

look at *ganaico* vs *intensive verbs*?

# Moro Verbs

Elizabeth Guest 10/9/97

In this document, we outline how to obtain the past, present, and future forms of regular verbs from the root. In all cases we will give the forms with the person class concord 'g' because this is the default for Moro speakers. There are simple rules for obtaining the past and future forms from the root; the present tense form is more complicated. Note that all verb roots end in a vowel, but may start with either a vowel (but not 'ə') or a consonant. Most verbs end in 'o' or 'u'; there are only a few examples of each of the others. As there are only 8 verbs ending in 'a' and there seems to be no pattern to these, we will consider verbs ending in 'a' to be exceptions to the following rules.

Here we consider simple past, present and future tenses. So far we have not investigated how these fit into the tense/aspect system. The analysis given below is based on a list of more than 400 verbs.

### Past tense:

The past tense form of the verb is formed from the root in a straightforward way and there are few exceptions. It is formed by adding 'g' or 'ga' to the front of the root, depending on whether the root starts with a vowel or a consonant:

verb roots starting with a consonant: ga + root  
 verb roots starting with a vowel: g + root

} concord

compare *wado* & *waro* in the examples below

Note however, that the prefix for verbs starting with 'w' can be either 'g' or 'ga'; and verbs starting with 'ei' or 'co', and some verbs starting with 'j' have prefix 'gai'

### Examples:

verb root	past form	
tu	gatu	drink
naico	ganaico	give
afele	gafele	make sour
erido	gerido	walk
ndro	gandro	sleep
idu	gidu	work, do
egari	gogari <i>gogari</i>	read, learn
aro	garo	cry, ring
wado	gawado	build
waro	gwaro	insult
ngitu	gangitu	leave
uru	guru	cut off, burn
endu	gendu	catch (unit)
orobato	gorobato	go back to

?  
? [

change  
sometimes addition of 'b'

verbs starting with 'ab'

see dialects

### Present tense:

The formation of the present is the least straightforward because there are alternatives in the ending for verbs ending in 'o' and 'u'. In this tense is, in many cases formed in a similar way to the past tense except that the vowel at the end of the verb changes. Verbs starting with a consonant, or with 'o', 'u', or 'w' form the main part of the present tense in the same way as the past tense is formed, but verbs starting with 'e', 'ē', or 'i' add 'gab' to the beginning of the root. When the verb starts with 'a' either of these possibilities can happen. These changes are given below:

Verbs starting with a consonant, or 'w':

ga + root + last vowel changes as above.

Verbs starting with i:

ga + b + (i → o) + root + last vowel changes as given below.

Verbs starting with e, ē, or a:

ga + b + root + last vowel changes as given below.

Verbs starting with w, o, u, or a:

g + root + last vowel changes as given below.

The final vowel of the root changes as follows:

do verbs roots ever begin with 'b'?  
 If not, maybe there is a deletion rule rather than an insertion rule??

- e → e
- i → ia
- o → a, ia, or wa
- u → ia or a or wa

There seems to be no obvious reason for these alternatives, but we can say that in our data, 'o' changes to 'a' and 'u' changes to 'ia' most of the time. The percentages (for my list of over 400 verbs) are as follows:

root ending	present tense ending		
	a	ia	wa
o	65%	32%	3%
u	73%	16%	11%

This may be vowel harmony

**Examples:**

verb root	present form	
tu	gaṭia	drink
naico	ganaica	give
afəle	gafəlia	make sour
erlɔ	gaberlɔ	walk
ndro	gandra	sleep
lɛu	gabəḍia	work, do
ɛgəri	gabɛgəria	read, learn
ɛndu	gabɛndia	catch (unit)
aro	gabara	cry, ring
wadɔ	gawadɔ	build
waro	gwara	insult
ngifu	ganḡitia	leave
uru	guṛia	cut off, burn
ɛndu	gabɛndia	catch (unit)
oṛəbaṭo	goṛəbaṭa	go back to

trans & intrans.

repeated

b

In addition to these there is a set of verbs which behaves differently. These are the verbs ending in 'alo' or 'ano'. These verbs do not change their final vowel for the present tense and in fact the past and present tenses are identical in their spelling. However there is a difference in tone. The past tense has high tone on the last vowel of the root before 'alo' or 'ano', whereas the present tense is pronounced with low tone on this vowel. This does not seem to be a general rule for all verbs, but some other verbs, where the past and present forms are clearly different do follow a similar pattern.

Separate verb class

There are compound verbs ano = inside - got through a few derivations

**Examples**

root	past	present	
ṇəranano	gaṇəranano	gaṇəranano	be happy
cianano	gaiciánano	gaiciánano	be sad
irətiano	girətiano	girətiano	be stupid
erjiano	gerjiano	gerjiano	be untrustworthy

equative & stative verbs

also girəwāno need to look into this more } broke for more  
girəwāno a discourage

**Future tense:**

This is made using the auxiliary giɛi which comes before the future form of the verb. This tense also has vowel changes at the end of the verb root. These are as follows:

- u → i
- o → e
- a → a
- i → i

also sometimes pres. t. class change → 2 instances

The main part of the root is formed by adding 'aṅə' or 'aṅ' to the beginning of the root, depending on whether the root starts with a vowel or a consonant. When the root starts with 'ṇ', only the prefix 'a-' is added:

- verbs starting with a consonant (except ṇ): aṅə + root + last vowel changes as above
- verbs starting with ṇ: a + root + last vowel changes as above
- verbs starting with a vowel: aṅ + root + last vowel changes as above

Note that verbs starting with 'w' can follow either rule. Generally if 'ga' is added in the past and present forms, 'aṅə' is added in the present tense, and likewise for 'g' and 'aṅ', but this is not always the case.

**Examples:**

verb root	future form	
tu	aṅəṭi	drink
naico	aṅənaice	give
afəle	aṅəfəle	make sour
erlɔ	aṅəerlɔ	walk
ndro	aṅəndre	sleep
lɛu	aṅəlɛi	work, do
ɛgəri	aṅəgəri	read, learn
aro	aṅəare	cry, ring
wadɔ	aṅəwadɔ	build

talk about verbs ending in əfəle/əlɔ  
end in ənəno → tiand  
→ in future  
and in ənəno → tiand  
relat. adv. to complement!  
clean up - in verb  
should might go  
through all  
derivations  
of these words.

waro	aṅware	insult
ṅgifu	aṅṅi	leave
uṅu	aṅuṅi	cut off, burn
ḗndu	aṅḗndi	catch (unit)
oṅḗbaṅo	aṅoṅḗbaṅe	go back to

On the whole the formation of the future tense is regular. However there are several exceptions. Sometimes the ending becomes 'we' or 'wi' and in this case, the present tense form ends with 'wa'. However there are cases where the 'wa' is the ending in the present tense, but the future is formed in the usual way.

### Examples

root	present	future	
ḗdu	gaḗduwa	aṅḗduwi	stop
ore	goria	aṅorete	make red
oṅre	goṅra	aṅoṅrete	grow
ṛemḗṅo	gaṛemḗṅwa	aṅṛemḗṅwe	keep
mḗlu	gamḗlwa	aṅmḗlwiṅi	be cold
mḗru	gamḗrwa	aṅmḗri	jump over

Note that the future tense prefix, aṅḗ, changes according to concord, but not in the usual way. Concord agreement is as follows:

normal concord	future concord
g-	aṅḗ-
l-	aḗ-
ṅ-	aṅḗ-
r-	aḗ-
y-	aiye-
ḗ-	aḗḗ-
n-	aṅḗ-
ḗ-	aḗ-

} the "i" is a transition vowel, not a real vowel.  
 ↑ check i here. It maybe shouldn't be there.

↑ seems as if it should be there

ai-yo  
 aḗ-ḗo

### Example sentences

- |                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| Maje gidi aṅḗse aicḗba.   | The man will eat food.       |
| Liji liḗi aḗse aicḗba.    | The men will eat food.       |
| ṅjere ṅidi aṅḗse aicḗba.  | The girl will eat food.      |
| Rido ridi aḗse ṅaifia.    | The goat will eat grass.     |
| Yama yiḗi aiyeḗse raṅai.  | The locusts will eat leaves. |
| ṅḗmḗna ḗidi aḗḗsi ṅaifia. | The kids will eat grass.     |
| Nḗbel niḗi aṅḗse ṅḗḗḗda.  | The monkeys will eat figs.   |
| ḗḗria ḗidi aḗse ṅwana.    | The camel will eat sorghum.  |

narrative

# Subject Agreement on Moro Verbs and Moro Pronouns

Elizabeth Guest 29/11/97

Moro verbs must agree with their subject. There are two sets of subject pronouns, but explicit pronouns are not always required. Object pronouns are attached to the verbs and can be found in the middle or at the end of the verb depending on the tense/aspect. In Moro, only people can be referred to by a third person pronoun. All animals and things have to be referred to in full.

## Subject Pronouns

There are two form of subject pronouns, and so far, we do not know when each should be used.

1 <sup>st</sup> person sing	igēnəñi	ñi
2 <sup>nd</sup> person sing	aganəŋa	ŋa
3 <sup>rd</sup> person sing	gənəŋu	ŋu
1 <sup>st</sup> person dual	lələŋ	ləŋ
1 <sup>st</sup> person plural incl	nəndr	nəndr / ləndr
1 <sup>st</sup> person plural excl	ŋagananda	nanda / landa
2 <sup>nd</sup> person plural	ñaganəñan	ñan
3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural	lənəŋulu	ŋulu

## Subject Agreement Prefixes

The subject agreement prefixes vary depending on the tense/aspect of the verb. In the past and present they are:

I	i-
you (sg)	a-
he/she/it	Ø (concord agreement)
we (dual)	la- / lə-
we (incl)	la- / lə- + -r
we (excl)	ña-
you (pl)	ña-
they	Ø (concord agreement)

Note that these prefixes are attached to the prefix 'ga'. (Maybe we should really analyse these prefixes as iga-, aga-, ga-, etc.)

The alternatives for we dual and we inclusive are used interchangeably. There is no other variation in the prefixes because all verbs start with g (or concord) + vowel in both the past and present tenses. Note that for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural inclusive, there is a suffix in addition to the prefix. This suffix is added to the end of the verb, except when the verb is compound in which case '-ar-' is added after the last consonant in the root. For example for the verb to lie, 'kəbalo' (= kəbo + alo), the form for we (inclusive) is 'ləgakəbaralo'. Note that in compound verbs, the last vowel of the verb is lost in the join.

When the suffix '-r' is added to the end of a verb, there are some morphophonemic changes:

- When the verb ends in 'o' or 'u' (past), 'r' replaces this vowel.
- When the verb ends in 'e', 'a', or 'i', '-r' is added onto the end of the verb.

## Examples:

	abərto (ride)	tu (drink)	aijəba (deny)	redo (chop)
I	ñi igabərto	ñi igatu	igaijəba	igaredo
You sg)	ŋa agabərta	ŋa agatu	agaijəba	agaredo
he/she	ŋu gabərto	ŋu gatu	gaijəba	garedo
we (dual)	ləŋ lagabərto	ləŋ lagatu	lagaijəba	ləgaredo
we (incl)	nəndr lagabərtr	nəndr lagatr	lagaijəbar	ləgaredr

we (excl)	nanda ñagabərto	nanda ñagatu	ñagajəba	ñagaredo
you (pl)	ñan ñagabərto	ñan <del>latu</del> ñagatu	ñagaicəba	ñagaredo
they	nulu labərto	nulu latu	laijəba	laredo

The future tense is made up of the future form of the verb and an auxiliary. The prefixes given above for past and present are added to the auxiliary, but the verb has a different set of subject agreement prefixes. These are:

I	ñi- or ñe-
you (sg)	ña-
he/she/it	aŋə-
we (dual)	alə-
we (incl)	alə- + -r
we (excl)	ña-
you (pl)	ña-
they	alə-

In all cases, if the verb starts with a vowel, the vowel on the prefix is dropped. The suffix '-r' for we (incl) replaces the last vowel of the verb. When the verb starts with 'r' or 'ɽ', the prefixes for we (dual and incl) become 'ar-' and if the verb starts with 'ɽ' this becomes 'r'. We do not yet have enough examples to determine which of the two 1<sup>st</sup> person sing prefixes should be applied for any given verb.

#### Examples:

	abərto (ride)	tu (drink)	aijəba (deny)	redo (chop)
I	igidi ñabərto	igidi ñiti	igidi ñaijəbete	igidi ñere
You sg	agidi ñabərto	agidi ñati	agidi ñaijəbe	agidi ñare
he/she	gidi aŋabərto	gidi aŋəti	gidi aŋaijəbe	gidi aŋəre
we (dual)	ləgidi alabərto	ləgidi aləti	ləgidi alaijəbe	ləgidi arəre
we (incl)	ləgidr alabərto	ləgidr alətr	ləgidr alaijəbr	ləgidr arədr
we (excl)	ñagidi ñabərto	ñagidi ñati	ñagidi ñaijəbe	ñagidi ñare
you (pl)	ñagidi ñabərto	ñagidi ñati	ñagidi ñaijəbe	ñagidi ñare
they	li	li	li	li

#### Compound verbs

The behaviour of compound verbs is slightly different. The subject agreement prefixes remain the same, but any tense/aspect ending on the verb is replaced by the 'alo', 'tia' or 'ano' ending. However we need to discuss the placement of '-r' for we (incl). In past and present, this suffix becomes the infix '-ar-' and it is inserted after the last consonant in the root. For the future, the infix is '-ər-'.

#### Example:

kəbalo:	kəbo + alo
past:	ləgakəbaralo
future:	aləkəbəralo

#### Object Pronouns

Object pronouns may be inserted at the end or in the middle of a verb. In the past tense, they go at the end; in the present and future tenses they are inserted after the tense marker part of the verb (that is after 'ga-'). We do not have enough data to determine the behaviour of the suffix '-r' used to differentiate we (incl).

The object pronoun suffixes for the past tense are:

I	-ñe or -ñi
you (sg)	-aŋa-
he/she/it	-ma
we (dual)	-nde
we (incl)	-ndr
we (excl)	-nde

-nde  
-lo

Verbs end in a vowel, there are some morphophonemic changes when these suffixes are added:

When the verb ends in 'u', this vowel becomes 'i' or sometimes 'w' before '-aŋa', and 'ə' in all other cases.

When the verb ends in 'o', or 'e', the vowel disappears when '-aŋa' is added, but becomes 'ə' in all other cases.

When the verb ends in 'a' this vowel disappears when '-aŋa' is added.

#### Examples

	uru (bury)	mo (marry)	aijəba (deny)	eɾədo (ask)
I	gureŋie	gaməŋie	gaijəbaŋi	geɾədoŋie
You sg)	guriaŋa	gamaŋa	gaijəbaŋa	geɾədiaŋa
he/she	gurema	gaməma	gaijəbama	geɾədəma
we (dual)	gurende	gamənde	gaijəbande	geɾədənde
we (incl)	gurendr	gaməndr	gaijəbandr	geɾədəndr
we (excl)	gurende	gamənde	gaijəbande	geɾədənde
you (pl)	gurende	gamənde	gaijəbande	geɾədənde
they	gurelo	gaməlo	gaijəbalo	geɾədəlo

The object pronoun infixes for the present are:

I	-iŋa-
you (sg)	-ŋa-
he/she/it	-ma-
we (dual)	-nde-
we (incl)	-nde- + -r
we (excl)	-nde-
you (pl)	-nde-
they	-lə-

These pronouns are inserted after 'ga-' and before the verb root. When the verb starts with a vowel the 'ə' of the infix is replaced by the verb vowel.

#### Examples

	uru (bury)	mo (marry)	aijəba (deny)	eɾədo (ask)
I	gaiŋura	gaŋama	gaiŋaijəba	gaiŋeɾədia
You sg)	gaŋura	gaiŋəma	gaŋaijəba	gaŋeɾədia
he/she	gamura	gamama	gamaijəba	gameɾədia
we (dual)	gandura	gandəma	gandaijəba	ganderədia
we (incl)	gandurar	gandəmar	gandaijəbar	ganderədiar
we (excl)	gandura	gandəma	gandaijəba	ganderədia
you (pl)	gandura	gandəma	gandaijəba	ganderədia
they	galura	galəma	galaijəba	galerədia

The object pronoun infixes for the future tense are similar to those for the present tense, but there are some differences. The pronouns are inserted after the subject agreement prefix. The pronoun prefix for 'me' is '-ŋə-', and there is no pronoun infix for you (sg). In the latter case the last vowel of the future prefix changes to 'a'. When the verb starts with a vowel, the verb vowel replaces the infix vowel and in this case, there are no changes when the object is you (sg).

#### Examples

	uru (bury)	mo (marry)	aijəba (deny)	eɾədo (ask)
I	gidi aŋəŋuri	gidi aŋəŋəme	gidi aŋəŋaijəbete	gidi aŋəŋeɾəde
You sg)	gidi aŋuri	gidi aŋame	gidi aŋaijəbete	gidi aŋeɾəde
he/she	gidi aŋəmuri	gidi aŋəmame	gidi aŋəmaijəbete	gidi aŋəmeɾəde
we (dual)	gidi aŋəduri	gidi aŋəndəme	gidi aŋəndaijəbete	gidi aŋənderəde
we (incl)	gidi aŋəndurər	gidi aŋəndəmr	gidi aŋəndaijəbetr	gidi aŋənderədr
we (excl)	gidi aŋənduri	gidi aŋəndəme	gidi aŋəndaijəbete	gidi aŋənderəde
you (pl)	gidi aŋənduri	gidi aŋəndəme	gidi aŋəndaijəbete	gidi aŋənderəde
they	gidi aŋəhuri	gidi aŋələme	gidi aŋəlaijəbete	gidi aŋəleɾəde

## Compound Verbs:

In the present and future tenses, object pronouns are added to compound verbs in the same way as to non-compound verbs and the suffix 'r' used for we (incl) is added in the same way as for subject pronouns. However the addition of object pronouns in the past tense is different. In this case, the pronouns are generally added to the verb root in the normal way and then the 'alo' or 'ano' suffix is added. There are some exceptions for this for the 1<sup>st</sup> person sing object, but to really find out what is going on, we need to know more about how compound verbs are formed.

### Examples (past tense):

	bəɾjano (encourage)	ŋəranano (be happy)	iruвано (be sorry)
I	gabəɾeɲano	gaŋəreɲenano	giruwifano
You sg)	gabəɾjanano	gaŋəɾjanano	giruwianano
he/she	gabəɾemano	gaŋəremanano	giruwimano
we (dual)	gabəɾendano	gaŋərendenano	giruwindano
we (incl)	gabəɾendrano	gaŋərendrnano	giruwindrano
we (excl)	gabəɾəndano	gaŋərendenano	giruwindano
you (pl)	gabəɾəndano	gaŋərendenano	giruwindano
they	gabəɾelano	gaŋəreləno	giruwilano

### Notes (Questions still to be answered)

- We need examples of combinations of subjects and objects. This is especially needed for the future tense as I suspect that it is fairly straight forward for the others.
- Some of the morphophonemics needs looking into more closely, again with more examples. The morphophonemics here should cover as many cases as in the paper on verbs.
- The whole issue of how compound verbs are formed and their behaviour needs more investigation.