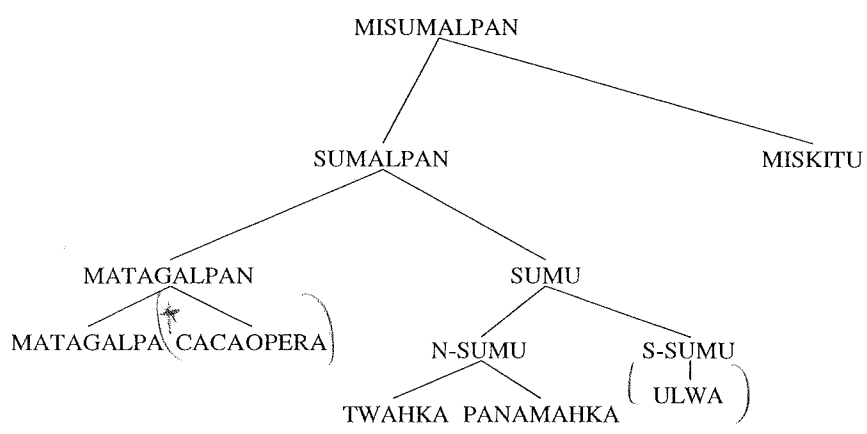


10/19

MISUMALPAN LANGUAGE PROJECTS

1. The Misumalpan languages.



(1) M: Witin raks wal sûla kum îk-an.
 N-Sumu Witing arakbus kau sana as î-na.
 Ulwa Alas arakbus karak sana as ît-ida.
 he gun with deer one kill-PAST
 'He killed a deer with the gun.'

(2) Sûla târa ba ai-kaik-an.
 Sana nuhni kidi yâ-tal-na.
 Sana sikka ya yâ-tal-da.
 deer big the me-see-PAST3
 'The big deer saw me.'

WA is really an internally headed relative

(3) [[Yang sù la kum kaik-ri] ba] plap-an.
 [[Yang sana as tal-na-yang] kidi] k-îra-na.
 [[Yang sana as tal-ikda] ya] îr-ida.
 I deer one see-PAST1 the run-PAST3
 'The deer which I saw ran (away).'

mt. headed RC



(4) naha waitni-ka
 âdika al-ni
 âka al-ka
 this man-CNSTR

→ construct state

(5) Waitna ba plap-i kauhw-an.
 Al kidi k-îr-i buk-na.
 Al ya îr-i wauhd-ida.
 man the run-PROX fall-PAST3
 'The man ran and fell.'

subject obviation system

(6) Yang waitna ba kaik-ri kauhw-an.
 Yang al kidi tal-ing buk-na.
 Yang al ya tal-ing wauhd-ida.
 I man the see-OBV1 fall-PAST3
 'I saw the man and he fell.'

(7) Yang waitna ba yab-ri kauhw-an.
 Yang al kidi yamt-ing buk-na.
 Yang al ya ât-ing wauhd-ida.
 I man the cause-OBV1 fall-PAST3
 'I made the man fall.'

2. The Ulwa question.

(8) The construct state:

<i>Ulwa (Southern Sumu)</i>	<i>Mayangna (Northern Sumu)</i>	
yal-ka	yal-ni	'woman'
kuring-ka	kuring-ni	'canoe'
yâ-ka-mak	yâ-ni-mak	'field, milpa'
	<i>ni suffixal to first metrical foot</i>	
<i>Miskitu</i>		
mair-ka		'woman'
dwâr-ka		'canoe'
bîp-ka		'cow, cattle'

Adjectives:

<i>Ulwa (Southern Sumu)</i>	<i>Mayangna (Northern Sumu)</i>	
yam-ka	yam-ni	'good'
dut-ka	dut-ni	'bad'
lalah-ka	lalah-ni	'yellow'

<i>Miskitu:</i>		
yam-ni, pain		'good'
sâura		'bad'
lalah-ni		'yellow'

(most Misk. adjectives are borrowed from N. Sumu)

(10) 12-person (the 'first inclusive'), possessive (personal construct):

<i>Ulwa (Southern Sumu)</i>	<i>Mayangna (Northern Sumu)</i>	
kuring-ki	kuring-ki	'my canoe'
kuring-kina	kuring-kina	'our canoe (excl.)'
kuring-ni	mâ kuring-ki	'our canoe (incl.)'
kuring-ka	kuring-ni	'his/her canoe'

Diagram: A circle around 'ni' in Ulwa kuring-ni is connected by an arrow to a circle around 'ni' in Mayangna kuring-ni. Another circle around 'ki' in Mayangna mâ kuring-ki is connected by an arrow to a circle around 'ki' in Ulwa kuring-ki. Below the diagram, '2p' is written under the Ulwa kuring-ni circle, and '2' is written under the Mayangna kuring-ni circle. At the bottom, '12incl → Mayangna 3p' is written.

*Ka-ayni-D (9)
ni - mair-ka*

(11) 12-person (the 'first inclusive'), preverb in certain idioms (e.g., forget):

<i>Ulwa (Southern Sumu)</i>	<i>Mayangna (Northern Sumu)</i>	
dikit	dikit	'first sg.'
dikitna	dikitna	'first pl. excl.'
dinit	mâ dikit	'first incl.'
dakat	dinit	'third sg'
—	dakat	'impersonal'

Ulwa Sp k₂ → Mays. Impers.

(12) 12-person (the 'first inclusive'), verbal paradigm (present tense):

<i>Ulwa (Southern Sumu)</i>	<i>Mayangna (Northern Sumu)</i>	
yul-ta-yang	yul-ta-yang	'I speak'
yul-ta-yam	yul-ta-man	'you speak'
yul-ta-i	yul-wi (yul-wa)	'(s)he speaks'
yul-wa-i	yul-di (yul-da)	'we speak (inc.)'
yul-da-i	yuyul-wi (yuyul-wa)	'they speak'
isda-yang	isda-yang	'I play'
isda-yam	isda-man	'you play'
isda-i	yak-isdi (yak-isda)	'(s)he plays'
yak-isda-i	mâ isdi (mâ isda)	'we play (incl.)'
isdada-i	yak-ikisdi (yak-ikisda)	'they play'

incl → 3p.

untawastm i ↑ t → w

3. A problem in theory: The Misumalpan causative construction (Ulwa).

(13) Yang nawah as tal-i îri-kda.
 I tigre one see-PROX run-PAST1s
 'I saw a tiger and (I) ran.' 'Seeing a tiger, I ran.'

(14) Yang nawah as tal-ing îri-da.
 I tiger one see-OBV1s run-PAST3s
 'I saw a tiger and it ran.' 'Upon my seeing a tiger, it ran.'

(15) Yang baka kau ât-ing wauhdi-da.
 I child ACC cause-OBV1 fall-PAST3
 'I made the child fall.'

(16) Yang baka (kau) ât-ing wauhda-sa dai.
 I child (ACC) cause-OVB1s fall-NEG3 PAST
 'I did not make the child fall.' [... alas wauhdi-da. '... it fell on its own.']

(17) Yang nawah tal-ing îra-sa dai.
 I tiger see-OBV1s run-NEG3 PAST
 'I saw the tiger and it did not run.'

(18) Muih.as.bik (yang kau) yâ-ât-ak wauhda-sing dai.
 anyone (me ACC) me-cause-OBV3 fall-NEG1s PAST
 'No one made me fall.'

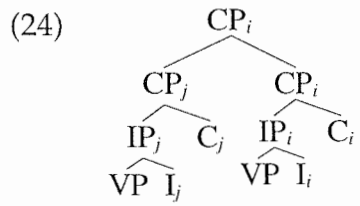
(19) *Dî.as.bik yâ-tal-ak îra-sing dai.
 anything me-see-OBV3 run-NEG1s PAST
 *'Anything saw me and I did not run.'

(20) Yang [PRO baka kau ât-ing wauhda-naka] walta-yang.
 I child ACC cause-OBV1 fall-INF3] want-PRES1
 'I want to make the child fall.'

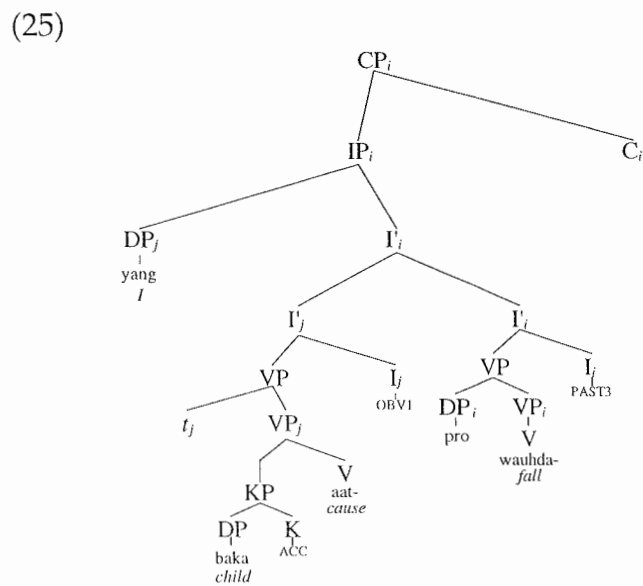
(21) Baka kau ât-am wauhda-ngh.
 child ACC cause-OBV2 fall-IMPER3
 'Make the child fall.'

(22) *Yang [PRO nawah tal-ing îra-naka] walta-yang.
 I tiger see-OBV1 run-INF3] want-PRES1
 *'I want seeing the tiger (and) it to run.'

(23) *Nawah tal-am îra-ngh.
 tiger see-OBV2 run-IMPER3
 *'You seeing the tiger (and) it run!'



Make - fall
 []



- (26) (a) Control: PRO-SUBJECT <————> INFINITIVAL INFL
 (b) Imperative: ADRESSEE-SUBJECT <————> IMPERATIVE INFL
- (27) (a) Why *must* the causative subject raise?
 (b) How *can* the causative subject raise?
- (28) Yang [sana as tal-naka] walta-yang.
 Yang [sûla kum kaik-aia] plik-isna.
 I [deer one see-INF] want/seek-PRES1
 'I want to see a deer.'
- (29) Yang walta-yang [sana as tal-naka].
 Yang plik-isna [sûla kum kaik-aia].
 I want/seek-PRES1 [deer one see-INF]
 'I want to see a deer.'
- (30) Yang [baka wauhda-naka] kumhp-ikda.
 I [child fall-INF] cause-PAST1s
 'I made the child fall.'