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- 0. Introduction

There are two dialects of Iatmul. This paper is based on the Nyawra or upriver dialect although with very few exceptions it also applies to the Palimbey or down river dialect.

### 1. Verb Stems

Verb Stems (vs) occur filling the verb nucleus (vnuc) slot of the verb and cannot be subdivided on the basis of occurrence in nuclear slots of Relational and Final verbs. Verbs are divided into nine stem classes. (see fig.1)

Figure 1. Verb Stem Classes

	/@/ final	/ɨ/, /y/, /w/ final	/t/ final
Transitive	kl@-'to get'	sɨ-'to shoot'	kalɨt-'to cut'
Intransitive	w@-'to talk'	yɨ-'to go'	vaat-'to fear'
Stative	mpɨy@-'to be boiling'	ngɨlɨ-'to be depleted'	taat-'to be full'

/t/ final verb stems are characterized by distinctive morphophonemic changes (see 2.). /@/ final verb stems are distinguished from /ɨ/, /y/, and /w/ final verb stems by: 1. the morphophonemic change of /@/ final stems when suffixed by /a/, and 2. by the occurrence of allomorphs of suffix 03., -gaa- occurring following stems ending in /ɨ/, /y/, or /w/, and -a- occurring following stems ending in /@/.

Transitive, Intransitive and Stative verb stems constitute distinct non-overlapping stem classes. Transitive verb stems occur

filling the verb nucleus slot of the filler of the predicate slot of a clause type which contains an optionally occurring Object slot. Intransitive verb stems occur filling the verb nucleus slot of the filler of the predicate slot of a clause type which never contains an Object slot. Stative verb stems are distinguished by both internal and distributional features. Internally; 1. when the nucleus slot of a verb is filled by a Stative verb stem the actor-person (p) slot is filled by only third person fillers., 2.If the motivation (m) slot occurs with a stative verb stem filling the nucleus slot, the motivation slot may be filled by only by 03., or 04. Distributionally, Stative verb stems fill the nucleus slot of the filler of the predicate slot of a Stative Clause. Stative clauses normally consist of two optionally occurring Subject (S) slots filled by uninflected nouns and an obligatory Predicate (P) slot filled by a Stative Verb. For example;

<u>+S:N</u>	<u>+S:N</u>	<u>+P:V<sub>s</sub></u>
yampi pipe	kisik dirt	tivi-nti 'the pipe was clogged with clog-he dirt'
kisik dirt	yampi pipe	tivi-nti 'the pipe was clogged with clog-he dirt'

The order of the two Subject slots does not affect the meaning. These slots cannot be labelled Actor and Object because the distinguishing feature between these is order, Actor preceding Object. Neither of the fillers of the Subject slot in a Stative Clause are acting or being acted upon. The clause describes a static situation.

## 2. Morphophonemics

The phoneme sequences resulting from the combination of the final phoneme of the verb stem and the initial phoneme(s) of the first suffix are shown in figure 2. The same morphophonemic changes result from the combination of affixes.

Fig.2. Morphophonemic changes

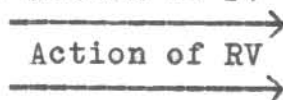
Initial phoneme(s) of suffix:	l	v	g	a	n	m	mp	nk	nt	ns
/@/ final stem				aa						
/i/,/y/,/w/ final stem				@ ya wa						
/t/ final stems	t	pm	k	tnatn	pm	p	kw	t	ts	

Schematization:      Action of RV      Action of FV

15. -simpla 'The action of the Relational verb and the action of the Final verb are concurrent'.

ex. vi-simpla y@-win 'seeing I came'  
see- come-I

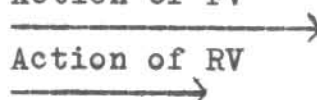
Schematization: Action of FV



16. -simplalaa 'The action of the Relational verb and the action of the Final verb are concurrent but the action of the Relational verb terminates before that of the Final verb.'

ex. vi-simplalaa y@-win 'Having seen I came'  
see- come-I

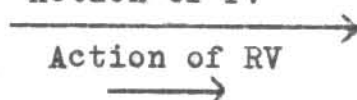
Schematization: Action of FV



17. -givaa 'The action of the Relational verb occurs during the course of the action of the Final verb.'

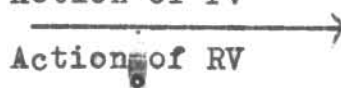
ex. vi-givaa y@-win 'Seeing, I came'  
see- come-I

Schematization: Action of FV



18. -gawiy 'The action of the Relational verb occurs during at a point in time during the course of the action of the Final verb.'

Schematization: Action of FV



19. -y@giylaa 'The action of the Relational verb is completed before the action of the Final verb begins and the object of the Relational verb is completely acted upon.'

ex. kl@-y@giylaa y@-win 'Having gotten all I came'  
get- come-I

20. -lampilaa 'The action of the Relational verb is completed before the action of the Final verb begins and the object of the Relational verb is partially acted upon.'
- ex. kl@-lampilaa y@-win 'Having gotten some I came'  
get- come-I
21. -l@viylaa 'The action of the Relational verb is completed before the action of the final verb is begun but the object of the Relational verb is not acted upon.'
- ex. kl@-l@viylaa y@-win 'Having gotten none I came'

#### 4. Final Verbs

Final verbs are of two types; Independent and Dependent. Independent verbs may stand alone comprising an entire utterance. Dependent verbs never do so. The affixation of these two types differ in that Dependent verbs have an obligatory dependent marker slot (dm) and never occur with motivation(m) or negation (ng) slots.

##### 4.1. Independent Verbs

Negation (ng), lacuna (l), motivation (m), aspect (a), and actor-person(p) are signalled by affixation to the verb stem of Independent verbs. Independent verbs are of three types; one indicative and two imperatives. (see fig.3.) Examples of these three types are;

Indicative: kl@ - li - win 'I was getting'  
get- durative - I

Negative Imperative: k@y - kl@ - g@ 'Don't get!'  
neg.imp.- get - abilitative

Imperative:

example 1: kl@-liy 'let's us two get'  
get-we two

example 2: a - kl@ - mil@ 'You (male sing.) get!'  
imperative-get-you(male sing.)

example 3: k'a - a - nti 'Let him get!'  
g-t-imperative-he

##### 4.1.2 Negation 2(ng)

Negation slot occurs third order preceding the verb nucleus and is filled by a proclitic ana- 'negative'. This slot is optional in occurrence and occurs only with indicative verbs.

#### 4.1.2. Lacuna (1)

Lacuna slot occurs second order preceding the verb nucleus and is filled by a proclitic kw@-'without'. This slot is optional in its occurrence and occurs with all Independent verbs. The meaning of this slot is that something usually associated with the action is absent.

ex. kw@- kl@-wɪn 'I just got'(without paying)  
without-get-I

#### 4.1.3. Motivation(m) first order

Motivation slot occurs preceding the verb nucleus and is filled by a class of ~~four~~ <sup>five</sup> affixes, Class 00. This slot is obligatory in occurrence with imperative verbs.

##### Class 00

01. k@y- 'negative imperative'
02. a- 'second person imperative'
03. -gaa~ -a 'third person imperative'
04. -l@ 'third person negative imperative'
05. Ø 'first person imperative'

The occurrence of 02. correlates with the optional occurrence of any of the four second person affixes of class 240 (see 4.1.5.) filling the actor person slot. The occurrence of 03. or 04. correlates with the obligatory occurrence of any of the four third person affixes of class 240 filling the actor-person slot. The occurrence of 05. correlates with the obligatory occurrence of any of the three first person affixes of class 240 filling the actor-person slot.

#### 4.1.4. Aspect (a)

Aspect slot occurs second order following the verb nucleus and is filled by a class of ~~eight~~ <sup>nine</sup> aspect suffix-clusters; class 120. This class of affix-clusters and those of class 140 (see 4.2.2.) are constructions of four aspect morphemes:

1. -v@ɪy- 'incipient' occurs first order following verb stem.
2. -lɪ- 'durative' occurs second order following verb stem.
3. -g@-~ -gɪ- 'abilitative' occurs third order following verb stem.  
-gɪ- allomorph occurs preceding /y/.
4. -y@-~ -@y- 'proposive' occurs fourth order following verb stem.  
-@y- allomorph occurs following consonants.

The construction formula for the formation of affix-clusters is as follows:

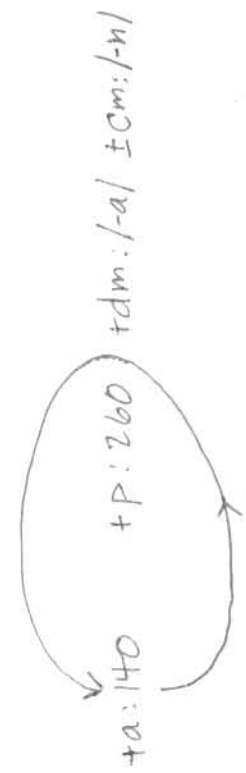
1. Any combination of 0, 1, 2, ~~3~~ or 3 morphemes may occur with one exception in that clusters containing both -v@ɪy-

Fig 3. VERB TYPE FORMULAE

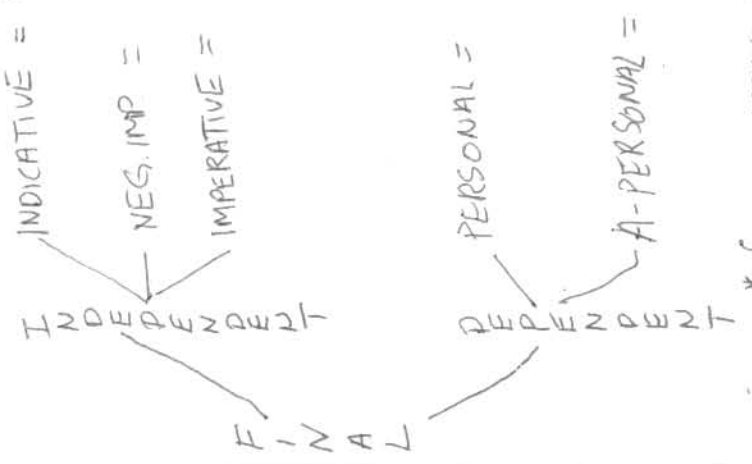
2.60 RELATIONAL

$\pm l: /kw\emptyset - /$   $+vnuuc:vs$   $+r: 10$

INDICATIVE =  $\pm ng: /ano - / \pm l: /kw\emptyset - /$   $+vnuuc:vs$   $+a: 120$   $+p: 220$   
NEG. IMP =  $+m: 01. +vnuuc:vs$   $+a: 128$   
IMPERATIVE =  $\pm m: 02, +vnuuc:vs \pm m: 03, 04.$   $\pm p: 240^*$



$\pm l: /kw\emptyset - /$   $+vnuuc:vs$   $+a: 120$   $+dm: /-a/$



\* for occurrence of (p) slot and specific occurrence of fillois of (p) slot correlating with fillois of (m) slot see 4.1.3.



'incipient' and -y@-~@y- 'proposive' do not occur.<sup>1</sup>

2. The order of morphemes is rigid and as stated above with the exception of the alternate form of affix-cluster 126.  
(see fig.4)

The above formula yields twelve affix-clusters all of which occur in either class 120, class 140, or both.(see fig.4)

Fig.4. Aspect Affix-Clusters

1st.ord.	2nd. ord.	3rd. ord.	4th. ord.	Affix-cluster number
v@iy	li	g@		129.
		g@		128.
	li	g@		127.
		gi	y@	126. <sup>2</sup>
	li	gi	y@	125.
v@iy		g@		124.
	li			121.,141.
				122.,142. <sup>3</sup>
v@iy	li			123.,143.
v@iy				144.
	li		@y	145.
			@y	146.

It is interesting to note that class 140 affix-clusters contain no -g@-~gi- 'abilitative' morpheme. One may derive class 140 from class 120 by removing the 'abilitative' morpheme. The meaning of each affix-cluster is determined by its constituency of morphemes.

#### Footnotes;

1. The aspect affix-clusters of the Palimbey dialect contain no -v@iy- 'incipient' morpheme.

2. Affix-cluster 126. has an ~~ix~~ ~~ix~~ ~~ix~~ allomorph<sup>-iyg@-</sup> which occurs in free variation after verb stems ending in /@/. For

example; kl@- giy@ - win 'I will get'  
get- abil/prop- I

kl@- iyg@ - win 'I will get'  
get- prop/abil - I

3. Occurrence of an affix-cluster containing no morphemes is significant and indicates 'completed action' or 'completive'



#### 4.1.5. Actor-person(p)

##### ~~The person~~

Actor-person slot occurs ~~xxxxxx~~ third order following verb nucleus and is filled by affixes of one of two classes; class 220 of class 240. (see fig.5) Class 220 occurs with Indicative verbs and class 240 with Imperative verbs.

Fig.5. Class 220 and 240 person suffixes

Cl 220	Sing	Dual	Plural Cl240	Sing.	Dual	Plural
1st. Pers.	221. win	222. a	223. nin	241. liw	242. liy	243. gat
2nd. male	224. min	226. mpik	227. nkwi	244. mi@	246. mpi@	247. nkw@
female	225. nyin			245. nyi@		
3rd. male	228. nti	230. mpik	231. ntiy	248. nti	250. mpik	251. ntiy
female	229. li			249. li		

Suffixes 226 and 230 have been considered homophonous rather than representing one person-number category because of the distinction between suffixes 246 and 250.

#### 4.2. Dependent Verbs

Lacuna(l), aspect (a), actor-person(p), dependent marker(dm) and conditional marker (cm), are signalled by affixation to the verb stem of Dependent verbs. Dependent verbs have been divided on the basis of internal structure into personal and a-personal verb types.

(see fig.3) Examples:

Personal; 1. kl@ -w- @y - a vaal@ 'The canoe I will get'  
get-I-proposive-dep.mkr. canoe

The Personal-Dependent verb is dependent on the occurrence of a noun and the emphasis of the utterance is on that noun

2. kl@ -w- @y - a - n 'if I get'  
get-I - prop.-dep.mkr.-cond.mkr.

The Personal-Dependent-Conditional verb is dependent on the occurrence of an Independent verb which must follow it.

A-personal A-personal verbs occur in two kinds of environments.

1. win-aiy kl@-giya-a 'I will get'  
I-even get-abil/prop-dep.mkr.

The verb in this example is dependent on the occurrence of the free pronoun which is suffixed by -aiy. The emphasis of the utterance is on the free pronoun. This type of utterance is usually in response to the question, "Who will get?"

2.win-ayi kl@- giya -a vaal@ 'The canoe I will get'  
 I-even get -abil/prop-dep.mkr. canoe

The verb in this utterance is dependent on both the free pronoun and the following noun. The emphasis of the utterance is shared by the pronoun and the noun.

#### 4.2.1. Lacuna(1)

Lacuna slot occurs first order preceding the verb nucleus. This slot is optional in occurrence and occurs with all Dependent verbs. Filler and meaning are same as that of Lacuna slot of Independent verbs.(see 4.1.1.)

#### 4.2.2.Aspect (a)

Aspect slot of A-personal verbs is a first order suffix slot obligatory in occurrence and filled by class 120 aspect affix-clusters.

Aspect slot of Personal verbs is an orbiting slot occurring either first order preceding, or both preceding and following, the actor-person(p) slot obligatory in occurrence and filled by class 140 aspect affix-clusters. (see fig.4.)

#### 4.2.3. Actor-person (p)

The actor-person slot of D-pendent verbs is a first or second order suffix slot filled by a class of ~~PERSON~~ actor-person affixes ;class 260. (see fig.6)

Fig.6. Class 260 person suffixes

Cl260	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st.Pers.261.w		262.1iy	263.n
male 264.m			
2nd. female 265.ny		266.mp	267.nkw
male 268.nt			
3rd. female 269.l		270.mp	271.ns

Affixes 266 and 270 have been considered homophonous rather than representing one person-number category because of the distinction between 246 and 250 of class 240. (see fig.5.)

43. Class 140 showing relative position of actor-person slot  
 141. li\_\_\_\_ 144.v@iy\_\_\_\_  
 142. Ø 145.li\_\_\_\_@y  
 143. v@ivli\_\_\_\_ 146. \_\_\_\_@y

#### 4.2.4. Dependent marker (dm)

Dependent marker slot is a third order suffix slot obligatory in occurrence with all Dependent verbs and filled by -a 'dependent marker'. This suffix indicates that the verb is dependent on some other item and may not occur alone as a complete utterance.

#### 4.2.5. Conditional Marker (cm)

Conditional marker slot is a fourth order suffix slot optionally occurring with all Personal-Dependent verbs and filled by -n 'conditional marker'. This suffix indicates that the verb is conditional and dependent on the occurrence of an Independent verb which must follow.