

YAREBA VERB MORPHOLOGY¹

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0. Introduction

Yareba verbs are distinguished from other word classes on the basis of their morphology and distribution. There are three major verb classes: primary, secondary and tertiary verbs. Primary verbs contrast with other verbs in the following ways: (1) morphology: only primary verbs select such categories as aspect, tense, number, person, mood, anticipatory subject, dependent clause and emphasis; (2) distribution: the primary verb is not dependent upon any other verb in a clause, it occurs in clause-final position unless an included phrase is added for clarification, and, with the exception of quotations and one other construction, it is the only primary verb in a given clause. Secondary verbs may occur singly or in a sequence and are dependent upon the primary verb to complete a construction. Tertiary verbs may also occur singly or in sequence. They may occur as an auxiliary to either primary or secondary verbs, and are also dependent upon the primary verb to complete

1. This data has been gathered under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in seventeen months of field time between April 1963 and March 1966. I gratefully acknowledge the help received from my colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I especially thank Dr Alan Healey for his suggestions and guidance in preparing this paper. Yareba is an unclassified Papuan language spoken by some 750 people in the Middle Musa Valley of the Northern District of Papua. The phonemes of Yareba are described in the paper in this volume, pp. 52-57.

a construction. This paper will deal mainly with the primary verb, and will mention only briefly the secondary, tertiary and complex verbs.

Throughout the verb morphology sequences of identical vowels coalesce, i.e. $V_1V_1 \rightarrow V_1$. Examples are: /yau-r-eba-a-su/ \rightarrow /yaurebasu/; /fa-r-i-i-ta/ \rightarrow /farita/.

1. Primary Verbs

Primary verbs are composed of a stem plus one or more of the following morphemes:

- Prefixes: Directional (DI);
 Suffixes: Class Marker (CM), Aspect (AS), Tense (TE), Number (NU), Person (PE), Mood (MO);
 Enclitics: Anticipatory Subject (ANS), Dependent Clause (DEP), Emphasis (EM).

The co-occurrence possibilities will be described in conjunction with each morpheme.

1.1 Directional

The directional category is optional and has only been observed with the verbs come and go. It distinguishes two prefixes, /m-/ up and /t-/ down.

/m-ani-a/

up-go-you

go up!

/t-ani-a/

down-go-you

go down!

1.2 Class Marker

The occurrence of a series of consonants between the final vowel of the verb stem and most suffixes with an initial vowel serves to define

four classes of verb stems.² The consonants /-t/, /-n/, and /-r/ function as class marking morphemes in this way.

Class marker always occurs with aspect and negative mood, and never occurs with future indicative, imperative, desiderative, benefactive, and negative purpose tense moods unless aspect is present. The only combinations of stem and vowel-initial suffix which do not take such a class marker are: (a) Class I, II or III stem with /-i/ non-singular person past; (b) Class I stem with /-∅/ 1st person singular and /-i/ non-singular persons in the near past tense, with all persons in the past tense, and with /-e/ tertiary verb marker.

The allomorphs /-t ~ -s/ define class I stems. /-t/ occurs in present and near past completive tenses, and /-s/ occurs in the near past tense.

/i-t-a-su/
eat-CM-pres-he
he is eating

/i-t-ai-nu/
eat-CM-NPC-he
he ate (near past completive)

/i-s-i-nu/
eat-CM-NP-he
he ate (near past)

The allomorphs /-n ~ -r/ define class II stems. /-r/ occurs in past tense first person singular only and /-n/ occurs elsewhere.

/mu-r-e/
take-CM-I
I took (past)

/mu-n-i-nu/
take-CM-NP-he
he took (near past)

The morpheme /-r/ defines class III stems.

/e-r-a-su/
see-CM-pres-he
he is seeing

/e-r-i-nu/
see-CM-NP-he
he saw (near past)

2. Verb stems, as well as other word classes, have phonemic shapes ending in vowels, and may be from one to four syllables in length.

Class IV stems are defined by up to four stem allomorphs.

/odi- \emptyset -a/

put-imp-you

put it!

/od-a-tane/

put-pres-I

I am putting

/odi- \emptyset -ne/

put-NP-I

I put (near past)

/od-e/

put-I

I put (past)

1.3 Aspect

There are three optional aspects. The Durative aspect signifies either a continuous action extending for at least several days or a habitual action. It is marked by /-ei/ in the future tense and /-eb/ in all other tenses.

/yau-r-eb-a-su/

sit-CM-AS-pres-he

he (habitually) sits down

The Repetitive aspect is marked by /-edibi/ in the future, /edibim/ in the near past, and /-edib/ in all other tenses.

/yau-r-edib-i-nu/

sit-CM-AS-NP-he

he was (repeatedly) sitting down

The Repetitive Durative aspect signifies an action repeated over a long period of time, and is marked by a compounding of the repetitive and durative suffixes: /-edibei/ in the future and /-edibeb/ in all other tenses.

/yau-r-edibeb-a-su/

sit-CM-AS-pres-he

he (habitually and repeatedly) sits down

1.4 Non-Future Indicative Tenses

There are four non-future indicative tenses: Present (pres), Near Past (NP), Near Past Completive (NPC) and Past (P). The typical structure of verbs with these tenses may be represented by the formula:

± DI + STEM ± CM ± AS ± TE ± NU + PE ± ANS ± DEP ± EM

Thus, following the aspect suffix, if any, first there is a tense suffix except for the past tense, then next a number suffix /-i/ for non-singular subjects, then an obligatory suffix to indicate subject person. The actual combinations of these tense, number and person suffixes are all listed in Chart 1.

CHART 1

Endings for the Non-Future Indicative

Person Number	Present	Near Past Completive	Near Past	Past
1st sing.	-a -tane	-ai -ne	-∅ -ne	-e
2/3 sing.	-a -su	-ai -nu	-i -nu	-i
1st dual	-a -i -tu	-ai -i -tu	-i -i -tu	-i -tu
2/3 dual)				
1st pl.)	-a -i -si	-ai -i -si	-i -i -si	-i -si
2/3 pl.	-a -i -ta	-ai -i -ta	-i -i -ta	-i -ta

/i-t-a-su/
eat-CM-pres-he
he is eating

/i-t-ai-nu/
eat-CM-NPC-he
he ate

/i-s-i-nu/
eat-CM-NP-he
he ate

/i-i/ → /i/
eat-he
he ate (past)

Two of the person ambiguities inherent in the person suffixes of Chart 1 are resolved by the use of a pronoun as the free subject.

The free pronouns are:

	singular	dual	plural
1st person	<u>na</u>	<u>wa</u>	<u>ya</u>
2nd person	<u>a</u>	<u>ya</u>	<u>ya</u>
3rd person	<u>dawa</u>	<u>ya</u>	<u>ema</u>

/i-t-a-su/

eat-CM-pres-you/he

you are eating, he is eating

/a itasu/

you are eating

/dawa itasu/

he is eating

/i-t-a-i-ta/

eat-CM-pres-NU-you pl./they

you (pl.) are eating, they are eating

/ya itaita/

you (pl.) are eating

/ema itaita/

they are eating

The person ambiguity of the suffix /-si/ (see Chart 1) is maintained in the free pronoun /ya/ and can only be resolved by the use of numerals, names, demonstratives and relative pronouns.

1.5 Future Indicative Tense

The structure of verbs in the future tense is similar to that of the other indicative tenses but is complicated by the double indication of subject person. Future verbs may be represented by the formula:

+ DI + STEM + CM + AS + TE + PE + NU + PE + ANS + DEP + EM

The number suffix and extra person suffix do not occur with an anticipatory subject suffix. The future tense suffix has three allomorphs: /-m/ for the first person singular, and for all other persons /-f/ or /-b/ (only /-b/ following aspect suffixes), being morphologically determined by the particular verb stem. The combinations of tense, person, number and person suffixes are shown in Chart 2.

CHART 2

Endings for Future Indicative

Person Number	Future
1st sing.	-m -a -u
2nd sing.	-f -a -su
3rd sing.	-f -i -su
1st dual	-f -u -i -tu
2nd dual	-f -awa -i -si
3rd dual	-f -isi -i -si
1st pl.	-f -e -i -si
2nd pl.	-f -o -i -ta
3rd pl.	-f -ita -i -ta

/i-f-e-i-si/
eat-fut-we-NU-we
we will eat

/ani-b-o-i-ta/
go-fut-you-NU-you
you (pl.) will go

1.6 Non-Indicative Moods

There are five non-indicative moods: Negative (neg), Imperative (imp), Desiderative (desid), Benefactive (ben) and Negative Purpose (nepur).

The negative mood has the simplest structure of these moods. It has a mood suffix /-awa/ but no tense, number or person suffixes. The formula for the negative mood is:

± DI + STEM + CM ± AS + MO ± DEP ± EM

The negative mood may be used alone in situations where tense, number, or person suffixes are well understood, such as in reply utterances.

/u-t-awa/

do-CM-negI didn't do it, he isn't doing it, we didn't do it, etc.

However, verbs in the negative mood when followed by a primary verb must be followed by the verb /u/ do, which is marked for tense, number and person.³ The particle /da/ not may also be used with future tense-moods to express negation, but this contrasts with the future tense verb plus a negative mood do verb which together have the sense of negative ability.

/u-t-awa u-s-i-nu/
do-CM-neg do-CM-NP-he
he didn't do it

/i-t-awa u-f-e-i-si/
eat-CM-neg do-fut-we-NU-we
we can't eat it

/da u-f-i-su/
 PA do-fut-he-he
he won't do it

/da u-a/
 PA do-imp-you
don't do it!

The imperative "mood" has both "tense" and person suffixes as shown in Chart 3, but no number or mood suffixes. Imperative verbs may be represented by the formula:

+ DI + STEM + CM + AS + TE + PE + ANS + EM

/i-Ø-a/ → /ia/
eat-imp-you
eat it!

/i-f-ita/
eat-imp-they
they will definitely eat

It should be noted that for 1st and 3rd persons the imperative "tense" suffix is the same as the future suffix, and has the same two morphologically defined variants /-f/ and /-b/.

3. This is not a true complex primary verb, since it is inflected, and on occasions it can stand alone. Therefore, it is described as a primary verb.

CHART 3

Endings for Non-Indicative Moods

Person Number	Imperative	Desiderative	Benefactive	Negative Purpose
1st sing.	-m -a	-m -a -ne	-m -a -inia	-o -ne -a
2nd sing.	-∅ -a	-f -a -e	-f -a -inia	-o -so -a
3rd sing.	-f -i	-f -i -e	-f -i -inia	-o -so -a
1st dual	-f -u	-f -u -ne	-f -u -inia	-o -itu -a
2nd dual	-∅ -awa	-f -awa -e	-f -awa -inia	-o -to -a
3rd dual	-f -isi	-f -isi -e	-f -isi -inia	-o -to -a
1st pl.	-f -e	-f -e -ne	-f -e -inia	-o -isi -a
2nd pl.	-∅ -awe	-f -o -e	-f -o -inia	-o -to -a
3rd pl.	-f -ita	-f -ita -e	-f -ita -inia	-o -to -a

The desiderative, benefactive and negative purpose moods are all marked for tense, person and mood as indicated in the formula:

± DI + STEM ± CM ± AS + TE + PE + MO ± ANS ± DEP ± EM

The desiderative and benefactive take the future tense suffix and the negative purpose takes a negative purpose "tense" suffix /-o/. The combinations of tense, person and mood suffixes are all shown in Chart 3. A desiderative verb by itself signifies a future desire. To indicate any other tense (or even future) it is followed by another primary verb indicating tense and whether the desire is the speaker's or the actor's (which may include the speaker).

/i-m-a-ne/

eat-fut-I-desid

I want to eat

/i-f-e-ne

eat-fut-we-desid

I want us to eat

w-a-tane/

say-pres-I

/i-f-e-ne

eat-fut-we-desid

we want to eat

u-t-a-i-si/

do-CM-pres-NU-we

/ani-b-o-e

go-fut-you-desid

I wanted you to go

w-ai-ne/

say-NPC-I

/ani-b-o-e u-t-ai-i-ta/
go-fut-you(pl.)-desid do-CM-NPC-NU-you
you wanted to go

The usage and meaning of the benefactive mood is not fully understood, but it seems to signify a future action on behalf of another unspecified person.

/we-m-a-inia/
speak-fut-I-ben
I will speak for (you/him/them)

Verbs in the negative purpose mood are always preceded by another primary verb with anticipatory subject marker.

/ani-b-a-ro u-o-isi-a/
go-imp-you-ANS hit-nepur-we-nepur
Go away lest we hit you!

/ani-b-a-te u-o-so-a/
go-imp-you-ANS hit-nepur-you-nepur
Go away lest you hit him!

1.7 Anticipatory Subject

The anticipatory subject enclitics occur only on primary verbs in independent clause constructions: /-te/ anticipates the same subject to follow (SS); /-ro/ anticipates a change of subject to follow (DS).

/yau- \emptyset -ne-te i- \emptyset -ne-ro fa-r-i-i-ta-te yau-r-i-i-ta/
sit-NP-I-SS eat-NP-I-DS come-CM-NP-NU-they-SS sit-CM-NP-NU-they
I sat down and I ate and they came and they sat down

1.8 Dependent Clause

There are two dependent clause enclitics that are affixed, almost exclusively, to primary verbs. One of them, /-na/, has been observed to occur several times on secondary verbs, but this construction is very

rare. The meanings are as follows: /-na/ when, since; /-ba/ because, therefore.

/we-i-na ekod-e/
say-he-DEP quit-I
When he spoke I quit (past)

/we-i-ba ekod-e/
say-he-DEP quit-I
Because he spoke I quit (past)

1.9 Emphasis

There are two emphasis enclitics: /go/ is an ordinary emphatic especially used with the imperative mood; /de/ is a defensive emphatic in the face of a contrary suggestion.

2. Secondary Verbs

Secondary verbs are divided into two groups: those that stand in a time sequence relationship with the primary verb and those that stand in a simultaneous time relationship with the primary verb. These verbs may occur singly, in sequence or together in a single construction.

The construction of secondary verbs is: Stem plus CM plus a secondary verb morpheme. /-ebe/ verbs fill a continuous extended time sequence relationship.

/m-an-ebe ai-si/
 DI-go-sec.v. sleep-we
We went up and up and then we slept.

/-eda/ verbs manifest a simultaneous action relationship with the primary verb.

/yaub-eda i-si/
sitting-sec.v. eat-we
We sat and ate.

In sequence:

/ya-nu sebo-ro i-e
we-poss single boy's house-Loc. eat-tert.v.

me si-n-i-i-si-te yaub-eda sawadi
 no become-CM-NP-NU-we-AN → SS sitting-sec.v. funny
 u-t-eda yo w-edib-ai-i-si/
do-CM-sec.v. laugh say-AS-NPC-NU-we

In our single boy's house we finished eating and sat acting funny and laughing.

Occurring together:

/ina-r-ebe duburo yaub-eda yawi-ne/
walk-CM-sec.v. later sitting-sec.v. read-I
I was walking and walking and later I sat and read.

3. Tertiary Verbs

Tertiary verbs are used in conjunction with either primary or secondary verbs. In the mind of the speaker the two or more actions involved are as one composite action. The tertiary verb construction is:

Stem + CM + Tertiary morpheme

Singly:

/fa-r-e ani-a/
arrive-CM-tert.v. go-imp-you
go past

In sequence:

/eme fefera erio egi wou-r-e amo od-e
people many water animal carry-CM-tert.v. up put-tert.v.

kaiya-ma erio egi uma-n-e furufa-r-e tini-ro
knife-inst water animal cut-CM-tert.v. break-CM-tert.v. tin-loc

od-eb-i-ta/
put-AS-NU-they

A lot of people were carrying fish up, putting them, cutting them with knives, breaking them up and putting them in tins.

With secondary verbs:

/aneba yowe-r-e ar-eda w-a-i-ta/
why chase-CM-tert.v. come-sec.v. say-pres-NU-you (pl.)
Why do you come chasing (me) and talking?

/ogo-ro ai-n-e ina-r-ebe you-ro mam-i/
water-loc lie down-CM-tert.v. walk-CM-sec.v. raft-loc grasp-he
He was floating in the water and then he grasped the raft.

4. Complex Verbs

This construction consists of a non-inflectable verb plus a primary, secondary, or tertiary verb. This complex verb construction occurs very frequently in text and conversation. The majority of the complex verbs are built upon the verb to do.

/durami u-t-a-su/
run do-CM-pres-he
He is running.

/durami u-t-ebe imoi-s-i-nu/
run do-CM-sec.v. rest-CM-NP-he
He was running and then he rested.

/durami u-e fa-r-i-nu/
run do-tert.v. arrive-CM-NP-he
He arrived running.