MISUMALPAN VERB SEQUENCING CONSTRUCTIONS
Ken Hale, MIT, October 1988

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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.'

(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.'

(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.'

(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.'

     (I [Ulwai 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] 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 [wamtla maki].

3. Misumalpan serial verb constructions.

(16) Baha usus-ka pal-i wa-n.
Yaka kus-ka-ma limd-i yawa-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.
(h 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) Watt-i tung-yang.
(stroll-PROX walk-1)
'I am taking a walk.'
(22) Bikiska isd-1 bang-ka.
   (children play-PROX be:plural-3)
   'The children are playing.'

(23) Yang bas-k-1 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-1 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)
IP
   /
  /
NP  I'
   /
  /
VP  I
   /
  /
XP  V

(36) Witin sula kum kaik-an.
   Alas sana as tal-da.
   (he deer one see-PAST)
   'He saw a deer.'
Table 1: The distribution of tense and subject agreement in finite and participial clauses.

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<thead>
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<th>Finite</th>
<th>OBV</th>
<th>PROX</th>
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<td>AGR</td>
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Table 2: Miskitu Obviative Participials

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Table 3: Northern Sumu Proximate Participials

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(37) Yang nani [w-a-m-tla mak-i] ta krik-ri.
(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.'
(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 taím, 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).'</n

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

i j j

(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-1ng
   (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.'