

Project 2 - Kujamaat Jóola Verb

2-	1-		-1	-2	-3
res	subject	STEM	aspect	object	subord
res neg	rel pronoun		mood	passive	redup
neg imper			past subord	noun	
past subord			negation	emphasis	
			directional		

This paper will list from one affix to another in the same position, from one position to another. And examples will be extracted from the data to explain the ordering.

Starting with position -3:

Subordinating morph (subord)

ku- ilŋ -ak ka- riŋ -ulɔm
2CL- child -DEF2 2REL- arrive -from.**SUBORD**
'the children who arrive' (5a) from p. 184

ma- nu- sɛl -a:m -ɔ -mi
REL- 2SG.SUB- give -1SG.OBJ -3SG.OBJ -**SUBNORD**
'this that caused you to give him to me' (3a) from p. 214

wa nu- rɛg -u -m
17CL-thing 2SG.SUB- say -V -**SUBORD**
'What did you say?' (17a) from p. 218

ə- nɪn -əw a- kɛt **-mi** na- sɛn -a:n -sɛn e- bə:y
 1CL- man -DEF1 who- die **-SUBORD** 3SG.SUB- give -1SG.OBJ -REDUP 3CL- cow.DEF3
 'the man who died gave me the cow' (17b) from p. 218

Reduplicative affix (redup)

ni- **wɔnk** -ul -ɔ **-wɔnk**
 1ARG- call -OVER -3OBJ **-REDUP**
 'I called him over' (8) from p. 101

nə- **rɪŋ** -e -u **-rɪŋ**
 3AGR- arrive -HAB -FROM **-REDUP**
 'He habitually arrives from ...' (9) from p. 101

ni- **pɜr** -em **-pɜrem**
 1ARG- leave -CAUS **-REDUP**
 'I caused to leave' (11) from p. 102

na- **bɔl** -ɔ **-bɔbɔ**
 3SG.SUB- roast -REFL **-REDUP**
 'he burned himself' (7a) from p. 150

Apparently both the reduplicative affix and subordinating morph appear only at the end of the verb, which is the position -3. Reduplication serves to create emphasis of the verb stem in Kujamaat Jóola; on the other hand, subordinating morph serves to shift emphasis from the verb to its immediate environment (as described in p. 218). The two affixes serve opposite purposes and are not likely to co-occur in one verb.

Position -2:

Object

ni- wɔnk -ul -ɔ̌ -wɔnk
1ARG- call -OVER -3OBJ -REDUP
'I called him over'

(8) from p. 101

According to the data above, the object affix indeed is at position -2. But it could get more complicated as the data below:

a- nil -aw ku- sɛk -ak ni- sɛn -il -ɔ̌ -sɛn
1CL- child -DEF1 2CL- woman -DEF2 1SG- give -3PL -3SG -REDUP
'I gave the **child** to the **women**'
(25a) from p. 221

a- nil -aw ku- sɛk -ak ni- sɛn -ɔ̌ -i: -sɛn
1CL- child -DEF1 2CL- woman -DEF2 1SG- give -3SG -3PL -REDUP
'I gave the **women** to the **child**'
(25b) from p. 221

When there are two human objects, direct and indirect, co-occur in the clause, the bound indirect object pronoun precedes the direct object pronoun. And therefore, to be more detailed, the indirect object pronoun should be at the -2a position and the direct pronoun at the -2b position.

e- bəy ni- ɲar -ɛ
3CL- cow.DEF3 1SG.SUB- take -NE
'I take/ took the cow'

(5) from p. 214

The noun emphasis marker occupies the position -2 as well as the object and the passive markers and they never co-occur (p. 218).

*However, there isn't any passive marker shown in the data to support the above statement.

Position -1:

Aspectual affixes

Dubitive-incompletive suffix -ε:n (-ε:m)

- used to indicate that an action has not been completed or that it is in doubt.

sunkən ni- baj **-ε:m** baj bu- kori
last.year 1SG.SUB- have **-INC** -REDUP 9Cl- money
'Last year I had money' (6) from p. 214

Doubling the dubitive-incompletive marker emphasizes it. (p. 215) Its emphatic component (the second INC can be placed anywhere with respect to 1st suffixes except directly after the HAB -ε)

u- bɔŋ **-ε:n** **-ε:n** -ɔrut -al -ɔ
1PL.INCL- send **-INC** **-INC** -NEG -1PL.INCL -3SG.OBJ
'We had not yet sent him' (1) from p. 148

Habitual marker (HAB) -ε & HAB.NEG -εrit

- indicating the action is being performed habitually

ni- maŋ **-ε** -maŋ
1SG- want **-HAB** -REDUP
'I always want' (11a) from p. 216

i- ŋar **-ε:n** **-εrit**
1SG.SUB- take -INC **-HAB.NEG**
'I did not always take' (13) from p. 216

1st person plural inclusive subject *u-* ... *-al* & its exclusive subject *nu-* ... *-ə*

u- bɔŋ -ɛ:n -ɛ:n -ɔrut **-al** -ɔ
1PL.INCL- send -INC -INC -NEG **-1PL.INCL** -3SG.OBJ
 'We had not yet sent him' (1) from p. 148

nu- bon -e -u -ŋ -bon
1PL.EXCL.SUB- send -HAB -DIR **-1PL.EXCL.SUB** -REDUP
 'we alwayys send from' (11b) from p. 216

Negative -ut/ -ɔrut

it could combine with habitual suffix *-erit* like (13) from p. 216 or it could be just by itself:

i- maŋ -ut
1SG.SUB- want -NEG
'I don't want' (14a) from p. 217

u- bɔŋ -ɛ:n -ɛ:n **-ɔrut** -al -ɔ
1PL.INCL- send -INC -INC **-NEG** -1PL.INCL -3SG.OBJ
'We had not yet sent him' (1) from p. 148

Directional suffix -u/ -ul/ -ulɔ

nə- rɪŋ -e **-u** -rɪŋ
3AGR- arrive -HAB **-FROM** -REDUP
'He habitually arrives from ...' (9) from p. 101

ni- wɔnk **-ul** -ɔ -wɔnk
1ARG- call **-OVER** -3OBJ -REDUP
'I called him over'

(8) from p. 101

Observations based on data stated above:

From (1) in p. 148,
INC > NEG > 1PL.INCL (inc goes before NEG which goes before 1PL.INCL)

From (13) in p. 216,
INC > HAB

From (11b) in p. 216,
HAB > DIR > 1PL.EXCL.SUB

Past subordinate (PS) *ba- ... -εr*

***in position 2- and -1**

- setting off a subordinate clause referring to an event or state preceding the action

ba- rεg **-εr** -ul

PS- speak **-PS** -2PL.OBJ

'having spoken to you'

(18a) from p. 219

bεy nu- lakɔ -ε aw **na-** jaw **-ɔrut** dakar
where 2SG.SUB- stay -NE you **PS-** go **-not.yet** Dakar

'where were you before you went to Dakar?' (18b) from p. 219

The data above, as well as the text in p. 218, points out that in a negative construction, the second portion of the PS, *-εr*, will be dropped.

According to p. 219, the second portion of the PS only co-occur with the INC and the directional marker in the order of: INC > PS > DIR.

Possible conclusion being drawn:

Since if co-occurring, HAB and NEG can be combined in one single morpheme(HAB.NEG) *-erit*. It is likely that HAB, NEG and HAB.NEG occupy the same position.

English example:

She always(HAB) smiles.

She doesn't(NEG) smile.

She doesn't always(HAB.NEG) smile.

→ INC > HAB/NEG/HAB.NEG > DIR > 1PL.INCL/1PL.EXCL.SUB

→ INC > PS > DIR

position 1- :

Subject (SUB)

The bound subject pronouns alternate according to the noun class agreement.

prefix:

u- sa:f -ɔm -i:
2SG.SUB- greet -1SG.OBJ -3PL.OBJ
'greet them for me'

(2a) from p. 213

circumfix:

u- bɔɲ -ɛ:n -ɛ:n -ɔrut **-al** -ɔ
1PL.INCL- send -INC -INC -NEG **-1PL.INCL** -3SG.OBJ
'We had not yet sent him'

(1) from p. 148

Relativizer/ relative pronoun (REL) Ca-

si- bə: -s **sa-** jak -as
4CL- cow -DEF4 **4REL-** be.good -DEF4
'the good cows' (4b) from p. 184

ku- nil -ak **ka-** riŋ -ulɔm
2CL- child -DEF2 **2REL-** arrive -from.SUBORD
'the children who arrive' (5) from p. 184

ma- **nu-** sɛl -a:m -ɔ -mi
REL- 2SG.SUB- give -1SG.OBJ -3SG.OBJ -SUBORD
'this that caused you to give him to me' (3a) from p. 214

Observation drawn from the above data:
REL > SUB (The relativizer goes before the subject marker)

position 2- :

Resultative (RES) *pan-* / resultative negative (RES.NEG) marker *lɛt-*

pa- ni- ŋar e- bəy
RES- 1SG.SUB- take 3CL- cow-DEF3
'I will take the cow' (8a) from p. 215
*/-n/ in pan- is dropped before nasals

lɛt- i- maŋ
RES.NEG- 1SG.SUB- want
'I won't want' (8b) from p. 215

Negative imperative

*very little information has been mentioned in the text. It is only known to be occupying the 2- position together with the resultative, negative resultative, and the 1st element of the past subordinate.

2-	1b-	1a-	0	-1a	-1b	-1c	-1d	-2a	-2b	3
RES <i>pan -</i>	REL <i>Ca-</i>	SUB (prefix) 1SG <i>i-/</i> <i>ni-</i> 2SG <i>u-/ nu-</i> 2PL 3SG <i>a-/</i> <i>na- (he)/</i> <i>ə- (she)</i> 3PL <i>ku-</i> ----- (circumfix) 1PL.INCL <i>u- ...</i> 1PL.EXCL <i>nu- ...</i>	STEM	INC <i>-ε:n</i>	HAB -ε	DIR <i>-u /</i> <i>-ul /</i> <i>- ulɔ</i>	(circumfix) 1PL.INCL.SUB <i>... -a/</i> 1PL.EXCL.SUB <i>... -ə</i> ...	Bound indirect object pronoun 3SG <i>-ɔ</i> 3PL <i>-il</i> ...	Bound direct object pronoun 3SG <i>-ɔ</i> 3PL <i>-i:</i> ...	SUBORD <i>-m ~ -mi</i>
RES.NEG <i>- lɛt</i>		NEG <i>-ut/</i> <i>-ɔrut (not</i> <i>yet) /</i> ...			Passive		REDUP <i>-(stem)/</i> <i>-(stem+</i> CAUS/REFL)			
NEG. imperative		HAB.NEG <i>-εrit</i>			Noun emphasis -ε					
(circumfix) Past subord (PS) <i>ba- ...</i>		(circumfix) PS <i>... -εr</i>						(N/A)		
		NEG <i>-ɔrut</i> & (circumfix) PS -∅								

Footnotes:

position -1:

The causative marker seems to be occupying the position -1 according to the data, (15) from p. 217. But there were difficulties to link the causative marker to any categories listed in the starting table and there was not enough data to reveal a more precise position of the causative marker in relative to other position -1 affixes. It is then not included in the final table.

The emphatic component of the dubitive-incompletive marker is said to be flexible in terms of placement within position -1. It could be placed anywhere except directly after the habitual -ε (p. 215). And therefore it is not included in the final table.

The mood-related affixes stated in the starting table were nowhere to be found in the data and therefore is not included in the final table.

Position -2:

It appears in the data that only the causative affix and reflexive affix will be reduplicated together with the stem for verb emphasis. Therefore in the table, it states that the reduplication affix is formed either by the stem itself, or stem and causative/reflexive suffix together.