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## Movima phasal verbs

Katharina Haude

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The scarcity of multiverb constructions goes along with a very high productivity of complement and adverbial clauses, in which one predicate is subordinate to another one, as illustrated in (2).

- (2)     *joy-cheʔ n-os*                     *vayeʔ-wa=Ø*  
           go-R/R    OBL-ART.N.PAST   look-AN=1SG  
           ‘I went to have a look.’   [EAO, Golpearse 001]

This paper deals with so-called phasal verb constructions, which consist of a bipartite verbal base and usually an additional morpheme that is restricted to this type of stem. Unlike the serial verb construction illustrated above, which expresses two distinct events (going somewhere and doing something there), phasal verbs denote a single activity while specifying it with respect to its phase (beginning or end). Like the serial verb construction, they can be replaced by a periphrastic subordinating construction.

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides some general information on the grammar of Movima. Section 3 describes the structure of the three morphological types of phasal verbs, 3.1–3.3 discussing their different components (phasal root, lexical element, and suffix, respectively). In section 4, the alternative, subordinating construction is described. The findings are summed up in section 5.

## 2 Some typological characteristics of Movima

Morphologically, Movima is agglutinating (one morpheme = one meaning), but many content words are synchronically monomorphemic. Most morphemes are suffixes, but as this article will show, several verb roots have developed into prefixes. Furthermore, there is a tendency towards infixation and reduplication. Compounding and noun incorporation are highly productive, and, as will be shown, complex verbs can be created by the combination of two lexical elements of verbal origin.

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<sup>2</sup> Text examples are marked with the label of the source (speaker acronym, title of text, and number of Toolbox record) in square brackets. Elicited examples are unmarked.

Tense, mood, and aspect are not expressed by verbal morphemes, but by particles. Referential elements (articles, personal pronouns, demonstratives) indicate natural gender, number, presence, absence, position, and ongoing vs. ceased existence of the referent.

Morphological case marking is restricted to the distinction between structural (unmarked) and oblique (morphologically marked) case. Core arguments, i.e. morphologically unmarked nominal constituents, are furthermore distinguished by their constituency properties, which are mainly reflected by the phonological connection to the predicate: one argument of the transitive clause is represented by a constituent that is obligatorily attached to the predicate through “internal cliticization” (represented as =), like a nominal possessor, while the other argument of the transitive clause as well as the single argument of the intransitive clause are represented by a constituent that is not attached to the predicate at all or that is attached through a different cliticization process, called “external cliticization” (represented as --); this argument, furthermore, is not obligatorily expressed.

Transitive clauses are organized according to properties of the arguments in terms of a referential hierarchy (1 > 2 > 3 animate > 3 inanimate; topic > nontopic): the constituent that refers to the higher-ranking participant on this hierarchy is internal to the predicate phrase, while the constituent that refers to the lower-ranking participant is external to the predicate phrase (like the single argument of an intransitive clause; see Haude 2009). Direct and inverse marking on the predicate mark the participant roles of the arguments of the transitive clause, direct indicating that the internal argument represents the actor and the external argument the undergoer, inverse indicating the opposite constellation.

Complement and adverbial clauses have the form of obligatorily possessed noun phrases, the predicate consisting in a morphologically derived noun; complement clauses are represented as core, adverbial clauses as oblique arguments. Complement and adverbial clauses are extremely frequent and, as will be shown below, they easily replace the multiverb constructions discussed in this paper.<sup>3</sup>

### **3 The structure of phasal verbs**

Movima phasal verbs are complex forms that consist of a lexical prefix indicating the initial or final phase of an event, a root (which can itself be a verb root, full verb, or an idiosyncratic lexical element) denoting the event itself and, in most cases, a suffix. Phasal

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<sup>3</sup> For detailed information on the Movima phonology and grammar, see Haude (2006).

verbs are asymmetrical multiverb constructions, since only three or four elements can serve as lexical prefixes. There are three morphological patterns of phasal verbs, schematized in Table 10.1; as can be seen, they differ with respect to the form of the root and the presence and form of the suffix.

Table 10.1. The types of phasal verbs

Type	Lexical prefix	Root	Suffix
Type A:	<i>ba:-, pen-, ...</i>	transitive verb root	<i>-uk/-ay'</i>
Type B:	<i>ba:-, pen-, ...</i>	intransitive verb	<i>-kakaʔ</i>
Type C:	<i>ba:-, pen-, ...</i>	suppletive element	(none)

The three types are illustrated in (3) with the lexical prefix *ba:-* ‘finish’ (note that there are two examples of Type A, illustrating the allomorphs of the suffix.)

- (3) Type A: *ba:-det-uk* ; *ba:-pul-ay'*  
 finish-toast-PH ; finish-sweep-PH  
 ‘finish toasting’ ; ‘finish sweeping’
- Type B: *ba:-tijkarim-kakaʔ*  
 finish-work-PH  
 ‘finish working’
- Type C: *ba:-bu*  
 finish-BR.eat  
 ‘finish eating’

The following sections describe the three components of phasal verbs: lexical prefix (3.1), root (3.2), and suffix (3.3).

### 3.1 The lexical prefix

The three productive lexical prefixes in the phasal verb construction are *pen-* ‘start’, *ba:-* ‘finish’, and *nan-* ‘stop’. They denote an aspectual component of an event, namely its initial

or final phase.<sup>4</sup> They are labelled lexical prefixes here because at least historically they are related to verb roots: the morpheme *pen-* is also found as a verb root meaning ‘to land (on)’, *nan-* is found as a verb root meaning ‘let loose, set free’, and the morpheme *ba:-* ‘finish, complete’ has the same meaning when occurring as a verb root.<sup>5</sup>

The root *ba:-* is the most productive phasal root and the one with the highest text frequency. Outside the phasal construction, *ba:-* is obligatorily combined with a bound nominal element classifying the undergoer of the event, as in (4). When this entity is unspecified, the semantically neutral classifier *-ra* is obligatorily inserted, as in (5) (cf. Haude 2006: 388ff.).

- (4) *jayna ba:-mi kis to:mi*  
 DISC finish-CLF.water ART.PL.AB water  
 ‘The water has finished.’

- (5) *loy iʔ ba:-ra:-na=∅*  
 INT 1 finish-CLF.NTR-DR=1SG  
 ‘I’ll complete (it).’

The other lexical prefixes, *pen-* and *nan-*, are rare in texts and more difficult to elicit. In a simple verb, typically combined with the reflexive marker *-cheʔ*, as in (6), the root *pen-* indicates that an entity lands on or in something. This root can take an incorporated noun or nominal element (root, classifier, truncated element) denoting the ground (cf. Haude 2006: 383f.), as in (7):

- (6) *pen-cheʔ--is n-is tolej-kwa di’ pay’-’i*  
 land-R/R--3PL.AB OBL-ART.PL BE.branch-NREL REL smear-RES  
 ‘They [the birds] landed on the branches which were smeared [with a sticky mass].’  
 [EAO, Parabas 028]

- (7) *jap-a-ʔe=as os lo:los, pen-lo:ʔ-e*

<sup>4</sup> This type of aspect belongs to what is known as lexical aspect or Aktionsart, rather than grammatical aspect indicated by perfective or imperfective morphology.

<sup>5</sup> See DeLancey (1999) and Jacobsen (1980) on bipartite stems in Klamath and Washo, respectively, although the lexical prefixes there are far more numerous and have different meanings than those in Movima.



‘She has already finished cutting.’

- b. *jayna kine’ nan-tan-uk*  
DISC DM.STD.FEM stop-cut-PH  
‘She has already stopped cutting.’

The non-completive meaning of *nan-* is also apparent from the text example in (11).

- (11) *n-os chot nan-sit-ay’-wa=sne, jayna inla*  
OBL-ART.N.PAST HAB stop-sew-PH-AN=3FEM.AB DISC PRO.1SG  
*t joy-cheŋ jayna sit-a:-’oj jema’, préprepreprepre,*  
1INTR go-R/R DISC sew-DR-CLF.clothes also ONOM  
*n-os ma:kina=sne*  
OBL-ART.N.PAST machine=3FEM.AB  
‘Every time she stopped sewing, I would go and sew as well, *préprepreprepre*, on  
her machine.’ [EAO, Makina 005]

The root *pen-* indicates the beginning of an activity or process:

- (12) *loy it pen-la:vi*  
INT 1INTR start-BR.bathe  
‘I’ll start bathing.’

- (13) *loy it pen-pak-uk*  
INT 1INTR start-count-PH  
‘I’ll start counting.’

As mentioned above, the verb roots *nan-* and *pen-* are less productive as lexical prefixes than *ba:-*. Example (14) shows the inacceptability of the root *pen-* on a verb that can occur with *ba:-*:

- (14) a. *ba:-toroj-di-na-kakaŋ*  
finish-dust-CLF.house-DR-PH  
‘to finished dusting the house’



- b.\* *pen-toroj-di-na-kakaʔ*  
 start-dust-CLF.house-DR-PH  
 ('to start dusting the house.')

The parallel between high productivity and transparent semantic relationship to a lexical root on the one hand and low productivity and opaque semantic relationship with a lexical root on the other may hint at different ages of grammaticalization from verb root to lexical prefix, the more productive and transparent ones having grammaticalized more recently (cf. Jacobsen 1993: 97 on the bipartite stems in Washo).

### 3.2 The root

The element that follows the lexical prefix can be a verb root, a full verb, or a suppletive verb root. Independently of its internal morphological structure, I consider this element the root of the phasal verb, firstly because it belongs to an open class and secondly because it denotes the event that is characterized with respect to its phasal aspect. The phasal suffix (section 3.3) is chosen according to the type of root.

#### 3.2.1 Type A roots: transitive verb roots

The roots of Type A phasal verbs are transitive verb roots, which form the largest class of Movima verb roots. Apart from denoting two-participant events, they share the formal property that when occurring independently, they are obligatorily marked for valency and voice (see Haude 2006: 321ff.). In particular, the combination with the direct marker *-na* turns them into bivalent verbs with an obligatorily expressed agent, as shown in (15)a-c.<sup>7</sup> When no person is overtly encoded, as in (15)a, the agent is automatically interpreted as the first person singular.

- |      |    |                 |    |                 |    |                   |
|------|----|-----------------|----|-----------------|----|-------------------|
| (15) | a. | <i>det-na=∅</i> | b. | <i>det-na=n</i> | c. | <i>det-na='ne</i> |
|      |    | toast-DR=1SG    |    | toast-DR=2SG    |    | toast-DR=3FEM     |

<sup>7</sup> In contrast, monovalent roots like *de:-* 'lie' or *as-* 'sit' constitute locational nouns when combined with the suffix *-na*: *de:na* 'my bed', *asna* 'my home' (see Haude 2006: 326 and 340f.).



The following examples illustrate the difference between Type A and Type B phasal verbs. The root of the Type A verb in (19)a is the transitive verb root *lat-* ‘chop’, the roots of the Type B verbs in (19)b and (19)c consisting of intransitive complex bases containing the same root plus one or more incorporated nominal elements.

- (19) a. *jayna kine’ ba:-lat-uk*  
 DISC DM.STD.FEM finish-chop-PH  
 ‘She has already finished chopping.’
- b. *jayna kine’ ba:-[lat-a-vos]-kakaʔ*  
 DISC DM.STD.FEM finish-chop-DR-CLF.wood-PH  
 ‘She has already finished chopping the wood into pieces.’
- c. *ba:-[lat-a-pit-cha-ra]-kakaʔ*  
 finish-chop-DR-CLF.half-DR-CLF.firewood-PH  
 ‘[She] has already finished chopping firewood into pieces.’

### 3.2.3 Type C roots: suppletive forms

The roots of Type C phasal verbs can neither function as single verb roots, as those of Type A, nor can they occur independently, as those of Type B. The elements most regularly found in Type C verbs seem to be suppletive forms of verbs or verb roots that cannot occur in a phasal verb of Type A or B. The suppletive forms that could be identified so far are listed in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2. Suppletive verb roots in Type C phasal verbs

verb root	combining form	
<i>kay-</i>	<i>-bu</i>	‘eat’
<i>ʔap-</i>	<i>-ʔavij</i>	‘bathe’
<i>te:lo</i>	<i>-loboj</i>	‘dance’
<i>jat-(?), mas-(?)</i>	<i>-wit</i>	‘hit’(?)

The examples below illustrate the free and the combining forms of verb roots in one sentence. In (20), the bathing event is first referred to by a main-clause predicate, *ʔapʔap*, and then by the root of a phasal verb, *ba:ʔavij* ‘finish bathing’. As can be seen, the root of the phasal verb has a different form, *-ʔavij*, than that of the main verb, *-ʔap*. Unlike the other two types, Type C phasal verbs do not contain a suffix.

- (20) *jayna t ʔap~ʔap, jayna ba:-ʔa:vij*  
 DISC 1INTR MID~bathe DISC finish-BR.bathe  
 ‘Then I bathed, then I finished bathing.’ [EAO, Cbba 072]

The following examples illustrate phasal verbs with the suppletive roots *-loboj* ‘dance’ (21) and *-bu* ‘eat’ (22) cooccurring with the corresponding independent verbs.

- (21) *n-os jayna ba:-loboj-wa=is juyeni di’ te:lo*  
 OBL-ART.N.PAST DISC finish-BR.dance-AN=3PL.AB person REL dance  
 ‘when the people who danced finished dancing’ [EAO, Lagartija 004]

- (22) *jayna n-os ba:-bu-wa=is n-os*  
 already OBL-ART.N.PAST finish-BR.eat-AN=3PL.AB OBL-ART.N.PAST  
*kay-wa=is jayna loj-a:-cho-cha:-do*  
 eat-AN=3PL.AB DISC wash-DR-CLF.inside-DR-CLF.plate  
 ‘When they finished eating, when they ate, (they) washed the dishes.’  
 [EAO Ay’ku II, 003]

The suppletive roots illustrated above clearly correspond to intransitive verb roots.<sup>8</sup> However, the root *-wit*, illustrated in the text example in (23) (whose translation is based on the speaker’s Spanish translation) is less easily identified. Semantically, it seems to correspond most closely to a transitive verb root like *jat-* ‘hit’ or *mas-* ‘beat up’, as shown by (24).

- (23) *pen-ka-wit-cheʔ ʔek-e:ʔe, ʔek-ka-ye:-cheʔ ena’*  
 start-MLT-BR.hit-R/R kick-AG kick-MLT-CLF.person-R/R DUR.STD

<sup>8</sup> Also the verb root *kay-* ‘eat’ belongs to the morphological class of intransitive roots (Haude 2006: 340f.).

*n-as            ele:siya-ra:da*

OBL-ART.N church-door

‘(They) start hitting each other, they kick, they start kicking each other at the church door.’ [HRR, tx 306 ]

- (24) a. *ba:-wit*                      b. *ba:-mas-uk*  
      finish-BR.hit                    finish-beat\_up-PH  
      ‘finish beating’                ‘finish beating up’

However, while in the phasal construction, the element *-wit* is generally translated as ‘hit’ or ‘beat’, the verb *penwit*, apparently a lexicalized form with the meaning ‘to start’, also serves as the matrix verb of the periphrastic inchoative construction (cf. Section 4 below):

- (25) *loy it pen-wit n-as toroj-di-na:-wa=Ø*  
      INT 1INTR start-hit? OBL-ART.N dust-CLF.house-DR-AN=1SG  
      ‘I’ll start dusting the house.’

There are some elements that can occur independently which can occur inside a Type C phasal verb. The roots *jo:ro* ‘sleep’ and *jo’wo* ‘cough’ generally occur in NPs referring to the events of sleeping and coughing, respectively, as shown in (26). To form an independent verb, these roots are combined with the suffix *-kwa* (‘bodily process’), shown in (27).

- (26) *as jo’wo*                      ‘(the) cough’  
      *as jo:ro*                      ‘(the) sleep’

- (27) *jowo:-kwa*                    ‘to cough’  
      *joro:-kwa*                    ‘to sleep’

In general only the roots of these words occur in phasal verbs.

- (28) *jayna t ba:-jo’wo*  
      DISC 1INTR finish-cough  
      ‘I finished coughing.’

- (29) *jayna t ba:-jo:ro*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-sleep  
 ‘I finished sleeping.’

In some of these cases it is possible to alternatively form a Type B phasal verb with the independent forms of these verbs as its root, as illustrated with the verb *jowo:kwa* ‘cough’ in (30). There does not seem to be a meaning difference with (28). However, with the verb *joro:kwa* ‘sleep’, the Type B construction was rejected in elicitation, as shown in (31).

- (30) *jayna t ba:-[jowo-kwa]-n-kakaʔ*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-cough-BDP-LN-PH  
 ‘I have finished coughing.’

- (31) *\*ba:-[joro-kwa]-n-kakaʔ*  
 finish-sleep-BDP-LN-PH

Other verbs of bodily processes only occur in their full form inside phasal verbs, not their root alone. The verb *achiskwa* ‘sneeze’, for example, remains complete, as shown in (32)a. The incorporation of the root alone is considered ungrammatical, as is shown by (32)b. This may also have to do with the fact that, while formally similar to other bodily-process verbs (ending *-kwa*), the root *achis* cannot occur alone, as shown by (32)c.

- (32) a. *jayna t ba:-[achis-kwa]-n-kakaʔ*  
 DISC 1SG finish-sneeze-BDP-LN-PH  
 ‘I’ve finished sneezing.’
- b. *\*ba:-achis*
- c. *\*as achis* (?(the) sneeze’)

An element that occurs in combination with the lexical prefix *ba:-* ‘finish’ is the bound element *-lomaj* ‘time’, which only occurs as incorporated element (see Haude 2006: 220).

Like the verb *penwit* illustrated in (25) above, the fossilized phasal verb *ba:lomaj* ‘finish’ forms the matrix verb of periphrastic phasal constructions (see section 4).

- (33) *jayna ba:-lomaj--is*  
 DISC finish- time--3PL  
 ‘Then they finished.’ [GCM, Marcha 109]

Morphologically, the roots of Type C phasal verbs are very similar to incorporated nominal elements or classifiers. Compare the above examples with (34) (repeated from (4) above), where the verb contains a classifier (the abbreviated form of the noun *to:mi* ‘water’):

- (34) *jayna ba:-mi kis to:mi*  
 DISC finish-CLF.water ART.PL.AB water  
 ‘The water is already finished.’

Likewise, the noun root *luk-* ‘rain’, identified as nominal because it combines with the verbalizing suffix *-tik* as in (35)a, cooccurs with phasal lexical prefixes, as illustrated in (35)b and (35)c:

- (35) a. *jayna luk-tik*  
 DISC rain-VBZ  
 ‘It’s raining already.’
- b. *jayna ba:-luk*  
 DISC finish-rain  
 ‘It stopped raining already.’
- c. *jayna pen-luk*  
 DISC start-rain  
 ‘It started raining already.’

The parallel form of Type C phasal verbs and certain incorporating verbs raises the question of whether the analysis of lexical prefixes and roots in phasal verbs is the right one, or whether we are not rather dealing with a verb class that incorporates not just nominal

elements, but also verb roots (Type A) and full verbs (Type B). This was the analysis put forward in Haude 2006, and it seemed to be supported by the fact that both suffixation and incorporation are frequent morphological processes in Movima, while prefixation is rather marginal. However, as has been shown, the lexical prefixes form a closed class of elements that are semantically bleached with respect to the verb root they originate from and can therefore be regarded as developing into grammatical prefixes; in contrast, the elements analysed here as roots of phasal verbs are generally semantically transparent. Moreover, as will be argued below, there are reasons to assume that with respect to the morphological structure of Type A and B phasal verbs, the root together with the suffix forms the stem to which the lexical prefix is attached later, while there would be no plausible way to argue that the root is incorporated into a stem consisting of the lexical prefix and the suffix.

Furthermore, there is a morphosyntactic difference between Type C phasal verbs, on the one hand, and incorporating verbs, on the other. Phasal verbs are actor-oriented, i.e., their single argument represents the actor: for instance, in (36) the argument represents the eating children, not the food.

- (36) *jayna ba:-bu kis dichi:ye*  
 DISC finish-BR.eat ART.PL.AB child  
 ‘The children finished eating already.’

In contrast, intransitive verbs with an incorporated nominal element, like *ba:mi* in (34) above, are undergoer-oriented: the single argument refers to the entity undergoing the event, not to the one causing it.

### 3.3 The suffix

#### 3.3.1 Form and distribution

As could be seen in Table 10.1 above, the three types of phasal verbs are distinguished by the presence and form of a suffix: phasal verbs of Type A and B take different suffixes, and those of Type C take no suffix at all.

The suffix of Type A phasal verbs has two allomorphs, depending on the phonological properties of the root. Recall that the root of a Type A phasal verb is a transitive verb root; transitive verb roots are typically monosyllabic. When the root contains the vowel /a/, the suffix is *-uk* (*-kuk* after vowels), as in (37), and when the root contains the vowel /u/, the



suffix is *-ay'* (*-kay'* after vowels), as shown in (38). (There do not seem to be any disyllabic transitive roots in which the conflicting vowels /a/ and /u/ cooccur, which would each trigger a different allomorph of the phasal suffix.)

(37) *jayna t ba:-tan-uk (\*ba:-tan-ay')*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-cut-PH  
 'I've already finished cutting it.'

(38) *ba:-pul-ay' (\*ba:-pul-uk)*  
 finish-sweep-PH  
 'to finish sweeping'

After all other vowels (*o, e, i*), there is free alternation between *-uk* or *-ay'*, as shown in (39)–(41).

(39) *it ba:-toy-ay'*  
 ~ *it ba:-toy-uk*  
 1INTR finish-dye-PH  
 'I've finished dying.'

(40) *jayna kwey it ba:-ben-uk*  
 ~ *jayna kwey it ba:-ben-ay'*  
 DISC HOD 1INTR finish-paint-PH  
 'I've finished painting/writing.'

(41) *jayna t ba:-nis-uk n-as me:sa*  
 ~ *jayna t ba:-nis-ay' n-as me:sa*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-wipe\_clean-PH OBL-ART.N table  
 'I already finished cleaning the table.'

A Type A phasal verb can additionally be combined with the suffix *-eʔ*, which on other verbs functions as an applicative marker (see Haude 2006: 411ff.).<sup>9</sup> On phasal verbs, the suffix

<sup>9</sup> Due to the properties of the phoneme /jʔ/, the glottal stop of the allomorph *-ay'* is dropped when a vowel-initial morpheme follows: it is realized as [aj].

*-eʃ* does not have a recognizable applicative function; it indicates that the result of the action is reached, but that the agent is unknown or irrelevant. The only argument of the verb represents the undergoer, as can be seen in (42).

- (42) *jayna ba:loyukeʃ is pe:ra*  
 DISC finish-dye-APPL ART.PL straw  
 ‘The straw (for weaving) is dyed completely.’

Like other verbs that contain the applicative marker *-eʃ*, a phasal verb with this suffix can receive voice marking. The addition of the direct voice marker *-na* creates a bivalent phasal verb, as can be seen from the first-person encoding (optional pronoun (*i*)ʃ, zero enclitic) and the addition of an NP that is not oblique, in (43):

- (43) *jayna ʃ ba:-sit-ay-eʃ-na=∅ as dokwe=n*  
 DISC 1 finish-sew-PH-APPL-DR=1SG ART.N clothes=2  
 ‘I finished sewing your dress.’

The suffix *-kakaʃ* occurs on Type B phasal verbs. No additional derivational morphology can be attached after this suffix, apart from the nominalizing suffix *-wa*, which can be attached to all verbs and creates a subordinate, person-marked form (see section 4 below):

- (44) *jayna n-os ba:-naye-kakaʃ-wa=∅, jayna t joy-cheʃ*  
 DISC OBL-ART.N.PAST finish-marry-PH-AN=1SG DISC 1INTR go-R/R  
*n-us jayna alwaj=∅*  
 OBL-ART.MASC DISC spouse=1SG  
 ‘Then when my wedding was over, I went with my new husband.’ [JAO, Naye 063]

### 3.3.2 Possible origin and semantic contribution of the phasal suffixes

The semantic contribution of the suffixes of phasal verbs (*ayʃ*, *-uk*, *-kakaʃ*) to the phasal verb construction is unclear. Verbs with these suffixes do not occur outside the phasal construction.

However, for both suffixes (*uk/-ay'* and *-kakaʔ*), possibly cognate morphemes exist, which belong to the domain of tense, aspect, and mood (TAM).

There is an intensifying suffix *-uk/-ay'* (Haude 2006: 449ff.), which has the same allomorphs as the Type A suffix: *-uk* when following the root vowel /a/, as in (45), *-ay'* when following the root vowel /u/, as in (46), and either of the two when the root vowel is /i/, /e/, or /o/. This suffix typically occurs on transitive roots and indicates a higher intensity of the event. Unlike the suffix of a phasal verb, the intensifier never occurs at the end of a word, but is always followed by another suffix, like the direct voice marker in (45) and (46).

- (45) *jat-uk-na=Ø*  
 hit-INTENS-DR=1SG  
 'I hit him/her/it/them strongly.'

- (46) *suy-ay'-na=Ø*  
 deprive-INTENS-DR=1SG  
 'I take (it) away completely from him/her/it/them.'

Apart from the different morphological environment, there is further evidence that the intensifying suffix and the suffix of Type A phasal verbs cannot be analysed as being synchronically one and the same morpheme. As far as the phonological appearance is concerned, the verb root *mas-* 'beat' is combined with a particular, idiosyncratic allomorph of the intensifying morpheme, *-ok* (47) (see also Judy 1965), but in the phasal construction it takes the suffix *-uk* (48):

- (47) *loy mas-ok-na*  
 INT beat-INTENS-DR  
 'I'll beat him/her/it/them up terribly.'

- (48) *jayna t ba:-mas-uk n-us dichi:ye*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-beat-PH OBL-ART.MASC child  
 'I finished beating the boy.'

Furthermore, a verb containing the intensifying suffix can function as the root of a Type B phasal verb:

- (49) *jayna it ba:-[mas-ok-na]-kakaʔ*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-beat-INTENS-DR-PH  
 ‘I’ve finished beating (someone) hard.’

However, the intensifying suffix and the suffix of the phasal verb may have a common origin. While the intensifying suffix is productively combined with transitive roots, as in (45)–(47) above, in texts it is found most often with the monovalent positional roots *de:-* ‘lie’, *as-* ‘sit’, *en-* ‘stand’, and *bat-* ‘be put’:

- (50) *ban jayna t rey de-kuk-ni jayna*  
 but DISC 1INTR MOD lie-INTENS-PRC<sup>10</sup> DISC  
 ‘But I already stayed in bed [i.e., I was ill].’ [DM, Fracaso 031]

- (51) *ban di:ra inʔa ney it as-uk-ni, tijka:rim*  
 but still PRO.1SG here 1INTR sit-INTENS-PRC work  
 ‘But I am still here (and) work.’ [HRR tx 208]

- (52) *en-uk-ni kos upavoswanra:ni*  
 stand-INTENS-PRC ART.N.AB climbing\_post  
 ‘The climbing post is still standing there.’<sup>11</sup> [EA, Programa 021]

It is possible that, similar to the intensifying suffix on positional verb roots, the suffix of the phasal verb adds a durative aspect to the meaning of the root. Only a durative event can be split up into different phases, as is done by phasal-verb constructions. Maybe the suffix derives a verbal base denoting an activity (instead of an achievement or accomplishment; cf. Vendler 1967), and the derived form is, subsequently, combined with the lexical prefix. This is suggested by the fact that any verb root can enter the phasal construction, including roots which denote inherently punctual or telic events. In such cases, the speaker usually

<sup>10</sup> The suffix *-ni* is glossed PRC because it also functions as a verbalizer deriving process-denoting verbs from nouns.

<sup>11</sup> This refers to a post that is placed in the middle of the corral for a climbing competition during the village *fiesta*.

commented that the event is interpreted to take place several times (as in (53)) or to take particularly long (as in (54), repeated from (13)).

(53) *jayna it ba:-suy-ay' n-us dichi:ye*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-deprive-PH OBL-ART.MASC child  
 'I've finished taking (it) away from the boy [repeatedly].'

(54) *loy it pen-pak-uk*  
 INT 1INTR start-count-PH  
 'I'll start counting.' [i.e., it is a lot and the counting will take some time.]

The suffix *-kakaʔ* of Type B phasal verbs is more difficult to account for. It looks like the reduplicated form of the suffix *-kaʔ* 'immediative' (Haude 2006: 128ff.), illustrated in (55):

(55) *che weleʔ-kaʔ-a=as n-iʔ ʔa:ri=Ø*  
 and climb\_up-IM-LV=N.AB OBL-ART.PL.1 leg=1SG  
 'and it [the spider] climbed up my legs at once.' [EA, Araña 002]

Reduplication of the final CV- unit of a base is common (cf. Haude 2006: 84f.), so that it might be possible that the suffix *-kakaʔ* is a reduplicated form of the immediative suffix *-kaʔ*. However, another difference between the two suffixes is that after the immediative suffix, the argument is attached differently. On phasal verbs, as on monovalent verbs in general, pronominal enclitics are attached by external cliticization (marked by --), as in (56).

(56) *loy it pen-tijkarim-kakaʔ-iy'ʔi*  
 INT 1INTR start-work-PH--1PL  
 'We'll start working again.'

In contrast, when the verb is marked by *-kaʔ* 'immediative', the argument is internally cliticized (marked by =), a process that involves, among other things, the insertion of the linking vowel *-a*, as could be seen in (55) above.

Still, it can be hypothesized that, similar to the intensifying suffix *-uk/-ay'*, one of the semantic components of the suffix *-kaʃ* 'immediative' is to express the intensification of an aspect of an event (its inception or brief duration). Here, too, it may be the case that together with the reduplication, the suffix may add a component of durativity, which is not necessarily part of the meaning of the root itself.

If the suffixes of phasal verbs are interpreted as markers of durativity, the internal make-up of phasal verbs can be analysed as follows: first, a suffix (*-uk, -ay'*, *-kakaʃ*) is attached to the root (a verb root or full verb), and second, the resulting unit is combined with the lexical prefix. This interpretation is illustrated in (57).

(57) Type A: *ba:-[det-uk]*  
 finish-toast-DUR?  
 'finish toasting something'

Type B: *ba:-[naye-kakaʃ]*  
 finish-marry-DUR?  
 'finish marrying'

If the function of the suffix on a phasal verb is that of marking durative aspect, an obvious question is why it is absent from Type C phasal verbs. A possible answer is that the combining roots are morphologically similar to bound nominal elements, and that in general, nouns are neutral with respect to lexical aspect.

#### 4 Periphrastic phasal constructions

Phasal verbs can be replaced by a periphrastic construction, which is usually produced spontaneously when a phasal construction is asked for in elicitation. The periphrastic construction contains as matrix verb a Type C phasal verb, most commonly *ba:lomaj* 'finish' (consisting of the phasal root *ba:-* 'finish' and the bound nominal element *-lomaj* 'time') or sometimes *penwit* 'start' (consisting of the phasal root *pen-* and the combining root *-wit*), which indicates the aspectual properties of the sentence, and the activity is expressed by an adverbial clause. The periphrastic construction is illustrated in (58) with *ba:lomaj* 'finish' as matrix predicate and in (59) with *penwit* 'start'.

(58) *ba:lomaj n-as tos-na-wa=n*  
 finish OBL-ART.N peel-DR-AN=2  
 ‘You finish peeling (it).’ [MCA\_280806\_1]

(59) *loy it penwit n-as toroj-di-na:-wa=Ø n-as*  
 INT 1INTR start OBL-ART.N dust-CLF.house-DR-AN=1SG OBL-ART.N  
*asna=Ø*  
 home=1SG  
 ‘I’ll start dusting in my house.’

As already mentioned, all phasal verb constructions can be replaced by the periphrastic construction; no pragmatic difference between the two constructions can be discerned. According to the speaker, (60)a and b both mean the same:

(60) a. *jayna t ba:-nayles-eʔ-kakaʔ*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-make\_fire-AG-PH  
 ‘I’ve finished making fire.’

b. *jayna t ba:-lomaj no-kos nayles-eʔ-wa=Ø*  
 DISC 1INTR finish-time OBL-ART.N.AB make\_fire-AG-AN=1SG  
 ‘I’ve finished making fire.’

That the periphrastic seems to be preferred may be a signal that the phasal verb construction is getting lost as a productive morphological device, perhaps due to its morphological complexity or to the influence from Spanish, where, like in English, phasal meanings are expressed by full verbs like “start” or “finish”, followed by a prepositional phrase with an infinitive. Moreover, the periphrastic construction in Movima has the property of containing more detailed information than the multiverb construction, since person, transitivity and also tense are overtly encoded: subordinate predicates are derived action- or state nominals and are combined with an article. On these predicates, person is obligatorily expressed, i.e., the argument (in the case of bivalent predicates, one of the two arguments) is attached to the predicate by internal cliticization; when there is no internal clitic, this implies the first person, as could be seen in (60)b. The person of the subordinate clause is by implication also the person of the phasal matrix verb, as shown by the above examples.

In a similar manner, tense is overtly marked in subordinate, but not in main clauses. This is due to the temporal-deictic function of the article (see Haude 2004), which is an obligatory part of subordinate phrases. Phrases referring to events that occurred before the day of speaking contain the article *os*, as in (61)a; for hodiernal past (involving the day of speaking; see Bybee et al. 1994: 98), the article is *kos*, as in (61)b; and for nonpast, it is *as*, as in (61)c. (For reasons of space, the verb *ba:lomaj* is glossed here simply as ‘finish’.) As is the case with person marking, the marking of the subordinate clause has its scope over the main clause as well.

- (61) a. *jayna it ba:lomaj n-os ji:sa-na:-wa=Ø as chakdi*  
 DISC 1INTR finish OBL-ART.N.PAST make-DR-AN=1SG ART.N fence  
 ‘I finished making the fence.’ (before today)
- b. *jayna it ba:lomaj no-kos ji:sa-na:-wa=Ø as chakdi*  
 DISC 1INTR finish OBL-ART.N.AB make-DR-AN=1SG ART.N fence  
 ‘I just finished making the fence.’ (today)
- c. *jayna it ba:lomaj n-as ji:sa-na:-wa=Ø as chakdi*  
 DISC 1INTR finish OBL-ART.N make-DR-AN=1SG ART.N fence  
 ‘I’ll finish making the fence.’ (lit.: “with my making the fence”)  
 (I’m still building it)

Furthermore, as can be observed in the examples in (61), while the phasal verbs are monovalent, the predicates of subordinate clauses can be bivalent, i.e., they can take two core argument expressions. Thus, the periphrastic construction has the advantage of explicitly encoding categories that are not encoded in a phasal verb.

## 5 Conclusion

To summarize, a Movima phasal verb consists of up to three elements: a lexical prefix, a root, and in certain cases, a suffix. Due to the lexical nature of the prefixes, which either originate from or are cognate with a verb root, phasal verbs can be considered multiverb constructions.



The difference between the three types of phasal verbs is determined by the root. Type A verbs can contain only a transitive verb root, and depending on the vowel of the root, the suffix they take is either *-uk* or its allomorph *-ay'*. The Type B construction is the most productive one, since its root consists in a full intransitive verb which can even be morphologically complex. Type C phasal verbs only take a restricted class of roots, which usually are special combining forms that show parallels with bound nominal elements. Type C verbs do not contain a suffix and are therefore difficult to distinguish from intransitive incorporating verbs. On all phasal verbs, the lexical prefix indicates the phase (beginning or end) of an event, while the root denotes the event itself. The function of the suffix is not clear; however, since the roots of phasal verbs are not restricted to denoting durative events, it is possible that it adds a durative component to the meaning of the root; the prefix may be a later addition to the construction, restricting the meaning of the complex verb to the initial or final phase of the durative event.

Phasal verbs, especially those of Type B, can be quite complex. Maybe it is for this reason, together with the fact that Movima is an endangered language whose speakers also speak Spanish on a daily basis, that they are rare in discourse. What is found more often instead is a periphrastic, subordinating construction involving a Type C phasal matrix verb and an adverbial clause. The periphrastic construction may also be preferred because it encodes tense, person, and transitivity, categories that are not expressed in phasal verbs.

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