

VERB STUDIES IN FIVE NEW GUINEA LANGUAGES

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VERB STUDIES
IN FIVE
NEW GUINEA
LANGUAGES

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Introduction

This volume presents descriptions of the verb systems of five New Guinea languages. These representatives of four different language families are spoken in separated areas of the island. In each of the languages, however, the verb appears to be a focal point of structure. Within the verb are expressed the relationships of actor to action to object, as well as the time, modal, or aspectual relationships involved. The verb in each case is nuclear and obligatory to clause units. In addition, within the verb the time and subject relationships between clauses are expressed, making description of the verb basic to description of the sentence.

Such similarities of structure from language to language, as well as others which will be noted in the papers, suggest the underlying genetic relationship of these languages (postulated by Wurm [1961], though his work did not include Wantoat).

These papers were prepared in connection with a linguistic workshop held in New Guinea under the direction of Kenneth L. Pike. Preliminary editing of them was done by Dr. Harland Kerr and Alan Pence.

The following languages have a sketch presented in this volume.

Awa is an Eastern Highlands language, spoken by some 1,500 people living north and south of the Lamari River,

Kainantu Subdistrict. Awa belongs to the Kainantu group of languages including Tairora, Gadsup, Auyana, and Awa as the major representatives. A survey of Awa noun suffixes (Loving, 1962) is the only previously published descriptive work on Awa.

Bena-bena is a language of the Gahuku subfamily of the Gende-Siane-Gahuku-Kamano- Fore language family (Wurm, 1960, 1961, 1961) in the Eastern Highlands District. It is spoken by an estimated 12,000 people, who live, for the greater part, east of the township of Goroka. A comparative phonology of four of the languages of the family (including Bena-bena) has been published (Young, 1962).

Gadsup is spoken by about 7,000 people living in the Kainantu area of the Eastern Highlands District. The language is related to others in the area including Tairora, Auyana, and Awa. Descriptive papers on other members of the family (Awa, Tairora, and Usarufa) appeared in an Oceania Linguistic Monograph (1962) along with a study of Gadsup noun affixes (Frantz, 1962). Gadsup is divided into about three major dialects.

Kewa is spoken in the Southern Highlands District of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. It is described by Wurm (1960), (1961), and (1962) as being a member of the Enga-Huli-Pole-Wiru language family (referred to by him as Kewa-Pi and Kewapi). In the family there are 253,000 speakers divided into eleven languages. There are no published linguistic materials for other members of this family (other than the surveys of Wurm, referred to) although extensive analytical work has been carried out in several of them, viz., in Pole (Unevangelized Fields Mission); Mendi (UFM, Methodist Mission); Enga (Lutheran Mission — Missouri Synod); Huli (UFM); Kyaka (Baptist Mission); and Wiru (SIL). Kewa itself seems to be divided into three main dialects comprising at least 25,000 speakers. An analysis of Kewa phonology has been published (Franklin, 1962).

The Wantoat language is spoken by about 5,000 persons

who live in the Wantoat Valley, a headwaters region of the Leron River, in the Morobe District. The language appears to be closely related to other non-Melanesian language groups in the Huon Peninsula; however no accurate classification has yet been made. There is no previously published work on the Wantoat language.

The authors are all members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Those working permanently in New Guinea under the Institute field program are: Donald R. Davis of Kansas was educated at Wheaton College (B.A.) and Central Baptist Seminary (B.D., Th.M.). He and his family joined the Institute in 1956 and began field work in New Guinea in 1958.

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All the above SIL field workers received initial linguistic training at the summer institutes conducted by SIL.

Alan Pence

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AWA VERBS PART II:

The Internal Structure of Dependent Verbs

Aretta Loving and Howard McKaughan

0. Introduction

1. Dependent medial verbs

2. Dependent final verbs

0. Introduction. This paper continues a description of Awa verbs (see Awa Verbs, Part I), being concerned with the dependent verb.¹ The Awa dependent verb has the following characteristics. (1) It occurs as the predicate of dependent clauses--i.e., clauses whose occurrence is either limited to the occurrence of at least one other clause in the same larger construction, or whose occurrence depends on context outside of the sentence either in the form of a question, or an understood continuation of the discourse: pokiniéna ménsáménsá táurúruiq 'in order to go, he is tying up his things'; or to the question, 'why is he tying his things?', one may respond, pokiniéna 'in order to go he [is doing it]'. (2) The dependent verb contains certain morphemes in its

¹Aretta Loving is responsible for early analysis of this part of the description of Awa verbs. As in Part I, McKaughan is responsible for the theoretical framework and presentation.

internal structure which do not occur with independent verbs: e.g., markers either to anticipate the subject of a following clause, or the clause itself. (3) The dependent verb contains morphemes and complexes which vary morphophonemically in certain ways not found in independent verbs. The distinctive markers and their variants found in dependent verbs form the basis for this part of the description of Awa verbs.

We distinguish two types of dependent verbs in Awa: (1) those which occur in a dependent clause which must be followed by one or more clauses, or which appear without other clauses in the same sentence, and (2) those which occur in a dependent clause which must be preceded by one or more clauses. We call the first a dependent medial verb, and the second a dependent final verb.

1. Dependent medial verbs. Dependent medial verbs are characterized by markers to anticipate the subject of a following clause, or by markers which anticipate a second clause.

1.1. Anticipatory subject markers in dependent medial verbs. Most Awa medial verbs indicate both the subject of the clause in which they occur, and the subject of a following clause.² The first subject is marked by morphemes which appear as part of compounds or portmanteaus including tense. These complexes and their relative distribution have been described in Part I. We refer to morphemes indicating a subject to follow as (A)nticipatory (S)ubject (M)arkers.

Anticipatory subject markers indicate the person and

² S. A. Wurm has given a general résumé of the fact that different sets of morphemes occur "with verbs in utterance-final and non-utterance final positions" in Central New Guinea languages. These sets of morphemes may indicate a subject to follow, or show various types of relationship between the actions referred to by the two related clauses. (See Wurm, n.d.)

number of the subject to follow. The markers are:

-na ~ -ena anticipating 'I' or 'he'

-ä ~ -ø ~ -e anticipating 'you'

-ta ~ -eta anticipating 'we two' or 'you two'

-q ~ -eq anticipating 'we' or 'you all'

-ra ~ -era anticipating 'they two' or 'they'

Allomorphs with initial /e/ follow future portmanteaus, or compounds involving future portmanteaus, and avolitional compounds. Allomorph -ä occurs following morphemes with final /a/, replacing that phoneme. Other allomorphs listed occur elsewhere. Note the following examples: tagogo(na) bøkíq 'when I looked, he went', tagog(ä) bokónaq 'when I looked, you went', tagoga(ta) bokóyaq 'when I looked, you two went', tagoga(q) 'when I looked you all...', tagoga(ra) 'when I looked, they...', tagayë(éta) 'we two will look, and we two...' ³

The internal structure of a medial dependent verb with anticipatory subject markers may be represented as follows:

$$+ S_1 \pm \begin{bmatrix} \text{DO} \\ \text{IO} \end{bmatrix} \pm \text{Aspect} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{Tense-subj.} \\ \text{Tense-subj.-mode} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ASM} \pm \text{Mode}$$

We now turn to a discussion of the ASM's with the various tense and mode complexes.

1.11. ASM's following tense-subject compounds. Anticipatory subject markers with tense compounds always signal different subject in the following clause from that of the dependent clause. Preceding ASM's, the first person singular morpheme of the far past tense-subject compound occurs

³ The subject of the second clause is redundantly marked in the independent verb, described in Part I.

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as a \emptyset alternant: tag-äwa-(\emptyset)-na 'when I saw it long ago, he...' Also preceding ASM's the third singular far past compound is -owa: tag(ówa)na 'when he saw it long ago, I...' Other than these differences, all tense-subject compounds (and all aspect morphemes preceding such) occur as described in Part I preceding the anticipatory subject markers. The following examples illustrate the internal structure of medial verbs with ASM's following tense-subject compounds.

tag-oga-na 'when I saw it, he...'

tag-aràuyá-ra 'when we two had seen it, they...'

tag-äwaná-ta 'when we saw it long ago, you two...'

tag-ar-óg-ä 'when I glimpsed it, you...'

taga-ru-tàuya-na 'when we two had finished seeing it, he...'

tag-a-t-äwána-na 'when we saw it for him long ago, he...'

1.12. ASM's following future-subject portmanteaus. Future-subject portmanteaus occurring in dependent medial verbs differ somewhat from the forms included in independent verbs. The portmanteaus with medial verbs exhibit number contrasts, while person contrasts are carried either by free pronouns, or by the form of the ASM. ASM's may follow the future portmanteaus to anticipate the same or different subject as the dependent clause, under the following conditions.

When indicating the same subject, the ASM's follow portmanteaus marking singular (-ani), dual (-ayě), and plural (-aně). The future singular when indicating first or third persons has an alternant -a, varying freely with -ani. Note that these forms are the same as portmanteaus in independent verbs marking first persons. The ASM's following these portmanteaus occur with initial /e/ except when following

/a/. The number of forms possible with these combinations is limited to the following since same subjects are depicted.

tag-ani-éna 'I will see it, I...', or 'he will see it, he...'

tag-a-na (same meaning)

tag-anì-e 'you will see it, you...'

tag-ayè-eta 'we two will see it, we two...', or
'you two will see, you two...'

tag-ayè-era 'they two will see it, they two...'

tag-anè-éq 'we will see it, we...' or 'you all will see it, you all...'

tag-anè-era 'they will see it, they...'

The anticipatory subject markers indicate different subjects when following the future portmanteaus -ankëe 'future singular', and -agëe 'future plural'. Note that these morphemes are alternants of the independent portmanteaus, having an additional /e/.⁴ Person differences may be clarified by the use of free pronouns.⁵ In the following example, note the possible ambiguities: tag-ankëe-éna 'I will see, he...', 'he will see, I...', 'you will see, he...', 'you will see, I...'

1.13. ASM's following tense-subject mode compounds.⁶

(1) Conditional compounds occur with dependent verbs, but may not occur with independent verbs. This mode indicates

⁴The /e/ may be an obligatory occurrence of the augmentative morpheme. Compare 1.13 (3).

⁵See Part I, footnote 12, p. 11.

⁶ASM's have not been observed following the imperative mode compounds.

a condition whose fulfillment is necessary to another action: nene poria me(ëna)na 'If you take my arrow, I...' The conditional compound includes tense, subject, and conditional mode. The following matrix illustrates the situation.

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	tag(äna)-	tag(ëna)-	tag(äna)-
D	tag(ëya)-	tag(ëra)-	
P	tag(äna)-		
S	wiré(ona)-	wiré(ina)-	wiré(ina)-
D	wiré(oya)-	wiré(ira)-	
P	wiré(ona)-		

Note that certain contrasts in person and number found elsewhere are here lost. Compounds with Class II verbs have initial /o/ with first persons, initial /i/ elsewhere, the same initials observed with avolitional compounds. Conditional compounds with Class I words have /ä/ and /ë/, but the pattern is different from any we have observed thus far: /ä/ with 'I', 'he', and 'we' forms; /ë/ with 'we two', and 'you', and 'you all, they' forms (dual or plural). We suggest again that the first vowel indicates tense (near past), the consonant the person-number subject, and the final vowel the mode. However, the partials act together in the compound for total meaning.

Anticipatory subject markers following the conditional compounds indicate a different subject from that of the dependent clause. The following illustrate: me(ëya-na) 'if we two take it, he...', pok(ira-q) 'if they go, we...', kek(iná-ta) 'if you burn it, we two...'.

(2) Avolitional compounds occurring in dependent medial verbs differ somewhat from those occurring in independent verbs paralleling differences observed for the future portmanteaus.

Following avolitional compounds, the ASM's may signal the same or a different subject in the related clauses.

When indicating the same subject, the ASM's follow -*ëněo* (avolitional singular or plural), or -*ëyěo* (avolitional dual) with Class I stems, and the same compounds with initial /o/ with Class II stems. Examples follow: *tag(ëněo-éna)* 'he should not look, so he...', *wíré(oyěo-éra)* 'they two might laugh, so they two...', *me(ëněo-é)* 'you shouldn't take it, so you...', *pok(oněo-éq)* 'we ought not to go, so we...'

Anticipatory markers indicate a different subject is to follow when they occur with the avolitional compounds which parallel those occurring in the independent verbs. Examples follow: *tag(ëněo-éna)* 'I might see it, so he...', *wíré(iněo-é)* 'it isn't good that he laugh, so you...', *me(ěo-éq)* 'they shouldn't take it, so we...', *pok(òyěo-éra)* 'we two might go, so they...'

(3) Following certitutive compounds, the ASM's indicate a different subject from that of the dependent clause. Certitutive compounds with medial verbs require the augmentative morpheme preceding the ASM. This in turn requires a subject morpheme except in the 'you all' and 'they' forms. In order to compare the dependent forms with the independent, we give the matrix with forms of the verb 'to go'. The internal structure illustrated is stem + future portmanteau + certitutive + person-subject + augmentative + anticipatory subject.

Number

Person

1

S -----⁷

D pok-oyëeta-u-y-e-éna

P pok-onëeq-mú-n-e-éna

2

3

S pok-inle-wo-n-e-éna pok-ina-wi-r-e-éna

D pok-oyëeta-wo-y-e-éna pok-oyëera-wo-y-e-éna

P pok-onëeq-mo-e-éna pok-onëera-wo-e-éna

The middle column of this matrix could be translated: 'you certainly will go, he...', 'you two certainly will go, he...', 'you all certainly will go, he...'

1.14. Preceding individual mode morphemes. Anticipatory subject markers precede the individual mode morphemes.⁸ Medial dependent verbs contain a mode morpheme not found in the independent verbs. We refer to this mode as contrary to fact since it marks an action which is alleged to be different from the actual facts: méoganarairí pokìrino 'if I had taken it [but I didn't], he would have gone'. This mode is indicated by -tairi(n) ~ -rairi(n), the first occurring with morphemes with final /q/, replacing that phoneme,

⁷We have been unable to elicit the certitutive first person singular form followed by a different subject. Informants insist that pokinàugeéna 'I intend to go, so I...' must be followed by an independent verb with the same subject.

⁸The augmentative morpheme is obligatory in certain complexes such as medial certitatives. In such cases, the augmentative precedes the ASM, but may also follow it: pokinàwireénae 'he intended to go, so I [did it]!'

the second elsewhere. Final /n/ is actualized before a following vowel, /k/, or /s/. Interrogative and augmentative mode markers occur with dependent forms only when those forms do not have other clauses in the same sentence: tagogana-bô 'when I saw it, [did] he?' or 'when he saw it, [did] he?', [is that what you said?]; tagogana-ê 'when he saw it, he did it!'

The following illustrate the ASM preceding contrary to fact and dubitative morphemes: tagoga(na-rairî) 'if I had seen it, he...', tagoga(na-bopoq) 'maybe I saw it, and he...'

1.2. (A)nticipatory (C)lause (M)arkers in dependent medial verbs. Dependent medial verbs in Awa may contain morphemes to indicate that a clause will follow (or occurs in the context). These morphemes do not give information as to the following subject. Three such anticipatory clause markers have been located in our research thus far. Each of them is mutually exclusive with the ASM's.⁹ Preceding these ACM's, subject morphemes indicating 'I', 'he', or 'you all, they' have -ø alternants. The ACM's parallel each other in that an allomorph of each occurs following the phoneme sequence /na/,¹⁰ with other allomorphs elsewhere.

1.21. General anticipatory clause marker. The ACM with the widest distribution is -boq ~ -raq ~ -taq. This morpheme indicates that the verb in which it occurs is dependent, i.e., its action is dependent in some way on that

⁹The morpheme -sabe has been observed following ASM's, but in nonpredicate functions.

¹⁰The phoneme sequence /na/ is a morpheme ('I' or 'you') in some instances and may be the historic reason why the sequence, whether a morpheme or not, conditions the following allomorph.

expressed in a related independent clause. The relation between clauses seems to be the same whether an ASM or this general ACM¹¹ occurs with the dependent verb.

Allomorphs of the general anticipatory clause marker include -boq following future portmanteaus and avolitional compounds, -raq and -taq elsewhere; -raq follows the phoneme sequence /na/, -taq elsewhere.

Future portmanteaus preceding the general anticipatory clause marker are the same as those occurring with independent verbs: me(ankè-boq) 'he will take it, so...!', kek(iní-boq) 'I will burn, so...!', pok(igè-boq) 'they will go, so...!' Avolitional compounds have alternants preceding this general morpheme which may be derived from the compounds occurring with independent verbs; i.e., these forms occur in the medial verbs with -boq without the final /o/: me(é-boq) 'they ought not to take it, so...!', pok(onè-boq) 'I shouldn't go, so...!'

Following tense compounds, the person markers indicating 'I', 'he', or 'you all, they' preceding -raq ~ -taq occur as -ø alternants: tag-o-ø-taq 'when I saw it, then...!', tagètàq 'when he looked, then...!', tagätàq 'when they saw it, then...!'; but note tag-á(na-raq) 'when you saw it, then...!'

Forms with allomorph -boq may not be followed by mode markers. Otherwise there seem to be no limitations: mië-(ta-pópoq) 'maybe when he was here, ...!', mië(tár-e)¹² 'when he was here!', mië(tá-po) 'when he was here?'

1.22. Time anticipatory clause marker. The morpheme -gake ~ -kake may be included in dependent verbs to mark a specific time when the dependent action occurred. This morpheme has only been observed with past, far past, and

¹¹ Further research is needed related to interclausal syntactic and semantic relations. We trust this will clarify the use of the general ACM.

¹² An allomorph -tar occurs preceding vowels as does an r final allomorph of certain Class I stems. See 1.13 (3) Part I.

conditional compounds. The first of the two allomorphs occurs following the phoneme sequence /na/, the second elsewhere. Subject morphemes indicating 'I', 'he', or 'you all, they' preceding -gake ~ -kake occur as -∅ alternants. The following illustrate: pok-uràu(kake) 'when I left, then...', tag-ona(gake) 'at the time you saw it, ...', me-äna(gake) 'if and when I take it, then...'

Mode morphemes may follow the time anticipatory clause marker: pokuràikake(bopoq) ménsáměnsá tabanagarire 'may-be when (at the time) he went, the things disappeared'.

1.23. Cause anticipatory clause marker. The morpheme -yabe ~ -sabe ~ -nsabe has a wide usage in Awa.¹³ More research is necessary before we can give its full distribution and meaning. Dependent medial verbs may contain this morpheme to indicate that the action in the dependent clause is the cause or reason for the action in the independent clause related to it: meónsábé boki q 'because I took it, he went'. Allomorph -yabe occurs following the phoneme sequence /na/, -sabe after morphemes with final /q/ replacing that phoneme, (but not after any of the person morphemes in tense or mode compounds), and -nsabe elsewhere. The following illustrate: tagě(nsábé)¹⁴ 'because he saw it, ...', wíréuràuna(yabé) 'because we laughed, ...', pokona(yabé) 'since I might go, ...', meótá(sábé) (with -taq) 'because I took it, then...'

1.24. The internal structure of the dependent medial verb with anticipatory clause markers may be summarized as follows:

¹³ Cf. Loving, R. and A. (1962) (Part I), 1.21 (4) for -sabe with nouns.

¹⁴ As with other ACM's, person morphemes indicating 'I', 'he' and 'you all, they' with tense compounds occur with -∅ alternants preceding -yabe and its alternants.

+ S₁ ± $\begin{bmatrix} \text{DO} \\ \text{IO} \end{bmatrix}$ ± Aspect + $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Tense-subj.} \\ \text{Tense-subj.-mode} \end{bmatrix}$ + ACM + Mode

2. Dependent final verbs. We define a dependent final verb in Awa as one which occurs in a clause which must be preceded by another clause, and one which contains one of the morphemes to be described in the following sections. Two types occur: (1) verbs containing a morpheme marking the partner of a dependent medial contrary to fact clause, and (2) verbs containing a compound marking an obligation which must be preceded by a dependent medial conditional clause. In such instances we have an interdependency between two clauses. The medial dependent verbs have been described in previous sections. We turn then to the final dependent verb.

2.1. Dependent final verb with contrary to fact mode morpheme. A contrary to fact mode in a dependent final verb is marked by -irino: méotátairí poku(irino) 'if I had taken it, I (would have) gone'. Morpheme -irino is preceded by -Ø alternants of person morphemes in compounds indicating 'I', 'he', or 'you all, they'. All other forms must occur with -e¹⁵ directly preceding -irino, replacing the vowel of the person morpheme: pok-ú-y-e-irino '... we two would have gone'. The only mode marker observed following -irino is the interrogative -bo, questioning whether or not the statement was made: pokùirinobô '... would have gone [did you say?]'. Further illustrations of the internal structure of final dependent verbs with -irino: tagë(irino) '... he would have looked (near past)', tagäwayéirino '... we two would have seen it (far past)', tagaronéirino '... you would have seen (past) it'.

2.2. Dependent final verb with imperative mode com-

¹⁵ Probably the augmentative with its meaning neutralized.

pounds. A final clause which contains a verb with imperative mode compounds must be preceded by a clause containing a verb with the conditional mode compound: *mätaq miänana bok(ono)* 'if he is here, I must go'. The compounds comprise the imperative compounds occurring with independent verbs, and also compounds marking the other persons which do not occur with independent verbs. The following matrix illustrates.

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	tag(äno)	tag(äno)	
D	tag(ëyo)	tag(ätao)	
P	tag(äno)	tag(äro)	
S	wíré(ono)	wíré(úno)	wíré(ino)
D	wíré(oyo)	wíré(otao)	
P	wíré(ono)	wíré(oro)	

With Class I verb stems, there is no contrast between second and third person forms. With Class II stems, all three persons contrast in singular forms. The initial vowel (probably the tense morpheme) has the following alternants: with Class I stems, initial /ë/ occurs with 'we two' forms, /ä/ with all other forms; with Class II stems, initial /u/ occurs with 'you', initial /i/ with 'he', and initial /o/ elsewhere. Further examples follow: *me(ätao)* '... they two must take it', *pok(oro)* '... they must go'.

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2.3. The final dependent verb may be summarized as follows:

+S₁ ±^{DO}_{IO} ±Aspect +Tense-subj. +^{contrary to fact final}_{imperative compound}