit homopersonal forms are quite complex and have a probable structure of + mode + identity. The mode is manifested by -Ø 'punctiliar' or -ga 'prolonged' and the identity is manifested by a number of morphemes: -yuk 'punctiliar simultaneous', -ku 'punctiliar antecedent', -keŋ 'punctiliar antecedent' and -sikaŋ 'prolonged antecedent'.

According to Davis all of these morphemes may occur with the morpheme -ga 'prolonged' occurring in the mode tagmeme. It is not immediately apparent whether these morphemes may be divided into constituent morphemes indicating 'punctiliar', 'prolonged', 'antecedent', or 'simultaneous'. If one were to split sikaŋ into -sí 'prolonged' and -kəŋ 'antecedent' and then to posit a zero morpheme indicating 'punctiliar' occurring before the other morphemes, it appears that numerous phoneme changes have to be explained in terms of allomorphs or morphophonemic changes.
Rawa

Rawa dependent verb morphology combines the homopersonal and heteropersonal forms and may be described by positing a single structure: ± bene. + identity + per.-num. The identity tagmeme is expounded by either -ro 'homopersonal' or -to 'heteropersonal'. When -to occurs then the person-number markers also occur.

*ambu-ro (come-homo.) coming
*ambu-to-ri (come-hetero.-(du.)) we/you/they (du.) came on and on, and another...

Kovai

- Only a limited amount of data is available in the Kovai language and on the basis of this data the following dependent verbal suffixal structures may be posited: homopersonal, i.e., + verb root/stem + identity; and heteropersonal, i.e., + verb root/stem + person-number.

*zul-ae (pull it-homo.) pull it and...
*u-wet (come-we(du.)) we(du.) come and another...

10.3 Desiderative verb constructions

The concepts of desire, intent, purpose and inception of action are often not formally distinguished in some of the languages of the Finisterre-Huon group, and thus a single utterance in a vernacular may be rendered equally well by the English glosses I am about to, I want to, I intend to, or I propose to. There are a number of different constructions which are used to indicate these concepts, and when a language has more than one construction type usually one of the types has a much higher frequency of occurrence.

Some languages do distinguish one or more of these concepts in different ways and it may well be that in languages where several construction types are found these concepts are distinguished by the indigenous speakers but not by the European analysts. This section of the study only concerns those constructions which are purported to indicate 'desire'. These construction types are:

(1) (verb root/stem in the inch.) + to say (homo.) + to do.
This construction is by far the most common although there are minor variations particularly with regard to the occurrence of concord.
(2) (verb root/stem/special derived form) + to do with benefactive marker and also a third person singular subject marker. The benefactive marker expresses the person-number forms which are best rendered as the subject of the English gloss. For example from Kâte:
ra-ze  e-nare-kak
go-suffix do-for-me-it(ipt.)
I want to go (lit. it does to go for me)
ra-ze  e-gare-kak
go-suffix do-for-you-it(ipt.)
you want to go (lit. it does to go for you)

(3) (noun derived by verb root/stem reduplication) + bene./cau.
clitic + to do with the benefactive markers and third person
singular subject marker. From Kâte:

rara-re  e-nare-kak
going-for do-for-me-it(ipt.)
I want to go (lit. it does to me for going)
rara-re  e-gare-kak
going-for do-for-you-it(ipt.)
you want to go (lit. it does to you for going)

Selepet

The desiderative verb in Selepet is described in McElhanon (1972: 74)
and is analyzed as a clause manifesting at least one embedded clause
and having the phonological characteristics of a word. The structure
is:

Desiderative verb = + inchoative future + sâm + ot-
verb in first person saying to do

Concord exists between the number indicated in the inchoative verb and
the number indicated in ot-. The inchoative future verb is an independ­
ent clause functioning as the object of the dependent verb sâm. Other
independent verbs may substitute for ot-, although when such substitution
does occur, the total construction no longer has the phonological
characteristics of a single word. In all the examples in this section
the examples are written to show the grammatical structure rather than
the phonological structure.

ari-we să-m o-a-an (go-must I, say-ing, do-1pt.-I) I want to go.
ari-re să-m o-a-it (go-must we(du.), say-ing, do-1pt.-we(du.))
We(du.) want to go.
ari-re să-m o-a-wot (go-must we(du.), say-ing, do-1pt.-you.they(du.))
You-they(du.) want to go.
ari-ne să-m o-a-in (go-must we(pl.), say-ing, do-1pt.-we(pl.))
We(pl.) want to go.
ari-ne să-m o-a-i (go-must we(pl.), say-ing, do-1pt.-you/they(pl.))
You/they(pl.) want to go.
tuhu-we să-m ga-a-an (do-must I, say-ing, come-1pt.I) I came want­
ing to do it.
Nabak

The structure of the desiderative verb in Nabak appears to be quite peculiar and the resemblances to those of other languages are slight. The structure is:22

Desiderative = + verb stem/root + -sât + independent verb

The independent verb is usually manifested by nà- to think, ze- to say, mi- to do, or -mbe to cause to like. The construction has the phonological characteristics of one word. If indeed the construction of the desiderative verb represents a widely divergent development from a proto-form common to the Finisterre-Huon languages, then one may hypothesize that the inchoative future tense suffixes were lost on the first (dependent) verb and that the morpheme -sât is cognate with the Selepet morpheme sâ- to say.

met -sât nà-ya (go-sât, think-ipt.-I) I want to go.
met -sât nà-nak (go-sât, think-ipt.-you) You want to go.
met -sât nà-lut (go-sât, think-ipt.-we/you/they-du.) We/you/they want to go.

The following utterances are tentatively analyzed as + verb stem/root + sât + mi- to do (in present tense):

mesâpmmap or mesâbap I want to go (t+m+pm+b)
mesâpmminik or mesâpmminik You want to go (mi+n+mn)
mesâpmnip You/they want to go.

Ono

Data supplied by Rev A. Flathmann of the Kalasa mission station indicate that apparently there are at least two desiderative constructions in Ono. The first is + verb root/stem + noun derived by reduplication from ra- to say + bene./cau. clitic + simin-(b.pr.)- (3s s.m.) it is agreeable to someone.

ari rara-ane simin-nan-maike
go speaking-for agreeable-me-it(1pt.)
I want to go

ari rara-ane simin-gan-maike
go speaking-for agreeable-you-it(1pt.)
you want to go

The second is + wetneq + verb (fut.) as in wetneq ariake he wants to go and wetneq arikene you want to go. The form wetneq consists of two morphemes. The first, wet, as a noun root means insides and occurs meaning feeling in the compound wet-borik (feeling-bad) sadness, pity. The second is -neq which cannot be identified but which might be equivalent to Kâte -zo.
There are three desiderative constructions in Kube which involve the verb *to say* and all of these constructions are quite similar. In all of them there are two phonological words of which the latter is always the verb *to do* with or without the benefactive markers. The Desiderative Verb I has the structure: + verb (homo.) + *ze to say* + *wan-* to do.

ke-ma-nze wan-zua (*go-ing-say, do-I(1pt.)*) I want to go.\(^23\)
ke-ma-nze wan-zak (*go-ing-say, do-he(1pt.)*) he wants to go.

Desiderative Verb II has the same structure as above except that the verb *to do* occurs with a third person singular subject marker and benefactive markers. These latter markers are rendered in the English gloss as the subject. The structure is + verb (homo.) + *ze to say* + *wan-* (b.pr.)-(3s s.m.).

ke-ma-nze wan-ren-zak (*go-ing-say, do-to me-it(1pt.)*)
*I want to go.*
ke-ma-nze wan-gen-zak (*go-ing-say, do-to you-it(1pt.)*)
you want to go.

Desiderative Verb III has the same structure as number II except that the verb *to say* occurs in the homopersonal dependent form.

ke-ma-nze-ma wan-ren-zak (*go-ing-say-ing, do-to me-it(1pt.)*)
*I want to go.*
ke-ma-nze-ma wan-gen-zak (*go-ing-say-ing, do-to you-it(1pt.)*)
you want to go.

A fourth desiderative construction in Kube involves a noun derived from a verb by reduplication. This noun occurs in the axis of the Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase and is followed by the verb *to do* as in the Desiderative Verb Types II and III.

kenke-n-ak wan-ren-zak (*going-for, do-to me-it(1pt.)*)
*I want to go.*

Two types of desiderative constructions in Kâte have been already mentioned in the introduction to this section; viz., (1) *ra-zo e-nare-kak* (*go-suffix, do-to me-it(1pt.)*) *I want to go*, which is the most common, and (2) *ra-ra-re e-nare-kak* (*going-for, do-to me-it(1pt.)*) *I want to go*. One other type occurs and involves a homopersonal dependent form of the verb *to say* and has the structure + verb (inch.) + *murâ to say* + *e-* (b.pr.)-(3s s.m.) *it does to s.o.* Concord exists in person and number between the benefactive markers and the subject markers of the inchoative future verb.
ra-pe mu-râ e-nare-kak (go-I(inch.), say-ing, do-to me-it(ipt.))
I want to go.
ra-k mu-râ e-gare-kak (go-you(inch.), say-ing, do-to you-it(ipt.))
you want to go.
ra-ok mu-râ e-kne-kak (go-he(inch.), say-ing, do-to him-it(ipt.))
he wants to go.

Uri
The desiderative verb in Uri has a structure: + verb stem + -oŋa + ta- to do. When the verb ta- is in the immediate past tense the idea is that of a thwarted desire or a frustrated purpose.

ka-ŋa ta-ŋat (go-ŋa, do-he(ipt.)) he wanted to go (but was unsuccessful).
ka-ŋa ta-ŋak (go-ŋa, do-I(ipt.)) I wanted to go (but was unsuccessful).

When the verb ta- occurs in the present tense the idea is that of inception of action.

ka-ŋa ta-rik (go-ŋa, do-I(pres.)) I am about to go.
ka-ŋa ta-rat (go-ŋa, do-he(pres.)) he is about to go.

The dependent form of this construction involves the bene./cau. clitic -gat for and the verb to- to say. The structure is + noun derived from verb + -gat + niŋ like + toŋa saying + indep. verb.

guu gagaap-gat niŋ to-ŋa aba-rik
you seeing you-for thus say-ing come-I(pres.)
I came wanting to see you.

Kewieng
The only form for the desiderative which was obtained in the Kewieng language involves the bene./cau. clitic -do for. The structure is + verb stem/root + -do + nandi- to think or a- to do. When the verb a- occurs, the total construction tends to have the phonological characteristics of a single word, but with the verb nandi- there are two phonological words, the first ending with the clitic -do.

kok-do nandi-zat (go-for, think-I(pres.)) I want to go.
kok-do nandi-zal (go-for, think-you(pres.)) you want to go.
kok-do-a-zat (go-for-do-I(pres.)) I want to go.
kok-do-a-zal or kok-da-zal (go-for-do-you(pres.)) you want to go.
Wantoat

In his analysis of Wantoat Verb Morphology, Davis (1964: 162) noted the occurrence of a morpheme -nage which denotes 'subjunctive of desirability'. A significant feature of this morpheme is that it may occur as the last morpheme of the verb and signal a 'dependent clause construction of purpose, conditional desire, or non-conditional (stative) desire'. In this latter usage the form is followed by an independent verb. Moreover, Davis (1964: 164) stated that a transition vowel i occurs between -nage and any higher order suffix. These phenomena, plus the possibility of dividing -nage into constituent morphemes, suggest that -nage may in fact have historical connections with the desiderative phrase. The writer suggests the following structure:

+ verb in lp inch. + -ge for + independent verb. One may note that the resulting construction has the phonological characteristics of a single word. Note that the construction involving an inchoative future verb in the first person plus the bene./cau. clitic occurs in Selepet: the only structural difference being that in Selepet there is concord between the number of the inchoative verb and the independent verb but in Wantoat the inchoative verb only occurs in first person plural. The occurrence of the transition vowel i is evidence for positing an independent verb in the structure. What the independent verb may have been is not clear although it may be conjectured that the i represents an allomorph of the form yu- to remain, be.24 When the independent verb is some verb other than i there are two phonological words, the former ending with the bene./cau. clitic -ge and being dependent upon the latter, i.e., independent verb.

Rawa

In the preliminary analysis of Rawa verb morphology, the Claassens (1968) list a morpheme -werø 'intentional' which does not occur with higher order suffixes. The morpheme is similar to the morpheme -nage in Wantoat when the latter occurs as a dependent form. The writer suggests that the Rawa morpheme -werø probably represents a fusion of the ls inchoative future morpheme with the homopersonal dependent form of the verb e- to say. The suggested structure is + verb + -we (ls inch.) + e-ro say-ing + dependent/independent verb. The verb + -we + ero occurs with the phonological characteristics of a single word and the adjacent e vowels reduce to a single e. Concord does not occur between the number expressed in the inchoative verb and the number expressed in the following dependent or independent verb.

yure-we e-ro âmbu-te (kill them-I(inch.), say-ing, came-he(ipt.))
he came intending to kill them.
Kovai

The concept of desire or intention in Kovai is expressed by the lexicon rather than the grammar.

10.4 Bound object and benefactive markers

These markers include those object-marking affixes which occur as part of the transitive verb stem manifested in the verb nucleus and the benefactive marking suffixes which occur in the benefactive tagmeme immediately following the verb nucleus.

A comparison of these markers clearly shows the genetic relationship of the representative languages, although it is necessary to compare whole paradigms in order to recognize the relationship. Most of the languages evidence bound object marker allomorphs and all the transitive verb roots of these languages may be divided into subclasses on the basis of their occurrence with a particular paradigm of allomorphs of the the object marker. For example, in Selepet there are three paradigms of object marker allomorphs. The first person singular allomorphs are -nek 'subclass one', -nihii 'subclass two' and -noho 'subclass three' (see McElhanon, 1972: 38-40, for a detailed treatment of these).

Examples of subclass one verb roots are: gai-nek-sap (cut-me-he(ipt.)), he cut me, me-nek-sap (hold-me-he(ipt.)) he held me, kat-nek-sap (put-me-he(ipt.)) he dismissed me. Examples of subclass two verb roots are: mewale-nihii-ap (defraud-me-he(ipt.)) he defrauded me, mabot-nihii- ap (await-me-he(ipt.)) he awaited me, peni-nihii- ap (join-me-he(ipt.)) he joined me. Examples of subclass three verb roots are: tan-noho-ap (bone-me-he(ipt.)) he helped me, kâlû-p-noko-ap (fire-me-he(ipt.)) he aroused me, kâdût-noho-ap (back-me-he(ipt.)) he turned his back on me.

In some of the languages these object marker allomorphs are mainly suffixal (e.g., Selepet) while in others they are mainly prefixal (e.g., Wantoat). In a number of languages neither the suffixal nor the prefixal forms appear to predominate (e.g., Nabak). In general the Huon Peninsula languages show a predominance of suffixal forms while the Finisterre languages show a predominance of prefixal forms.

In many of the languages one or more of the verb subclasses contain a verb root morpheme represented by zero and these roots are distinguished by the object marker allomorph. Thus, in Selepet the relevant forms are Ø-nek-sap (see-me-he(ipt.)) he saw me, Ø-nihii- ap (give/bite-me-he(ipt.)) he gave it to me or it bit me, and Ø-noho-ap (hit-me-he(ipt.)) he hit me. This phenomenon is most developed in the Huon Peninsula group, particularly in the Ono language. In the
Finisterre group, the phenomenon has importance in the diachronic study. Various synchronic studies (e.g., Wantoat by Davis (1964), Uri by Webb (1967) and Rawa by the Claassens (1968) have not noted the possible occurrence of any verb root zero morpheme.

For most of these languages a basic number of verb roots are usually found to represent all of the object marker allomorphs. These verb roots are those meaning *to hit/kill someone, to give to someone*, and *to see someone*. In some synchronic studies (Davis, 1964; the Claassens, 1968; and Webb, 1967) these verb roots are described as being the lone members of individual verb classes while in others (Filhofer, 1926-27, 1933; Wacke, 1930-31) they are described as object verbs. Other transitive verb roots which are also important to various languages are those for *to bite, to burn, to cause someone to do something, to chase, to copulate, to cut, to hold, to name, to pass by, to put, to shoot, to show, to take something away, and to tell*. As would be expected there is a great diversity among the languages regarding the number of allomorphic subclasses of the object markers, ranging from a single class in Wantoat to several subclasses in Ono.

A comparison of the allomorphic subclasses of one language with the verb roots of another language yields evidence for forming a hypothesis explaining this diversity in the number of allomorphic subclasses of the object markers. It has been noted that for many of these languages it is necessary to posit a zero morpheme for one verb root with each allomorphic subclass. This phenomenon is most developed among the Huon Peninsula languages, particularly so in the Ono language which has the largest number of allomorphic subclasses. Data are complete in only four of the diagnostic verbs given above, viz., *to bite, to give, to hit and to see*. The comparison of the various allomorphic subclasses with the verb roots reveals that the forms are intricately related and that these relationships extend throughout the Finisterre-Huon languages and perhaps into other phyla as well (see McElhanon and Voorhoeve, 1970: 94-7). A definitive statement will therefore have to await further study. In the following data one may posit that for each of the allomorphic subclasses of the object marker in Ono there is one verb root represented by a zero morpheme.
Table H: to hit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>3d</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>noho goho ku</td>
<td>notko</td>
<td>yotko</td>
<td>yotko</td>
<td>nongo</td>
<td>yongo</td>
<td>yongo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>no go ku</td>
<td>nddo</td>
<td>ltdo</td>
<td>ltdo</td>
<td>ndo</td>
<td>indo</td>
<td>indo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>neku goku kpe</td>
<td>ŋetku</td>
<td>ŋitku</td>
<td>etku</td>
<td>ŋengu</td>
<td>ŋingu</td>
<td>engu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>nu gu kpe</td>
<td>nuru</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>nunu</td>
<td>unu</td>
<td>unu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>nu gu kpa nâfo</td>
<td>ŋofa</td>
<td>yofa</td>
<td>nâpo</td>
<td>ŋopa</td>
<td>yopa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>nuk guk uk</td>
<td>indif</td>
<td>sidif</td>
<td>idif</td>
<td>indif</td>
<td>sidif</td>
<td>idif</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>nak gâk aŋak</td>
<td>nindâp</td>
<td>dâk</td>
<td>yâk</td>
<td>nindâp</td>
<td>dâk</td>
<td>yâk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>nanu gagu tânu</td>
<td>nisi</td>
<td>dasi</td>
<td>yesi</td>
<td>nisi</td>
<td>dasi</td>
<td>yesi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>nutâ gâtâ utâ</td>
<td>yutâ</td>
<td>(same as 1d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I: to see

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>3d</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>nek gek ek</td>
<td>nelek</td>
<td>yelek</td>
<td>yelek</td>
<td>nenek</td>
<td>yek</td>
<td>yek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>nik gik ek</td>
<td>nndik</td>
<td>itdik</td>
<td>itdik</td>
<td>ndik</td>
<td>indik</td>
<td>indik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>nan gan ka</td>
<td>ŋot</td>
<td>ŋut ot</td>
<td>ŋon</td>
<td>ŋon</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>nin gin kan</td>
<td>nirii</td>
<td>irii</td>
<td>irii</td>
<td>ninii</td>
<td>inii</td>
<td>inii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>hone- hone- hone- hone- hone- hone- hone- hone- hone-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>naab gaab ka</td>
<td>niib</td>
<td>saab</td>
<td>yaab</td>
<td>niib</td>
<td>saab</td>
<td>yaab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>namda gamda ko</td>
<td>nimda</td>
<td>damda</td>
<td>damda</td>
<td>nimda</td>
<td>damda</td>
<td>damda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>nadu gudu ka</td>
<td>niidu</td>
<td>dadu ka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>neyâ geyâ keno</td>
<td>yeyâ</td>
<td>(same as 1d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>amal- amal- amal- amal-</td>
<td>amal-</td>
<td>amal-</td>
<td>amal-</td>
<td>amal-</td>
<td>amal-</td>
<td>amal-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table J: to bite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>3d</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>niihi giihi ihi</td>
<td>ninki</td>
<td>yitki</td>
<td>yitki</td>
<td>ninki</td>
<td>yingi</td>
<td>yingi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>ni gi i</td>
<td>nndi</td>
<td>itdi</td>
<td>itdi</td>
<td>ndi</td>
<td>indi</td>
<td>indi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>nirot girot ki</td>
<td>ŋetot</td>
<td>ŋitot</td>
<td>etot</td>
<td>ŋedot</td>
<td>ŋidot</td>
<td>edot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>ni gi ki</td>
<td>niri</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>kiknu kikgu ki</td>
<td>kik- kik- kik- kik- kik- kik- kik- nâfo</td>
<td>ŋofa</td>
<td>yofa</td>
<td>nâpo</td>
<td>ŋopa</td>
<td>yopa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>nasi gasi isi</td>
<td>nisi</td>
<td>dasi</td>
<td>yesi</td>
<td>nisi</td>
<td>dasi</td>
<td>yesi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>nâki gâki ki</td>
<td>yâki</td>
<td>(same as 1d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>ilne ilge ille</td>
<td>ilte</td>
<td>il-</td>
<td>il-</td>
<td>il-</td>
<td>il-</td>
<td>il-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A comparison of the various bound object marker allomorphs reveals two significant features. Firstly, for many of the languages the bound object marker allomorphs which occur with a zero verb root show cognate forms throughout many of the object marker paradigms. Compare, for example, the object marker allomorphs occurring with the verb to bite in Selepet, Nabak, Kube and Uri. Secondly and equally significant is the fact that the third person singular object marker in one or more languages is often cognate with the verb root morphemes in other languages. Note that the third person singular form in Ono and Kube is ki and that this form is the same as the root morpheme in Rawa and Kâte. It is important to note that the Kâte bound object markers occurring with ki are suffixes but in Rawa they are prefixes. This should caution anyone in using prefixal or suffixal object markers as a heavily weighted typologically contrastive feature. It is premature to state whether or not the proto-form of ki represents the root for to bite in the Finisterre-Huon languages. One hypothesis is that the verb to bite as well as many other verbs were represented in the proto-language by zero morphemes.25 These zero morpheme verb roots were then distinguished by the allomorphic subclasses of the bound object marker. In the historical development of these languages the third person singular

Table K: to give with the benefactive markers given below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>3d</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>nih</td>
<td>gih</td>
<td>waŋ</td>
<td>niti</td>
<td>yit</td>
<td>yit</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>yin</td>
<td>yin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>nda</td>
<td>līt</td>
<td>līt</td>
<td>nda</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono (b.pr. are identical)</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>ēpōn</td>
<td>ēpōn</td>
<td>ēpōn</td>
<td>ēbon</td>
<td>ēbon</td>
<td>ēbon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb. (b.pr. are identical)</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td>gimi</td>
<td>miri-</td>
<td>irip</td>
<td>irip</td>
<td>irip</td>
<td>nini-</td>
<td>nini-</td>
<td>nini-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt. (b.pr. are identical)</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>gare</td>
<td>rākne</td>
<td>nākte</td>
<td>ṇakte</td>
<td>yakte</td>
<td>nāre</td>
<td>ṇare</td>
<td>yare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>naa</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>gaa</td>
<td>niim</td>
<td>saam</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>niim</td>
<td>saam</td>
<td>im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw. (b.pr. are identical)</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>gami</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>nimi</td>
<td>dami</td>
<td>yomi</td>
<td>nimi</td>
<td>dami</td>
<td>yomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn. (b.pr. are identical)</td>
<td>namu</td>
<td>gamu</td>
<td>imu</td>
<td>nimu</td>
<td>damu</td>
<td>yemu</td>
<td>nimu</td>
<td>damu</td>
<td>yemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw. (b.pr. are identical)</td>
<td>nunâ</td>
<td>gunâ</td>
<td>inâ</td>
<td>yunâ</td>
<td>(same as 1d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>tane</td>
<td>tage</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>taite</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Benefactive markers could not be elicited satisfactorily.)
allomorph of the object marker of the proto-language became the verb root in later stages of development, and to this verb root were affixed the object marker allomorphs of another subclass. By this method the number of allomorphic subclasses of the object marker were reduced. In support of this hypothesis a number of observations may be given.

The allomorphs of the third person singular object marker of the Ono language are often apparently cognate with the verb root morphemes of other languages. This may indicate that the Ono language preserves more archaic forms than most other languages. It has already been noted that both Rawa and Kâte have a verb root ki to *bite* which is apparently cognate with the third person singular allomorph ki of the object marker in Ono.

For the verb *to see* the third person singular forms in Selepet, Ono, Kube, Uri, Kewieng and Wantoat are recognizable as apparent cognates. The Selepet and Nabak forms evidence a metathesis of vowel and consonant. Another apparently unrelated series is found in Kâte, Rawa and Kovai. The root in Kâte is hone and apparently cognate forms are found in the Rawa third person singular form keno (vowel metathesis) and in the Kovai third person singular form ane.

In the series given for *to hit* the third person singular forms in Selepet, Nabak, Ono, Kube, Kâte and Uri are apparently cognate. In Rawa the object markers nu 'first person singular', gu 'second person singular', and u 'third person singular' were prefixed to the form tâ to *hit* which is cognate with the third person object marker in Wantoat. Note, too, that in Wantoat an irregularity occurs in which the entire singular object marker series nu-, gu-, qa- were prefixed by another series na-, ga-, tâ rather than just the third person singular object marker allomorph being prefixed by another series as is usually the case (cf. the Ono third person singular form ki *bite it* which is cognate with the Rawa root ki to which is prefixed the series na-, ga- etc.). One could have expected the Wantoat forms to be something like na-ku, ga-ku and tâ-ku or i-ku rather than na-nu, ga-gu, tâ-qa.

The data in hand are most complete for the Huon Peninsula languages and a comparison of Ono and Selepet forms clearly illustrate this hypothesis.
In each of the allomorphic subclasses of the object marker in Ono the third person singular form is cognate with the Selepet verb root to which Selepet subclass I bound object marker allomorphs were suffixed. By such a process the resultant verb morphology in the Selepet language was simplified.

D. Davis (personal communication) reports that the word for to copulate in Wantoat is yesi- and that it has the sense of in immorality or adultery. It is possible to divide this word into constituent morphemes ye-si (third person dual-plural object marker-to copulate) to copulate with many partners in which the root si is apparently cognate with Ono git and Selepet het. Note that the root in the Burum language (closely related to Selepet) is set.

A few other examples which apparently support this hypothesis have been observed. The Uri forms for to put someone are nìmp- '1s', gîpm- '2s', kàm- '3s', indîpm- '1dp', siîmp- '2dp' and împ- '3dp'. The third person singular form kàm- is apparently cognate with the Selepet root kàt- to which subclass I bound object marker allomorphs were suffixed as in kàt-nek put-me, kàt-gek put-you, kàt-Ø put-it, kàt-nelek put-us(du.), etc.
The Wantoat root for *to chase someone* is wa to which object pronoun prefixes are added to form na-wa me-chase, ga-wa you chase, tâ-wa him-chase, ni-wa us (du.-pl.)-chase, etc. In Nabak the root is mât to which prefixes were added as in na-mât me-chase, ga-mât you-chase, Ø-mât him-chase, nda-mât us (du.)-chase, etc. In Selepet the root is wat- to which suffixes are added as in wat-nek chase-me, wat-gek chase-you, wat-Ø chase-him, wat-nelek chase-us (du.), etc. According to the hypothesis one would expect to find a third person singular form similar to wat or mât, and perhaps this form is reflected in the Ono third person singular form motat- chase him.

Another significant feature of bound object marker morphology which should be noted is the similarity between the object marker allomorphs occurring with the verb *to give someone* and the benefactive markers. Because of this similarity and because the benefactive tagmeme immediately follows the verb root in all languages thus far studied, one may posit that the benefactive markers have their origin in a verbal compound which involved the verb *to give someone* as the second element of the compound. It is also significant that the phenomenon of a third person object marker allomorph being cognate with verb roots in other languages has not been observed with the verb *to give someone*. This may be due to the fact that some sort of stability resulted from the presence of the nearly identical forms of the benefactive markers. The object marker allomorphs of the verbs *to hit, to see* and others did not have this added factor leading to stability.

A feature of the second person singular bound object markers which has been observed in Rawa and Selepet concerns the occurrence of morphophonemic variants. This phenomenon may be illustrated by the following Selepet data.

The Selepet second person singular allomorph of the bound object marker is {-gek} which has two common morphophonemic variants: -gek which occurs following stops and -hek which occurs following vowels. These forms occur in accordance with morphophonemic rules which apply to every morpheme which begins with a voiced stop phoneme or ends with a voiceless stop phoneme; viz., that morpheme initial voiced stop phonemes or morpheme final voiceless stop phonemes are replaced by the flat fricative phonemes at the corresponding point of articulation if the morpheme is preceded or followed by a vowel.

- ålit-gek-sap (cover-you-he (ipt.)) he covered you
- kuwik-gek-sap (straighten-you-he (ipt.)) he straightened you out
- gâi-hek-sap (cut-you-he (ipt.)) he cut you
- heku-hek-sap (bind-you-he (ipt.)) he bound you
When this morpheme follows a verb root ending in the vowel e, however, the expected variant -hek does not occur. Rather the form -gek occurs as in:

se-gek-sap [seŋgek⁵saP] (burn-you-he(ipt.)) he burned you
me-gek-sap [meŋgek⁵saP] (hold-you-he(ipt.)) he held you
ne-gek-sap [neŋgek⁵saP] (eat-you-he(ipt.)) he will eat you

This phenomenon has also been reported in Rawa by the Claassens (1968: 4) who state that the second person singular bound object marker morpheme -gerä has an allomorph -ŋgerä which follows the vowel e.

dobi-gerä-te (pinch-you-he(ipt.)) he pinched you
gana-gerä-te (deceive-you-he(ipt.)) he deceived you
erewe-ŋgerä-te (seek-you-he(ipt.)) he sought you
sure-ŋgerä-te (send-you-he(ipt.)) he sent you

One would not expect this phenomenon to appear in Wantoat or Uri since neither of these languages have bound object-marking suffixes. Further data are needed before one can say whether or not the phenomenon is present in Kewieng or Koval. It apparently does not occur in Ono, Nabak or Kâte.

10.5 Reflexive/reciprocal bound object markers

A characteristic of these languages is the occurrence of bound reflexive/reciprocal object markers which frequently exhibit subclass membership with the bound object marker subclasses. For instance, in Selepet the reflexive/reciprocal markers -ak, -agi and -aho occur in subclass I, II and III object marker subclasses respectively. The form -agi generally occurs as the benefactive reflexive/reciprocal object marker.

Subclass I

gâi-nek-sap (cut-me-he(ipt.)) he cut me
gâi-ak-sap (cut-oneself-he(ipt.)) he cut himself
gâi-ak-san (cut-oneself-I(ipt.)) I cut myself

Subclass II

Ø-nih-i-ai (give-me-they(ipt.)) they gave it to me
Ø-agi-ai (give-oneself-they(ipt.)) they gave to one another, they exchanged
kat-nih-i-ai (put-for-me-they(ipt.)) they put it for me
kat-agi-ai (put-for oneself-they(ipt.)) they put it for themselves, they put it for one another
Subclass III
Ø-ku-aï (hit-him-they(1pt.)) they hit him
Ø-aho-aï (hit-one-self-they(1pt.)) they hit one another, they fought
tân-gu-aï (help-him-they(1pt.)) they helped him
tân-aho-aï (help-one-self-they(1pt.)) they helped one another

In most of the other languages of the western Huon Peninsula this feature is less developed, and it is totally absent among the languages of the eastern Huon Peninsula. Evidence for the phenomenon occurring in other languages here compared varies and a summary for each of these other languages follows.

Nabak. One form (cognate with Selepet subclass I form, -ak) functions as a bound reflexive/reciprocal object marker. In the following examples note the form -ak oneself.
Ø-gik-ap (see-you-I(pres.)) I see you
Ø-ak-ap (see-one-self-I(pres.)) I see myself
Ø-nik-ip (see-me-they(pres.)) they see me
Ø-ak-ip (see-one-self-they(pres.)) they see themselves

The Selepet reflexive/reciprocal form -agi (subclass II) has an apparent cognate element in the Nabak word æn̞ kpaem exchange as in the construction æn̞ kpaem mi- to exchange (lit. to hold an exchange).

The Selepet reflexive/reciprocal form -aho (subclass III) has an apparent cognate in the Nabak verb au- to fight as in au-welin we(du.) fought and au-wun you/they(du.) fought. The form au has not been observed in other constructions so is tentatively regarded as a verb root.

Ono. The Ono language evidences the largest number of object marker subclasses and for many of these subclasses there is a reflexive/reciprocal form (see Wacke, 1930-31: 179-180).

A form cognate with the Selepet -ak is found in the Ono forms Ø-aek-ke-we (see-one-self-hab.-I(inch.)) I will see myself, Ø-ka-nom (see-it-you(inch.)) look at it, and Ø-aek-nom (see-one-self-you(inch.)) look at yourself. For other verbs of this subclass, however, another reflexive form -nagu occurs as in kpesiŋ-nan-maiké (help-me-he(pres.)) he helps me and kpesiŋ-nagu-maiké (help-one-self-he(pres.)) he helps himself.

The Ono reflexive/reciprocal form -yaku belongs to the subclass of verbs of which the form to hit is cognate with the Selepet subclass III form -aho.
Ø-neku-maike (hit-me-he(pres.)) he hits me
Ø-yaku-maike (hit-oneseft-he(pres.)) he hits himself
Ø-yaku-maike (hit-oneseft-I(pres.)) I hit myself

Other reciprocal forms in Ono are: au which occurs with the verb to tell as in nolat-mit (tell me-they(1pt.)) they told me and au-mit (tell one another-they(1pt.)) they told each other; ai as in nirot-mit (bite me-they(1pt.)) they bit me and airot-mit (bite one another-they(1pt.)) they bit one another; yai as in neit-mit (copulate me-they(1pt.)) they had intercourse with me and yai-mit (copulate one another-they(1pt.)) they had intercourse with one another.

Kube. Three reflexive/reciprocal bound object marker allomorphs have been observed in Kube, the first occurring with the verb to see, the second with the verb to give s.o. and the third with the verb to hit.

Ø-gen-zua (see-you-I(1pt.)) I see you
Ø-anen-zua (see-oneseft-I(1pt.)) I see myself
Ø-anen-na (see-oneseft-you(inch.)) you look at yourself!
Ø-non-gik (give-to me-they(rpt.)) they gave it to me
Ø-amu-gik (give-to oneseft-they(rpt.)) they exchanged things
Ø-nu-zou (hit-me-they(1pt.)) they hit me
Ø-eu-zou (hit-oneseft-they(1pt.)) they hit one another, they fight
Ø-gu-zak (hit-you-he(1pt.)) he hit you
Ø-eu-zak (hit-oneseft-he(1pt.)) he hit himself
Ø-eu-zau (hit-oneseft-I(1pt.)) I hit myself

Kewien. Data are quite limited in this language and the only forms identified are emak fight, a noun, and wama to fight, a verb. No relation is demonstrable between these forms and the pronouns occurring with the verbs to hit, to see, to give someone or other verbs.

Wantoat. For Wantoat, Davis reports a noun amâk fight which occurs with verbal suffixes as a verb root: amâ-king they fought, amâ-gak he fights and amâ-gat I fight. This morpheme is apparently cognate with the Kewien morpheme emak fight but any relationship it bears to the posited
reflexive/reciprocal object marker of Uri or to those of the Huon Peninsula languages must be indeed remote.

Rawa and Kovai. No evidence of reflexive/reciprocal object markers has been found to date.

10.6 Verbal prefixes

Verbal prefixes are uncommon in the Finisterre-Huon languages and many of the prefixes reported for various languages may be interpreted as proposed clitics or adverbs, or may be shown to be the result of compounding.

For Wantoat, Davis posits three prefixal tagmemes. The tagmeme closest to the root manifests the object-marking prefixes which the present writer prefers to regard as part of a transitive verb stem filling a verbal nucleus. Two of the remaining five prefixes are forms of the negative, ma- and do-, of which the former shows cognates throughout the Finisterre-Huon languages in which these cognate forms have been interpreted as adverbs.

A causative prefix has often been indicated for Kâte but the morpheme is identical to the verb root to do and therefore may be interpreted as the first element of a compound. In those languages of the Huon Peninsula which do not show causation by compounding, this idea is expressed by the dependent homopersonal form of the verb to hold or to do.

10.7 Verbal person-marking vowel formatives

For all of the representative languages the subject-marking person-number composites may be divided into formatives indicating person and number. One of the formatives (occasionally there are two) indicating person is a vowel and in most of the languages there is a vowel difference which indicates first person vs. non-first person. Usually this vowel difference is only evident in the dual and plural number. Frequently this vowel occurs with the tense-mode indicator in a probable portmanteau form. In the comparisons given here no analysis of these supposed portmanteau forms will be attempted; rather focus will be put upon the actual vowel differences. The fact that particular matrices occur with particular tense-mode distinctions will be simply noted in parentheses next to the person formative matrix. All matrices are given in a nine cell division with horizontal vectors from top to bottom indicating 'first', 'second' and 'third' person and vertical vectors from left to right indicating 'singular', 'dual' and 'plural' number.

The most common vowel difference is that in which a low vowel indicates first person and a higher vowel indicates second and third
person. Usually the higher vowel indicating second and third person is only manifest in the dual and plural numbers. More often than not there is only one higher vowel quality represented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ono (rpt., ipt., fut.)</th>
<th>Ono (inch., ctf.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e e e</td>
<td>e e e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e i i</td>
<td>o u u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e i i</td>
<td>e u u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kâte (inch., ift.)</th>
<th>Kâte (pres., rft./ift., rinch.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e a a</td>
<td>a e e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- i i</td>
<td>e i i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o i i</td>
<td>a/e i i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kâte (rpt., ctf., proh.)</th>
<th>Kâte (hetero.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o e e</td>
<td>e e e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e i i</td>
<td>e i i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e i i</td>
<td>e i i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uri (ctf.)</th>
<th>Kovai (inch.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o a a</td>
<td>a e e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o i i</td>
<td>e i i i/e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o i i</td>
<td>o i i i/e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occasionally slightly different vowel qualities are involved in the difference between low and high.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nabak (ctf.)</th>
<th>Wantoat (rpt., ipt.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a e e</td>
<td>â å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e u ie</td>
<td>â eå i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a u ie</td>
<td>- eå i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uri (inch., rft.)</th>
<th>Kovai (ctf.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a a a</td>
<td>a a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a e i</td>
<td>a i u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a e i</td>
<td>a i u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a number of languages the difference occurs in all numbers (sg., du., pl.) or in only one number (usually du. or pl.). Occasionally the same vowel occurs in the first person forms or the singular number forms without any regularity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nabak (rpt. interpt.)</th>
<th>Uri (ipt./pres., ift.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a i</td>
<td>a/i aa a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a u ie</td>
<td>a aa i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a/e u ie</td>
<td>a aa i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kewieng (rpt./ipt.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  a \\
  a \\
  a \text{i/-} \\
  a \text{i/-}
\end{array}
\]

Kewieng (1ft.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  e \\
  e \\
  i \\
  i
\end{array}
\]

Rawa (rpt., ipt.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  o \\
  o \\
  - \\
  -
\end{array}
\]

Rawa (ctf./inch.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  e \\
  e/o \\
  e/o \\
  -
\end{array}
\]

Kovai (proh., hetero.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  e \\
  e \\
  e \\
  o
\end{array}
\]

Kovai (past)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  a \\
  o \\
  o \\
  o
\end{array}
\]

In a few cases the difference is between front and back vowels.

Nabak (pres., 1ft., rft.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  a \\
  u \\
  i \\
  -/i
\end{array}
\]

Uri (rpt.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  u \\
  u \\
  u \\
  u
\end{array}
\]

Kewieng (inch./ctf.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  o \\
  -/i \\
  a \\
  a
\end{array}
\]

Wantoat (inch., hetero.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  o \\
  o \\
  a \\
  a
\end{array}
\]

The Kube language is peculiar in that all of its matrices show a difference between high vowels indicating first person and lower vowels indicating second and third person, the opposite of the most common type.

Kube (ctf., proh./ipt., 1ft.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  i/a \\
  a \\
  a \\
  i
\end{array}
\]

Kube (rpt.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  e \\
  e \\
  o \\
  o
\end{array}
\]

Wantoat exhibits a difference between high vowels indicating first person and low vowels indicating second and third person, but note that the difference is found in the singular and dual numbers rather than the dual and plural numbers. Selepet also shows a similar distinction.

Wantoat (fut.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  - \\
  â \\
  â
\end{array}
\]

Selepet (all except inch., 1ft.)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
  a \\
  - \\
  -
\end{array}
\]

wo 
wo
## 11. CLITICS, FUNCTION WORDS (PARTICLES) AND DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

### Table L

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sub.</th>
<th>inst.</th>
<th>bene.</th>
<th>poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>-ñe</td>
<td>-ñe</td>
<td>-gát</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>-añ</td>
<td>-añ</td>
<td>-gát(én)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>-ño</td>
<td>-ño</td>
<td>-wane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>-ña</td>
<td>-ña</td>
<td>-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
<td>-zi</td>
<td>-zi</td>
<td>-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur1</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-gat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>-nŋ로</td>
<td>-nŋ로</td>
<td>-do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>-tâ</td>
<td>-tâ</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>-mbo</td>
<td>-mbo</td>
<td>-ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-non</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table M: locative clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in</th>
<th>towards</th>
<th>from</th>
<th>out of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>-ān</td>
<td>-āngen</td>
<td>-āngebå</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-enen</td>
<td>-gatnaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-oken</td>
<td>-oŋino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-ugen</td>
<td>-unek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-opek</td>
<td>-onek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>-ganaŋ</td>
<td>-gat</td>
<td>-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ganaŋat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>-mon</td>
<td>-mongin</td>
<td>-monŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kwon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>-kâtâŋ</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-daga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-dâŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>-mâv-nâ</td>
<td>-sina</td>
<td>-mâŋgøv-nângo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table N

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>-ηε</th>
<th>-ηε/-dα</th>
<th>orop/-ηαιτ/-dα</th>
<th>-gατηε</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>-ηαη</td>
<td>-ηαη</td>
<td>-mak</td>
<td>-gατναη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>-kitne</td>
<td>-rop</td>
<td>-rop</td>
<td>-rop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>-ηα</td>
<td>-α</td>
<td>-guk</td>
<td>-nekηα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
<td>-zi</td>
<td>-kikne</td>
<td>-hek</td>
<td>-nekzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-guk</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>-ηα/-mα</td>
<td>-gατ</td>
<td>-nai</td>
<td>-nai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>-tα</td>
<td>-ηα</td>
<td>-kατ</td>
<td>-nanα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>-ηο/-mi</td>
<td>-ηυα</td>
<td>-ηυα</td>
<td>-ηυα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td>-an/-ηον</td>
<td>-su</td>
<td>-itaη</td>
<td>-itaη</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table O

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>like</th>
<th>one like</th>
<th>avzer.</th>
<th>poss.-loc.</th>
<th>vbzer.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sl.</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-wuya</td>
<td>-ακ</td>
<td>-gατ-αν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb.</td>
<td>-nok</td>
<td>-(nom)boη</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-mak-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>-(ya)ie</td>
<td>-lelino</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ηαν-ο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>-mu/-uk</td>
<td>-muya</td>
<td>-ok</td>
<td>-ar-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt.</td>
<td>-ηυ</td>
<td>-ηυκνε</td>
<td>-(h)a(k)</td>
<td>-ρα-ο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>-ηιη</td>
<td>-sat</td>
<td>-sat</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>-τεη</td>
<td>-τεηιν</td>
<td>-zi(?)</td>
<td>-do-kwon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn.</td>
<td>-ziη</td>
<td>-biηδά</td>
<td>-gαν</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rw.</td>
<td>-biηα</td>
<td>-so</td>
<td>-ro-ko</td>
<td>-we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kv.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clitics, function words (particles) and derivational affixes for the ten languages are given insofar as possible in tables L, M, N and O. In addition to the presence of cognate forms occurring throughout the representative languages, there are a number of features which are also quite regular and common to most, and in some cases all, of the languages.

11.1 The instrument and subject clitics are homophous. This feature is found in all of the languages. Note, however, that -ηε (Selep, instrument) and -mbo (Rawa, subject) are infrequent forms.
11.2 The benefactive and possessive clitics are homophonous. The Wantoat language is an exception and the possessive clitic was not identified in the Kovai language. Note that the benefactive clitic 
-niŋ has been observed only in nemak-niŋ (what-for) why in Kube, and indi-niŋ (what-for) why in Uri.

11.3 The various locative clitics in each language evidence a form of building in which the shortest form usually means in and the other forms meaning towards, from, or out of are built upon this first form by the addition of subsequent syllables. For example, in Selepet, -ān im, -āngen towards, -ābā out of, -āngēbā from.

11.4 In some of the languages the Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase is the basis for an adjectival phrasal compound.

\[ \text{Sl. hālām to-ŋe orop (sugar, water-its, with) juicy sugar cane} \]
\[ \text{Nb. tip sip-bāk (dung, blood-with) dysentery} \]
\[ \text{Ono pilaŋ net-ne-rop (knife, teeth-its-with) a sharp knife} \]
\[ \text{Kb. pisik doku-a-guk (sugar, water-its-with) juicy sugar cane} \]
\[ \text{Kt. ēakpi sok-hek (dress, blood-with) a bloody dress} \]

11.5 The adjectivizer is usually homophonous with one of the allomorphs (if any) of the third person singular nominal possession-marking suffix.

11.6 The adverbalizer usually also occurs as an unrestricted suffix (unrestricted in the sense of occurring on most word classes and many construction types) meaning only or showing intensification. Alternatively one may assume homophoneity of two separate forms.

11.7 Note that the origin phrase is formed by apparently one of two methods. In Selepet and Nabak the form given above consists of a possessive clitic (-gāt) followed by a nominalizer (-ŋe or nāŋ). In many of the other languages the form is a suffix (Kube -nek-ŋa, Kâte -nek, Uri -ni, Kewieng -nai, Wantoat -nańa) which in some cases appears to be related to one of the locative clitics (Kube -unek, Kâte -onek, Uri -di, Wantoat -nańa). The Kube form -nek-ŋa represents this suffix plus the nominalizer -ŋa.

11.8 The forms meaning one like are derived from the forms meaning like by one of two or three methods. In Selepet and Kube a pronominal form ya follows the suffix meaning like. In Wantoat the suffix meaning like is followed by a nominalizer. In One, Kâte and perhaps Kewieng the suffix meaning like is followed by an adjectivizer (or at least a form homophonous with the adjectivizer).

11.9 Many languages show location with animate referents by the embedding of a Possession Axis-relator Phrase in the axis of a Location
Axis-relator Phrase (see column poss.+loc. for the two clitics). For Nabak, however, an embedded Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase rather than an embedded Possession Axis-relator Phrase has been observed. Examples follow with regular personal pronouns in the axes of the Possession or Accompaniment Axis-relator phrases.

Sl. na-gât-ân (me-for-at) (here) by me
Nb. nā-mak-en (me-with-at) (here) by me
Ono na-gâne-o (me-for-at) (here) by me
   (note: e + o + o)
Kb. no-ar-u (me-for-at) (here) by me
Kt. no-re-o (me-for-at) (here) by me
   (note: e + o + ao)
Kw. nâk-do-kwon (me-for-at) (here) by me
Wn. (not observed in Wantoat)
Rw. ende-ro-ko (village-for-at) at the village's (place)
Kv. (this could not be elicited satisfactorily)

12. CLAUSE LEVEL CONSTRUCTIONS

Descriptions of some clause and sentence level constructions in Kâte are found in Pilhofer (1933). Other more brief descriptions are found in Pilhofer (1926-27) for Kâte and Wacke (1930-31) for Ono. As one would expect, there appear to be no significant differences among these languages at the clause level. It may be safely said that the clause and sentence constructions as described for Kâte are fairly typical for all the languages of the Finisterre-Huon group.

13. CONCLUSION

The foregoing serve to demonstrate the apparent genetic relationships of the languages of the Finisterre-Huon group. The structural and morphological similarities are of such a character that one may suppose that they generally preclude borrowing. Moreover, the data yield evidence for one to hypothesize that the morphology of the proto-Finisterre-Huon language was considerably simpler than that of any of the present day daughter languages. It is apparent that the nominal suffixes represent a later development from postposed adjective stems derived from pronoun roots by the suffixation of an adjectivizer. Furthermore, the verbal suffixes indicating benefaction, habitual mode, desiderative mode and intensive mode are probably a result of compounding of verb roots or they represent phrasal compounds. Any verbal prefixes indicating negation or causation also are the result of probable compounding. One may hypothesize therefore that the verb morphology in the proto-language simply consisted of suffixes indicating person, number and tense/mode.
APPENDIX

Verb paradigms for six Finisterre-Huon languages. Morpheme divisions in Nabak, Kewieng and Koval are tentative in many cases due to apparently complex morphophonemics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Nabak. The verb root is met to go.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 rpt. I went a long time ago, etc.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-ban</td>
<td>me-belin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-banan</td>
<td>me-bun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-ge</td>
<td>me-bun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 interpt. I went (yesterday), etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-man</td>
<td>mep-melin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-manan</td>
<td>mep-mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-zan</td>
<td>mep-mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 ipt. I went (this morning), etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>mel-a</td>
<td>me-lut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-dak</td>
<td>me-lut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-ep</td>
<td>me-lut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 pres. I am going, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>mel-ap</td>
<td>me-lup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-dik</td>
<td>me-lup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-zin</td>
<td>me-lup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 1ft. I will go (this afternoon, right now), etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-sap</td>
<td>me-selup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-senik</td>
<td>me-selup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-sem</td>
<td>me-selup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 rft. I will go (tomorrow, thereafter), etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-bap</td>
<td>me-balup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-banik</td>
<td>me-balup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-be</td>
<td>me-balup</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sg. | Du. | Pl.
--- | --- | ---
1.7 inch. I must go, you go, etc.
1st per. me-bi | me-di | met-ne
2nd per. me-Ø | mel-it | mel-it
3rd per. me-ak | mel-it | mel-it
1.8 ctf. I should have gone, I might go, etc.
1st per. me-bak | me-belek | me-benek
2nd per. me-bek | me-buk | me-biek
3rd per. me-dak | me-buk | me-biek
1.9 past, hab. I used to go, etc.
1st per. mame-teman | mame-temelin | mame-temen
2nd per. mame-temanan | mame-temun | mame-temien
3rd per. mame-tan | mame-temun | mame-temien
1.10 pres., hab. I am always going, etc.
1st per. mame-l-ap | mame-lup | mamet-nup
2nd per. mame-dik | mame-lup | mame-l-ip
3rd per. mame-zlin | mame-lup | mame-l-ip
1.11 desid. I want to go, etc.
1st per. mesâb-ap | mesâbi-lup | mesâm-nup
2nd per. mesâpm-nik | mesâbi-lup | mesâm-ip
3rd per. mesâp-m | mesâbi-lup | mesâm-ip
1.12 fut., hab. (verb root is mup to ascend) I will always ascend, etc.
1st per. mamupmam-bap | mamupmam-balup | mamupmam-banup
2nd per. mamupmam-banik | mamupmam-balup | mamupmam-bep
3rd per. mamupmam-be | mamupmam-balup | mamupmam-bep
1.13 hetero. I went and someone else..., etc.
1st per. me-ma | me-malu | me-man
2nd per. me-mane | me-malu | me-me
3rd per. me-me | me-malu | me-me
1.14 homo. I went and..., etc.
me-ti wemban I went and slept
me-neti wemban I used to go and sleep

2.1 rpt. I held it a long time ago, etc.
1st per. me-i | me-ik | me-i
2nd per. me-nek | me-(y)ok | me-gik
3rd per. me-yek | me-(y)ok | me-gik
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.2 1pt. I held it (this morning), etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-zua</td>
<td>me-zik</td>
<td>me-ziŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-zaŋ</td>
<td>me-zaok</td>
<td>me-zou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-zak</td>
<td>me-zaok</td>
<td>me-zou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.3 1st. I will hold it, etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-maŋ</td>
<td>me-bik</td>
<td>me-biŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-gisena</td>
<td>me-maok</td>
<td>me-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-mak</td>
<td>me-maok</td>
<td>me-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.4 inch. I must hold it, you hold it, etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-ba</td>
<td>me-zi</td>
<td>me-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-na</td>
<td>me-ik</td>
<td>me-gik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-yu</td>
<td>me-ik</td>
<td>me-gik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.5 ctf. I should have held it, etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-beinek</td>
<td>me-beiknek</td>
<td>me-binnek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-bannek</td>
<td>me-baoknek</td>
<td>me-bounek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-bak</td>
<td>me-baoknek</td>
<td>me-bounek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.6 proh. I must not go, etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-bei</td>
<td>me-beik</td>
<td>me-biŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-baŋ</td>
<td>me-baok</td>
<td>me-bou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-bak</td>
<td>me-baok</td>
<td>me-bou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.7 past, hab. I used to hold it, etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-keri</td>
<td>me-kerik</td>
<td>me-keriŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-keknек</td>
<td>me-kerok</td>
<td>me-kekgik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-kerék</td>
<td>me-kerok</td>
<td>me-kekgik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.8 pres., hab. I am always holding it, etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-anzua</td>
<td>me-anzik</td>
<td>me-anziŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-anzaŋ</td>
<td>me-anzaok</td>
<td>me-anzou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-anzak</td>
<td>me-anzaok</td>
<td>me-anzou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.9 hetero. I hold it and someone else..., etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-ba</td>
<td>me-zi</td>
<td>me-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-na</td>
<td>me-ik</td>
<td>me-gik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>me-yu/-u</td>
<td>me-ik</td>
<td>me-gik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Add -guk 'simultaneous and punctiliar'
Add -ganjiŋ 'antecedent and prolonged'
Add -kek 'prolonged' as in me-kek-ba I was holding it and..., etc.
### 2.10 homo. *I hold it and...*, etc.

- **-ma** 'antecedent and punctiliar'
- **-manek** 'simultaneous and punctiliar'
- **-kekma** 'antecedent and prolonged'

### 3 Uri. The verb root is *ka to go*.

#### 3.1 rpt. *I went a long time ago*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ka-aguk</td>
<td>ka-agumuk</td>
<td>ka-agum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. ka-agunj</td>
<td>ka-agumut</td>
<td>ka-aginj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. ka-agut</td>
<td>ka-agumut</td>
<td>ka-aginj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.2 1pt. *I went (this morning)*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ka-ŋak</td>
<td>ka-ŋaamuk</td>
<td>ka-ŋam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. ka-ŋaq</td>
<td>ka-ŋaamut</td>
<td>ka-ŋinj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. ka-ŋat</td>
<td>ka-ŋaamut</td>
<td>ka-ŋinj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3 pres. *I am going*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ka-rïk</td>
<td>ka-yaamuk</td>
<td>ka-yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. ka-raŋ</td>
<td>ka-riiamut</td>
<td>ka-riinj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. ka-rat</td>
<td>ka-riiamut</td>
<td>ka-riinj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.4 1ft. *I will go soon*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ka-otik</td>
<td>ka-ntaamuk</td>
<td>ka-ntam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. ka-wotaj</td>
<td>ka-ntaamut</td>
<td>ka-ntiinj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. ka-wotat</td>
<td>ka-ntaamut</td>
<td>ka-ntiinj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.5 rft. *I will go (tomorrow or later)*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ka-wakga</td>
<td>ka-damga</td>
<td>ka-namga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. ka-yatga</td>
<td>ka-demutga</td>
<td>ka-nitga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. ka-watga</td>
<td>ka-demutga</td>
<td>ka-nitga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.6 inch. *I must go, you go*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ka-wak</td>
<td>ka-dam</td>
<td>ka-nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. ka-yat</td>
<td>ka-demut</td>
<td>ka-nit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. ka-wat</td>
<td>ka-demut</td>
<td>ka-nit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.7 ctf. *I should have gone*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ka-rok</td>
<td>ka-yadam</td>
<td>ka-yanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. ka-roq</td>
<td>ka-dinj</td>
<td>ka-niinj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. ka-rot</td>
<td>ka-dinj</td>
<td>ka-niinj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.8 past, hab. *I used to go*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ka-raguk</td>
<td>ka-yaagumuk</td>
<td>ka-yaagum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. ka-raguq</td>
<td>ka-ragumut</td>
<td>ka-raginj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. ka-ragut</td>
<td>ka-ragumut</td>
<td>ka-raginj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.9 pres., hab. I am always going, etc.</td>
<td>3.10 fut., hab. I will always go, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per. ka-atik</td>
<td>1st per. ka-rotik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd per. ka-atang</td>
<td>2nd per. ka-rotam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd per. ka-atat</td>
<td>3rd per. ka-rotat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.4 rft. I will go (tomorrow or later), etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.5 inch. I must go, you go, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.6 ctf. I should have gone, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.7 past, hab. I used to go, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sg.**  |  |  |  
---|---|---|---
**Du.**  |  |  |  
---|---|---|---
**Pl.**  |  |  |  
---|---|---|---
### 4.8 pres., hab. *I am always going, etc.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>kα-zat</td>
<td>kpa-mak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>kα-zal</td>
<td>kpa-mal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>kα-zak</td>
<td>kpa-mal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.9 hetero. *I go and someone else...*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>kα-kwo</td>
<td>kα-ndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>k-wi</td>
<td>k-wal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>k-wan</td>
<td>k-wal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.10 hetero., simultaneous when *I went someone else...*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>kα-ŋapbo</td>
<td>kα-ŋapdo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>k-ŋapkwį</td>
<td>k-ŋapkwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>k-ŋakwaŋ</td>
<td>k-ŋapkwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5 Rawa. The verb root is *aro to go.*

#### 5.1 rpt. *I went a long time ago, etc.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>āro-wono</td>
<td>āro-worow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>āro-worow</td>
<td>āro-woriyow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>āro-worow</td>
<td>āro-woriyow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.2 1pt. *I went (this morning), etc.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>āro-wono</td>
<td>āro-woro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>āro-wo</td>
<td>āro-wori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>āro-wo</td>
<td>āro-wori</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.3 pres. *I am going, etc.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>āro-teno</td>
<td>āro-tero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>āro-te</td>
<td>āro-teri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>āro-te</td>
<td>āro-teri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.4 fut. *I will go, etc.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>āro-wano</td>
<td>āro-waro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>āro-wa</td>
<td>āro-wari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>āro-wa</td>
<td>āro-wari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.5 inch. *I must go, you go, etc.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>āro-we</td>
<td>āro-woro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>āro-ǭ</td>
<td>āro-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>āro-ni</td>
<td>āro-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.6 ctf. *I should have gone, etc.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>āro-to-we-ga</td>
<td>āro-to-re-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>āro-to-ǭ-ga</td>
<td>āro-to-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>āro-to-ni-ga</td>
<td>āro-to-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7 past, hab. <em>I used to go</em>, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>âro-roruwono</td>
<td>âro-roruworo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>âro-roruwo</td>
<td>âro-roruwori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>âro-roruwo</td>
<td>âro-roruwori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8 pres., hab. <em>I always go</em>, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>âro-rorâteno</td>
<td>âro-rorâtero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>âro-rorâte</td>
<td>âro-rorâteri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>âro-rorâte</td>
<td>âro-rorâteri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9 fut., hab. <em>I will always go</em>, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>âro-roruwanono</td>
<td>âro-roruwaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>âro-roruwa</td>
<td>âro-roruwaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>âro-roruwa</td>
<td>âro-roruwaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10 hetero. <em>I went and someone else...</em>, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>âro-to-ni</td>
<td>âro-to-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>âro-to-ni</td>
<td>âro-to-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>âro-to-ni</td>
<td>âro-to-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Kovai. The verb root is <em>ga to go</em>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 past <em>I went</em>, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ga-pai</td>
<td>ga-pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>ga-pin</td>
<td>ga-pit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>ga-i</td>
<td>ga-pit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 fut. <em>I will go</em>, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ga-p</td>
<td>g-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>ge-m</td>
<td>g-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>ga-g</td>
<td>g-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 ctf. <em>I should have gone</em>, etc. The forms given here are often preceded by the morpheme ara.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ga-nap</td>
<td>ga-nabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>ga-nam</td>
<td>ga-nabit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>ga-nam (?)</td>
<td>ga-nabit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 hetero. The verb root is <em>u we to come</em>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>we-p</td>
<td>u-wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>we-m</td>
<td>u-wit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>w-o (?)</td>
<td>u-wit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 inch. The verb root is <em>me to talk</em>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>me-p</td>
<td>me-bet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>me-m</td>
<td>mi-bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>m-o (?)</td>
<td>mi-bit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

1. This present paper represents a slight revision of chapter ten of the writer's unpublished thesis, *The Selepet Language Within the Finisterre-Huon Phylum, New Guinea* (Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U.) Canberra, 1970. Field work in the Huon Peninsula and the Finisterre ranges was carried out during 1964-7 and 1968-9 while the writer was under the auspices of the Australian National University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Analysis of the Selepet data was facilitated by use of a concordance of 25,000 words of text in the southern dialect of Selepet. This concordance was made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation.

2. A sixty-fifth language, Karangi, was tentatively included in this phylum. Because the writer has doubts about the accuracy of lexicostatistical classifications which are attempted before extensive reconstruction is completed, the terms 'phylum' and 'stock' are dropped in this paper in favor of the more ambiguous term 'group'.

3. Because time was not available for a detailed phonemic analysis of Kewieng, Kovai and Kube, the examples from these languages are given in a near phonemic orthography. This is particularly true of the mid and low central vowels. The writer's tentative analysis of the Nabak consonantal phonemes presented in this paper was done in 1968 and differs from a tentative analysis by the Fabians (1971). The symbol ã represents a vowel phoneme with a phonetic norm of [o].

4. In languages other than Kube and Kåde the phonetic quality of the h or g phoneme in morphophonemic alternation is that of [g]. Whether the [g] is regarded as a variant of h or g appears to be simply a matter of interpretation. Fabian, Fabian and Peck (1971) present an analysis of Nabak morphophonemics. In Kube and Kåde a glottal stop, analyzed as
a syllable final variant of the phoneme k, represents a neutralization
of the contrasts between syllable final p, t, and k in an early stage
of the proto-language. The morphophonemic alternants, however, reflect
the point of articulation as it was before the neutralization occurred
(see McElhanon, 1970b: 228).

5. Note that the expected form would be ɲerep + ine + ɲerew-ine. The
sequence -wi, however, is frequently a correspondence for u.

6. This difference may be the result of only interpretational differ-
ences. What one person may regard as a pronoun being qualified by
post-position qualifiers, another person may regard as noun phrases in
apposition to these qualifiers.

7. The Selepet contrastive and comparative pronoun series evidence a
modification of this matrix in which the third person singular form
occurs also as third person dual and plural. Thus there is a distinction
between second person dual and third person dual and between second
person plural and third person plural but not any between third person
singular, dual or plural.

8. The Kovai inchoative form reflects a chance occurrence of the first
person singular form identical with the second and third person plural
forms but this does not warrant positing another matrix type.

9. In the Selepet contrastive pronoun series, nāku 'first person
singular', gāku 'second person singular' and yāku 'third person
singular', the k indicating 'singular' number is retained in all per-
sons. There is the possibility that such archaic forms will be found
in the other languages as well.

10. Webb (1967) considers this to be a verbal element rather than a
demonstrative plus a clitic. An alternative form yaarat-ganan (this-at)
here also occurs.

11. Longacre's (1964: 101-102) distinction between root and stem is
here followed; viz., stems represent a class of syntagmemes having
internal structure but roots have no internal structure and therefore
are not syntagmemes.

12. Because this tense often occurs with another future tense, the
writer prefers the designation 'inchoative future tense' rather than
'imperative mode'.

13. In Ono, however, number is not indicated by the exponents of the
third order person-number tagmeme. The contrary-to-fact mode in Uri
has similar structure and differs only in having a morpheme -ya imme-
diately following the benefactive.
14. Kâte has a third periphery including the remote past tense, the contrary-to-fact mode and the prohibitive mode with the structure: 
benefactive + mode-tense + person + number.

15. In all the examples given in regard to the habituative mode only the verb root/stem is shown to precede the mode tagmeme. The benefactive morphemes, however, in fact intervene between the root/stem and the mode tagmeme but the benefactive morphemes may also be shown to have developed from compounding of the verb root/stem with the verbal forms for to give. Thus the proto-form may be posited as a three item compound: verb root/stem + verb to give + verb to do/to live.

16. In the third person singular form in the past and future tenses the verb ge to live is also compounded as in ari-ma-ge-ke (to go-to do-to live-3s rpt.) he used to go and ari-ma-ge-ake (to go-to do-to live-3s-fut.) he will always go.

17. This identification involves the hypothesis that the habituative mode morpheme occurs with the remote past tense suffixation. However, the person-number composites occurring with the habituative mode are identical with those which occur with the immediate past tense suffixation. If one hypothesizes that the habituative mode morpheme occurs with the immediate past tense suffixation then the form is -ega, not -e. Moreover, the phonemic analysis of Kewieng is very tentative so that one cannot discount the possibility that the phone [ʌ] represents an allophone of /e/.

18. As a result of compounding, o + â + o. An alternate form is (verb root/stem) -ro + âde yields (verb root/stem) -râte. The form âde is contracted from âdâte.

19. An alternate form is (verb root/stem) -ro + ara yields (verb root/stem) -râra.

20. In his analysis of Wantoat verb morphology, Davis (1964: 168-169) stated that simultaneity between the dependent verb and the following verb is marked by a system of heteropersonal affix reduplication with complex co-occurrence restrictions. No similar phenomenon has been found in other Finisterre-Huon languages and for Wantoat it may be useful to posit a separate time morpheme -wât with the following morphophonemic rules: (1) t reduces before w, (2) a + â when the vowel of the person-number composite is a.

21. The morpheme -guk is probably the accompaniment clitic so that the simultaneous form may be regarded as the dependent heteropersonal form occurring in the axis of the Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.
22. The Fabians (1971) indicate the optional occurrence of an intensifier tagmeme following -sât.

23. The occurrence of the prenasalization on the z is the result of compounding and inclusion within a single phonological word.

24. The vowel i is often found to be a correspondence for ŋ plus a back vowel among Finisterre-Huon languages (cf. demonstrative pronouns, section 9). Here it is suggested that i is the correspondence of ŋu. More recently, Davis (personal communication) reported that in rapid speech the initial consonants often reduce and the i may represent the verb si- to exist, be.

25. Whether one should regard the verb roots of some of the present day languages as constituting a zero morpheme and thus posit that the overt form represents an allomorph of a bound object marker or whether one should seek to isolate an overt verb root in this supposed allomorph is not presently clear. In the Ono data provided by Wacke (1930-31: 174-177), the dual and plural forms lend themselves to rather neat analyses so that one may indeed isolate supposed verb roots. The singular forms are not regular and would necessitate the positing of root allomorphs. In some cases these root allomorphs may be explained as simple losses (e.g., to burn) when compared with the dual and plural forms, but in other cases such an explanation is not possible and the third person singular forms are quite peculiar. Thus the Ono third person singular form ma- to hold it cannot be explained by comparing other object marker allomorphs and must be regarded as peculiar. Moreover, ma- is obviously cognate with the Selepet verb root me- to hold which is simply one of many verb roots in subclass I Selepet transitive verb roots. It should also be noted that in cases where the postulated allomorph of an object marker (occurring with a zero morpheme verb root) can be divided into an overt verb root plus a diminished allomorph, it is the total composite that is found in related languages. Thus Ono to hit may be posited as {-ku} -ku ∼ -gu ∼ -kpe but the related forms in Selepet, viz., {-ku} -ku ∼ -go ∼ -ko cannot be isolated.

26. Of course, more than just the third person singular forms can be shown to be cognate. Note the Selepet, Uri and Kâte forms as given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>3d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selepet</td>
<td>no-∅-go</td>
<td>go-∅-go</td>
<td>∅-∅-ku</td>
<td>no-t-ko</td>
<td>yo-t-ko</td>
<td>yo-t-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>nu-∅-uk</td>
<td>gu-∅-uk</td>
<td>∅-∅-uk</td>
<td>in-di-f</td>
<td>si-di-f</td>
<td>i-di-f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâte</td>
<td>nu-∅-∅</td>
<td>gu-∅-∅</td>
<td>∅-∅-kpe</td>
<td>nâ-f-o</td>
<td>no-f-a</td>
<td>yo-f-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The singular forms are easily analyzed. A zero formative may be posited to indicate 'singular' number. The Uri form -uk represents a metathesis of the Selepet form -ku. In Selepet this form has been interpreted as a marker of the allomorph subclass and in Uri the form has been interpreted as a verb root, as also has the dual form -if (Webb, 1967: 18). Although the synchronic analyses differ, the relationship of the forms is apparent. With the application of morphophonemic rules the resultant Selepet forms are noho, goho and ku and the Uri forms are nuk, guk, uk. The Uri dual forms are interesting in that they apparently have dual marking formatives cognate with both Selepet and Kâte. The d in Uri corresponds to the t showing dual number in Selepet and the f in Uri corresponds to the f showing dual number in Kâte. The Wantoat dual forms marked by s also may be considered to be cognate with the f in Kâte and Uri.

27. The morpheme -ŋu is apparently patterned after the third person singular regular personal pronoun. The writer has observed this sort of phenomenon in only one other Finisterre-Huon language, viz., Nabak as in *to push someone.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>nâtât-ne</td>
<td>ndâtâ-nde</td>
<td>âtâ-nde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>gâtât-ge</td>
<td>âtâ-itde</td>
<td>âtâ-inde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>âtât-ge</td>
<td>âtâ-itde</td>
<td>âtâ-inde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. The Kube form ya has not been observed in other Kube constructions or forms but it is apparently cognate with the Selepet demonstrative pronoun ya.
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