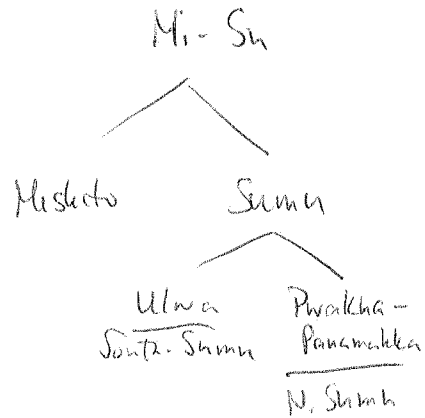


MISUMALPAN VERB SEQUENCING CONSTRUCTIONS

Ken Hale, MIT, October 1988



- (1) Yang utla ra dim-i kauhw-ri. M
 Yang uu kau aaw-i wauhd-ikda. S
 (I house in enter-PART fall-PAST:1)
 'I went into the house and fell down.'
 'When I went into the house, I fell down.'

1. Misumalpan clause chaining.

Longacre's (1985:264-265) characteristic properties:

- (a) There is a clause (characteristically final in a chain of clauses) that has a verb of distinctive structure that occurs but once in the entire chain while other (typically non final clauses have verbs of different structure ...).
- (b) Each non-final clause is marked so as to indicate whether the following clause has the same subject or different subject from itself.
- (c) A further feature of chaining is considerable attention to temporal relations such a logical overlap ('while', 'at the same time') versus chronological succession ('and then') which shade off into logical relations such as cause and effect, result,

- (2) Baha ulu-ka pruk-i ik-amna.
 Yaka lalang-ka baut-i iita-ring.
 (that wasp-CNSTR hit-PART kill-FUT:1)
 'I will swat that wasp and kill it.'

- (3) Yang sula kum kaik-ri plap-an.
 Yang sana as tal-ing iir-ida.
 (I deer a see-OBV:1 run-PAST:3)
 'I saw a deer and it ran.'

- (4) Man sula kum kaik-ram plap-an.
 Man sana as tal-am iir-ida.
 (you deer a see-OBV:2 run-PAST:3)
 'You saw a deer and it ran.'

- (5) Witin sula kum kaik-an plap-an.
 Alas sana as tal-ak iir-ida.
 (he deer a see-OBV:3 run-PAST:3)
 'He saw a deer and it ran.'

(6) Witin sula kum kaik-an plap-isa
Alas sana as tal-ak iira-i.
(he deer a see-OBV:3 run-PRES)
'He sees a deer and it runs.'

123/maintained in present Past
in Misk + Sumen

(7) Yang sula kum kaik-rika plap-bia.
Yang sana as tal-ing iira-rang.
(I deer a see-OBV:1 run-FUT:3)
'I will see a deer and it will run.'

12 vs. 3 in Misk future
(participant in speech act vs. non-part)

(8) Man naha yul-a pruk-rika plap-bia.
Man aaka suu-ka-lu baut-am iira-rang.
(you this dog-CNSTR hit-OBV:2 run-FUT:3)
'You will hit this dog and it will run.'

Sumen makes consistent 1/2/3 distinction

(9) Witin baha yul-a pruk-ka plap-bia.
Alas yaka suu-ka-lu baut-ak iira-rang.
(he that dog-CNSTR hit-OBV:3 run-FUT:3)
'He will hit that dog and it will run.'

2. Complementation and the Misumalpan participials.

(10) Yang [Bilwi ra w-aia] want s-na.
(I [P. C. to go-INF] want be-1)
'I want to go to Puerto Cabezas.'

(11) Yang [Ulwah yul-naka] walta-ya-ng.
(I [Ulwa speak-INF] want-PRES-1)
'I want to speak Ulwa.'

(12) Yang [witin nani aisi-n] wal-ri.
Yang [alas balna yulbau-d-ak] dak-ikda.
(I [they PL speak-(PL)-OBV:3] hear-past:1)
'I heard them speak.'

(13) Yang tal-ikda [sana was dih-i saak at-ak.]
(I see-PAST:1 [deer water drink-PROX standing be-OBV:3])
'I saw the deer drinking water.'

(14) Yang nani [w-a-m-tla mak-i] ta krik-ri.
Yangna balna [uu-ma yamt-i] tangka baht-ikda.
(we PL [house-2 build-PROX] end break-PAST:1)
'We began to build your house.'

(15) Naha w-a-tla mak-i ta alk-ri.
Aaka uu-ka yamt-i tangka wat-ikda.
(this house-CNSTR build-PROX end reach-PAST:3)
'He finished building this house.'

(14') Yang nani ta krikri [wantla maki].

3. Misumalpan serial verb constructions.

(16) Baha usus-ka pal-i wa-n.
Yaka kus-ka-ma limd-i yawaa-da.
(that vulture-CNSTR fly-PROX go-PAST3)
'That buzzard flew away.'

(17) Usus pal-i bal-an
Kusma limd-i waa-da.
(buzzard fly-PROX come-PAST3)
'The buzzard came flying.'

(18) Witin raks kum brih bal-an.
Alas arakbus as ih waa-da.
(he gun one get:PROX come-PAST:1)
'He brought a gun.'

(19) Man dia brih wa-ma?
Man ai ih yawa-ram?
(you what get:PROX go-FUT:2)
'What will you take (with you)?'

(20) Kuh puht-i saak-yang.
(fire blow-PROX stand-1)
'I am (lit. stand) blowing the fire.'

(21) Watd-i tung-yang.
(stroll-PROX walk-1)
'I am taking a walk.'

- (22) Bikiska isd-i bang-ka.
 (children play-PROX be:plural-3)
 'The children are playing.'
- (23) Yang bas-k-i kipt-i lau-yang.
 (I hair-CNSTR-1 comb-PROX sit-1)
 'I am combing my hair.'
- (24) Tuuru ya urundang am-i kut-ka.
 (cow the curled sleep-PROX lie-3)
 'The cow is sleeping curled up.'
- (25) Yang utla kum mak-i s-na.
 (I house one build-PROX be-1)
 'I am building a house.'
- (26) Yang utla kum mak-i kap-ri.
 (I house one build-PROX be-PAST1)
 'I was building a house.'
- (27) Yang nani utla kum mak-i banghw-i s-na.
 (I plural house one build-PROX plural-PROX be-1)
 'We are building a house.'
- (28) Yang truk kum atk-ri wa-n.
 (I car a sell-OBV:1 go-PAST:3)
 'I sold a car off.'
- (29) Aisi-k-i Bilwi ra ai blik-an wa-ri.
 (father-CNSTR-1 P.C. to me send-OBV:3 go-PAST:1)
 'My father sent me off to Puerto Cabezas.'
- (30) Witin sula yab-an plap-an.
 Alas sana aat-ak iir-ida.
 (he deer cause-OBV:3 run-PAST:3)
 'He caused the deer to run.'
- (31) Witin sula yab-an plap-ras.
 Alas sana aat-ak iira-sa.
 (he deer cause-OBV:3 run-NEG)
 'He didn't cause the deer to run.'

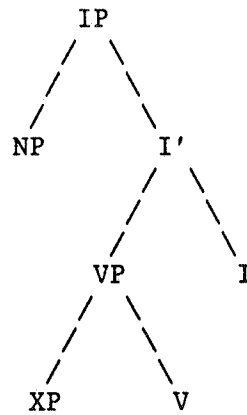
(32) Yang sula kum kaik-ri plap-ras.
 Yang sana as tal-ing iira-sa.
 (I deer a see-OBV:1 run-NEG)
 'I saw a deer and it didn't run.'

(33) Upla kumi sin ai swi-n dim-ras.
 Muih as bik yaa-daap-ak aawa-si-ng.
 (person one also me-let-OBV:3 enter-NEG(-1))
 'No one allowed me to enter.'

(34) *Upla kumi sin sula kum kaik-an plap-ras.
 *Muih as bik sana as tal-ak iira-sa.
 (person one also deer one see-OBV:3 run-NEG)
 *'Anyone saw a deer and it didn't run.'

4. Speculations on the grammar of Misumalpan verb sequencing.

(35)



(36) Witin sula kum kaik-an.
 Alas sana as tal-da.
 (he deer one see-PAST)
 'He saw a deer.'

	Finite	OBV	PROX
TNS	+	-	-
AGR	+	+	-

Table 1: The distribution of tense and subject agreement in finite and participial clauses.

	future	non-future
1	-rika	-ri
2	-rika	-ram
3	-ka	-an

Table 2: Miskitu Obviative Participials

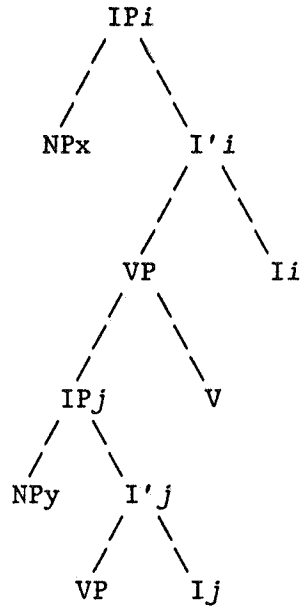
1	-ik
12	-d-i
2	-a
3	-w-i

Table 3: Northern Sumu Proximate Participials

(37) Yang nani [w-a-m-tla mak-i] ta krik-ri.
 Yangna balna [uu-ma yamt-i] tangka baht-ikda-na.
 (we PL [house-2 build-PROX] end break-PAST:1(-PL))
 'We began to build your house.'

(38) Yang [witin nani aisi-n] wal-ri.
 Yang [alas balna yulbau-d-ak] dak-ikda.
 (I [they PL speak-(3PL)-OBV:3] hear-past:1)
 'I heard them speak.'

(39)

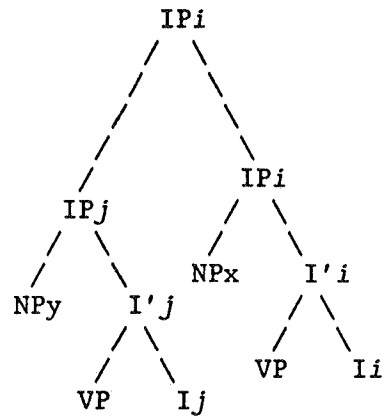


(40) [Yang kauhw-ri] witin ai buk-an.
[Yang wauhd-ing] alas yaa-ihirt-ida.
([I fall-OBV:1] he/she me(-)raise-PAST:3.)
'I fell down and he/she picked me up.'

(41) [Waitna ba utla ra dim-i] kauhw-an.
[Al ya uu kau aaw-i] wauhd-ida.
([man the house in enter-PROX] fall-PAST:3)
'The man went into the house and fell down.'

(41') SOI in Initial Clause:
Tuktan kum ra truk kum mita taib-i mina krik-an.
(child one ACC car one AG crush-PROX foot break-PAST:3)
'A car ran over a child and broke its foot.'

(42)



(43) *f-command*:

A functional category *X* *f-commands* *Y* iff a projection of *X* dominates *Y*. (If a node *A* is a projection of a functional category *B*, then *A* bears the functional index projected by *B*.)

(44) Rauhwa ba, tuktan nani in-i taim, nina blik-i
(parrot the, child PL cry-PART time, back follow-PROX

witin sin dauk-i sa.
it also do-PROX be:PRES:3)

'The parrot, when children cry, imitates them and
(then) it does it too (i.e., cries).'

(45) Waitna kum dus klak-i k-an 0 kauhw-i 0 0 taib-an.

i j j j i
(man one tree cut-PROX be-OBV:3 fall-PROX crush-PAST:3)
'A man was cutting a tree and it fell down and crushed him.'

(46) Yang plun ... piak-i swi-ri k-an ba swahw-an sa.
(I food ... cook-PROX leave-PAST:1 be-PAST:3 the spoil-PAST:3 be:3)
'The food I had cooked and left (out) has spoiled'.

- (47) Yang nani [w-a-m-tla mak-i] ta krik-ri.
 Yangna balna [uu-ma yamt-i] tangka baht-ikda.
 (we PL [house-2 build-PROX] end break-PAST:1)
 'We began to build your house.'
- (47') Yang nani ta krik-i w-a-m-tla mak-ri.
 (we PL end break-PROX house-2 build-PAST:1)
 'We began to build your house.'
- (48) ... nasma laya tak-i ta krik-i dru-an.
 (... bee liquid:CNSTR exit-PROX end break-PROX extend-PAST:3)
 '... the honey came out and started to extend (in a viscous strand).'
- (49) Witin ai pruk-an kauhw-ri.
 Alas yaa-baut-ak wauhd-ikda.
 (he me strike-OBV:3 fall-PAST:1)
 (a) He hit me and I fell down.
 (b) He knocked me down.
- (50) Witin ai pruk-an kauhw-ras.
 Alas yaa-baut-ak wauhda-s-ing
 (he me strike-OBV:3 fall-NEG(-1))
 (a) He hit me and I didn't fall down.
 (b) He didn't knock me down.
- (51) Yang Bilwi-ra wih truk kum atk-ri.
 Yang Bilwi kau yaw-i truk as bakant-ikda.
 (I P. C. to go-PROX car one buy-PAST:1)
 (a) I went to Puerto Cabezas and I bought a car.
 (b) I went to buy a car in Puerto Cabezas.
- (52) Ani-ra wih truk kum atkr-am?
 Aayauh yaw-i truk as bakant-idam?
 (where(-to) go-PROX car one buy-PAST:2)
 'Where did you go buy a car?'

- (53) Bilwi-ra wih dia atk-ram?
 Bilwi kau yaw-i ai bakant-idam?
 (P. C. to go-PROX what buy-PAST:2)
 'What did you go buy in Puerto Cabezas?'
- (54) Yang aras kum atk-ri aisik-am dia atk-ram?
 Yang pamkih as bakant-ing paapangh-ma ai bakant-ida?
 (I horse one buy-OBV:1 father-2 what buy-PAST:3)
 'I bought a horse and your father bought what?'
- (55) *Dia atk-ram aisik-am truk kum atk-an?
 *Ai bakant-am paapangh-ma truk as bakant-ida?
 (what buy-OBV:2 father-2 car one buy-PAST:3)
 *'What did you buy and your father bought a car?'
- (56) Ya mai pruk-an kauhw-ram ki?
 Wai maa-baut-ak wauhd-idam pih?
 (who you hit-OBV:3 fall-PAST:2 Q)
 'Who knocked you down?'
- (57) Witin nani hil kum ra wap-i ul-an.
 (they PL hill one on walk-PROX climb-PAST:3)
 'They climbed up the mountain walking.'
 'The walked up the mountain.'
- (58) ... diara kum ... plis kum ra alk-i sun-i sw-i ba.
 (... thing one ... place one in seize-PROX raise-PROX leave-PROX the)
 '(in which one) gets a thing and lifts it up and puts it in a place.'
- (59) Yang muihk-i sirpi ra andris matsip kulk-i yab-ri.
 (I brother-my small DAT orange five count-PROX give-PAST:1)
 'I counted out five oranges and gave them to my little brother.'
- (60) Witin yang ra ai pruk-i ai batak-an.
 (he me ACC me strike-PROX me fell-PAST:3)
 'He hit me and knocked me down.'