

Appendix 2. Verbal paradigms

Types of verbal inflection

Given that all verbs inflect by proclitic, and that the form of the proclitic does not show any variation from one verb to another, always appearing in the same shape, the only variable that this agreement marker shows is its placement with respect to adjunct nominals, which will be discussed in A2.4. The other inflectional devices, prefixation and vowel change, show more variation. A verb can select for inflection by prefixation or inflection by vowel alternation independently, as seen in table xx.

Table xx. Inflectional possibilities

| | – Vowel change | + Vowel change |
|------------|----------------|----------------|
| – Prefix | A2.1.1 | A2.1.2 |
| + Prefix | A2.2.1 | A2.2.2 |
| Suppletion | A2.3 | |

Examples of verbs that fit into these categories have been discussed in chapter xx.xx, and some representatives of each cell are shown in table xx.

Table xx. Verbs illustrating different inflectional possibilities

| | – Vowel change | + Vowel change |
|------------|--|---|
| – Prefix | <i>e</i> ‘board’ | <i>moeng, mong, meng</i> ‘sit’ |
| + Prefix | <i>e, me, ke, pe, ne, e, te</i> ‘go east’ | <i>lúe, púe, lúe, rú, rúe,</i> <i>lúe, rí</i> ‘hear’ |
| Suppletion | A2.3 | |

The following sections will present many further examples of verbs that fit into each of these four categories.

A2.1 NON-PREFIXING VERBS

The verbs that do not have a prefixing paradigm show a simple set of inflections, minimally consisting of the proclitic for subject, and in some cases also involving vowel alternations (see xx.xx for a discussion of the reference of vowel alternations in verbs). Both groups of verbs will be illustrated and listed here.

A2.1.1 Non-prefixing non-Vowel alternation verbs

Verbs with no prefixation and no vowel alternations all show the same simple paradigm of proclitic agreement for subject; the phonological shape of the root does not affect the shape or presence of a clitic agreement marker. This has been described in xx.xx.xx and xx.xx.xx, and is completely regular. For this reason no listings of paradigms will be given, only examples of verbs that fit this description. For details on the morphology of proclitic inflection, see xx.xx.xx, xx.xx.xx and xx.xx.xx.

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>báng</i> | ‘crack’ | <i>nà oe</i> | ‘play’ |
| <i>bìue</i> | ‘watch over’ | <i>moe</i> | ‘return’ |
| <i>bóe</i> | ‘fight’ | <i>moeng</i> | ‘sit’ |
| <i>e</i> | ‘board’ | <i>òe</i> | ‘jump’ |
| <i>è na</i> | ‘try’ | <i>ong fa</i> | ‘deceive’ |
| <i>fátí</i> | ‘lay down’ | <i>pa pi</i> | ‘swim’ |
| <i>fé</i> | ‘lay anchor’ | <i>pà</i> | ‘scratch’ |
| <i>fě</i> | ‘perch’ | <i>páng</i> | ‘chop (many)’ |
| <i>fé</i> | ‘place on a platform’ | <i>pé (i)</i> | ‘put down’ |
| <i>fī</i> | ‘meet’ | <i>peng</i> | ‘forget’ |
| <i>fue</i> | ‘cry’ | <i>pi</i> | ‘tie (sago thatch)’ |
| <i>fue</i> | ‘see’ | <i>pí</i> | ‘stop (of rain)’ |
| <i>fu</i> | ‘fear’ | <i>pí</i> | ‘flow out (of water)’ |
| <i>hí</i> | ‘wash’ | <i>pong</i> | ‘blow (at fire)’ |
| <i>hóe</i> | ‘go south’ | <i>pung</i> | ‘butcher’ |
| <i>húe oeng</i> | ‘think, feel’ | <i>rapu</i> | ‘rub’ |
| <i>jí</i> | ‘break’ | <i>rapue</i> | ‘descend’ |
| <i>jíng</i> | ‘open’ | <i>tajíng</i> | ‘push’ |
| <i>jíngpa</i> | ‘fly’ | <i>tóe li</i> | ‘prepare’ |
| <i>ke fá ko li</i> | ‘wear (on arm)’ | <i>ùe pung</i> | ‘marry’ |
| <i>kéng re</i> | ‘go outside’ | <i>wá</i> | ‘plant’ |
| <i>kí</i> | ‘scream’ | <i>wang</i> | ‘die’ |
| <i>kúe</i> | ‘dig’ | <i>yang</i> | ‘vomit’ |
| <i>lemà pé</i> | ‘criticise’ | <i>yáng</i> | ‘sick,’ |
| <i>léngho</i> | ‘be surprised’ | <i>yatá</i> | ‘steal’ |
| <i>lú fi</i> | ‘cough’ | <i>yatá</i> | ‘buy, sell’ |
| <i>lú weng</i> | ‘sleep’ | <i>yú</i> | ‘search for’ |

A2.1.2 Non-prefixing verbs with vowel alternation

Vowel alternation as a means of indicating either plurality or femininity of the subject (or, if the verb is bivalent, the object) has been described in xx.xx.xx. The different paradigms of alternations found, both regular and irregular, are listed in table xx. In this table non-alternating material that might be expected to show changes is shown in bold.

Table xx. Non-prefixing verbs that show vowel alternations

| Base | | Feminine | Plural |
|------------------|----------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>a wa li e</i> | ‘raise’ | <i>pu wa tue e</i> | <i>tu wa ti e</i> |
| <i>fu</i> | ‘afraid’ | <i>fu</i> | <i>fe</i> |
| <i>fue</i> | ‘see’ | <i>fu</i> | <i>fi</i> |
| <i>fue</i> | ‘cry’ | <i>fu</i> | <i>fue</i> |
| <i>kúe</i> | ‘dig’ | <i>kúe</i> | <i>kí</i> |
| <i>lú weng</i> | ‘sleep’ | <i>ló weng</i> | <i>lé weng</i> |
| <i>moe</i> | ‘return’ | <i>moe</i> | <i>me</i> |
| <i>moeng</i> | ‘sit’ | <i>mong</i> | <i>meng</i> |
| <i>òe</i> | ‘jump’ | <i>ò</i> | <i>òe</i> |
| <i>wang</i> | ‘die’ | <i>wang</i> | <i>wing</i> |

Some of the irregularities can be explained. It seems that there is a suppletive form of the verb for some categories, and in these cases the general verb, where it may be used, will not show vowel alternations.

A2.2 PREFIXING VERBS

While there are only five possibilities for prefixes on verbs in Skou, the fact that in most cases these have historically fused with initial consonants in the verb root (over 80% of verbs in Skou are consonant-initial) means that the paradigms appear on the surface to be quite irregular.

A2.2.1 Prefixing verbs

The majority of verbs in Skou show alternations that can be ascribed to underlying prefixes, and do not show vowel alternations. These have been described in chapter xx.xx.xx, where they were divided up into five classes on the basis of the apparent underlying onset (or lack of it) in the verb. Following the same classification into vocalic, bilabial, lateral, velar and glottal paradigms, table xx shows the members of each of the sub-classes for these paradigms. In each case the arrangement is from most to least frequently attested.

Table xx. Inflection by prefix

| | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG.NF | 3SG.F | 1PL | 2PL | 3PL | Example members: |
|-----------|-----|-----|--------|-------|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Vocalic-a | k | m | k | p | n | ∅ | t | a ‘carry’ (optionally the same inflection as a ‘raise’), ang ‘eat’ |
| | ∅ | m | k | p | n | ∅ | t | a ‘raise’ |
| -e | n | m | k | p | n | ∅ | t | e ‘refuse’ |
| | ∅ | m | k | p | n | ∅ | t | e ‘go east’ |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
| -i | ∅ | m | ∅ | ∅ | n | ∅ | ∅ | i ‘stand’ |
| -o | ∅ | m | k | p | n | ∅ | t | o ‘go seawards’ |
| -oe | ∅ | m | k | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | oeng ‘remember’ |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|
| Bilabial | w | p | w | w | w | w | w | wí ‘get.F’ | |
| | w | w | w | p | w | w | b | wung ‘die’ | |
| | w | m | w | w | w | w | w | hì wá ‘call’ | |
| Alveolar | l | p | l | r | r | l | r | lóe ‘shave’, lúe ‘hear’, loe ‘get.PL’, nalùng ‘teach’, lú ‘release’, lóeng ‘say’, lúe ‘chop up’, nalu ‘pound’, lélúe ₂ ‘annoy’, loehí ‘load’, ì lú ‘complain’, kalèng ‘look about’, lóe ‘pick fruit’, lúefa ‘exceed’, lúhi ‘hammer’, lo hí ‘hit’, lá ‘roast’, lèng ‘hide self’ | |
| | l | p | l | w | r | l | r | lo hí ‘hit’, lá ‘roast’, lèng ‘hide self’ | |
| | l | p | l | w | t | l | t | lang ‘hit.F’ | |
| | l | p | l | w | t | l | j | lang ‘narrate’ | |
| | l | p | l | w | y | l | y | làng ‘chop.F’ | |
| | l | p | l | w | l | l | t | lé ‘fell’ | |
| | l | p | l | w | l | l | l | lá ‘utter’, lèng ‘be quiet’, la ‘erect fence’ | |
| | l | p | l | t | t | l | t | li ‘do’, lí ‘boil’, li ‘be angry at’, loe ‘come’, lé ₁ lúe ‘annoy’ | |
| | l | p | t | t | t | l | t | loe ‘come’, lé ₁ lúe ‘annoy’ | |
| | l | p | l | p | r | l | r | leng ‘hide’ | |
| | l | p | l | p | t | l | t | loe ‘work’ | |
| | Velar | k | b | k | w | k | k | k | ké ‘get’, ku ‘stab’, kepu ‘wear hat’, hèng ká ‘accuse’ |
| | | k | b | k | w | k | k | j | ká ‘hit’ |
| Glottal | h | m | k | w | n | h | y | ha ‘walk’, há ‘beat’, há ‘from’, tahùng ‘seat self’, há ₁ hi ₂ ‘count’. hù ‘weave’, ná hú ‘paddle’, hó ‘peel’, hi ta lúe ‘halt’ | |
| | h | m | k | w | n | h | j | há te ‘close’, nàhi ‘hate’, ráue há ‘laugh’, hóeng ‘wait’ | |
| | h | m | k | w | n | h | t | hèng ‘ask’, ha lú ‘pull’, há ‘stand’ | |
| | h | m | k | w | n | h | h | hi ‘go west’ | |
| | h | m | k | w | b | h | y | hue ‘tread on’ | |
| | k | m | k | w | n | h | y | hung ‘drink’, | |

A2.2.2 Prefixing verbs with vowel alternation

The following verbs, in addition to the prefixing patterns seen in table xx, also show inflection by means of vowel alternations.

| | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>hi ta lúe</i> | ‘halt’ | <i>lóeng</i> | ‘tell’ |
| <i>i</i> | ‘stand’ | <i>lúe</i> | ‘hear’ |
| <i>ì lú</i> | ‘moan’ | <i>lúe</i> | ‘chop’ |
| <i>kú re</i> | ‘fall’ | <i>lúefa</i> | ‘exceed’ |
| <i>le lue</i> | ‘lie to someone’ | <i>luhí</i> | ‘hammer’ |
| <i>lé</i> | ‘chop down’ | <i>oeng li</i> | ‘remember’ |
| <i>lélúe</i> | ‘annoy’ | <i>pí lóeng</i> | ‘praise’ |
| <i>lóa</i> | ‘shave’ | <i>re</i> | ‘go’ |
| <i>lóa</i> | ‘pick (fruit)’ | <i>wung</i> | ‘die’ |
| <i>loehí</i> | ‘load’ | <i>ké</i> | ‘get’ |

The vowels that are found in the alternations are shown in table xx:

Table xx. Common vowel alternations

| | Plain | Feminine | Plural | Example verbs: | |
|------------|------------|----------|--------|---|----------------------------|
| Regular: | i | ue | i | li ‘do’ | |
| | e | ue | i | | |
| | eng | ung | ing | leng ‘give’ | |
| | ue | u | i | lue ‘hear’, fue ‘see’, lúe ‘chop up’, hi ta lúe ‘halt’, le lue ‘lie to’, lúefa ‘exceed’ | |
| | oe | ue | i | lóe ‘shave’, loehí ‘load’ | |
| | oeng | ung | ing | lóeng ‘speak’ | |
| | u | o | e | fu ‘fear’, lú ‘sleep’ | |
| | o | o | e | ko ‘hide’ | |
| | Defective: | e | e | i | ké ‘get’ |
| | | ue | ue | i | kúe ‘dig’, lélúe ‘narrate’ |
| ue | | u | ue | fue ‘cry’ | |
| oe | | ue | oe | lóe ‘pick’ | |
| Irregular: | oeng | ong | eng | moeng ‘sit’, oeng ‘remember’ | |
| | oe | oe | e | moe ‘return’ | |
| | ung | ang | ing | wung ‘die’ | |
| | u | u | o | luhí ‘hammer’ | |
| | ang | ang | ing | wang ‘die’ | |
| | a | u | u | a wa li e ‘raise’, ká ‘carry’, háyu ‘chase’ | |
| | oe | o | oe | òe ‘jump’ | |
| | i | e | e | i ‘stand’ | |
| | e | i | i | lé ‘fell’ | |
| | u | u | i | ì lú ‘complain’ | |