APPENDIX II.

The Morphology of Verbals in Kpelle

(a brief outline)

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0. The need for the following outline grew out of
a discussion of logical propositions. Since many propo-
sitions of the types with which we are concerned are ver-
bal, it seemed wise to preface any fuller discussion with
a brief outline of Kpelle verbal morphology, lest confu-
sion be introduced with the citation of complex and pos-
sibly mysterious constructions.

1. Affirmative minimal verbal sentences which can
be used independently (i.e., as complete utterances) con-
sist of two parts, each composed of two components: a
pronoun with a pronominal formative, and a verb stem with
a verbal formative. A formative may have a zero form.

1.1. The pronouns with their formatives are:

	zero	high	-a	-à	-aâ	-ì	mid
1 s	ŋá	ŋá	ŋa	ŋà	ŋaâ	ŋâi	--
2 s	í	í	ya	yà	yaâ	îi	--
3 s	è	é	a	à	aâ	èi	--
1 pl	kú	kú	kwa	kwà	kwaâ	kûi	--
2 pl	ká	ká	ka	kà	kaâ	kâi	ka
3 pl	dí	dí	da	dù	daâ	dîi	--

1.2. Verb stems with their formatives are illustra-
ted here for one stem with each possible stem tone:

	zero	low	-ì	
high	píli	pìli	pílîi	'jump; throw'
mid	kula	kùla	kulâi	'exit; remove'
fall	pêlaŋ	pèlaŋ	pêlanîi	'get down; put down'
mid-fall	tuâŋ	tùaŋ	tûanîi	'move over; push'

The glosses represent intransitive and transitive uses.

1.3. The possible combinations of these forms are illustrated below; the second example in the second group illustrates a regular alternation: falling instead of low after mid. In these minimal combinations, each pronoun formative is used with only one verbal formative with one major exception: /-a/ occurs twice.

high	- zero:	é tuâɲ	'He should move over'
-à	- zero:	à tuâɲ	'He has moved over (at some time)'
-aâ	- zero:	aâ tuâɲ	'He has moved over (and is there)'
mid	- zero:	ka tuâɲ	'Move over!' (plural)
zero	- low :	è tùaɲ	'He moved over'
-a	- low :	a tûaɲ	'He moves over'
-ì	- low :	èi tùaɲ	'I wish he would move over'
-a	- -ì :	a tuâɲii	'He is moving over'

2. Comparable minimal negative verbal sentences which can be used independently consist of a negative morpheme /-fé/ (preceded by a noun or by a pronoun of the object or dependent possessive type) and a formative, plus a verb stem and a formative.

2.1. Formatives with /-fé/ are:

zero	... ní	-a	-ì
-fé	-fé ... ní	-fa	-fêi

2.2. Each of the verbal formatives is used with one or more of these.

2.3. The possible combinations do not completely match the affirmative constructions. Two of the affirmative constructions are paired with complex negatives: the past negative plus an adverb. One other, the negative imperative, merges with the negative hortative. There is lack of matching in another respect as well; the same combinations of formatives do t always yield

parallel constructions. The simple negatives are:

..ní – zero: vé tuân ní   'he didn't move over'

zero – low :   vé tùan   'he shouldn't move over'

-a   – low :   fa tûan   'he doesn't move over'

-ì   – low :   vêi tùan   'I wish he wouldn't move over'

zero – -ì :   vé tuânii   'he isn't moving over'

3. Parallel affirmative and negative constructions, by label rather than by form, and without translations, are given below. The instances in parentheses are not minimal constructions, or represent a merger. Lack of formal match is indicated by an exclamation mark in parentheses. These are in the order of the affirmative constructions is 1.3 above.

KXXXXXXXX	Affirmative	Negative
Hortative	é tuân	vé tùan (!)
Experiential	à tuân	(vé tá tuân ní) (!)
Completive	aâ tuân	(vé nîi tuân ní) (!)
Imperative	ka tuân	(kéfé tùan) (.)
Past	è tùan	vé tuân ní (!)
Customary	a tûan	va tûan
Desiderative	èi tùan	vêi tùan
Present	a tuânii	vé tuânii (!)

4. One additional simple verbal construction should be mentioned, which cannot occur independently; it is the conditional. The affirmative is a combination much like others, but it does not negate with /-fé/; the negative is rather like the affirmative with an adverb.

à tùan   'when (~ if) he moves over'

à wàla tùan }
à wàla tuân }   'if he doesn't move over'

5. Another type of verbal constr   ion may appear

independently with apparently the same propositional va-
lue as the above constructions. There are two forms of
this type: (1) the singular imperative /-káa/ 'see' fol-
lowed by the verb stem with the formative /-ì/, and (2)
any of the above constructions using the verb /ké/ 'hap-
pen, be; do, make' followed by the verb stem with the
formative /-ì/, with the exception of the present con-
struction. The first of these expresses the present
corresponding to all others of the second type. These
are not "complex" constructions in the sense that they
involve two propositions. The first type is not a nor-
mal imperative, since it can be used in speaking to more
than one person. The second type is paralleled by other
uses of /ké/ which put it in a special category some-
what like an "auxiliary" verb. The first type may be
interchanged freely with the present construction al-
ready described. It, and some examples of the second
type, are as follows:

gáa tuânii   'he is moving over'

è kè tuânii   'he was moving over'
é ké tuânii   'he ought to be moving over'
èi kè tuânii   'I wish he were moving over'

6.   With a few verbs only, a further construction
occurs using a verbal formative /-nì/. This is also a
simple construction, minimal, which may be used indepen-
dently. It is the "stative".

a seêni   'he is seated'
(cf. a seêi   'he is getting into a sitting position'

7.   Some additional constructions which might be ex-
pected in this discussion are complex in Kpelle; that is,
from the viewpoint of logical propositions, they appear
to involve more than a simple proposition. These are:

a pâi tuânii   'he will move over' (cf. a pâi 'he
                      is coming')

a pôri tuânii   'he is able to move over' (with the
                    customary of /pôri/ 'be equal to')

8. From the viewpoint of a classification of these
constructions as logical propositions, two classes can
be distinguished: real and unreal. Real propositions
are those which express completed or observable pheno-
mena; these include the following:

Past	(and parallel con-
Customary	structions described
Experiential	in 5 above)
Completive	
Present	
Stative	

Unreal propositions are those which express action which
is desired, urged, or ordered; these include:

Desiderative	(and parallel con-
Hortative	structions described
Imperative	in 5 above)
(Future)	
(Potential)	

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