

ALAMBLAK PASSIVITY

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0. Introduction

Pseudo-passive verbs occur as low functional words in Alambalak.¹ They have been observed only in limited contexts, primarily in conversation.

Active and passive verbs are homophonous and thus ambiguous. It will be shown that the distribution of active and passive verbs on the paragraph or discourse level will enable the ambiguity to be resolved. It seems convenient to focus on the passive at the word and clause levels initially, even though it is only on higher levels that the passive can be demonstrated.

Although passives are very uncommon in Papua New Guinea, they do occur occasionally. Other examples of passive verbs may be found in Managalasi of the Northern District, as described by James and Judy Parlier (Parlier, 1969). A passive occurs possibly in a limited sense in Agarabi of the Eastern Highlands. (The Agarabi passive-like phenomenon is similar to Alambalak in structure but limited to the verb 'to say'.)² In May River Iwam³ of the West Sepik District there is a construction very similar to what has been described as a passive in Thai (Filbeck, 1973).

1. Active and Passive Verbs: Contrastive Features.

As the passive occurs in conversation it is never as fully embellished with optional affixes as is the active verb. The point of specific contrast occurs with the functional slots of subject and object, which are manifested by two homophonous sets of suffixes on the active verb with only the third person suffixes manifesting the object slot of the passive verb. The subject slot occurs obligatorily in the active verb, but it may not occur in the passive verb. The object slot occurs obligatorily in the passive and is optional in the active verb.

Though the two sets of person-number-gender affixes manifesting the subject and object slots are homophonous, ambiguity is avoided by the relative ordering of

suffixes. When both slots are manifested in the active verb, the first affix manifests the subject slot and the second manifests the object slot.

Ambiguity results, however, when only one of the two slots occur and it is manifested by a third person suffix. It may be the implementation of the deep structure agent of the active verb or of the deep structure goal of the passive verb.

Below are listed active and passive verb forms including only the nuclear parts of the verb. The formula given below may be read as follows: either subject or object is obligatory and both may occur. In actuality the subject marker is almost always manifested, while the object marker occurs 50% of the time or less and may be read as obligatory only in the absence of the subject marker.

$${}^v\text{decl trans} = + v \text{ nuc} + \text{tense} + (\pm \text{subj mkr} \pm \text{obj mkr})$$

When the subject is read (+) and the object (+) or (-) the verb is active.

e.g. <u>pok-rah-nom-om</u> ⁴	or	<u>pok-rah-nom</u>
cut.to.size-fut-1.pl-3.pl		cut.to.size-fut-1.pl
'we will cut them to size'		'we will cut to size'
<u>tuyefo-rah-om-om</u>	or	<u>tuyefo-rah-om</u>
throw.away-fut-3.pl-3.pl		throw.away-fut-3.pl
'they will throw them away'		'they will throw away'

When the subject is read (-) and the object (+), the verb is passive and the filler of the object slot must be third person singular, dual or plural.

e.g. pok-rah-om
 cut.to.size-fut-3.pl
 'they will be cut to size'

tuyefo-rah-om
 throw.away-fut-3.pl
 'they will be thrown away'

Examining the above six examples it is obvious that three of the examples are ambiguous. We have a passive reading of the verb formula but it is unproductive due to the homophonous forms of the subject and object markers. Nothing of the surface structure of verbs manifesting a single third person affix will indicate the function of that affix. The distinctions that can be made while examining verbs in isolation are that the verb manifesting two slots by two person-number-gender affixes or one slot by a first or second person affix is an active verb. Those manifesting a single third person affix may be active or passive. But words do not occur in isolation; therefore let us move on to examine the distribution of active and passive verbs on the clause level.

2. Active and Passive Predicates: Distribution in the Clause.

Common Alambak clause level slots include peripheral functions of time, location, instrument, and accompaniment. Nuclear functions include subject, object₁, object₂,⁵ and predicate. Although the passive clause may manifest peripheral slots, it is normally not as extensive as the active. Subject and object₁ slots are the only pertinent tagmemes where active and passive are contrastive. Thus only the six possible clause forms which are pertinent here are shown in Chart 1.

While the other clause slots are identifiable, the subject slot may be ambiguous with the object₁ slot at times. Chart 1 uses the general term "free forms" (which forms are understood to fill the subject and/or object slots). As was noted on the word level, the presence of two person-number-gender affixes or a single first or second person affix on the predicate resolves any ambiguity between active and passive; thus only the distribution of the ambiguous verb form is considered here. Note that the person-number-gender markers are underlined twice.

CHART I.
Distribution Within the Clause

Free Form Manifestations	Active Predicate	Passive Predicate
NO FREE FORM	<u>tatmöm</u> 'they hit'	<u>tatmöm</u> 'they were hit'
ONE FREE FORM + 1st person	<u>nöm</u> <u>tatmöm</u> us hit.they 'they hit us'	<u>nöm</u> <u>tatmöm</u> us hit.they 'they were hit by us'
+2nd person	<u>nikö</u> <u>tatmöm</u> you.pl hit.they 'they hit you (pl)'	-----
+3rd person	<u>yimam</u> <u>tatmöm</u> men hit.they 'they hit the men' / 'the men hit'	<u>yimam</u> <u>tatmöm</u> men hit.they 'the men were hit'
TWO FREE FORMS (one concordant form + ...) + 1st person	<u>nöm</u> <u>yimam</u> <u>tatmöm</u> us men hit.they 'the men hit us'	<u>nöm</u> <u>yimam</u> <u>tatmöm</u> us men hit.they 'the men were hit by us'
- 1st person (+ 2nd person)	<u>nikö</u> <u>yimam</u> <u>tatmöm</u> you.pl men hit.they 'the men hit you (pl)'	-----
(+3rd person)	<u>röf</u> <u>yimam</u> <u>tatmöm</u> they.d men hit.they 'the men hit them'	-----

On the word level, verbs manifesting only one third person suffix were ambiguous. Observing the distribution of these verbs in the clause, the scope of ambiguity is reduced considerably. We can now state that in clauses manifesting a third person verb and one free form (subject or object₁), which is second person, or two free forms, one being either second or third person, the predicate is active.

While Chart I illustrates the distribution of active and passive verbs, it essentially demonstrates the different transform potential of the two. The process in operation to produce the first passive construction in the chart is the deletion of the subject slot (as agent) leaving the object slot.

<u>tat-m-nöm-öm</u>	<u>tat-m-öm</u>
hit-far.past-1.s-3.pl	hit-far.past-3.pl
'we hit them'	'they were hit'

The first active construction in the chart is formed by the deletion of the object slot in the verb.

<u>tat-m-öm-nöm</u>	<u>tat-m-öm</u>
hit-far.past-3.pl-1.s	hit-far.past-3.pl
'they hit us'	'they hit'

The following clause-level free forms may be added to the resulting homophonous verbs without changing the meaning of the verb in either case: first or third person or a first person free form plus a concordant form. Other stages of adding a second person free form or a second free form (besides the concordant form) which is either second or third person do not change the meaning of the active verb but do change the meaning of the passive verb from passive to active. This different transform potential brings to light different deep structures of the single surface structure of the active and passive verb.

These observations lead us to the following readings of the transitive clause formula:

$$\text{Trans Clause} = \pm \text{Subject} \pm \text{Object} \pm \text{Predicate}_{\text{transitive}}$$

There are no special rules to be applied in order to obtain an active reading of the formula.

e.g. n-a tat-m-öm
 1-s hit-far.past-3.pl
 'they hit me'

n-öm mi-m pok-rah-nöm
 1-pl tree-3.pl cut.to.size-fut-1.pl
 'we will cut trees to size'

The following rules apply in order to obtain a passive reading of the above formula:

1. When subject is read (+) it must manifest a first person suffix.
2. When object is read (+) it must manifest a third person suffix.
3. The predicate must be derived from a passive reading of the transitive verb formula.

Subject is normally read (-) for the passive clause. That the subject is recoverable, however, is demonstrable by elicitation. Therefore the subject is optional although it normally does not occur.

e.g. n-öm r-öm tat-m-öm
 1-pl 3-pl hit-far.past-3.pl
 'they were hit by us'

mi-m pok-rah-öm
 tree-pl cut.to.size-fut-3.pl
 'the trees will be cut to size'

Sentence #9: ndö-m nilim-rhwa-m-ne,
these when.they.will.have.been.nailed.then,

Sentence #13: haföt-t-pönö pok-rah-öm
with.a.measurement they.will.be.cut.to.size
mi-m pok-hany-rah-öm
trees they.will.be.being.cut.to.size.

First we shall demonstrate that these constructions cannot be active.

Guided by the discourse feature that participants must be unambiguously introduced into the discourse, possible actors for these predicates must be located within the discourse. (An unspecified 'they' cannot be considered as the actors in these predicates.) The clause feature of concordance dictates that the actors would have to be third person plural (the person-number-gender suffix on the verbs). The following list of possible actors meeting these requirements is drawn up from the previously-introduced noun phrases: sago shingles, roofing iron, trees, and other work. The semantic role structure of agent, being typically animate, indicates that the above inanimate objects cannot function as actors in 'nailing' things or 'cutting things to size'.

Occasionally a reduced form of expression may introduce new participants into the discourse when the cultural setting makes it clear to whom the pronoun or verb affix refers. In other words the referent is culturally expected in the situation and need not be specifically spelled out. For example, in Conversation-Narrative Discourse sentence #5 clause₂: "they arrived up causing him to dance," 'they' introduces into the discourse the entire war party who were with Mönahonr when he killed Maibrör. We know who 'they' are because the cultural setting dictates that a raid is carried out by a group of men rather than an individual, and following a killing it would be that group that would 'arrive up' (at the hilltop hamlet) dancing.

In Conversation Discourse_A, a search for a culturally-expected third party 'they' (such as the ancestor spirits) who will cut the trees to size (sentence #13) is fruitless and unnecessary since the actors are so clearly defined in the discourse.

Sentence #13, for example, which contains the actors in the subordinate clause "with me together when we will have gone..." and sentence #15, clause₂ "we two will go to cut trees" identify without question that the speaker and the man being spoken to in the discourse ('we two') are the actors of the action of 'cutting trees to size' in sentence #13. Sentences #8 and #9 are part of a recapitulation or summary of paragraph₁ in which the actors of nailing trees are clearly stated as "we" (sentence #3). This indicates that the third person plural suffix (-m-rah-Øm) the verbs under investigation in sentences #8, #9, and #13 does not function as the actor which is clearly "we two" or at least one of "we two" in these cases. Therefore we conclude that the constructions are passive; the verb person-number affix is the object marker functioning as goal.

The passive clause with the actor unstated functionally shifts the focus from the participants to the action. Sentences #8 and #9 ('when they will have been nailed...') focus on the sequence of action to be performed and sentence #13 ('with a measurement they will be cut to size') focuses on how the action is to be performed.

In the situational context of Conversation Discourse_B a period of time separated sentences #1 and #2 from sentences #3 and #4, during which time the command to throw away the grass cuttings had not been fulfilled. Only the two speakers of the discourse were in the immediate vicinity when the dialogue occurred. The form in question is in sentence #4.

(Speaker B): Ua, tuyefo-rah-Øm

Yes, they.will.be.thrown.away

Since there was no reference made (linguistically or extra-linguistically) to a third person plural third party in the discourse, either the form is passive or the (extra-linguistically-referred-to) grass was to do the throwing away. Semantic structure indicates that 'grass' cannot function as the actor of a throwing-away action, therefore the construction is passive. This is confirmed by the 'yes' response of Speaker 'B' which agrees with the identification of himself as the actor by Speaker 'A' in sentence #3 ('Will you throw them away into the river?').

Conversation-Narrative Discourse "Selling a Bowl" offers a different example.

Sentence #4: Maibro-r was-m-ör
Maibror he.speared

This clause is in an ambiguous form since the predicate is manifesting a single third person-number-gender affix and there is concordance with the only free form in the clause.

The interpretation of active allows for two possibilities. Either Maibror is the actor (Maibror speared) or Maibror is the goal (he speared Maibror). A lamblak clause structure indicates that when only one free form (actor or goal) occurs it is usually the goal, therefore we first consider Maibror as the goal. In this case the actor marker on the verb -ör 'third-singular-masculine' must refer to a previously-introduced actor in the discourse. The choices are these: I (the speaker), you two (those to whom the sales pitch is being made), and Mönahonr (the previously-mentioned character in the story). Mönahonr is concordant with the verb and, semantically a man, is a legitimate actor in the action of killing, thus he may be the actor here. Maibror is concordant with the verb and may also be considered as the actor, so the ambiguity arises as to which man killed the other. The speaker could easily have depended on other clues to avoid ambiguity, such as familiarity with the story or actual historical situation. However, in this case sentence #3 has already clearly identified Mönahonr as the actor and Maibror as the first man he killed. Therefore we may conclude that the construction in sentence #4 is active, with Maibror functioning as goal.

The discourse content and semantic structure clearly suggest that sentence #4 should be interpreted as an active clause. This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that the clause cannot be understood as a passive one. The entire narrative section of the discourse is cast in the third person. Therefore even if Mönahonr had not been identified as the actor of spearing Maibror, the context would not be compatible with the use of the passive here since the passive presupposes a first person subject. The use of the passive here would imply that the speaker himself had killed Maibror, which fact is, of course, contradicted by the content of the narrative.

4. Summary:

The Alamlak pseudo-passive verb has been analysed as a transitive verb with a deleted subject. It is possible to describe it as such and put no other label on it; however, it seems preferable to indicate in some way the function of the phenomenon. Being described as a simple deletion of subject, the function would conceivably be a matter of economy with the subject being understood. To this could be added the politeness feature of occasionally avoiding the first person reference. This latter feature could explain the relative ranking of affixes in which it is only the first person subject which is deleted. This accounts for the peculiarity of deletion rules applying only to first person subjects. A peculiarity which compounds the matter, however, is that deletion is not allowable unless there is a third person object marker present. In other words, the object marker which is normally optional becomes obligatory in the case of a deleted subject marker. It is a very restricted use of deletion for economy or politeness.

Alternatively, the phenomenon may be described as a passive verb. The difficulties with this description seem to reside primarily in the traditional notion of passive which has closely associated the passive with certain surface structures in addition to deep structure processes. That is, there is no passive marker inflected on the Alamlak verb to indicate the passive function. Clause-level free form manifestations in Alamlak are optional and relatively free in permutability. The free form object does not become in any way more like a subject either in word order or in concordance (since the object is always concordant with the verb manifesting a homophonous object marker anyway).

However, the Alamlak pseudo-passive does satisfy some of the traditional criteria of a passive. It functionally provides for an independent verb to be stated with the subject left unstated, whereas the subject does always occur in the 'active' version of the same verb. When the subject (agent) is unstated, the object marker becomes obligatory and occurs in the subject position in a state of being acted upon or being affected by or being the result of the action of the verb.

Regardless of how the construction is explained it is certainly a restricted phenomenon. It occurs only with action verbs, and then only in association with a

first person agent and third person goal, patient or factitive.

One is reticent to label the Alambalak pseudo-passive and other passive-like phenomena in Papua New Guinea languages as passive. The validity of postulating a passive is a matter of considerable debate in many contexts. The approach to such a question need not be in absolute terms that it either does or does not occur, but rather in what sense the passive occurs if it occurs at all. McKerrow approaches just such a description of the English passive. Whereas he questions whether the passive exists at all, he concludes, "...I doubt whether it (the passive) ought to occupy quite so prominent a position as it sometimes does." (Lyons, 1968:372) Taking this approach the investigator may describe a construction as passive (or pseudo-passive) if he indicates to what extent it is a passive according to the common use of the term "passive". Thus the Alambalak pseudo-passive has been described in terms of its restrictions, normal usage and functional load.

Apart from interpretational aspects, the analysis of the Alambalak 'passive' has demonstrated the necessity of discourse analysis and the value of giving attention to the cultural context.

The pseudo-passive occurs primarily in conversation; as such there is a certain amount of reliance on non-linguistic clues with its usage. This factor in conjunction with the complication that homophonous verb forms are involved tends to introduce ambiguity into conversation. It has been demonstrated, however, that the restrictions in the use of the 'passive' as well as discourse structure and content resolve the ambiguity. The content of a discourse depends, of course, largely on how careful the speaker is to make himself understood.

5. Discourse Texts.

Conversation Discourse_A: "House Repair Work"

Sentence₁: kuny-s-ho, kuny-s-n, bro kuny-s
The.house's, at.the.house, entire house

nhai. S₂: nda-r nyimbha-rpa-t mk u-kor bi-kor nyimbha-rpa-t,
not. This part.only over.there the.front part.only,

nda-rpa-t hingna-rah-nöm. S₃: Mana-kor-hofr mi-r mana
that.only we.will.work. One.place tree the.other.side

mingia kor-hofr götoa-m tasohaf-rhwa-nöm-öm
(of).ridge area sago.shingles when.we.will.remove.them

mi-rho-rhwa-t-öm tef-t yak-hatö
when.they.will.be.down tape.measure having.gotten.

hafört-rhwa-nöm-öt, kapa-m hifa ndömbha
when.we.will.have.measured.it,(if) roofing.iron (is) good there

mi-ef-r höta-hatö-ne nilim-rah-nöm-ör mana kor-hofr.
plank having.put.then we.will.nail.it on.the.other place.

S₄: Mana kor-hofr nilim-tany-rhwa-nöm-ör
On.the.other place when.we.will.have.been.nailing.it

mana kor-hofr mi nilim-ne-hatö-ne
on.the.other place tree having.gone.on.nailing.then

mana kimboh-n kor-hofr brumginy-ef-r
the.other.side (of).the.roof place eave.plank (will go),

hosif-i-rpa-rpa-t mi-m. S₅: Boharhof-f hifa.
only.three trees. The.two.middle.ones (are) good.

S₆: Href-nanö ndö hingn-ef hingna-buga-rhwa-nöm-öt-ne
Today this work when we will have completely worked.

yhöp-nanö yudbat hingna-buga-ni-rah-nöm-öm
it then tomorrow quickly we will completely go on working them

kapa-m S₇: Ino wom roh-rhwa-m
roofing iron. No other (works) remain.

S₈: Yhop-rpa mi-m nilim-ni-rhwa-m-n
Tomorrow only trees when they will have been nailed

hosif-i-rpa-t, kapa-m muh-rah-öm.
three, roofing iron pieces will go up.

S₉: Kapa-m muh-rhwa-t-öm, nilim-ni-hatö-ne
Roofing iron pieces will have gone up, having nailed then

mingia-mku-f yak-hatö ndö-m nilim-rhwa-m-ne,
ridge pieces having gotten these having been nailed then,

be. S₁₀: Na ino bro hingn-ef-e-t. S₁₁: Nhai,
that's all. And it is not big work. No,

tmif, be ndö tefi hingn-ef-rpa-t S₁₂:
enough, that's all this little work only. (If)

Nin-rpa ri-hwa-n-ne, e'e, nogut mi-m
you only will go then, oh, it will be too bad trees

yuke-yuke-m be yaksimbeh-fro-rah-ön-öm. S₁₃: Aw
too long then you will cut them down by chance. Wait

krif-nanö nan-n-pönö rpa-t ri-hwa-nöm-ne
in.the.afternoon with.me together when.we.will.have.gone.then

haföt-t-pönö pok-rah-öm mi-m
with.a.measurement they.will.be.cut.to.size trees

pok-hany-rah-öm. S₁₄: lorait
they.will.be.being.cut.to.size. It.is.alright

wa-rhukatöh-to-n-a hafö, krif-nanö mö-htiak-ne-rhw-an-ön.
you.wait.for.me first, in.the.afternoon I.will.come.up.(and).

get.you. S₁₅: Mö-htiak-ne-rhw-an-ön ri-ah-nö
I.will.come.up.(and).get.you we.will.go

mi-rioh yoh-t.
trees to.cut.

Free Translation: "House Repair Work"

Regarding the house, at the house, not the entire house: only this part over there, only the front part we will work on. One place a log will go on the other side of the ridge area; when we will have removed the sago shingles, when they are down, having gotten a tape measure, when we have measured it, if the roofing iron is good, having put a plank, then we will nail it on the other place. On the other place when we have been nailing it, having gone on nailing the log on the other place, then that's all, only this little bit of work. If you go by yourself, oh, it would be too bad if you happen to cut down trees that are too long. Wait, and in the afternoon when together with me we will have gone, then with a measurement they will be cut to size. It's ok, you wait for me first, in the afternoon I will come up and get you. I will come up to get you and we will go to cut trees.

Conversation Discourse_B: "Throw Away the Cuttings"

- S₁ (Speaker A): Wa-tuyefö-tw-an-öm tek-t-n
 You.throw.them.away into.the.river.
- S₂ (Speaker B): Tuyefö-rhw-an-öm...
 I.will.throw.them.away...
- S₃ (Speaker A): Tuyefö-rah-ön-öm tek-t-n?
 Will.you.throw.them.away into.the.river?
- S₄ (Speaker B): Ua, tuyefö-rah-öm.
 Yes, they.will.be.thrown.away.

Conversation-Narrative Discourse: "Selling a Bowl"

- S₁: Ua, kamuk-a nifn a-ttiwön-an-fn.
 Yes, I.say you.two let.me.ask.you.two.
- S₂: Nan-ho yufa-wasörem-r Marehif feny-m-ör-ör
 My namesake (of) Marehif.lineage fashioned
- röhnggeböndohwa-r, Mönahon-r. S₃: Mönahon-r feny-m-ör-ör
 a.clay.bowl, Monahon. Monahon fashioned
- röhnggeböndohwa-r, höta-m-ör-ör mar-r-n, kasöh-tani-m-öt-ör,
 a.clay.bowl, he.put.it in.the.sun, when.it.had.gone.dry.hard,
- yima-r was-m-ör-ör, gashöf yima-r,
 a man he.speared.him, the.first man (that he speared),
- Maibro-r. S₄: Maibro-r was-m-ör. S₅: Was-m-ör-ör,
 Maibror. Maibror he.speared. He.speared.him,

hombre-m-ou-m-òm.
they.were.putting.them.into

S₁₂: Ndönettn, kamuk-a
Therefore, I.say

Les, Keti, röfn na a-ttiwön-an-fn.
Les, Kathi, they.two me let.me.ask.you.two.

S₁₃: Hany-rah-fn-ör nifnn Ameriken-roh --
Will.you.two.take.it you.two Americans --

ndömbha stori-rah-fn-ör nhai?
there will.you.two.tell.stories.about.it or.not?

S₁₄: Mönahon feny-m-ör-ör ndu röhngéböndohwa-r,
Monahon fashioned.it that clay.bowl (of)

Marehit. S₁₆: Kandhifa bakuny-s
Marehit.lineage. (At) Kandhifa cliff.overhang

feny-m-ör-ör. S₁₇: Ndömbha korh-w-ot röhng-e-r-ho
he.fashioned.it There it.remains the.bowl's

yeny-yukt tk it-t.
for.fashioning place.

Free Translation: "Selling a Bowl"

Yes, I say let me ask you two. The one I am named after of Marehit lineage - Mönahon - fashioned a clay bowl. Mönahon fashioned a clay bowl, he put it in the sun, and when it had dried hard, he speared a man, the first man - Maibror. He speared Maibror. He speared him, they came up dangling him, and he put him in this clay bowl, he put him into it. Having put him into the clay bowl, he remained until dawn in the men's house, and in the morning they boiled him. They boiled him, and having boiled, having put it in this clay bowl, they skinned the head. They skinned, and in the sun they warmed

this human head. When they had warmed this human head and it dried, they smeared him with honey: on the nose, the ears, the mouth, the chin, and they strung him up. There is the first man. While the men were spearing, they were putting them into this clay bowl. Therefore I say, Les and Kathi, those two, let me ask you two. Will you two take it, you two Americans, will you two tell stories there about it or not? Mōn a hon of Marehit lineage fashioned that clay bowl. At the Kandhifa cliff overhang he fashioned it. It's still there, the place where the bowl was fashioned.

FOOTNOTES

¹The Alamlak language is spoken by 1,100 people living in the East Sepik District along the Karawari and Wagupmeri Rivers. Alamlak is the Eastern-most language of the Sepik Hill family (Dye-Townsend, 1968), of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum (Laycock, 1973). Bapioha, luluai of Amongabi, assisted in the compilation and analysis of the data on Alamlak passivity. This research has been supported in part by the Research Fund of the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

²The Agarabi construction was explained to me by Jean Goddard, a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

³The May River Iwam construction was explained to me by Robert Conrad, a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

⁴Orthographic note --
/ö/ represents a mid-back-open-unrounded vocoid similar to the English /u/ in 'cup'.

- /f/ represents a bilabial fricative which is voiceless next to pause and voiced utterance-medially.
- /h/ represents a back-velar fricative, voiceless next to pause and voiced utterance-medially.
- /s/ represents a voiceless sibilant varying in sound from an alveolar grooved fricative to an alveopalatal grooved fricative to an alveopalatal affricate. The English examples are /s/ as in 'son', /ʃ/ as in 'sheet', and /tʃ/ as in 'child', respectively.
- /r/ represents a flapped /r/ as it occurs in Spanish.
- /ny/ is a digraph representing an alveopalatal nasal. An English example is the /ni/ as in 'onion'.
- /n/ is written for an alveopalatal nasal preceding alveopalatals and is pronounced as a velar nasal preceding a voiced velar stop /g/.

⁵Object₂ occurs in ditransitive clauses. It functions as the patient, as that which is affected by the action of the predicate which the actor performs on or toward the object₁. Object₁ manifests deep structure goal or benefactive.

e.g.	object ₂	predicate	subject
	<u>maroha-m</u>	<u>he-m-ər-nòm</u>	<u>kiaf-r</u>
	money-3.pl	give-far.past-3.s.m.1.pl	patrol.officer-3.s.m.
		'the patrol officer gave us money'	

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