

8. Muna morphology

A full treatment of Muna morphology is found in Chapters 4 and 10 of *A grammar of the Muna language*. Here only the most important points will be mentioned. I will first discuss basic verbal morphology, then briefly list the remaining affixes.

Verbs are split into three morphological classes, based on the different subject markers. The following chart presents the subject prefixes in the realis mood (used for past and present).

Abbreviations used in the chart: sg = singular; du = dual; pl = plural, pol = polite; inc = inclusive of hearer, ex = exclusive of hearer.

Table 1. Realis paradigm (present and past)

person	<i>a</i> -class	<i>ae</i> -class	<i>ao</i> -class
	<i>kala</i> 'go'	<i>late</i> 'live'	<i>lodo</i> 'sleep'
sg 1	<i>a-kala</i>	<i>ae-late</i>	<i>ao-lodo</i>
2	<i>o-kala</i>	<i>ome-late</i>	<i>omo-lodo</i>
2pol	<i>to-kala</i>	<i>te-late</i>	<i>to-lodo</i>
3	<i>no-kala</i>	<i>ne-late</i>	<i>no-lodo</i>
du 1inc	<i>do-kala</i>	<i>de-late</i>	<i>do-lodo</i>
pl 1inc	<i>do-kala-amu</i>	<i>de-late-emu</i>	<i>do-lodo-omu</i>
1ex	<i>ta-kala</i>	<i>tae-late</i>	<i>tao-lodo</i>
2	<i>o-kala-amu</i>	<i>ome-late-emu</i>	<i>omo-lodo-omu</i>
2pol	<i>to-kala-amu</i>	<i>te-late-emu</i>	<i>to-lodo-omu</i>
3	<i>do-kala</i>	<i>de-late</i>	<i>do-lodo</i>

The information on the particular class a verb is in, is found in brackets after the main entry or subentry. For instance, *suli* 'return' is listed as (vi,a-), meaning that *suli* is an intransitive verb belonging to the *a*-class. On the basis of the above paradigm, the complete realis paradigm for *suli* can be deduced. Similarly, other verbs will be listed as (vi,ae-) or (vt), where (vs) stands for stative verbs and (vt) for transitive verbs. Muna stative verbs often translate as adjectives in English, and consequently the English gloss gives just the corresponding adjective without the copula *to be*, e.g. *bhala* (vs,a-) 'big' rather than 'be big'. Since all transitive verbs are in class *ae*- (with less than a dozen exceptions for the whole language), only the label (vt) is given for these verbs. This assumes class *ae*-.

The irrealis mood is used for the future and after negators. For class *ae*- and *ao*- partially different sets of subject prefixes are used. Class *a*- also has different subject prefixes, but in addition uses the infix *-um-*.

Table 2. Irrealis paradigm (future and after negators)

person	<i>a</i> -class	<i>ae</i> -class	<i>ao</i> -class
	<i>kala</i> 'go'	<i>late</i> 'live'	<i>lodo</i> 'sleep'
sg 1	<i>a-kumala</i>	<i>ae-late</i>	<i>ao-lodo</i>
2	<i>o-kumala</i>	<i>ome-late</i>	<i>omo-lodo</i>
2pol	<i>ta-kumala</i>	<i>tae-late</i>	<i>tao-lodo</i>
3	<i>na-kumala</i>	<i>nae-late</i>	<i>nao-lodo</i>
du linc	<i>da-kumala</i>	<i>dae-late</i>	<i>dao-lodo</i>
pl linc	<i>da-kumala-amu</i>	<i>dae-late-emu</i>	<i>dao-lodo-omu</i>
1ex	<i>ta-kumala</i>	<i>tae-late</i>	<i>tao-lodo</i>
2	<i>o-kumala-amu</i>	<i>ome-late-emu</i>	<i>omo-lodo-omu</i>
2pol	<i>ta-kumala-amu</i>	<i>tae-late-emu</i>	<i>tao-lodo-omu</i>
3	<i>da-kumala</i>	<i>dae-late</i>	<i>dao-lodo</i>

The infix *-um-* (used to form the irrealis of *a*-verbs) has different allomorphs depending on the initial consonant of the root:

- a. In the majority of cases *-um-* is infixed:

dadi - *dumadi* 'live'
gaa - *gumaa* 'marry'
suli - *sumuli* 'return'

- b. With vowel initial roots, the prefix *m-* is found:

ala - *mala* 'take'
ere - *mere* 'leave'
omba - *momba* 'appear'

- c. With root-initial *p* or *f*, this consonant is replaced by *m*:

punda - *munda* 'jump'
foni - *moni* 'climb, go up'

- d. With root-initial *b*, *bh*, *m*, *mb* and *mp*, no change occurs. This is also the case before several prefixes, e.g. *ko-*, *po-* and *ti-*.

- e. With root-initial *w* there is no change, except for:

waa - *maa* 'give'
wora - *mora* 'see'
wanu - *manu* 'wake up'

- f. Irregular irrealis (with first person)

aworae - *amorae* / *aorae* 'I see it'
aforoghu - *amoroghu* / *aoroghu* 'I drink'
afumaa - *aomaa* 'I eat'

An irrealis verb form with initial *m* (e.g. *namande*) is in actual fact ambiguous as to its origin. Since *na-* signals third person singular irrealis in the *a*-class, *mande* could theoretically be derived from *ande*, *fande*, *mande*

or *pande*. The last one is correct (*pande* 'able'; the other roots do not exist). In such cases it is best to start looking at the roots in the order *p*, *f*, vowel and finally *m*. Some irrealis forms may go back to more than one root form: *amilie* may come from *pili* 'choose' or *ili* 'bring down'.

Basic verbal morphology also includes the participles. Active participles are made differently according to verb class in the following way:

<i>a</i> -class	<i>ae</i> -class	<i>ao</i> -class
<i>k[um]ala-no</i> 'going'	<i>me-late-no</i> 'living'	<i>mo-lodo-no</i> 'sleeping'

The same allomorphy for *-um-* applies here.

Pronominal suffixes are presented in table 3 below, together with possessive suffixes. The indirect object suffixes can usually be translated with the prepositions 'with, to, for, because of' followed by a personal pronoun. Notice that the V in the second person plural possessive suffix stands for a copy of the preceding vowel (e.g. *lambu-umu* 'your (pl) house' and *doi-imu* 'your (pl) money').

Table 3. Pronominal suffixes

		Direct object	Indirect object	Possessive
person				
sg	1	<i>-kanau</i>	<i>-kanau</i>	<i>-ku</i>
	2	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-angko</i>	<i>-mu</i>
	2pol	<i>-kaeta</i>	<i>-kaeta</i>	<i>-nto</i>
	3	<i>-e</i>	<i>-ane</i>	<i>-no</i>
du	1inc	-	-	<i>-nto</i>
pl	1inc	-	-	<i>-nto-omu</i>
	1ex	<i>-kasami</i>	<i>-kasami</i>	<i>-mani</i>
	2	<i>-ko-omu</i>	<i>-angko-omu</i>	<i>-Vmu</i>
	2pol	<i>-kaeta-amu</i>	<i>-kaeta-amu</i>	<i>-nto-omu</i>
	3	<i>-da</i>	<i>-anda</i>	<i>-ndo</i>

Some verbs are marked with the abbreviation 'io', e.g. the verb *asi* (vi,ae-/a-,io). This means that a patient is coded as an indirect object and that the verb does not take direct object suffixes. Notice that derived verbs with the prefix *po-* almost always take the indirect object set. This is therefore not indicated for these verbs. Also, verbs suffixed with *-Cao* take indirect object suffixes, in which case the *-o* of the suffix is often dropped.

There is a class of experiential verbs in which the experiencer is marked as a direct object, e.g. *no-sodo-kanau* 'I have a fever'; lit. 'it fevers me'. Such experiential verbs are indicated as (vi,-kanau), where the first person direct object suffix *-kanau* 'me' stands for the whole paradigm.

Words in the semantic field of sounds often occur in two forms: one with the prefix *ko-* as an *a*-verb and the other as a reduplicated *ae*-verb. From the root *tou* 'bark', for example, the regularly occurring forms are *nokotou* or *netou-tou* 'it barks'. To avoid cumbersome repetition of information, this has been collapsed for all such sound words into the part of speech indication (n;vi,ae-).

Finally, for searching it is important to recognize prefixes (and circumfixes). Table 4 below is a very rough outline of the derivational affixes in alphabetical order, with just the most basic information about meaning, plus one example. It should help in the process of stripping off affixes, but for more information, consult Chapter 10 of the Muna grammar, and also the entry for the affix itself in this dictionary. (In the list 'red' stands for reduplication, which is not treated by itself here.)

Table 4. Prefixes and circumfixes

<i>fe-</i>	a. requestive [irrealis remains <i>fe-</i>]	<i>fe-gholi</i>	'ask to buy'
	b. locative [irrealis <i>me-</i>]	<i>fe-panda</i>	'be below'
<i>feka-</i>	a. factitive	<i>feka-ware</i>	'broaden'
	b. adverbial [irrealis <i>meka-</i>]	<i>feka-ghosa</i>	'loudly'
<i>fo</i> ₋₁	causative [irrealis <i>mo-</i>]	<i>fo-kala</i>	'make go'
<i>fo</i> ₋₂	detransitivizer [irrealis remains <i>fo-</i>]	<i>fo-sia</i>	'bite'
<i>foko-</i>	call, mention	<i>foko-adede</i>	'cry ouch'
<i>ka-</i>	a. nominalization	<i>ka-bhala</i>	'bigness, size'
	b. unexpectedly	<i>ne-ka-rato</i>	'he arrived unexpectedly'
<i>ka-/ha</i>	location, time, instrument, reason (on <i>a</i> -verbs)	<i>ka-lente-ha</i>	'birth place'
<i>kae-/hia</i>	idem (on <i>ae</i> -verbs)	<i>kae-buri-ha</i>	'writing instrument'
<i>kao-/ha</i>	idem (on <i>ao</i> -verbs)	<i>kao-lodo-ha</i>	'bed'
<i>ka- + red</i>	a. diminutive	<i>ka-wale-wale</i>	'small hut'
	b. rather	<i>ka-rombu-rombu</i>	'rather fat'
	c. simultaneous	<i>ka-bisa-bisara</i>	'while talking'

<i>ki-/ha</i>	many, all together	<i>ki-tou-ha</i>	'all barked'
<i>ko-</i>	have, possess	<i>ko-lambu</i>	'have house'
<i>ko-/ha</i>	all of, the whole	<i>ko-se-wua-ha-e</i>	'all the fruit'
<i>ko- + red</i>	continue to be	<i>ko-wanu-wanu-no</i>	'remain awake'
<i>mansi- + red</i>	only a few	<i>mansi-wua-wua</i>	'only a few'
<i>manso-</i>	habitual	<i>manso-saki</i>	'often sick'
<i>m(b)a- + red</i>	rather	<i>ma-wanta-wanta</i>	'rather long'
<i>me-</i>	a. imperative	<i>me-ngkora</i>	'sit down!'
	b. clipped		
	participle	<i>me-taa</i>	'good'
	c. class affix		
<i>me-/no</i>	without meaning		
	active participle	<i>me-late-no</i>	's.o. living'
<i>mo-</i>	on <i>ae</i> -verbs	<i>mo-lodo</i>	'sleep!'
	a. imperative		
	b. clipped	<i>mo-asi</i>	'loving'
	participle		
	c. class affix		
<i>mo-/no</i>	without meaning		
	active participle	<i>mo-meme-no</i>	'what is wet'
<i>mpo- + red</i>	on <i>ao</i> -verbs	<i>mpo-lodo-lodo</i>	'pretend to be asleep'
	pretend		
<i>na-</i>	future (with numbers)	<i>na-se-tonde</i>	'one glass'
<i>ne- (ni-)</i>	passive participle	<i>ne-owa</i>	'brought'
<i>ngko-</i>	habitual	<i>ngko-saki</i>	'often ill'
<i>nsa- + red</i>	increasingly	<i>nsa-bhie-bhie</i>	'more and more heavy'
<i>pa-</i>	profession	<i>pa-hulo</i>	'hunter'
<i>paka-</i>	when first/just	<i>paka-mate-no</i>	'when he had just died'
<i>para-</i>	habitual	<i>para-ada</i>	'always borrow'
<i>pe-</i>	approximately	<i>na-pe-tolu</i>	'about three'
<i>piki-</i>	early, soon	<i>piki-rato</i>	'come early'
<i>po-</i>	a. reciprocal	<i>po-pongko</i>	'kill e.o.'
	b. play	<i>po-mbololo</i>	'play the gong'
	c. in parts	<i>po-gunti</i>	'cut in two'
<i>poka- + red</i>	pretend, for fun	<i>poka-linda- linda</i>	'dance a little'
<i>sa-</i>	a. as soon as	<i>sa-rato-no</i>	'as soon as he arrived'
	b. only, always	<i>sa-lowu</i>	'always drunk'
<i>sa-/ha</i>	hardly, only just, reasonably (on <i>a</i> -verbs)		
<i>sae-/ha</i>	idem (on <i>ae</i> -verbs)	<i>sae-taa-ha-no</i>	'just good'
<i>sao-/ha</i>	idem (on <i>ao</i> -verbs)		
<i>se-</i>	one	<i>se-mie</i>	'one person'

<i>si-</i>	be one, share	<i>si-guru</i>	'have the same teacher'
<i>si-/ha</i>	a. together	<i>si-kala-ha</i>	'go together'
	b. suddenly	<i>no-si-mai-ha</i>	'he suddenly came'
<i>ta-</i>	a. caveat	<i>ta-no-ndawu</i>	'(take care) lest he fall'
	b. only, just	<i>ta-inodi</i>	'only me'
	c. until, another	<i>ta-na-se-taghu</i>	'another year'
	d. suddenly	<i>ta-no-mate</i>	'he suddenly died'
<i>ti-</i>	agentless passive	<i>no-ti-buri</i>	'written'
<i>ti- (te-)</i>	as much/many as	<i>ti-tolu-piri</i>	'as much as three plates'

Table 5. Suffixes and infixes

<i>-ana</i>	dual adhortative	<i>do-kala-ana</i>	'let the two of us go'
<i>-e</i>	emphatic vocative	<i>ina-e!</i>	'mother!'
<i>-ghoo</i>	a. indirect object	<i>gholi-ghoo</i>	'buy with/for'
	b. purpose	<i>no-kala-ghoo</i>	'for him to go'
<i>-ha</i>	a. location, time, manner	<i>fumaa-ha</i>	'eating time'
	b. partitive (in combination with participles)	<i>rabu-ha</i>	'way to make'
<i>-hi</i>	a. plural	<i>mo-dai-ha-no</i>	'part which is broken'
	b. enumeration	<i>bhai-hi</i>	'friends'
		<i>no-bhala-hi</i>	'it is big (among other things)'
	c. rather	<i>ne-taa-hi</i>	'it is rather good'
<i>-ho</i>	a. future	<i>no-bhala-ho</i>	'when he's big'
	b. optative	<i>no-hende-ho</i>	'may it grow'
<i>-Cao</i>	vehement action	<i>rambi-tao</i>	'fling down'
allomorphs: <i>-fao</i> <i>-hao</i> <i>-lao</i> <i>-pao</i> <i>-rao</i> <i>-sao</i> <i>-tao</i>			
<i>-Ci</i>	a. repetitive	<i>rambi-si</i>	'hit repeatedly'
	b. locative/applicative	<i>leni-fi</i>	'swim towards'
allomorphs: <i>-fi</i> <i>-ghi</i> <i>-hi</i> <i>-i</i> <i>-ki</i> <i>-li</i> <i>-mi</i> <i>-ngi</i> <i>-ni</i> <i>-pi</i> <i>-ri</i> <i>-si</i> <i>-ti</i> <i>-wi</i>			
<i>-mana</i>	plural adhortative	<i>do-kala-mana</i>	'let's all go'
<i>-mo</i>	a. perfective	<i>a-mai-mo</i>	'I have come'
	b. emphatic	<i>inodi-mo</i>	'I am the one'
<i>-Vmu</i>	plural		
	a. second person	<i>hintu-umu</i>	'you (plural)'
	b. first person	<i>intaidi-imu</i>	'we (all)'
	plural inclusive		
allomorphs: <i>-amu</i> <i>-emu</i> <i>-imu</i> <i>-omu</i> <i>-umu</i>			

-um-	irrealis for class <i>a</i> -	<i>na-h{um}oro</i>	'he will fly'
-um-/no	active participle for <i>a</i> -verbs	<i>k{um}ala-no</i>	'those going'

In order to give some idea what is involved in stripping off affixes, here is one (rather simple) example of the beginning of a Muna text, the first animal story from *Kadadihi ne witeno Wuna* by Lukas Atakasi (Raha, 1991). Under the texts lines I have put the roots, with the accompanying glosses, followed by a free translation.

- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>Wewi</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>witeno</i> | <i>Wuna</i> | <i>ini</i> | <i>nobhari</i> | <i>sepaliha.</i> |
| wewi | ne | wite | Wuna | ini | bhari | sepaliha |
| pig | loc | land | Muna | this | many | very |

There are many pigs here on Muna.
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|
| <i>Taaka,</i> | <i>sehae</i> | <i>topono</i> | <i>miina</i> | <i>bhe</i> | <i>mandehaane.</i> |
| taaka | sehae | topo | miina | bhe | pande |
| but | how.many | number | not | with | able |

But nobody knows the exact number
- | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>Kadadi</i> | <i>aini</i> | <i>nerimba</i> | <i>nolee,</i> |
| dadi | aini | rimba | lee |
| live | this | quick | breed |

This animal breeds very fast,
- | | | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>rampano</i> | <i>sekoanaha</i> | <i>ampa</i> | <i>fato</i> | <i>ghulu.</i> |
| rampa | ana | ampa | fato | ghulu |
| because | child | until | four | body |

because in one birth it can have up to four young.

In these four lines there are few problems; the main difficulties are with *mandehaane* in line 2, an active participle from *pande-hao* 'know' with indirect object inflection, and, in line 4, *sekoanaha* from *ana* 'child, young' → *ko-ana* 'have children; give birth' → *ko-ana-ha* 'time of giving birth' → *se-ko-ana-ha*, literally 'one time giving birth', meaning 'one birth, one litter'.

Below is a short list of where I expect difficulties to arise in searching for roots and identifying morphemes.

- Active participles, marked by circumfixes. Notice especially the *-um-* allomorphy. Examples: *bhalano* 'the big one' from *bhala*; *timotehino* 'the one that is feared' from *tehi*. It is also very important to distinguish the possessive *-no* from the *-no* which occurs as part of the active participle.

b. Confusion of inflectional *ne-* 'he, she' with *ne-* marking a past participle (which follows a noun or functions as a noun). Examples: *netumbu mafu sau* 'she is pounding cassava' versus *mafu sau netumbu* 'pounded cassava'.

c. Cliticization of *ta-* 'just; take care', *pa* 'will not', *so* 'for, in order to' with the following verb. Examples: *tomondawu* = *ta-omo-ndawu* 'take care you will not fall'; *pakumala* = *pa akumala* 'I will not go'; *saegholighoo* = *so aegholighoo* 'for me to buy'.

d. Shortening of long vowels. Especially final long vowels and long vowels in unstressed syllables tend not to be written. Examples: *popa* = *popaa* 'four'; *bhabhaano* = *bhaa-bhaano* 'first of all'; *nandoo* = *naandoo* 'there is'; *nofaralu* = *nofaraluu* 'it is necessary'. Vowel shortening also occurs in poetry.

e. Series of affixes can present special problems. Because of the length of the word, the root is not so easily discernible. Secondly identifying the affixes is complicated because some are circumfixes, and some are simply sequences of two or more separate affixes. Examples: *tanofekatangkaemo* = *ta-no-feka-tangka-e-mo* 'he just made it strong' from *tangka* 'strong' with three prefixes (*ta-* 'just'; *no-* 'he'; *feka-* 'causative') and two suffixes, *-e* 'it'; *-mo* 'perfective'. *Dosimoghaehamo* = *do-si-mo-ghae-ha-mo* 'they cried together' from *ghae* 'to cry' with circumfix *si-/ha* 'together' (which triggers the accompanying class affix *mo-*), another prefix *do-* 'they' and the perfective suffix *-mo*.

f. Nasal accretion in compounding and poetry. Nasal accretion occurs in fossilized compounds and in poetry, thus obscuring root words. Most prenasalized phonemes in compounds and in poetry are therefore suspect. Table 6 shows the prenasalized consonants with the corresponding non-prenasalized counterparts

Table 6. Prenasalized consonants and their counterparts

mb	-	bh, w, b
mp	-	p, f
nd	-	d
ngk	-	k, gh (rare)
ngg	-	g
ns	-	s
nt	-	t

Examples:

Manu-manu ngkamokula

'an old bird'

(root *kamokula* 'old')

Katibu nangkoihimo

'the pool will fill up'

(root *ihi* 'fill', *koihi* 'full')

Dambaraki haenono?

'what could they possibly dislike him for?'

(root *bhara*, *bharaki* 'dislike')

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