

The Bena Bena language

A tour through the language basics

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The Bena Bena language

Bena Bena is a Papuan language of the highlands spoken by about 34,000 people. The language has properties that have been ascribed to languages of the Trans-New Guinea phylum.

It is a largely agglutinative and strictly AOV/SV language with some fusional elements. Its verbal morphology is much more complex than its nominal morphology.

Animacy and Agency are important parameters in both the grammar and the lexicon.

The following subsections aim at providing a brief overview of the language. It will focus on aspects of the language that are relevant in regard to the discussion of adjectives as a separate word class.

Word classes

There are nouns, verbs and adjectives in the language. Adjectives fall into two subgroups. Nouns and one subgroup of adjectives are open word-classes. While nouns are open with respect to loanwords, adjectives are open with respect to derivation.

There are pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers and temporals. Words that are often classified as temporal adverbs like today, tomorrow, yesterday have been classified as temporals as they have scope over the whole sentence and not only the verb.

Discourse markers are either realized as independent verbs or as suffixes.

The language employs medial verb constructions instead of adverbs. There are no adverbs in the language.

There are the following word classes in Bena Bena. Word classes are defined here as a morpho-syntactic class. Members of a particular class share morphosyntactic properties.

Type		Word class	Phonological status
lexical:	open	Nouns	word
lexical:	closed	Verbs	word(s)
lexical:		Adjectives	word
	closed	Class 1	word
	open	Class 2	word (grammatical)
lexical:	closed	Quantifiers	word
lexical:	closed	Temporals	word
grammatical:	closed	Pronouns	word and suffixes
grammatical:	closed	Demonstratives	word
grammatical:	closed	discourse particles	word and suffixes

Table 1: Word classes in Bena Bena

Verbs

Generic verbs

Like many Papuan languages (cf. Foley 1986), Bena Bena has very few basic verbs, which have a broad meaning range and are referred to as generic verbs. The majority of these are monosyllabic.

The following list of the generic verbs in Bena Bena contains some examples. They are almost exclusively monosyllabic:

Generic verb	Meaning
hu	'be' or 'make'
i	'happen', 'make', 'bring'
fi	'put down', 'pierce'
lu	'utter'
lo	'emite warmth or light', 'burn', 'shine'
li	'take'
ko	'lie down', 'sleep'
ho	'hit', 'kill'
vu	'go'
ti	'go up'
limi	'go down'
lovo	'go across'

Table 2: Generic verbs in Bena Bena

This seeming deficiency [of few verbs] is compensated by extensive use of verb compounding or serializing and the use of adjunct nominal-plus-verb constructions. Both of these means allow the language to extend the range of events it can describe without extending its inventory of verb- stems. (Foley 1986: 127).

Multi-unit verbs

Here, the term 'multi-word units' has been chosen because these verbs do not constitute a homogeneous group. Some verbs may be regarded as verbalized nouns, some as serial verbs.

Serial verbs It also has a good deal of verb serialization.

- (1) Ho ko'ohuve.
ho ko-ohu-ve
hit lie.PST.MF-1-DCL.1SG
'I tripped over.'

Copula verbs

There are two main copula verbs in the language, one for animate entities and one for inanimate entities. Whilst the one for animate entities *hu* which as a transitive verb means 'make' inflects for all persons and number (singular, dual and plural) the verb for inanimate entities only exists in the third person singular.

- (2) a. Nani Napamogona pa'i nohuve.
nani Napamogona pa'i no-hu-u-ve
1SG Napamogona girl PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF-1-DCL.1SG
'I am a girl from Napamogona.'
- b. Gibsoni Megaga vo nohive.
Gibsoni Megago vo no-hu-i-ve
Gibson Megabo man PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF-3SG-DCL.3SG
'Gibson is a man from Megabo.'
- (3) Myamo melugu ni'ive.
mya=mo me'i-gu ni'i-ve
sweet.potato=DEF ground=LOC be.INANIM
'The sweet potatoes are in the ground.'

Verbal inflection and classes

Verbs fall into three classes which display different stem alternations in the past tense and future paradigm. The following tables illustrate the point. Class 1 verbs have no stem alternation between three vowels, Class 2 verbs have a stem alternation between two vowels, class 3 verbs between three vowels.

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
1 SG	li	bu	ho
2 SG			
3 SG			
1 Non-SG			
2 Non-SG	li	bi	he
3 Non-SG			

Table 3: Verb stems in the past tense

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
1 SG	li	bi	ha
2 SG			
3 SG			
1 Non-SG			
2 Non-SG	li	bi	ha
3 Non-SG			

Table 4: Verb stems in the future tense

The following table presents the paradigm of the verb *bu* 'go' in the future tense.

Tense, Aspect and Modality

There are three tenses in the language: Past, Present and Future.

The finite verb in Bena Bena always inflects for Person and Number of the subject. Three numbers, singular, dual and plural. There is a three person distinction in the singular, In the dual and plural second and third person are not distinguished in the verbal inflection (but in pronouns). Thus, the second and third person non-singular are identical in form.

The agglutinative character of the language can best be seen in the future tense paradigm.

	Class 2	<i>vu</i>	'go'
1SG	viluve	vi-l-u-ve go.FUT-FUT-1-DCL.1SG	I will go
2SG	vilane	vi-l-a-ne go.FUT-FUT-2-DCL.2SG	You will go.
3SG	vilive	vi-l-i-ve go.FUT-FUT-3SG-DCL.3SG	He/She will go.
1DL	vilu'ive	vi-l-u-i-ve go.FUT-FUT-1-DL-DCL.1DL	The two of us will go.
1PL	vilune	vi-l-u-ne go.FUT-FUT-1-DCL.1PL	We will go.
2/3DL	vila'ive	vi-l-a-i-ve go.FUT-FUT-2/3N-SG-DCL.2/3DL	You two/They two will go.
2/3PL	vilave	vi-l-a-ve go.FUT-FUT-2/3N-SG-DCL.2/3N-SG	You/They will go.

Table 5: Verb conjugation of *vu* 'go' in the future tense

In the past tense paradigm verbs of verb class 2 and verb class 3 undergo stem alternation.

	Class 2	vu	'go'
1SG	vu'ohuve	vu-ohu-ve go.PST.MF-PST.1-DCL.1SG	I went
2SG	vu'ahane	vu-aha-ne go.PST.MF-PST.2-DCL.2SG	You went.
3SG	vu'ehive	vu-ehi-ve go.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG	He/She went.
1DL	vu'ohu'ive	vu-ohu-i-ve go.PST.MF-PST.1-DL-DCL.1DL	The two of us went.
1PL	vu'ohune	vu-ohu-ne go.PST.MF-PST.1-DCL.1PL	We went.
2/3DL	vi'aha'ive	vi-aha-i-ve go.PST.PF-PST-2/3N-SG-DL-DCL.2/3DL	You two/They went.
2/3Pl	vi'ahave	vi-aha-ve go.PST.PF-FUT-2/3N-SG-DCL.2/3N-SG	You/They went.

Table 6: Verb conjugation of *vu* 'go' in the past tense

The present tense paradigm is marked by the prefix *no-* PRS.MF or *ne-* PRS.PF. The forms of the present tense have undergone some degree of fusion.

	Class 2	<i>vu</i>	'go'
1SG	Novuve	<i>vu-vu-u-ve</i> PRS.MF-GO.PRS.MF-1-DCL.1SG	I am going
2SG	Novane	<i>no-vu-a-ne</i> PRS.MF-go.PRS.MF-2-DCL.2SG	You are going.
3SG	Novive	<i>no-vu-i-ve</i> PRS.MF-go.PRS.MF-3SG-DCL.3SG	He/She is going.
1DL	Novu'ive	<i>no-vu-u-i-ve</i> PRS.MF-go.PRS.MF-DL-DCL.1DL	The two of us are going.
1PL	Novune	<i>no-vu-u-ne</i> PRS.MF-go.PRS.MF-1-DCL.1PL	We are going.
2/3DL	Neva'ive	<i>Ne-vi-a-i-ve</i> PRS.PF-go.PRS.PF-PST-2/3N-SG-DL-DCL.2/3DL	You two/They are going.
2/3PL	Nevave	<i>ne-vi-a-ve</i> PRS.PF-go.PRS.PF-2/3N-SG-DCL.2/3N-SG	You/They went.

Table 7: Verb conjugation of *vu* 'go' in the past tense

Further, there are a number of aspectual distinctions made which involve morphological marking on the verb and auxiliary verbs. The one to mentioned here, is the imperfective aspect.

	Class 2	vu	'go'
1SG	Ko'ohuna ni'ive	ko-ohu-na ni'ive sleep.PST.MF-PST.1-IPFV.1SG AUX	I was sleeping
2SG	Ko'ahata ni'ive	ko-aha-ta ni'ive sleep.PST.MF-PST.2-IPFV.2SG AUX	You were sleeping.
3SG	Ko'ehina ni'ive	ko-ehi-na ni'ive sleep.PST.MF-3SG-IPFV.3SG AUX	He/She was sleeping.
1DL	Ko'ohu'ina ni'ive	ko-ohu-i-na ni'ive sleep.PST.MF-PST.1-DL-IPFV.1DL AUX	The two of us were sleeping.
1PL	Ko'ohuta ni'ive	ko-ohu-ta ni'ive sleep.PST.MF-PST.1-IPFV.1PL AUX	We were sleeping.
2/3DL	Ke'aha'ina ni'ive	ke-aha-i-na ni'ive sleep.PST.PF-PST-2/3N-SG-DL-IPFV.2/3DL	You two/They two were sleeping.
2/3 Pl	Ke'ahana ni'ive	ke-aha-na ni'ive sleep.PST.PF-2/3N-SG-IPFV.2/3N-SG AUX	You/They were sleeping.

Table 8: Verb conjugation of *ko* 'sleep' in the past imperfective

Argument structure of verbs

Bena Bena has both transitive and intransitive verbs. The verb *lo* 'burn' can be used as intransitive and transitive verb.

Transitive verbs are defined here as verbs that take one object regardless of how it is marked. Object marking always refers to animates. Inanimate objects cannot be expressed pronominally.

Transitive verbs fall into three subgroups

- Verbs that take direct object prefixes
- Verbs that do not permit to take the object prefix directly but instead require an indirect object prefix attached to the auxiliary *to* 'Aux'.
- Verbs that take free accusative pronouns

Direct object prefixes The number of verbs taking direct object prefixes is fairly small, particularly in comparison with verbs taking direct free pronouns and indirect object prefixes attached to the argument related auxiliary to Aux. The experiencer of physical sensations is generally not the subject of a clause (cf. (21)). The undergoer of an action might be coded either by means of a direct object prefix or an indirect object prefix attached to the auxiliary to Aux.

- (4) Direct object prefixes
- a. Nhalave.
na-ha-l-a-ve
1SG.DO-kill.FUT-FUT-3PL-DCL.3PL
'They will kill me.'
- b. Halave.
∅-ha-l-a-ve
3SG.DO-kill.FUT-FUT-3PL-DCL.3PL
'They will kill me.'

Indirect object prefixes

- (5) Indirect object prefixes on auxiliary
- a. Heni neto'ehive.
heni ne-to-ehi-ve
bite 1SG.IO-AUX.ARG.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
'He bit me.'
- b. Heni eto'ohuve
heni e-to-ohu-ve
bite 1SG.IO-AUX.ARG.PST.MF-PST.1-DCL.1SG
'I bit him.'

The argument-related auxiliary *to* 'Aux.Arg' also serves to augment an intransitive verb by one argument bearing a benefactive meaning. Thus, when taking a pronominal object the verb *lga hu* 'cut' has two readings

- (6) Indirect object prefixes on auxiliary
- a. Lga hu neto'ehive.
lga hu ne-to'ehi-ve
cut LV.MF 1SG.IO-AUX.ARG.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
'He cut me. (with a bushknife)'
- b. Lga hu neto'ehive.
lga hu ne-to-ehi-ve
cut LV.MF 1SG.IO-AUX.ARG.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG

'He cut (it) for me. '

Direct object pronouns

(7) Direct object pronouns

- a. Gai'i ghe i'ohuve.
gai-i gehe i-ohu-ve
2SG-ACC call LV.PST.MF-PST.1-DCL.1SG
'I called you.'
- b. Nani'i ghe i'ehi-ve.
nani-i gehe i-ehi-ve
1SG-ACC call LV.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
'He called me.'

Nouns

Noun classification

Almost all languages have some grammatical means for the linguistic categorization of nouns and nominals. The linguistic classification of nouns is a reflection of human mind and culture. Aikhenvald (2004) employs the term classifiers as an umbrella label for the wide range of noun categorization devices found in the world's languages. Classifiers come in different guises.

Nouns may be organized into noun classes, classifying nouns for semantic characteristics such as sex, animacy, humanness.

Languages may have special morphemes appearing next to numerals or quantifiers categorizing the referent of a noun in terms of animacy, shape and other inherent properties.

Nouns may be categorized through verbs they are associated with (positional verbs for instance).

Nouns in Bena Bena can be classified in four different co-occurring ways. Noun classes and possessive marking show up overtly, noun classification by humanness and posture is a covert noun classification.

Noun classes Nouns can be organized into noun classes on morphological grounds.

- **Unmarked underived nouns** The majority of nouns are unmarked nouns such as *gapo* 'road', *kfi* 'bush'
- **Derived nouns.** The suffix *-na* derives nouns from adjectives and demonstratives. It is quite productive. Examples: *sipina* 'big thing', *lagasona* 'small thing'

- **Compound nouns** Compounding is a common process to derive nouns. Example: *go yege* 'rain sun'
- **Relational nouns** Relational nouns must occur with a possessive suffix. Quite a number of these denote body parts, but also nouns denoting a part-whole relationships in general. Locational nouns are also relational nouns. Examples: *lataha'a* 'head', *megesa'a* 'back', *ifo'a* 'top', *afeha'a* 'bottom'
- **-i nouns** Nouns ending in *i* behave like ordinary nouns except for the attachment of the definite marker. When the topic marker attaches the last syllable *i* (which may be interpreted as an indefinite or generic marker) is dropped. Examples: *gupa'i* 'ginger', *gu'i* 'bilum', *go'i* 'rain'
- **-hi nouns** Nouns ending in *hi* differ from other nouns in their taking possessive suffixes or the topic marker. When possessive suffixes are attached, the final *hi* is replaced by *ha*. When the definite marker is adjoined the final syllable *hi* is dropped.

Noun classification by humanness A basic distinction is drawn in terms of humanness. The locational verb *hu* be can only be used for human referents or referents having human properties. The locational verb *nii* be is used for non-human and inanimate nouns.

- (8) Ygamo foyagu nohive.
 yaga=mo foya=gu no-hu-i-ve
 pig=DEF garden=LOC PRS-be.ANIM.MF-3SG-DCL.3SG
 'The pig is in the garden.'
- (9) Yafamo ni'ive.
 yafa ni-i-ve
 tree be.INANIM.3SG-DCL.gxe3sg
 'The tree is (standing there).'

Thus, any inanimate noun, whether count or mass noun occurs with the singular form. As inanimate nouns do not inflect for number, (9) could also refer to more than one tree.

Noun classification by posture Nouns may be classified according to their posture as either vertical, 'standing', or horizontal, 'lying'.

- (10) Yafamo ni'ive.
 yafa=mo ni-i-ve
 tree=DEF stand.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
 'The tree is standing.'

- (11) Osifa'i ko'ehive..
 osifa'i ko-ehi-ve
 snake lie.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.
 'The snake is lying.'

Noun classification by possessive marking There are ways to mark possession:

- **Prefixes:** *nu-bu* 'my eye', *nu-gufa* 'my outer body, my skin'
- **Suffixes** *lataha-'ni* 'my head'
- **Prefixes & suffixes** *ni-gi-'ni* 'my name'
- **Free pronouns** *nani lape'i* 'my plate', *nani gegisa* 'my fence'

Possessive prefixes are identical in form with the personal pronouns.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	-ni	-ti'a	-ti
2	-ga/-ka	-titi	-tini
3	-a	-atiti	-'ani

Table 9: Bena Bena possessive suffixes

Possessive prefixes are identical in form with direct object prefixes that a limited number of verbs take.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	na-, ne-, ni-, no-, nu	le'a-, le'e-, le'i-, le'o-, le'u-	la-, le-, li-, lo-, lu-
2	ga-,ge-, gi-, go-, gu-	leta-, lete-, leti-, leto-, letu-	lena-, lene-, leni-, leno-, lenu-
3		eta-. ete-, eti-, ,eto-, etu-	ena-, ene-, eni-, eno-, enu-

Table 10: Bena Bena possessive/direct object prefixes

Adnominal specification

There are various ways a head noun can be specified within the noun phrase.

Adjectives to be discussed in ?? are one possibility.

Prenominal relativization A relativizing suffix exists

- (12) a. ygise naga'i
 ygi-se naga'i
 twist-REL rope
 'twisted rope'
- b. li fise yafa
 li fi-se yafa
 ACT set-REL post
 'a post set into the ground'

Preceding verb phrase Tensed verb phrases in the imperfective aspect - but without the auxiliary verb are also common. In an English translation they are best translated as relative clauses.

- (13) a. Nani gumo vati huto nohuna pa'i nohuve.
 nani [gu'i-mo vati hu-to no-hu-u-na pa'i]_{Noun Phrase} no-hu-u-ve
 1SG [bilum-DEF good be.MF-SS.MF PRS.MF-make.PRS.MF-1-1SG girl]_{Noun Phrase} PRS.MF-make.PRS.MF-1-DCL.1SG
 'I am a girl who is making good bilums.'
- b. Gai gumo vati huto nohata pa'i nohane.
 nani [gu'i-mo vati hu-to no-hu-a-ta pa'i]_{Noun Phrase} no-hu-a-ne
 2SG [bilum-DEF good be.MV.MF-SS.MF PRS.MF-make.PRS.MF--.2SG girl]_{Noun Phrase} PRS.MF-make.PRS.MF--DCL.1SG
 'You are a girl who is making good bilums.'
- (14) a. Nvita nohina pa'i nohive.
 [ni-vita no-hu-i-na pa'i]_{Noun Phrase} no-hu-i-ve
 [1SG-like PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF-3SG-.3SG girl]_{Noun Phrase} PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF-1-DCL.
 'She is the girl I like best.'
- b. Gai nvita nohina vo nohane.
 [gai ni-vita no-hu-i-na pa'i]_{Noun Phrase} no-hu-a-ne
 [2SG 1SG-like PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF-3SG-.3SG girl]_{Noun Phrase} PRS.MF-be.--DCL.2sg
 'You are the man I like.'

Postverbal relativization Postverbal relativization is achieved by the clitic =a which is a nominalizer and may function as a relativizer.

- (15) a. Ai pa'i nvita nohina'amo nohive.
 ai [pa'i ni-vita no-hu-i-na=a=mo]_{Noun phrase} no-hu-i-ve
 3SG [girl 1SG-like PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF-3SG-=REL=DEF]_{Noun phrase} PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF-3SG-DCL
 'She is the girl I like.'
- b. Gai vo nvita nohina'amo nohane.
 gai [pa'i ni-vita no-hu-i-na=a=mo]_{Noun phrase} no-hu-a-ne
 2SG [man 1SG-like PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF-3SG-=REL=DEF]_{Noun phrase} PRS.MF-be.PRS.MF--DCL
 'You are the man I like.'

Grammatical relations

Bena Bena is case-marking language. Bena bena has two case systems, a syntactic one for pronouns and a semantic one for nouns. Case markers are suffixes attached to the head. In its pronominal system the language is nominative accusative in its pronominal system, the accusative marker being *-i* 'ACC'. The comitative/instrumental suffix takes the accusative pronoun.

Accusative-nominative case system in pronouns

- (16) Ai nopo gi'ehive
 ai nohi-po gi-ehi-ve
 3SG house-DEF build.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
 'He built a house.'
- (17) Gai'i gehe i'ohuve
 gai-i gehe i-ohu-ve
 2SG-ACC call LV.PST.MF-PST.1-DCL.1SG
 'I called you.'
- (18) Nani gai'ihiti Megabo hepa'moga vuohuve.
 Nani gai-i-hiti Megabo hepa'i=mo=ga vu-ohu-ve.
 1SG 2SG-ACC-COMIT Megabo village=DEF= go.PST.MF-PST.1-DCL.1SG
 'I went to Megabo with you.'

Agentive case system in nouns

The nominal case system is semantic whereby the subject if perceived as in control of his or her action is marked by means of the clitic =*uva* 'AGT'.

- (19) Panamouva yagamo ho'ehive.
Pana=mo=uva yaga=mo ho-ehi-ve
boy=DEF=AGT pig=DEF kill.PST-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
'The boy killed the pig.'
- (20) Panamo'uva holulu lu'ehive
pana=mo=uva hololu lu-ehi-ve
boy=DEF-AGT run LV.PST-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
'The boy ran.'

The subjects of the following clauses are considered to be not in control of the action denoted by the predicate, they are rather undergoers of the actions

- (21) Panamo limi i'ehive
pana=mo limi i-ehi-ve
boy=DEF fall LV.PST-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
'The boy fell down.'
- (22) Panamo fli'ehive
pana=mo fili-ehi-ve
boy=DEF die.PST-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
'The boy died.'

Inanimate entities are hardly perceived as entities being in control. A house that burns and steam coming up are not perceived as agents and are therefore zero-marked.

- (23) Nopo nolave.
nohi=mo no-la-ve
house=DEF PRS-burn.PRS.3SG-DCL.3SG
'The house burnt.'

However, some inanimate entities may be perceived and case-marked as agent in particular when associated with a verb of high transitivity.

- (24) Efauva nigigusa tla ho'ehive
 efahi=uva ni-nigusa tla ho-ehi-ve
 stone=AGT 1SG.POSS-leg crush LV.PST-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
 'The stone crushed my leg.'
- (25) Ygemouva hakale nolave.
 yge=mo=uva hakale no-la-ve
 sun=DEF=AGT hot PRS.MF-shine.PRS.3SG-DCL.3SG
 'The sun is shining hot.'

Medial verb constructions

A major peculiarity of Papuan languages of the Gorokan family, as well as of hundreds of other Papuan languages is clause chaining. Medial verbs, apart from marking a clause as non-final, indicate whether the subjects of the conjoined clauses are coreferential or not. Medial verbs specifying the proposition of the main verb (e.g. *gi* MV,conseq) do not show switch reference oppositions. Medial verbs in Bena Bena also indicate to varying degrees the subject, tense, simultaneity, sequentiality or anteriority. There are more distinctions made in medial verb indicating different subject than in medial verbs indicating same subjects despite the fact that there is only one suffix used for switch reference *go* DS whereas there are two suffixes for marking same subjects. In medial verb forms indicating different subject more distinctions in the paradigm are made by means of the person-number suffixes following

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	-to	-to	-to
2	-to	-te	-te
3	-to	-te	-te

Table 11: Medial verb suffixes for same subjects

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	-go	-go	-go
2	-go	-go	-go
3	-go	-go	-go

Table 12: Medial verb suffixes for different subjects

Medial verb construction fulfill three main functions.

- They express a coordinative connection between events.
- They modify the proposition of the main clause.

– They, together with the finite verb describe two aspects or dimensions of only one event.

An example of a medial verb construction describing two aspects of of only one event are given in the following. In the next example associated motion is expressed by it.

(26) Gu'mo logito novive.
 gu'i=mo logi-to no-vu-i-ve
 bilum=DEF carry.on.head.MV.MF-SS.MF PRS.MF-go.PRS.MF-3SG-DCL
 'She is going and carrying a bilum on her head.'

(27) Nani i pegisa hoto novuve.
 nani i pegisa ho-to no-vu-u-ve
 1SG avoid LV.MV.MF-SS.MF PRS.MF-go-1SG-DCL
 'I am going avoiding (the dogs).'

There are hardly any manner adverbs in the language. Predominatntly, Manner is coded by means of a same subject medial verb construction. These medial verbs never occur in finite (non-medial forms).

(28) Galepi ikni ikni huto kfo'ehive.
 galepi ikni ikni hu-to kfo-ehi-ve
 galepi dense RDPL LV.MV.MF-SS.MF plant.PST.MF-PST.3SG-DCL.3SG
 'She planted the peanuts densely.'

(29) Nose'na haglu haglu tito nonave.
 nose'na haglu haglu ti-to no-na-ve
 food hasty RDPL LV.MV.MF-SS.MF PRS.MF-PRS3SG-DCL
 'He is eating the food hastily.'

Satellite manner medial verbs describe manner of motion

(30) Fiyeye fiyeye huto vuto hovo!
 fiyeye fiyeye hu-to vu-to ho-vo
 tiptoe RDPL make.MV.MF-SS.MF go.MV.MF-SS.MF kill.PRS.MF-IMP.SG
 'Go on tiptoes and kill (it)!'