THE APINAYÉ LANGUAGE:

PHONOLOGY
and
GRAMMAR

Thesis
submitted for the Ph.D. degree
of the University of London

by

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April 1962

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ABSTRACT

After a preface, a general index is given, followed by a general introduction. Following this introduction are the nine main chapters of the thesis, each with an individual outline of its contents, and grouped as follows: chapter 1 introduces the various transcriptions used; chapters 2 and 3 describe the phonology; and chapters 4 to 9 present the grammatical analysis.

Within these grammatical chapters, there are certain subgroupings. Chapter 4 presents the analysis from the sentence to the piece, and chapters 6 to 9 handle the analysis of the various pieces introduced in chapter 4. Chapters 6 and 7 describe the pieces whose structure can be stated in terms of phrases, taking the analysis down to the level of the morpheme; chapters 8 and 9 deal with those pieces and their constituents which are not analysed in terms of phrases. Chapter 5 is somewhat different, as it describes two aspects of the grammar - the prefixial paradigm and the relationship between strong and weak forms - which are relevant to the description of both phrasal and non-phrasal pieces.

Following these nine chapters, an analysis of one of the texts is provided. The thesis is then concluded with a vocabulary of stems cited in the thesis, and a bibliography.

PREFACE

This thesis, in being a description of an American Indian language, follows the precedent set by Dr.J.T. Bendor-Smauel's thesis 'The Structure and Function of the Verbal Piece in the Jebero Language', which was the first to be presented to the University of London on an American Indian language. As he was, so I also am indebted to the late Professor J.R.Firth and to Professor K.L.Pike for the training I have received in general linguistics, not indeed under them personally, but under those closely associated with them.

I have had the advantage of working under two supervisors, Professor C.E.Bazell and Mr.R.H.Robins, and I am indeed grateful to them for their valuable, detailed, and patient criticisms throughout every stage of the writing of the thesis.

I would also like to express my sincere thanks to the University of London for a grant from the University Central Research Fund which met all my travelling expenses. I am also grateful for the help received from my colleagues of the Brazilian Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, without which it would hardly have been possible to settle down so quickly in the interior of Brazil with a primitive tribe.

Finally, I greatly appreciated the ready co-operation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in granting permission to live in the Apinayé village of São José, and also the interest expressed in, and the help given to, the research by the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro with whom the Summer Institute of Linguistics has close links.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Apinayé[1] language is spoken today by a little over 200 Indians, living in two villages between the Rivers Tocantins and Araguaia, in the northern tip of the state of Goiás in Brazil. The largest of these villages, São José, has about 160 inhabitants and is situated some 15 miles west of Tocantinópolis, a small town on the western bank of the Tocantins. Its latitude and longitude are thus about 6.S and 48.W. The second village, called Mariazinha, is situated about a day's journey from São José in a northerly direction, and contains some 50 inhabitants.

The first known contact of the Apinayé with Europeans was in 1774, when a certain Antonio Luiz Tavares encountered what were almost certainly Apinayé Indians at a place on the River Tocantins not far from Mariazinha.[2] Europeans had paid visits to this area as early as the 1650s, but there is no record of contacts with the Apinayé.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century they became known by the name Apinayé, and established a certain amount of trade with the local white population. The tribe was considerably larger at this time, being estimated at some 4000 in the 1820s. Contact with the white population was steadily maintained, and is still so today, though the Indians still retain many of their former customs.

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1. The spelling used in this thesis is that recently recommended by the Brazilian Anthropological Association. The name of the tribe and of the language is also found spelled Apinagé and Apinajé in older writers and in dictionaries. The spelling recommended by the B.A.A. will also be used where other tribes are referred to, except when quoting from other writers, in which case their own spelling will be retained. Apinayé is pronounced (a,pina'ɜɛ).

2. The historical information cited here is taken from the section on the history of the Apinayé in 'The Apinayé', by Curt Nimuendaju, translated from the original German by R.H.Lowrie, in the Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series, no.8. It was published by the Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., in 1939.

In 1945, the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (SPI) established a Post among the Apinayé in the village of São José.

It is interesting to note that the tribe is now increasing in size, as Nimuendaju estimated their number at 160 in 1937. It thus appears less likely than before that the language will die out, especially since protracted contact with the Portuguese language and use of it for trade purposes, has not supplanted the use of Apinayé in the home.

* * * * * * * * *

The Apinayé language is classified as a member of the Jê (or Gê) language group.[1] A short account of the known material published on the language is given below.

The earliest records of the language are those obtained by Francis de Castelnau, recorded in 'Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud', Pt.1, Vol.5, pp.270-273. Two vocabularies are given, one collected in 1844 by Castelnau himself, consisting of 178 words; and the other obtained by Castelnau from the commandant of a fort at the juncture of the Rivers Araguaia and Tocantins, consisting of 38 words. Both are transcribed in French orthography; Castelnau's own is recognisably Apinayé, but the commandant's is not.

The next known list is found in 'Glossaria Linguarum Brasiliensum', Vol.2, pp.146-149, consisting of some 198 words, collected about 1867 by C.F.P.V.Martius. The orthography seems to be a mixture of Portuguese, French, and German, and a few of the words appear to be Apinayé.

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1. See, for instance, Henry Osborn's 'A List of South American Indian Languages', Indiana University, 1948 (this is based on various lists, such as that of J.A.Mason, used in the Handbook of South American Indians, Vol.6). Like other writers, he groups Apinayé as the only member of the Western Timbira, a subgroup of the Jê language group, as much geographical, however, as linguistic. J.M. Camara, Jr., in 'Alguns Radicais Jê', Publicações Avulsas do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1959, a comparative study of twelve Jê languages, groups Apinayé with Piokobié and Rankokamekra. This grouping, he says, 'appears to be entirely new'. But all workers in this comparative field readily admit that there is at present insufficient linguistic evidence to accurately identify or classify the members of the Jê language family.

In 1895, Oscar Leal in 'Viagem a um paiz de selvagens' lists 129 words (pp.225-228), but according to Nimuendaju, 'the word list is copied from Castelnau, with partial alteration of French into Portuguese orthography'.

A list of 206 words, with some short sentences, is contributed by Theodore Sampaio to the 'Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográphico Brasileiro', LXXV, 1912, Pt.1, under the title 'Os Kraôs do Rio Preto no Estado da Bahia' (pp.163-165 and 174-198). Again, according to Nimuendaju, these were 'recorded in the capital Bahia in 1911 from the lips of three Apinayé who pretended to be Krahó; the vocables are genuine Apinayé, not Krahó at all'. However, a list of purportedly Apinayé words is also included, and the two lists are very similar. Some of the supposedly Krahô words are possibly Apinayé, but others I did not recognise.

Two separate lists were recorded in 1926, one published in 1930, the other in 1931. The author of that published in 1930 was Carlos Estevão de Oliveira, in 'Os Apinagé do Alto-Tocantins', Boletim do Museu Nacional VI, no.2, pp.99-104; he lists some 239 words. The orthography used is Portuguese, and the transcription used is quite good, though no distinction is made between the back spread and the back rounded vowels (as with all other writers except Nimuendaju). The names of many of the local birds and animals are listed, with not only their Portuguese and Apinayé names, but their scientific names as well.

The list published in 1931 was collected by E.Heinrich Snethlage, and published in 'Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern', Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, LXII, pp.186-200. It comprises '337 words and short sentences' (Nimuendaju), and uses an amplified German transcription (such as a final n for nasalisation) of quite good quality. It is this list that J.M.Camara draws on for his comparative study (see footnote on previous page).

Also published in 1931 is a list of 17 words in 'Na terra das palmeiras' by Silvio Fróes Abreu. The list is poorly transcribed.

In the following year, Henrique Jorge Hurley listed 140 items in the 'Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográphico do Pará', Vol.VII, pp.242-243, in an article entitled 'Eu e o meu professor de Apinayé'. These words were recorded from an informant named Pêmotchó from the (now non-existent) village of Botica. The words

are listed in Portuguese orthography and are poorly transcribed.

The only other known investigator of the Apinayé language is Nimuendaju, but there is no published work on the language by him. All that is available are words scattered through his book 'The Apinayé' (see footnote 2, p.1). In his work 'A Obra Lingüística de Curt Nimuendaju', J.M.Camara mentions that Nimuendaju's linguistic work was not included in 'The Apinayé' and consisted of '13 pages, typed in double columns, with an alphabetical listing according to the German entries'.[1] Nimuendaju visited the tribe in 1928 and 1937, and the words he records in his book are very good - good enough for an informant to recognise what they were from my pronunciation of them.[2]

It is clear from this survey of previous material that all earlier work on the Apinayé language has extended no further than listing words, and occasionally short sentences, and that, apart from Nimuendaju's work, it has missed important phonetic features of the language.

Before leaving the subject of previous work, however, reference should be made to two more modern works. The first of these appeared in the International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol.18, no.3, 1952, and was by Miss Olive Shell, under the title 'Grammatical Outline of Krahó (Gê Family)'. This was an attempt to present a modern descriptive analysis of Krahô based on the material collected by an anthropologist Buell Quain, who met his death while studying the Krahô. Krahô is a language closely related to Apinayé (with a certain amount of practice, the members of the two tribes can communicate, though how fluently, I could not say), and the analysis she gives is similar in a number of respects to that of Apinayé.

The most recent work is that of J.M.Camara, Jr.,

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1. I translate from Camara's Portuguese.

2. Some examples from Nimuendaju's book, with my own orthography in brackets, will show how well he recorded the back spread vowels, one of the most difficult features of the language. 'mbądn-yambį' (mʌnžamɨ) 'forearm feathers'; 'krįdrɛ' (krɨt~rɛ) 'a type of wood'; 'kamčvį' (kamčvə) 'to shoot arrows at something'.

published in 1959 (see footnote 1, p.2). As previously mentioned, this is a comparative study of 12 Jê languages, one of these being Apinayé. Camara uses lists from various writers for the different languages, that of Snethlage (see p.3) being used for Apinayé.

* * * * * * * * *

The analysis of Apinayé presented in this thesis is based upon material gethered in the village of São José between October 1958 and September 1959. The material consists of eight tape-recorded traditional stories given by Estevam Laranja; a story given by Francisco Sutero, not recorded; and a body of elicited material using a number of informants, the most important being Francisco Sutero. Estevam Laranja was the 'judge' or 'counsellor' of the tribe, and so was the official storyteller; he was one of the older men, probably in his late fifties. Francisco Sutero was a young man in his early twenties.

The majority of the grammatical analysis is based upon the eight stories, which means that it is subject to two limitations. It reflects the speech of one person only; and it is based upon one type of discourse, that used in telling stories. Neither of these, however, are serious limitations, as material obtained from Estevam Laranja differed only in occasional details from that obtained from other speakers; and as the stories contained a considerable amount of conversation which was the same as that in daily use.

The phonology is based more on the elicited material, particularly with respect to such details as the 'echo-vocoid', which is very rare in text; and with respect to the juncture phenomena, of which text material exhibited a percentage only of the range of possibilities. The phonology, therefore, reflects more the speech of Francisco Sutero, but again, this only differed occasionally from that of other speakers.

The thesis is conceived of as having two main purposes, though the second of these covers a number of secondary emphases. The first of these purposes is to provide a scientific analysis, in terms of modern descriptive linguistics, of a language hitherto not subjected to such an analysis; and indeed, of a member of a language family about which very little has so far been written.[1]

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1. See next page.

Apart from the intrinsic interest of such information, it is hoped that this thesis will contribute towards the comparative study of Brazilian languages, which is of particular interest to Brazilian linguists.

The second of these purposes is to show the value of an analysis of the phonology in terms originated and taught by Professor J.R.Firth and his colleagues at the School of Oriental and African Studies. So far as this thesis is concerned, this approach is evidenced in the following ways.

Professor Firth emphasised the need for a syntagmatic approach to the phonology, and the general units of the phonology, viz., phonematic units and prosodic features, are chosen in accordance with this emphasis. Also, the particular treatment of certain of the phonetic facts, such as initial consonant clusters, final palatal consonants, and vowel sequences within the syllable, reflects this approach.

This, however, is only applying the distinctive concepts of a 'prosodic' approach to another language - there is nothing essentially new in it. Where new ground is broken, it is felt, is in the handling of sequences of syllables, and in the analysis of the intonation. So far as I am aware, prosodic analysis has not been used to handle what is commonly called 'morphophonemics' on the widespread scale in which it occurs in Apinayé. Chapter 3 is an attempt to do this, and the introductory remarks to that chapter give a more detailed discussion of the value of a syntagmatic approach to this type of feature, as opposed to a paradigmatic 'phonemic'approach. Similarly, I am not aware of a formal analysis of intonation in terms of prosodic features and phonematic units, such as I have attempted at the end of chapter 2. These are experiments, as it were, in the realm of prosodic analysis, and it is hoped that they will give increased insight into the value of its distinctive contribution to phonological analysis.

In addition to the syntagmatic emphasis, there is a polysystemic emphasis. This shows itself in that there is no monosystemic 'overall' handling of the phonology, but different systems are set up for different syllable units, and different

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1. (from previous page). Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics are at present engaged in the study of some of the Jê languages, so that published material should soon be available about them.

places in these units. Similarly, different juncture systems are set up for different syllable-finals.[1]

Finally, there is a third emphasis, on the close correlation between grammatical categories and phonological features, a correlation liable to be obscured by an 'overall' approach. This shows itself in the highlighting[2] of phonological features peculiar to, and so characteristic of, various grammatical categories, particularly word-classes. There are thus such sections as 'The phonology of the nominal suffixes' (6.41) and 'The phonology of the particle conjunctions nɛ̃ and ñũm' (8.43).

It will be seen that it is felt that so far as original work is concerned, the main contribution is in the phonology. It is true, however, that the grammatical analysis is not closely tied to any particular school. It owes most debt, however, to the tagmeme concept as developed by Professor K.L.Pike,[3] for although the terms 'slot' and 'tagmeme' will not be found in the thesis, the basic concept of a 'slot-class correlation' has been constantly used. I am also indebted to the thesis of Dr.Bendor-Samuel (see the preface), with its analysis in terms of favourite and non-favourite sentences,[4] and cross-classification of sentences as question, statement, etc.[5]

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1. It should be borne in mind, however, that a thesis of this sort is too wide in its scope to do full justice to a polysystemic approach.

2. Again, it is not possible to do more than this in a thesis which aims to cover the whole language.

3. See, for instance, chapter 7, Vol.1, of 'Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior', Summer Institute of Linguistics, Glendale, California, 1954.

4. op.cit.^{ss}43, p.43.

5. op.cit.^{ss}443, p.46.

CHAPTER 1 THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

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CHAPTER 1 THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

1.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Throughout the thesis, three separate transcriptions are regularly used - phonetic, reading, and phonological. These three transcriptions are described in the following three sections, 1.2 - 1.4. No examples are given in this chapter, as the detailed description of the phonology is given in chapters 2 and 3.

1.2 THE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

All material that is transcribed phonetically will be enclosed in brackets,[1] and will be given in terms of the International Phonetic Alphabet. However, certain conventions in the phonetic transcript of the material have been adopted, to make for ease of typing; these are given below.

a) The letters p, t, and k represent lightly aspirated plosives, rather than unaspirated plosives; and tɕ is a lightly aspirated affricate;

b) the letters t, d, n, s, z, and l represent sounds made at a dental point of articulation;

c) the letter r is used to represent an alveolar flap, with or without lateral tongue shape;

d) the letter a represents a vowel a little backed from the cardinal a of the chart, but not a central vowel.

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1. Except in the text at the end.

1.3 THE READING TRANSCRIPTION

The reading transcription which is provided is a phonemic [1] one, which adheres in general to the symbols used in the International Phonetic Alphabet, but has certain deviations, mostly for typing convenience.

The use of the symbols in the reading transcription will bd described in four main sections: 1.31 will define the consonant symbols; 1.32 the vowel symbols; 1.33 the punctuation and other symbols; 1.34 the principles on which these are used, with reference to the morphophonemics.

1.31 The Consonant Symbols

Twelve consonant symbols have been used, which are conveniently grouped into three sets of four - the plosives, the nasals, and the continuants, these terms being used phonologically, rather than strictly phonetically. These will be described in turn in the following paragraphs, a final paragraph adding some general comments applicable to many of the consonants.

The four plosives are represented by the symbols p, t, č [2],

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1. The phonemic procedures used were based on 'Phonemics', by K.L.Pike, Ann Arbor - Univ. of Michigan Press, 1947.

2. The diacritic ˇ serves to distinguish this symbol from the c used in the phonological transcription, and to relate it to the alveolo-palatal ž.

and k, being respectively, bilabial, dental, alveolo-palatal (affricate) and velar in point of articulation. They are voiced when they are both unstressed (i.e. syllable-final in any syllable, syllable-initial in an unstressed syllable) and preceded and followed by voiced sounds; they are voiceless and lightly aspirated elsewhere. In faster speech, and especially next to open or half open vowels, the voiced forms may occur as continuants, ð, r, j, and γ respectively. The consonant č occurs as a palatalised dental plosive (t̪) when preceding a voiceless plosive.

The four nasals are represented by the symbols m, n, ñ, and ŋ, being respectively, bilabial, dental, alveolo-palatal, and velar in point of articulation. When they precede an oral vowel in the same syllable, they occur as voiced prenasalised plosives, except when preceded by a nasal, when they occur as voiced plosives; elsewhere, they occur as nasals,[1].

The four continuants are represented by the symbols v, r, ž, and ʔ. The symbol v represents a labio-dental continuant, normally frictionless (ʋ) but occasionally fricative (v) when strongly stressed. The symbol r represents an alveolar flap, with or without lateral tongue articulation, in all positions except syllable final before a consonant, or following t and n; in these cases it is a dental lateral continuant.

The symbol ž represents (i) a voiced alveolo-palatal grooved fricative (ʒ) or a flat palatal fricative (j) (the difference seems to be one of dialect) when initial in a stressed syllable, or an unstressed syllable following a plosive, silence, or the vowel i; (ii) a dental fricative when following a plosive or nasal in the same syllable, fluctuating between voiceless (s) and voiced (z) with the plosives; (iii) a palatal frictionless continuant (j) when initial in an unstressed syllable following a nasal or continuant.

---

1. The nasals and the plosives can thus both occur as voiced plosives. In the case of the nasals, however, the voiced plosive is initial in a stressed syllable; in the case of the plosives the voiced plosive is initial in an unstressed syllable.

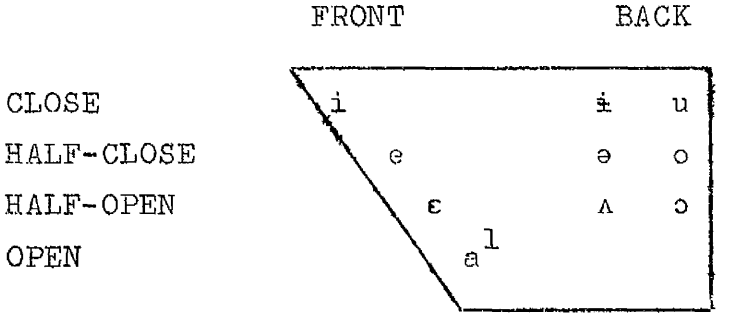
The symbol ʔ represents a voiceless glottal plosive.

The plosives, and often the nasals and continuants, when initial in a stressed syllable, and preceded by a short open syllable (CV), are long, with the stress occurring medially. Also, when the plosives and nasals are in cluster with a following v or ž within a syllable, there is open transition of an obscure central quality, except for the cluster kv. When the alveolo-palatal consonants occur syllable final following a back vowel or a, they are preceded by a palatal glide (i).

1.32 The Vowel Symbols

Ten oral vowels, and seven nasal vowels, are represented in the reading transcription. They are described in turn.

The ten oral vowels are charted below, their phonetic value being indicated reasonably adequately by the labels on the chart. However, the half-close vowels were a little closer, and the back half-open vowels rather more open, than the chart would indicate.



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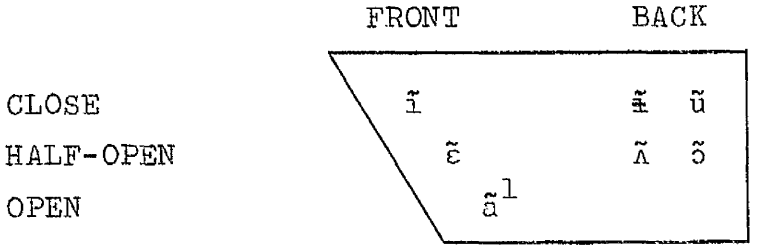
1. As has already been stated (see 1.2) this vowel is a little centralised from the cardinal a.

The seven nasal vowels are charted below. Their phonetic values match the corresponding oral vowels, except that the half-open vowels can fluctuate to a half-close position.



1.33 The punctuation and other symbols

A number of other symbols are used in the reading transcription, which can be grouped into punctuation symbols, and other symbols, described respectively in 1.331 and 1.332.

1.331 Punctuation symbols

Sentence-final is marked in one of three ways: by a question mark if the final clause is a question; by an exclamation mark if the tune-unit on the final clause is L, and occurs with the high tune-prosody (see 2.421); by a full stop if the clause does not fulfil the conditions stated for a question or an exclamation.

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1. See footnote on the previous page.

Clause-final, which is not sentence final, is marked in a number of ways, as follows. Generally, such clause-finals are marked with a comma, but the colon, semi-colon, and dash are also used. If the clause is an Indirect Clause-Type introducing direct speech, it is punctuated with a colon; if the clause-final occurs with the final-prosody *f* (see 2.422) it is punctuated with a semi-colon; and if the following clause (in the same sentence) is a partial repeat of the previous one, they are separated by a dash.

Speech (conversation) is enclosed within double inverted commas, and capital letters are used for the names of persons.

1.332 Other Symbols

A few other symbols are used in addition to the punctuation symbols described above. These are described below.

A sequence of dots (....) is used to represent a very long vowel (see 2.41).

A hyphen (within a word) marks the word as a compound of a major form and a particle, the latter following the hyphen. A tilde (~) within a word marks the word as suffixed, the suffix following the tilde.

An acute accent is used to mark any syllable which is stressed differently from the descriptions of the stress system given in 2.312, 2.331, and 2.332. It is also used to mark the syllable in a suffixed form which carries emphatic stress (6.411).

A word which occurs with emphatic stress (2.421) is underlined.

1.34 The representation of the morphophonemics

A problem of transcription arises when it is desired to represent a sequence of words, a compound word, or an affixed word, as Apinayé has a considerable number of morphophonemic changes. The problem arises, therefore, of whether to indicate the changes in the reading transcription, or not to do so, or to do so to a limited extent. For this thesis, it has been decided that the changes will not be represented in the reading transcription so that a given morpheme is always written in the same way. It is felt that this will considerably facilitate the task of someone reading the thesis who is unfamiliar with Apinayé as a spoken language.

1.4 THE PHONOLOGICAL TRANSCRIPTION

It is not proposed to describe the phonological transcription at this point, but the reader is referred to chapters 2 and 3. It should be noted, however, that the phonological transcription represents an analysis in terms of prosodic features and phonematic units, so that the danger should be avoided of equating identical symbols (e.g. k) in the phonological and reading transcriptions (and, of course, the phonetic transcription). They belong to entirely separate systems, and should be so regarded.

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CHAPTER 2. THE SYLLABLE, THE WORD, AND THE TUNE

2.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It is proposed in this chapter to describe the phonology of the syllable, the word, and the tune. Unassimilated loan words[1], however, are excluded from the material under consideration; and in the sections on the syllable and the word the phonological structure of the members of the prefixial paradigm and of the nominal suffixes will not be discussed, the present discussion thus being limited to the structure of roots[2] and stems[3].

The statements made in this chapter will not take into systematic account categories and abstractions set up at the grammatical level, though occasional reference will be made to them. It is not implied, however, that such categories and abstractions are entirely irrelevant to the phonology, and in subsequent chapters attention will be drawn to those phonological features which are peculiar to some grammatical category.

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1. This term is used in the same sense as E.J.A.Henderson in 'The Phonology of Loanwords in some South-East Asian Languages', TPS, 1951, p.131. See also R.H.Robins, 'Vowel Nasality in Sundanese, A Phonological and Grammatical Study', BSOAS, p.87, footnote 5, and C.C.Fries and K.L.Pike, 'Coexistent Phonemic Systems', Lang.25 (1949), pp.29-50.

2. A 'root' is defined as any form that never occurs affixed (e.g. adverbs, connectives, etc).

3. A 'stem' is defined as any form that can occur affixed (e.g. nominals, verbs, etc).

In the sections on the syllable and the word, the phonetic exponents stated for a phonological element are those appropriate to that element when the syllable in which it occurs is both preceded and followed by another syllable, allowing for the abstraction of the phonetic exponents of the juncture. Consequently, the phonetic exponents of the element when preceded or followed by silence [1] will be given separately, and the examples at the phonetic level will illustrate these phonetic exponents only.

The phonetic exponents given, unless otherwise stated, reflect a somewhat slowish well-enunciated style of speech.

The chapter will be presented in three main sections describing respectively the syllable (2.2), the word (2.3), and the tune (2.4).

2.2 THE SYLLABLE

The syllable will be described by means of two syllable units, termed S and U. These syllable units are defined (and thus distinguished) in terms of their internal structure and external distribution as described in this section, and in 2.3 on the word. In general, however, it can be said that the syllable unit S has a more complex structure than the syllable unit U; and that it occurs word-final and with primary stress, whereas the syllable unit U never occurs word-final, and usually occurs with tertiary stress. They are also distinguished by their juncture with other syllables.

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1. It would be possible to set up juncture systems to handle juncture with silence, but this has not been done, except to a limited extent. No juncture system is set up to handle juncture with preceding silence, as this would necessitate setting up an entire extra system (cf. footnotes 1 and 2, page 7); but juncture with following silence is incorporated into the general juncture system except for the case in which an echo-vocoid occurs. This particular case will be described in this chapter; the more general case is exemplified by the text material following chapter 9.

In sections 2.21 and 2.22 the structure of the syllable units S and U will be described respectively. Their structures will be stated by means of two systems, the phonematic units system, and the prosodic features system; and three places, initial, medial, and final. A phonematic unit is a phonological element that has phonetic exponents which may be referred to one place only in the phonetic structure of the syllable; a prosodic feature is a phonological element whose phonetic exponents either extend over more than one place in the phonetic syllable, or have implications over more than one place in that they delimit it from, or link it to, preceding and following structures.[1]

2.21 The structure of the syllable unit S

The structure of the syllable unit S will be described in two sections, the first dealing with the phonematic units system (2.211); the second with the prosodic features system (2.212).

2.211 The phonematic units system of the syllable unit S

The phonematic units system of the syllable unit S is a closed system comprising four members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by C, V, c, and e. These combine to form six types of syllable unit S, which are grouped into three pairs,

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1. See the Introduction, pp.5-7, for a general discussion of the phonological approach adopted in this thesis.

CV and V ; CVc and Vc; CVə and Və. The first pair are termed 'short open' syllables; the second pair 'closed' syllables; and the third pair 'long open' syllables. A count based on some random samples of text material showed that, for S syllable units, short open syllables accounted for nearly 70 per cent of the occurrences, closed syllables for about 30 per cent, and long open syllables for less than 2 per cent.

2.211.1 Medial place in the syllable-unit S

Medial place in the syllable-unit S is filled by a vowel unit, V. There are three such V units, which together form a closed system for medial place. These three units are represented in the phonological transcription by I, E, and A. The phonetic exponent of the vowel unit I is closeness of articulation; of E is midness; and of A is openness. A count made on some text material showed that the V unit A accounts for about 70 per cent of all V units occurring; the units I and E account for about half each of the remaining 30 per cent. E.g.[1]

ñũm	'and'	('ɲũm)	CVc	CIc
poi	'to come back'	('poi)	CVə	CEə
ã	'thus'	('ã)	V	A

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1. Throughout section 2.2 examples will be given in 5 columns as follows:- (1) reading transcription; (2) translation; (3) phonetic transcription; (4) syllable type (CV, CVc, etc); (5) the phonematic units and prosodic features. With regard to this last column, symbols will not be used in the formulae which have not been introduced and described, even though this temporarily necessitates 'mixed' formulae using general units such as C and V, and specific units such as I and A.

2.211.2 Initial place in the syllable-unit S

Initial place in the syllable-unit S is filled by a consonantal unit, C. There are eight such C units[1], which together make up a closed system for initial place. These eight C units are grouped into three subsystems - Cp, Cn, and Cj, which are described, in turn, below.

The subsystem Cp comprises three members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by P, T, and K. The phonetic exponents of these are plosives[2], at bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation respectively. Following silence, they are voiceless and lightly aspirated. E.g.

pa	'I'	('pa)	CV	PA
tə	'that is so'	('tɤ)	CV	TE
kĩ	'hair'	('kĩ)	CV	KI

The subsystem Cn comprises three members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by M, N, and Ɲ.

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1. Two initial consonants, s and h, have been excluded from the initial system because of their extreme rarity and restricted occurrence. 's' is only found in certain proper names, such as Si~ti, Sɨt, and Siprĩ; and in loan words from Portuguese such as Sap 'Saturday' (Port. sábado), and sĩk 'five' (Port. cinco). 'h' was found in only one form, hɛ̃, meaning unknown, (3.52, and 8.65), but was also noted in songs. It is quite likely to have been borrowed from neighbouring Indian languages, such as Krahô, where h occurs as a consonant.

2. 9.32 describes one special case in which the phonetic exponent of the C unit P is a bilabial nasal.

The phonetic exponents of these are nasals, at bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation respectively. Following silence they are voiced. E.g.

mã	'to'	('mã)	CV	MA
nɛ̃	'and'	('nɛ̃)	CV	NA
ŋo	'water'	(ŋ'go)	CV	N̪E

The subsystem Cj comprises one member, which is represented in the phonological transcription by J. The phonetic exponent of J is a non-nasal continuant. E.g.

ra	'already'	('ra)	CV	JA

2.211.3. Final place in the syllable-unit S

Final place in the syllable unit S may be filled by either a consonantal unit c, or a syllabic unit ə. The c unit system will be described in 2.211.31 and the ə unit system in 2.211.32.

2.211.31 Final place in the closed syllable unit S

Final place in the closed syllable unit S is filled by a c unit[1]. There are seven such c units, which together

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1. Lower case letters are used for final phonematic units and also for phonematic units which occur in the syllable-unit U. They are thus related at the phonological level (as reflected in the transcription) because their phonetic exponents exhibit numerous parallels and their juncture phenomena are closely related.

form a closed system for final place. These seven c units are grouped into three subsystems - Scp, Scn and Scj[1].

The subsystem Scp comprises three members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by p, t, and k. The phonetic exponents of these are plosives, at bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation respectively[2]. E.g.

tɛp	'fish'	('tɛbɛ)	CVc	TAp
mɨt	'sun'	('mbɯdɯ)	CVc	MIt
pok	'flame'	('pogo)	CVc	PEk

The subsystem Scn comprises two members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by m and n. The phonetic exponents of these are nasals, at bilabial and dental points of articulation respectively[2]. E.g.

tɛ̃m	'to fall'	('tɛ̃mɛ̃)	CVc	TAm
ton	'armadillo'	('tono)	CVc	TEn

The subsystem Scj comprises two members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by v and r. The phonetic exponents of these are frictionless continuants, the former at a labio-dental point of articulation, the latter at a dental or alveolar point of articulation[2]. E.g.

nɨv	'new'	(n'dɯvɯ)	CVc	NIv
pur	'clearing'	('puru)	CVc	PIr

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1. The initial letter S distinguishes these subsystems from the subsystems set up for final place in the syllable unit U (see 2.221.3).

2. For further details concerning the phonetic exponents of final c units, see the last paragraph of this section. Chapter 3 also gives other phonetic exponents of final c units in particular junctures.

In absolute final position, the final contoid[1] of a closed syllable may be followed by an 'echo-vocoid'. At slower speeds this echo-vocoid is voiced, and has the same degree of openness as the vocoid which is the phonetic exponent of the V unit (unless there is a final-prosody, or the V unit is A with no syllable-prosodies). At faster speeds the echo-vocoid is voiceless, and is closer in articulation than the nuclear vocoid, if the latter is not the phonetic exponent of a V unit I. In the slower case, the final contoid is voiced; see the examples given above. In the faster case, the final contoid is voiceless if it is the phonetic exponent of a member of the subsystem cp, or of the c unit r; otherwise it is voiced. Two examples at the faster speed are given below.

tɛp	'fish'	('tɛpi̥)	CVc	TAp
pur	'clearing'	(ˈpuru̥)	CVc	PIr

2.211.32 Final place in the long open syllable-unit S

Final place in the long open syllable-unit S is filled by a ə unit. There is only one such ə unit, whose phonetic exponent is an unstressed vocoid immediately following the vocoid which is the phonetic exponent of the V unit. (For further detail concerning the details of articulation of this vocoid see section 2.212.3).

ñʌi	'woodpecker'	('ndʐʌi)	CVə	NAə
krua	'arrow'	('kru^{w}a)	CVə	KIə

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1. A 'contoid' is any sound which is not a 'central resonant oral'; a 'voccid' is any sound which is. See K.L.Pike, 'Phonemics', Univ. of Michigan, 1947, pp.235, 244.

2.212 The prosodic features system of the syllable-unit S

The prosodic features system set up for the syllable-unit S consists of three closed systems, set up for the whole syllable, for syllable-initial place, and for syllable-final place. For convenience, these prosodic features will be referred to respectively as syllable-prosodies, initial-prosodies, and final-prosodies.

2.212.1 The prosodic features system set up for the whole syllable

A closed system of four prosodic features is set up for the whole syllable. These four syllable-prosodies are represented in the phonological transcription by n, ɴ, w and y, written on the line preceding the symbols for the phonematic units. The syllable-prosodies will be considered in two pairs:- n and ɴ; and w and y.

Every syllable unit S occurs with either an n or a ɴ syllable-prosody, but the former never occurs with a syllable with the vowel unit E.

The phonetic exponents of the syllable-prosody n are the following.

(i) With all short open and closed syllables, whose initial C unit is not a member of the subsystem Cn, the phonetic exponent of the syllable-prosody n is lowering of the velic for all vocoid articulations. If the final c unit is a member of the subsystem cp, there is voiced nasal transition between the nuclear vocoid and the phonetic exponent of the c unit, homorganic with the latter. E.g.

ĩ	'when'	('ĩ)	V	nI
rɔ̃r	'babassu palm'	('rɔ̃rɔ̃)	CVc	nJAr
prɔ̃t	'to run'	('prɔ̃^{n}dɔ̃)	CVc	nPAt

(ii) With all short open and closed syllables, whose initial C unit is a member of the subsystem Cn, the phonetic exponent of the syllable-prosody n is lowering of the velic at the release of the initial contoid, and for all vocoid articulations in the syllable. If the final c unit is a member of the subsystem cp, the same phonetic phenomena occur as described above in section (i). E.g.

ka<u>ŋrɛ̃k</u>[1]	'swamp'	(ŋ'rɛ̃^{ŋ}gɛ̃)	CVc	nŊAk

(iii) With long open syllables, the phonetic exponents of the syllable-prosody n are as given above, but the vocoid which is the exponent of the ə unit may or not be nasalised, i.e. there is free fluctuation. E.g.

mũi	'that'	('mũi/'mũĩ)	CVə	nMIə

The phonetic exponents of the syllable-prosody ɴ are as follows:

(i) With all syllables, excepting those whose initial C unit is a member of the subsystem Cn, the phonetic exponent of the syllable-prosody ɴ is raising of the velic for all vocoid articulations unless the final c unit is a member of the subsystem Scn, in which case there is lowering of the velic for the articulation of the echo-vocoid (except when the V unit is E). E.g.

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1. Where polysyllabic forms are cited as examples, the syllable unit S will be underlined in the reading transcription, and only its phonetic exponent will be given in the phonetic transcription.

tɛp	'fish'	('tɛbɛ)	CVc	ɣTAp
ʌm	'to place something'	('ʌmɤ̃)	Vc	ɣAm
om	'to pound something'	('omo)	Vc	ɣEm

(ii) With syllables whose initial C unit is a member of the subsystem Cn the phonetic exponent of the syllable-prosody ɣ is raising of the velic at the release of the initial contoid, and for all vocoid articulations in the syllable (with the same exceptions stated above).

ŋrɛ	'to sing'	(ŋ'grɛ)	CV	ɣNA
mɛñ	'honey'	(m'bɛ̯ɲĩ)	CVc	ɣMAn

All syllable-units S occur with one or both of the syllable-prosodies w and y, unless the V unit is A, in which case the syllable can occur without a syllable-prosody.

With all syllables without a final-prosody the phonetic exponent of w syllable-prosody (without y syllable-prosody) is backness and roundness of articulation throughout the syllable; of y syllable-prosody (without w) is frontness and spreadness throughout the syllable. The phonetic exponent of w with y is backness and of y with w is spreadness, so that syllables which occur with both w and y syllable-prosodies are characterised by backness and spreadness throughout the syllable. E.g.

mɔ̃	'to go'	('ɔmɔ̃)	CV	nwMA
ket	'not, none'	('ked^{e})	CVc	ɣyKEt
ə	'yes'	('ɤ)	V	ɣwyE

If the syllable occurs with one of the final prosodies, the phonetic exponent of the syllable-prosody extends to the nuclear vocoid only. E.g.

poi	'to come back'	('poi)	CVə	#wPEə

When a syllable-unit S occurs with the V unit A, and without the syllable-prosodies w and y, there is absence of rounding, spreading, backing, and fronting throughout the syllable - the syllable is, as it were, neutral. In this case, the echo-vocoid is close and spread in articulation; if the final c unit is r, it is front, if it is not r, it is back. E.g.

pər	'foot'	('pəri)	CVc	#PAr
tə̃m	'himself'	('tə̃mə̃)	CVc	nTAm

2.212.2 The prosodic features system set up for initial place

A closed system of four prosodic features is set up for initial place in the syllable. These four initial-prosodies are represented in the phonological transcription by w, r, y and ʔ, written as superscripts preceding the symbols for the phonematic units, and following these for the syllable-prosodies.

The initial-prosody w occurs with both consonant and vowel initial syllables; the initial-prosodies r and y with consonant initial syllables only; the initial-prosody ʔ with vowel initial syllables only. A syllable unit S may or may not occur with an initial-prosody.

The phonetic exponent of w initial-prosody is a labio-dental frictionless continuant. When the initial phonematic unit is T or N there is open transition of an obscure central quality between the initial contoid and the contoid which is the phonetic exponent of the w initial-prosody. E.g.

kvə	'a few, some'	('kvɤ)	CV	#wy^{W}KE

čvər	'like, similar to'	('tʂ^{ə}ʋəri)	CVc	ɲ^{W}TAr
va	'two'	('ʋa)	V	ɲ^{W}A

The phonetic exponent of r initial-prosody with a syllable whose initial C unit is a member of either of the subsystems Cp or Cn is an alveolar flap, with or without lateral tongue shape; with the initial C unit J it is a dental or lateral continuant. E.g.

krÃ	'head'	('krÃ)	CV	nwy^{r}KA
mra	'to walk, go'	('mbra)	CV	ɲ^{r}MA
ri	'continuously'	('ri)	CV	ɲy^{r}JI
vrə	'to descend)	('ʋrɣ)	CV	ɲwy^{wr}E

The phonetic exponents of y initial-prosody are as follows[1].

(i) With the initial phonematic units P and K, the phonetic exponent of y initial-prosody is an alveolar (occasionally alveolo-palatal) grooved fricative, which may be voiced, voiceless, or voiceless initial and voiced final. There is usually open transition between the phonetic exponent of the C unit and the phonetic exponent of y. E.g.

pže	'hole'	('p^{ə}ze/'pse/'p^{ʕ}ʂe, etc)	CV	ɲy^{y}PE

(ii) With the initial phonematic units M and N, the phonetic exponent is as described above in (i), but is always voiced. E.g.

mžen	'husband'	(m'b^{ə}zene/m'bʐene, etc)	CVc	ɲy^{y}MEn

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1. These phonetic exponents are based upon the speech of my principal informant, Francisco Sutero. Other speakers used a flat palatal fricative in all contexts, except with the C units T and N.

(iii) With the phonematic unit T, the phonetic exponent of y initial-prosody is alveolo-palatal affrication. E.g.

čer	'to burn'	('tɕere)	CVc	∅y^{y}TEr

(iv) With the initial phonematic unit N, and n syllable-prosody, the phonetic exponent of y initial-prosody is alveolo-palatal point of articulation; with ∅ syllable-prosody, the phonetic exponent is alveolo-palatal affrication of the release of the initial centoid. E.g.

ñĩ	'to sit'	('ɲĩ)	CV	nwy^{y}NI
ñʌ	'interrogative'	(n'dʑʌ)	CV	∅wy^{y}NA

(v) With the phonematic unit J, the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody y is an alveolo-palatal or palatal continuant.

ža	'this'	('ʒa)	CV	∅^{y}JA

The phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody ʔ is a glottal plosive. E.g.

ʔɔ	'with'	('ʔɔ)	V	∅w^{ʔ}A

The distribution of the initial-prosodies with the initial consonant units is shown on the following chart. It can be summed up by saying that in general the phonetic exponents of the initial C unit and of the initial-prosody have different points of articulation. An 'x' marks the combinations that were found; an 'x' with an asterisk in the columns under Cn, indicates forms that occur only in syllables with the syllable-prosody ∅.

INITIAL CONSONANT UNITS

		Cp			Cn			Cj
		P	T	K	M	N	Ɲ	J
INITIAL	w		x	x		*x	*x	
	r	x		x	x		x	x
	y	x	x	x	*x	x	*x	x
PROSODIES	rw			x			*x	
	wy		x			*x		

2.212.3 The prosodic features system set up for final place

A closed system of three prosodic features is set up for final place in the syllable. These three final-prosodies are represented in the phonological transcription by y, w, and n, written as a final superscript. A short open syllable never occurs with any of these final-prosodies; closed and long open syllables may or may not occur with them.

The final-prosody y occurs with both closed and long open syllables. Its phonetic exponents are as follows.

(i) With the final c unit t, its phonetic exponent is alveolo-palatal affrication; and with the final c unit n, alveolo-palatal point of articulation. In both these cases, there is also palatal transition between the vocoid which is the phonetic exponent of the V unit (especially when there is w syllable-prosody), and the final contoid; and the echo-vocoid is a close, spread, palatal vocoid. E.g.

təč	'hard'	('tɤ^{i}dʑi)	CVc	⁄wyTEt^{y}
ʌñ	'to like (of food)'	('ʌ^{i}ɲĩ)	Vc	⁄wyAn^{y}

(ii) With the final unit ə, the phonetic exponent of the final-prosody y is a close spread palatal articulation of the unstressed vocoid. The final-prosody y occurs with the final unit ə only if there is w syllable-prosody, or no syllable-prosody at all. E.g.

poi	'to come back'	('poi)	CVə	$\not$wPEə^{y}

The final-prosody w occurs with long open syllables only. Its phonetic exponent is a close rounded back articulation of the unstressed vocoid, with backing of the phonetic exponent of the V unit. The only V unit found occurring in a syllable with w final-prosody was A, and there is absence of any syllable-prosodies. E.g.

ku?pau	'to err'	('pau)	CVə	$\not$PAə^{w}

The final prosodies y and w can occur together, and in this case there is absence of fronting, backing, closeness, spreading and rounding [1]. Only syllables whose V unit was non-A, and which occurred with either w or y syllable-prosody, but not both, have been found with w and y final-prosodies. When there is y syllable-prosody, there is a palatal transition between the two vocoids; when there is w syllable-prosody there is a back rounded transition between the vocoids. E.g.

?apea	'to look for something'	('pe^{j}a)	CVə	$\not$yPEə^{wy}
?ĩnua	'to hollow out something'	(n'du^{w}a)	CVə	$\not$wNIə^{wy}

The final-prosody n only occurs with long open syllables, and with both w and y final-prosodies. Its phonetic exponent is nasalisation of the unstressed vocoid, usually accompanied by a back articulation. E.g.

ŋreÃ	'many'	(ŋ'greÃ)	CVə	$\not$y^{r}ŊEə^{wyn}

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1. Except when the final-prosody n also occurs; see below.

2.22 The structure of the syllable unit U

The structure of the syllable unit U will be described in two sections, the first dealing with the phonematic units system (2.221); and the second with the prosodic features system (2.222).

2.221 The phonematic units system of the syllable unit U

The phonematic units system of the syllable unit U is a closed system comprising two members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by c and v. These combine to form four types of syllable unit U, which are grouped into two pairs, cv and v; cvc and vc. The former pair will be termed 'open'; the latter pair 'closed'. A count based on some random samples of text material showed that, for U syllable units, open syllables accounted for over 80 per cent of the occurrences, closed syllables for rather less than 20 per cent.

2.221.1 Medial place in the syllable-unit U

Every syllable-unit U has a medial place which is filled by a v unit. There are three such v units, which together make up a closed system for medial place. These three units are represented in the phonological transcription by i, e, and a. The phonetic exponent of the vowel unit i is closeness of articulation; of e is midness; and of a is openness. A count of U syllable-units in text material showed that the vowel unit a accounts for about 70 per cent of all v units; the vowel unit i for about 30 per cent;

and the vowel unit e for 0 per cent[1]. (Cf. with 2.211.1, page 21). E.g.

ʔĩre[2]	'to cut up something'	(ʔi)	v	i
kenÃ	'certainty'	(ke)	cv	ce
arĩk	'to remain, stay'	(a)	v	a

2.2212 Initial place in the syllable-unit U

Initial place in the syllable-unit U is filled by a c unit. There are six such c units, which together make up a closed system for initial place. These six consonant units are grouped into three subsystems - cp, cn and cj, which will be described, in turn, below.

The subsystem cp comprises three members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by p, t, and k. The phonetic exponents of these are plosives at bilabial, dental and velar points of articulation, respectively. Following silence the plosives are voiceless and lightly aspirated. E.g.

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1. It is, in fact, difficult to decide whether a v unit e should be set up, or not. Only four forms were found to contain a syllable-unit U with a v unit e, viz: peʔkÃ 'a large-tailed squirrel cuckoo'; kenÃ 'certainty'; opok 'right'; okapi 'to look for a way to escape'.

2. In the examples, the syllable unit U will be underlined in the reading transcription, and only it will be given in the phonetic and phonological transcriptions.

pičo	'banana'	(pi)	cv	pi
čo?to	'many'	(tɕo)	cv	ta
kato	'to be born'	(ka)	cv	ka

The subsystem cn comprises two members which are represented in the phonological transcription by m and n[1]. The phonetic exponents of these are nasals, at bilabial and dental points of articulation, respectively. They are voiced when following silence. E.g.

mÃnẽn	'again'	(mÃ)	cv	ma
ñĩpeč	'to make or do something'	(ɲĩ)	cv	ni

The subsystem cj comprises one member, which is represented in the phonological transcription by j. The phonetic exponent of j is a continuant. Following silence it is voiced. E.g.

žarɛ̃	'to tell, say something'	(ʒa)	cv	ja

2.221.3 Final place in the syllable unit U

Final place in the (closed) syllable unit U is filled by a c unit. There are five such c units, which together make up a closed system for final place. These five units are grouped into three subsystems Ucp, Ucm, and Ucj.

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1. A third member, ŋ, has not been set up as it has only been found to occur very rarely as a variant for either n or j. E.g. ŋĩmɛč for ñĩmɛč 'to kill someone'; and ŋãrɛ̃ for žarɛ̃ 'to tell, say something'. It is possible that such forms are the relics of a dialect difference.

The subsystem Ucp comprises two members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by p and t. The phonetic exponents of these are plosives, at bilabial, and dental points of articulation respectively. E.g.

<u>ap</u>ka?ti	'tomorrow, the next day'	(ap)	vc	ap
<u>at</u>e	'again'	($a^{i}_{\underset{\sim}{t}}$)	vc	at

The subsystem Ucn comprises two members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by m and n. The phonetic exponents of these are, respectively, bilabial and dental nasals. E.g.

<u>am</u>ñĭ	'one's self'	(am)	cv	am
<u>kuñ</u>ne	'to taste, try something'	($ku^{i}_{\underset{\sim}{n}}$)	cvc	kin

The subsystem Ucj comprises one member, which is represented in the phonological transcription by v. The phonetic exponent of v is a labio-dental frictionless continuant. E.g.

<u>av</u>žanÃ	'to return'	(a$\underset{\sim}{v}$)	vc	av

2.222 The prosodic features system of the syllable unit U

The prosodic features system set up for the syllable unit U consists of three closed systems, set up for the whole syllable, for syllable-initial place, and for syllable-final place. These will be referred to in the same way as for the syllable unit S.

2.222.1 The prosodic features system set up for the whole syllable

A closed system of four prosodic features is set up for the whole syllable. These four syllable-prosodies are represented in the phonological transcription by n, ∅, w and y.

Every syllable unit U occurs with either an n or a ∅ syllable-prosody, and the phonetic exponents of these two syllable-prosodies are as described for the syllable unit S. However, there are certain limitations on the distribution of these two prosodies with the syllable unit U which do not apply to the syllable unit S: n syllable-prosody occurs only with those syllables whose initial c unit is a member of the subsystem cn; ∅ syllable-prosody occurs only with those syllables whose initial c unit is not a member of the subsystem cn. Both of these syllable-prosodies occur with vowel-initial syllables. Cf. and contrast 2.212.1, page 26. E.g.

pumu	'to see something'	(pu)	cv	∅pi
õpo	'to extract something'	(õ)	v	na

Every syllable-unit U occurs with one or both of the syllable-prosodies w and y. The phonetic exponent of w syllable-prosody (when not occurring with y) is backness with rounding; of y syllable-prosody is non-backness with non-rounding. When w syllable-prosody occurs with y syllable-prosody, its phonetic exponent is backness; when y occurs with w its phonetic exponent is spreading. E.g.

ʔaro	'womb'	(ʔa)	v	∅ya
kupɛ̃	'white person'	(ku)	cv	∅wki
ʌpeñ	'to work'	(ʌ)	v	∅wya

2.222.2 The prosodic features system set up for initial place

A closed system of three prosodic features is set up for initial place in the syllable. These three initial-prosodies are represented in the phonological transcription by y, w and ʔ. y initial-prosody occurs only with a syllable whose initial c unit is a member of the subsystem cj; w and ʔ initial-prosodies occur with vowel-initial syllables only. A syllable unit U may or may not occur with an initial-prosody.

The phonetic exponents of these three initial-prosodies are the same as those stated for the initial-prosodies occurring with the syllable unit S (see 2.212.2, page 29). E.g.

vakrɛ	'place, spot'	(wa)	v	$\not{y}^{w}$a
čipro	'swallow'	(tɕi)	cv	$\not{y}^{y}$ti[1]
žatã	'now'	(ʒa)	cv	$\not{y}^{y}$ja[2]
ʔarɛ̃	'to tell, say something'	(ʔa)	v	$\not{y}^{ʔ}$a

2.222.3 The prosodic features system set up for final place

There is only one prosodic feature set up for final

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1. It seems very likely that forms with an initial c unit t and initial-prosody y which are not weak forms (see 5.3) are borrowed forms, either from Portuguese or another Indian language, such as Krahô. Forms of this structure which have been identified as borrowed are the following: čapõ 'soap' (Port. sabão); čikar 'cigarette' (Port.cigarro); čukrut~rɛ 'guinea-hen' (Krahô). There are two forms not identified as borrowed; čivivi~rɛ 'a whistle'; and the form cited in the text above.
2. Forms with an initial-prosody y and initial c unit j are confined to the Adverb Class and the Nominal Particle Class.

place in the syllable-unit U, and it is represented in the phonological transcription by y.

The final-prosody y occurs with the final c units t and n only. The phonetic exponent with t is a palatalised articulation of the contoid. Also, if the v unit is a, there is a palatal glide from the phonetic exponent of a to the contoid; if the v unit is i, there is a particularly close articulation of its phonetic exponent, so that there is friction (marked in the phonetic transcription by a + under the vocoid symbol). E.g.

a<u>č</u>tɛ	'again'	(a$^{i}_{+}$ʧ)	vc	/yat^{y}
i<u>č</u>kɔ̃	'to drink'	(i$^{+}_{}$ʧ)	vc	/yit^{y}

The phonetic exponent of the final-prosody y with the final c unit n is alveolo-palatal articulation of the final contoid; also, if the v unit is not i with syllable-prosody y, there is a palatal glide between the phonetic exponent of the v unit, and the final contoid. E.g.

ku<u>ñ</u>ne	'to taste, try something'	(ku^{i}ɲ)	cvc	/wkin^{y}

2.3 THE WORD

The word has status primarily as a grammatical element, being defined as a 'minimum free form'[1]. However, it is also recognised as having status at the phonological level so as to handle the distribution of the syllable units and such prosodic features as stress and juncture.

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1. Following L. Bloomfield, 'Language', page 178.

The word will be described by means of two systems, the syllable units system, and the prosodic features system; and by means of three places, ultimate, penultimate, and antepenultimate.

The description of the word will be in terms of three types of word - the simple or favourite word (2.31); the repetitive word (2.32); and the compound word (2.33).

2.31 The simple or favourite word

The simple word is defined as any (minimum free) form which comprises one, and only one, syllable-unit S. It could also be designated the 'favourite' word, as the great majority of the words in the lexicon fall into this category. In particular, all mono-syllabic words are simple words.

The structure of the simple word will be described in two sections, the first dealing with the syllable units system (2.311); the second with the prosodic features system (2.312).

2.311 The syllable units system of the simple word

The syllable units system of the simple word is a closed system comprising two members, S and U. These two units combine to form three types of simple word, viz. S, US, and UUS, which will be referred to, respectively, as 'monosyllabic', 'disyllabic', and 'trisyllabic' simple words. A count based on text material showed that monosyllabic words account for about 75 per cent of all simple words; disyllabic for nearly 25 per cent; and trisyllabic for about 1 per cent.

There are certain distributional limitations to be noted in connection with disyllabic and trisyllabic words. In disyllabic words, the only syllable units U which have not been found to occur are those with the initial c unit m.

In trisyllabic words the U syllable unit occurring in the penultimate place was a short open one only, without initial-prosody. In the antepenultimate place the U syllable unit was found to consist of the general structures cv, v and vc only, and there were no initial-prosodies.

Considerable distributional limitations also occur between the fillers of penultimate and antepenultimate place. It is not proposed to describe these in detail (it is not easy to tell what are structural limitations, and what are 'fortuitous', due to lack of data), but the following two comments can be made.

(i) With one exception, an antepenultimate syllable with v unit a is followed by a penultimate syllable with v unit i; and vice-versa.

(ii) Closed antepenultimate syllables have only been found preceding syllables with the v unit a[1].

Some examples of trisyllabic words are given below, with the non-ultimate syllables underlined.

<u>akuno</u>	'to flee'	(ˌagun'do)	ɲya + ɲwki
<u>amũču</u>	'to hide'	(ˌamũt'tɕu)	ɲya + nwmi
<u>užaɨr</u>	'tapping, pecking'	(ˌujaɯrɯ)	ɲwi + ɲyja
<u>apka</u>ʔti	'tomorrow, the next day'	(ˌapkaʔ'ti)	ɲyap + ɲyka

In disyllabic weak forms (see 5.3) in which the

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1. Apart from one adverb: see 8.21.

initial c unit in the penultimate place is p; and in trisyllabic words in which the initial c unit in the penultimate place is m, there is a type of harmony between the penultimate syllable, and the ultimate one. Such penultimate syllables are always characterised by w syllable-prosody; if the syllable unit S occurs with y syllable-prosody (with or without w syllable-prosody) then so does the syllable-unit U. In disyllabic words there tends to be fluctuation. E.g.

pumu	'to see something'	ɸwpi + ɸwMI
pune pɨne	'to catch something'	ɸw(y)pi + ɸyNE
amũču	'to hide'	nwmi + ɸw^{y}TI
amɨ̃krɨ	'afternoon'	nwymi + ɸwy^{r}KI

2.312. The prosodic features system of the simple word

The prosodic features system set up for the simple word comprises two closed systems, one set up for the whole word, and the other set up for the junctures between the syllable units within the simple word. These will be described in turn, in sections 2.312.1 and 2.312.2.

2.312.1 The prosodic features system set up for the whole word

There is only one prosodic feature, stress, which is set up as a prosodic feature for the whole word; it will be referred to as a word-prosody. It is considered to be a prosody of the whole word because it has phonetic implications throughout the word of prominence, vocoid length, pitch and juncture.

The phonetic exponents of the prosody of stress can be conveniently considered in four groups, which will be termed primary, secondary, tertiary and emphatic stress.

The phonetic exponents of primary stress are greater prominence (or 'breath-force') than secondary or tertiary stress; a higher pitch than secondary or tertiary stress; potential lengthening of the vocoid which is the phonetic exponent of the V unit in a syllable with primary stress; and particular phonetic exponents for the phonological elements of the syllable with primary stress when in juncture.

The phonetic exponents of secondary stress are a degree of prominence not greater than that for primary stress, and usually less; lower pitch than primary stress; no lengthening of the vocoid; and the same phonetic exponents for the members of the junctural-prosody system, as for primary stress.

The phonetic exponents of tertiary stress are least prominence; pitch no higher than secondary stress and usually lower; no lengthening of the vocoid; and a different set of phonetic exponents for the phonological elements of the syllable when it is in juncture. The principle difference between the phonetic exponents of secondary and tertiary stress is in the phonetic exponents exhibited by them when in juncture with other syllables.

Emphatic stress can be regarded as a special form of primary stress, in which the pitch level is in the high band, and which is frequently accompanied by lengthening.

In the simple word in isolation, the (ultimate) syllable-unit S always occurs with primary stress; the penultimate syllable unit U with tertiary stress; and the antepenultimate syllable unit U with secondary stress.

In phonetic transcriptions, primary stress will be marked by a vertical stroke above the line (ˈ); secondary stress by a vertical stroke through the line (ˌ); tertiary stress will be left unmarked; emphatic stress will be marked by two vertical strokes above the line (ˈˈ). In phonological

transcriptions, primary stress will be marked by an acute accent over the vowel unit; secondary stress by a grave accent over the vowel unit; tertiary stress will be unmarked; emphatic stress will be marked by two acute accents over the vowel unit. E.g.

pikunor 'to flee' (,pigun'doro) ɣypì + ɣwki + ɣwNÁr

2.312.2 The prosodic features system set up for juncture within the simple word

It has not been thought profitable to set up two distinct systems for juncture within the word and for juncture across word boundaries, as the former is identical with the latter, apart from being much more restricted. Hence, to save a considerable amount of repetition, nothing more will be said about the junctural system at this point; full details will be given in the next chapter.

2.32 The repetitive word

A repetitive word is defined as any (minimum free) form which comprises two, and only two, syllable-units S, which stand in a particular phonological relationship to each other. Repetitive words can be formularised as (U)SS, where the brackets indicate that the syllable unit U may or may not be present; and where the underlining indicates the phonological relationship between the two syllable units S.

There are two types of repetitive word, which differ as to the relationship between the S syllable-units: one will be termed the 'open repetitive word' and the other the 'closed repetitive word'. These will be described in turn in sections 2.321 and 2.322.

2.321 The open repetitive word

The open repetitive word can be formularised as follows:-

$$(cv) + CV + CV(c/ə),$$

where the C and V units are identical. Thus, in the open repetitive word, the first of the syllable units S is always open, and the second may or may not be. The final unit c comprises any member of the system of final c units set up for the syllable units S whose phonetic exponent is not a labial or a nasal, viz, t, k, and r.

In the repetitive word in isolation, the second syllable unit S carries primary stress; the first syllable unit S may occur with either secondary or tertiary stress; and the syllable unit U occurs with tertiary stress. The first syllable unit S occurs with secondary stress if the initial C unit is a member of the subsystems Cp or Cn, and has an initial-prosody; otherwise it has tertiary stress. E.g.

ʧũʧũ~[1]	'Moon'	(ˌtɕũt'tɕũ)	$nw^{y}T\grave{I} + nw^{y}T\acute{I}$
ŋrɛŋrɛr	'smooth'	(ˌŋgrɛŋ'grɛrɛ)	$\not{n}y^{r}\text{Ŋ}\grave{A} + \not{n}y^{r}\text{Ŋ}\acute{A}$
kokɛi	'monkey'	(kok'kɛi)	$\not{n}wKE + \not{n}wK\acute{E}ə^{y}$
katõtõk	'thunder'	(kaⁿdõt'tõ^{ŋ}gõ)	$\not{n}yka + nwTA + nwT\acute{A}k$
kapreprek	'to spank'	(kapˌprɛp'prɛgɛ)	$\not{n}yka + \not{n}y^{r}P\grave{E} + \not{n}y^{r}P\acute{E}k$

---

1. Forms written with a final tilde are stems that have only been found suffixed, not free.

2.322 The closed repetitive word

The closed repetitive word can be formulerised as follows:-

$$(cv) + CVc + CVc,$$

where the C and V units are identical, and where the final c units are also identical. Thus, in the closed repetitive word, the first syllable-unit S is always closed, and so also is the second. The final c unit comprises any member of the system of final c units whose phonetic exponent is a labial, but not a nasal, viz, p and v. Considerably fewer closed repetitive words have been found than open ones.

The distribution of stress in the closed repetitive word is the same as that described above for the open repetitive word. E.g.

ñopñop	'itchy'	(ˌndʒɔmˈdʒɔbɔ)	ɸw^{y}NÈp^{l} + ɸw^{y}NEp
kukrɨvkrɨv	'many small (of stones)'	(kukˌkrɯˌˈkrɯˌ)	ɸwki + ɸwy^{r}KÌv + ɸwy^{r}KÍv

2.33 The compound word

The compound word, like the word in general, has status primarily as a grammatical element, and may be defined as any form which comprises two or more roots and/or stems, which is

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1. A final c unit p, when it occurs preceding an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cn has a bilabial nasal for phonetic exponent.

substitutable for a single root or stem in an equivalent grammatical context, and which is indivisible[1].

At the phonological level, a compound word is defined as any form which comprises at least two syllable units S, which do not stand in any particular phonological relationship to one another.

Compound words are grouped into two types: those which consist of major roots or stems only, which will be termed 'homogeneous compound words', and those which consist of major and particle roots and stems, which will be termed 'heterogeneous compound words'. Section 2.331 will describe the former; section 2.332 the latter.

2.331 The homogeneous compound word

The description of the homogeneous compound word will be given in three sections, the first dealing with compound words that contain S syllable units only; the second with those that contain only one syllable unit U; and the third with those that contain two syllable units U.

a) Compound words that contain syllable units S only. Two forms of this type of compound have been found, viz. SS and SSS. In each case, in isolation, the final syllable unit S occurs with primary stress, and the initial syllable unit S with secondary stress. In the trisyllabic form, the medial syllable unit S can occur with tertiary or

---

1. For the one exception to this statement, see 7.322.2.

secondary stress[1]. E.g.

mɨtvrə˜	'Moon'	SS	(m,bɯd'ɐɹʷ)	ʸwyMÌt + ʸwy^{rw}É
tɨkčʌmɛ̃	'to breathe'	SSS	(,tɯ:,tɕʌm'mɛ̃)	ʸwyTÌk + ʸwyTÀ + nyMÁ
			(,tɯʤʌm'mɛ̃)	ʸwyTÌk + ʸwyTA + nyMÁ

b) Compound words that contain one syllable unit U. There are four types of compound with only one U syllable unit, which can be formularised as follows: USS, SUS, SÜSS, and SSUS. In each case in isolation, the final syllable unit S carries primary stress, and the U syllable unit tertiary stress. The syllable units S which are non-ultimate occur with secondary stress. E.g.

kupɛ̃čɛ	'cloth'	(kup,pɛ̃t'tɕɛ)	ʸwki + nyPÀ + ʸyTÉ
krʌ̃žapap	'hat'	(,krʌ̃jap'pabɯ)	nwy^{r}KÀ + ʸyja + ʸPÁp
mɨtžapoččʌ	'east'	(m,bɯʤap,po:'tɕʌ)	ʸwyMÌt + ʸyja + ʸwPÈt^{y} + ʸwyTÁ
ropkrʌ̃žakot	'night-ape'	(,rop,krʌ̃jak'kodo)	ʸw^{r}JÀp + nwy^{r}KÀ + ʸyja + ʸwKÁt

c) example Compound words that contain two syllable units U. Only one of this type of compound has been found, which can be formularised as USUS. The U syllable units occur with tertiary stress; the final S syllable unit with primary stress; the medial syllable unit S with secondary stress. E.g.

amñĩkati	'to play'	(am,ɲĩgat'ti)	ʸyam + ny^{y}NÌ + ʸyka + ʸyTÍ

There are a few compound words in which two successive syllable units S stand in the phonological relationship described for the repetitive word. Two examples are given below.

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1. The difference in stress on the penultimate syllable appears to be related to the speed of utterance. At slower speeds, it occurs with secondary stress, at faster speeds, with tertiary.

rɛrɛkkʌ 'flank' (rɛ,rɛ:'kʌ) SSS
ɸy^{r}JA + ɸy^{r}JʌK + ɸwyKÁ

mərkañeñe~ 'dragonfly' (m,bɐlgan,dʑen'dʑe) SUSS
ɸwyMÈr + ɸyka + ɸy^{y}NÈ + ɸy^{y}NÉ

2.332 The heterogeneous compound word

Heterogeneous compound words are of two types: those in which the particle root or stem precedes the major roots and/or stems; and those in which it follows the major root or stem. These will be described in turn in sections a and b below.

a) Heterogeneous compound words in which the particle precedes the major form(s). In compounds of this type, the particle forms the initial syllable, and is always monosyllabic. It may occur with either secondary or tertiary stress, as shown by its juncture with preceding forms, such as prefixes. To illustrate the difference, a prefixed form is given below, the prefix being a-, the second person sg. prefix. E.g.

atɔanɛ̃ 'to treat you like this' (at,tɔan'nɛ̃ or adɔan'nɛ̌)
ɸya + ɸwTA + ɸya + nyNÁ or ɸya + ɸwTA +, etc.

b) Heterogeneous compound words in which the particle follows the major form. In compounds of this type the particle forms the final syllable, is monosyllabic, and occurs with tertiary stress. Because such forms exhibit a different stress pattern from the favourite, i.e. primary stress on the ultimate syllable, the particle will be separated from the major form by a hyphen. The S syllable unit immediately preceding the particle occurs with primary stress. E.g.

tañ-mÃ 'how (interrog)' ('taj̃mÃ) ɸTÁn^{y} + nwyMA

pÃñ-ʔÃ 'instead of' ('pÃj̃Ã) nwyPÁn^{y} + nwy^{ʔ}A

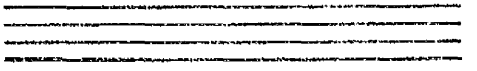
2.4 THE TUNE

In this section, an attempt is made to describe the pitch patterns characteristic of Apinayé utterances. It is not intended, however, to be an exhaustive treatment, as that would require considerably more text material, and a description too extensive and detailed to be part of this thesis; but it is hoped that the following description is reasonably adequate.

It does not seem profitable to set up a system of tunes[1] coextensive with the sentence. Rather, a system of tunes is set up such that a sentence may be coextensive with one tune, but, much more commonly, with a sequence of tunes. The boundaries of such tunes show no 1-to-1 correspondence with any grammatical unit smaller than the sentence (such as the clause or piece), but frequently coincide, at the phonetic level, with pause.

For the purpose of describing the phonetic exponents of the phonological elements used in describing the tune, three pitch levels, or rather, bands, are used as follows:- low, mid, and high, as marked on the following diagram.

high
mid
low



The structure of the tune will be described in terms of two systems - a tune units system, and a prosodic features system. The former will be described in section 2.41, and the latter in section 2.42.

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1. For the use of the term 'tune', see 'The Verbal Piece in Jebero', Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1959, p.14, by J.T.Bender-Samuel.

2.41 The tune units system

A system of three tune units is set up for Apinayé, respectively termed Level, Descending, and Ascending, represented in the phonological transcription by L, D, and A. Of these, the tune-units L and D account for the great majority of the pitch patterns; tune-unit A is relatively rare, and restricted in occurrence.

The tune-unit L has the phonetic exponent of a sequence of level pitches on the syllables with primary stress, the syllables with secondary or tertiary stress sometimes being on the same level, but more commonly somewhat lower.

The tune-unit D has the phonetic exponent of a descending sequence of level pitches on the syllables with primary stress, the syllables with secondary or tertiary stress sometimes being in the line of descent, but more commonly somewhat lower.

The tune-unit A has the phonetic exponent of an ascending sequence of level pitches on the syllables with primary stress, the syllables with secondary or tertiary stress sometimes being in the general line of ascent, but more commonly somewhat lower.

The highest pitch in tune-units D and A will be referred to as the 'peak' of these tune-units[1].

In the examples throughout this section on the tune, the pitch pattern will be transcribed above the phonetic transcription, beneath which will be the reading transcription. This will be followed by the phonological

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1. Occasionally, 'double' peaks occur, either immediately in succession, or with syllables with secondary or tertiary stress between them. See, for example, 6.Nb.

transcription of the tune, with translation and reference. Syllables with primary and secondary stress will be transcribed with a line; those with tertiary stress by a dot, in each case over the vocoid(s) of the phonetic syllable.

An example of each of the tune-units is given below.

. — : — —

[1]ʔÃŋ'grɛrɔm'bra,ɲũm[1] L 'he walked around 2.34 [2]
ʔÃŋrɛr ʔɔ mra, ñũm singing, and'

. — . — . . — . — . .

aʔ'palmÃt'tẽngebĩ'ʔɔnʔka[i]ʧ'kɛbɔ'mõn D 6.AF.6-9
aʔpar mÃ tẽ, nẽ kɛp pĩʔɔ, nẽ ʔkačkɛp ʔɔ mõ, nẽ
'As he was falling, he turned into a leaf, went circling down, and ...'

. — — —

iʧ'krÃm'gee'di A 'My father,' 4.6
"ičkrÃmne[t]ʂ~ti,"

---

1. Absence of any phonetic symbol before and/or after the phonetic transcription indicates that it follows and/or is followed by a pause. A sequence of three dots (...) will indicate the absence of pause.

2. References will be given as follows. Where a simple number occurs before a dot (as 2.34), this refers to the number of the text, there being nine texts, the first eight given by Estevam Laranja, the ninth by Francisco Sutero: the figures after the dot refer to the line. In the case of text 6, however, which is that analysed in detail at the end of the thesis, after the 6, there will be a capital letter, or letters, which refer to the sentence, and then a small letter referring to the pause-group in that sentence, or a number referring to the clause similarly. Where an example is cited from elicited notes, the number preceding the dot is the page number, and the letters preceding that are the initials of the informant who gave the information.

The tune unit may occur in a special form, in which the final syllable unit with primary stress in tune unit L, or the peak in tune unit D, may occur in a very long form. Such long syllables usually occur as the final syllable of a verb stem, and have the semantic implication of continuity - 'going on doing something' - which can be expressed in English by such a construction as 'he walked and walked and walked' or 'he kept on walking'.

Much less commonly, syllables which are not part of a verb stem occur with this lengthening, but no particular semantic implication was found, except perhaps some added emphasis.

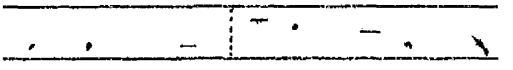
Such lengthened syllables will be indicated in the reading transcription by a sequence of dots, on the line, following the word concerned. E.g.

nɛ̃m'mõ:::ɲũm? nɛ̃ mõ..., ñũm	L	'so he went on and on ... and'	2.2
ɲũ̃ngu'ʋo:::ʌm'bɾin? ñũm kuvo..., ʌmri-nɛ̃;	D	'He ate and ate and ate, and then he said:'	2.8

A tune unit may or may not be preceded by what is termed a 'prelude'. A prelude comprises a sequence of syllables with secondary or tertiary stress preceding the first syllable of the tune unit. In the majority of cases, the prelude occurs in the low band, but occasionally in the mid. No prelude was found with tune unit A; it occurs most commonly with tune unit D.

The prelude can also occur as a sharp rise from low or mid to the first stressed syllable of the tune unit. In this special case, the rise is analysed as the prelude, and the highest point it reaches as the start of the phonetic exponent of the tune unit.

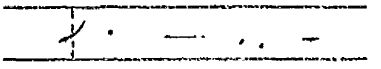
In the following examples the boundary of the prelude will be marked by a broken vertical line.



kɔtpait,tɕɛb''ãmitɣ'pegup'pɛ̃ D 6.Bբ.2

'kɔtpa ža čɛp ãm ičpe kupɛ̃."

'I will become a white man'.



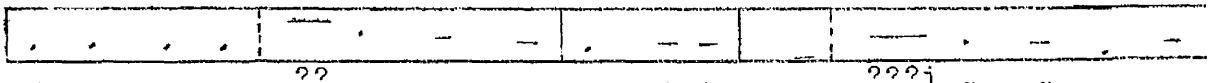
n''ðʌɣɔt'paimɛ̃a'mÃ? D 6.Bɋ.1-2.

'hʌ, kɔtpa ža mɛ̃amÃ "

'For your sake, I will (become a white man)

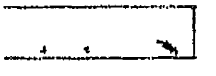
When two consecutive tunes are not separated by a pause, the second may still occur with or without a prelude. A prelude is considered to occur if the second tune unit is preceded by one or more syllables with low or low-mid pitch, with tertiary or secondary stress, and belonging to the same grammatical piece as the first word or words of the tune unit.

In the following example, successive tunes will be divided from one another by vertical lines (solid), and the preludes will be marked off by a dotted vertical line. E.g.



ɲũmgÃm?kaŋgom''bɛ:ja?'kʊrt'tangum'mɛ̃ɲũm?,pɛg'ra::nɛ̃t'tɛ̃ngum'ɲu-

D + L + L



-ɲũma?'tu 2.18

ñũm kÃm ?kaŋo mɛč ža ?kvɔta, nɛ̃ kumɛ̃, ñũm ?pok rač, nɛ̃ tɛ̃,

nɛ̃ kupɨ, ñũm a?tɨ.

'So he (the woodpecker) pulled off a piece of honey for him, and threw it; it burst into flame, and fell, but he (Sun) caught it, and it went out'.

2.42 The prosodic features system

The prosodic features system set up for the tune comprises two closed systems, one set up for the whole tune, and the other for tune-final. These will be described, respectively, in 2.421 and 2.422.

2.421 The prosodic features system set up for the whole tune

A system of three prosodic features is set up for the whole tune; low, mid, and high. These will be represented in the phonological transcription by l, m, and h, written on the line preceding the tune unit symbol.

The phonetic exponent of the tune-prosody l is the occurrence in the low band of the phonetic exponent of the tune-unit.

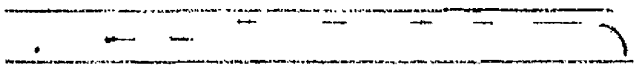
The phonetic exponent of the tune-prosody m with the tune unit L is the occurrence of the syllables with primary stress in the mid band; and with the tune units D and A is the occurrence of the peak in the mid band.

The phonetic exponent of the tune-prosody h with the tune unit L is the occurrence of the syllables with primary stress in the high band; and with the tune units D and A is the occurrence of the peak in the high band.

There are thus nine possible combinations of tune unit and tune-prosody, of which seven were found, the tune unit A not being found with either low or high tune-prosody. Of these seven, the tunes with mid tune-prosody account for the majority of the pitch patterns, the high and low forms being rarer and more limited in their function.

Tune units L and D with the mid tune-prosody are the usual narrative patterns, the latter also being used extensively in conversation. See for instance, the first two examples on page 53.

When tune-unit L occurs with the high tune-prosody, it adds emotional force to the utterance, such as expostulation or calling for attention. In the reading transcription this pitch pattern will be marked by an exclamation mark. E.g.



mɛ̃m'hɯ:'di'mɛ̃m'bɯd'ɒrɨ'rɛ'ʊa:'nɛ̃: hL 1.1

mɛ̃Mɨt~ti mɛ̃Mɨtvrə~rɛ va anɛ̃!

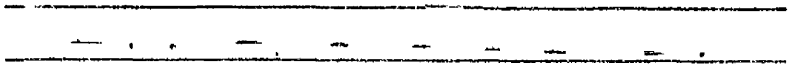
'Sun and Moon acted like this!'

Tune unit D with high tune-prosody is the commonest of the rarer combinations. The word in which the syllable with high pitch occurs is emphasised, and this will be indicated in the reading transcription by underlining it. E.g.

mɛ̃ʈkʌ̃m''ʌ̃gat'to hD 6.Ac/A2.

mɛ̃ičkʌ̃m <u>ʌ̃</u> kato. 'it was in the following way that he was born among us'.

Tune units L and D with low tune-prosody tend to occur sentence finally.



'tɕe:nąmɛ̃?' kot'krin'bʌn'lʌ̃'rɛt'tɕʌmnɔ... 1D 6.AK.2-3.

če nʌ̃ mɛ̃?kɔt kritmʌnrʌ̃~rɛ čʌm, mɛ̃ .....

'he put his pet macaw on a stick behind them, and ...'

Tune unit A (with mid tune-prosody) is most commonly used for the Vocative Piece, as in the third example on page 53.

2.422 The prosodic features system set up for final place

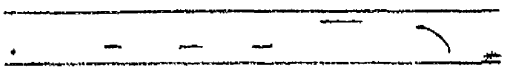
A closed system of three final-prosodies is set up for final place in the tune:- final fall, non-final fall, and rise. These will be represented in the phonological transcription by f, ⸗, and r, written as final superscripts. A tune may or may not occur with a final-prosody.

The final-prosody f occurs sentence-final only, and is therefore marked in the reading transcription by a full stop. Its phonetic exponents are as follows.

(a) If the final syllable of the tune unit occurs with primary stress, the phonetic exponent of f is a fall to the lower half of the low band. See example 1.1 on page 57 for an example with a tune unit L, see examples 6.BP.2 (page 55 and 6.Ac/A2 (page 57) for examples with the tune unit D. An example with tune unit A is given below.

ˌ – — ⸝			
iʧ'krÃm'ge:'di:	mA^{f}	'My father.'	1.14
"ičkrÃmŋe$^{t}_{\sim}$ti."			

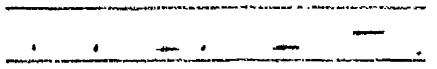
(b) If the final syllable of the tune unit does not occur with primary stress, in which case it is almost invariably tertiary, the phonetic exponent of f is low pitch, with the potentiality of a partial fall on the preceding syllable (with primary stress). E.g.



i?ˌkrinˌbʌnˌlÃ'rɛ:m'rÃaˌti hL^{f} 7.31

i?krinmʌnrÃ~rɛ amrÁkati!

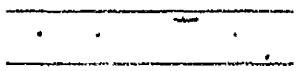
'There was no trace of his pet macaw



ˌnũmɋɛʂˌpe?iˌkse?'tɤdlɛ mD^{f} (see fn.1) 1.25

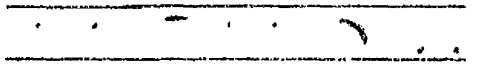
'ñũm ke ičpe ?ĩkže ?tət~rɛ." 'But my halves are hard.'

(c) If neither of the last two syllables of the tune unit occurs with primary stress, the phonetic exponent of f is low pitch on the final syllable, and a pitch on the pre-final syllable intermediate between low and the pitch of the last syllable with primary stress; or, low pitch on the final two syllables, and a partial fall on the last syllable with primary stress. This is a rare pattern, and is restricted to sentences in which the final word was the modal kenÃ.



mɛ̃ʂtɛ?'pĩlɣenÃ hL^{f} 'We did kill him!' 6.AM.1

'mɛ̃ičtɛ ?pĩr kenÃ!"



mɛ̃ʂtɛ?'pĩlnɛ̃?at'tɕʌlɣenÃ hL^{f} 6.AZ.1-2

'mɛ̃ičtɛ ?pir, nɛ̃ ?ačʌr kenÃ!" 'We did kill and bury him!'

1. When there is only one syllable unit with primary stress in the tune unit, tune units L and D are homophonous. However, it is usually possible to assign the pitch pattern to one or the other by grammatical or (other) phonological parallellisms with unambiguous cases. In this case, the long prelude is characteristic of tune unit D.

The phonetic exponent of the final prosody ↗ is a partial fall, that is, to the lower range of mid, or the upper range of low. This prosody marks a major grammatical break within the sentence, and will be represented in the reading transcription with a semi-colon (unless otherwise marked) when it occurs clause-final, which is almost invariably the case. E.g.

ˈkʋatˈtɔgotkaʔɔmˈbɛʔⁱ,nɛ̃	hL↗	2.23
"kva tɔ, kotka ʔmɛč nɛ̃; "	'You had better do well;'	

ˈkʋanˈdʌ...	hD↗	1.24
kva nʌ!	'Not so!'	

The phonetic exponent of r final-prosody is a rise in pitch on the last syllable of the tune-unit. This final-prosody is very rare, and has only been found two or three times in text material. It always occurs with a question (the reverse is not true, however).

kɔtˈʔɔmɛʋaʔpɯˈrʌ:...	mL↗	6.KC/2.
"kɔt ʔɔ mɛ̃paʔpɨrʌk?"	'Will he really be like us?'	

CHAPTER 3 JUNCTURE

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CHAPTER 3 JUNCTURE

3.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In section 2.312.2 (page 45) of the preceding chapter, reference was made to a system of juncture-prosodies set up to handle juncture between the syllable units within a word, and also between syllable units belonging to different words. The purpose of this chapter is to describe this system of juncture-prosodies, and also the phonetic exponents of the various phonological elements when in juncture, where these differ from those stated in the previous chapter.

Before going on to the details of the chapter, it might be valuable to give some reasons as to why what is often termed 'morphophonemics' is being handled in terms of a system of 'juncture-prosodies'. There are three main reasons for preferring this mode of analysis, which are given below.

a) An analysis such as this emphasises the fact that speech has 'horizontal features' as well as 'vertical paradigms'; is 'syntagmatic' as well as 'paradigmatic'; and so aims to draw attention to the juncture phenomena as 'links' between syllables by abstracting such features as voicing, nasality, etc., which are common to both of the syllables in juncture.

b) Such an approach enables the phonetic data to be handled in a way that more obviously brings to attention the phonetic characteristics of a particular juncture. In a phonemic approach, a considerable amount of the phonetic detail would be handled allophonically (in the description of the phonemes), and would thus be irrelevant to the morphophonemics, which would only describe changes at the phonemic level. For instance, in the present approach, the phonetic facts that 'p' (in the phonological transcription) can occur as a voiceless bilabial plosive; as a voiced bilabial plosive; and as a voiced bilabial nasal, are all regarded as equally relevant to a consideration and description of the juncture phenomena. But in a phonemic

statement of the morphophonemics, the first two of these phonetic facts would not be mentioned as they would be handled as allophones of the phoneme /p/.

c) An analysis in terms of the prosodic features brings out the relationship between the phonology and the grammar. Thus, the occurrence of ˀ or ˀ² juncture-prosody distinguishes between certain subclasses, both of nouns and of verbs; and the juncture-prosody Y links together words which stand in certain grammatical relationships.

While one of the purposes of this thesis is to highlight the relationships between the grammatical and phonological levels, yet, with the exception of the two final sections, 3.4 and 3.6, grammatical categories are only mentioned incidentally. There are two reasons for this 'a-grammatical' approach. The first is that much (though not all, as indicated above) of the juncture phenomena is independent of the grammatical class and relationship of the words involved - a noun-modifier juncture will be the same as a noun-verb juncture if the phonological elements involved are the same. But a second reason is that the juncture phenomena have been described in terms of the stress system set up in the previous chapter (see 2.312.1), but without considering whether, in fact, the stress that a particular syllable bears has anything to do with its grammatical class or function. This makes for a much simpler treatment (a description subdivided according to the grammatical categories of the major word, the compound word, and the particle, proved to be very long and to some extent, repetitive), but it is well to emphasise here, at the beginning of this chapter, that stress is very often closely related to the grammatical class and function of the form concerned. In particular, the majority of the monosyllabic forms cited as occurring with tertiary stress are particles, and the majority of the forms (whether monosyllabic or polysyllabic) cited as occurring with primary or secondary stress on the ultimate syllable are major words.

The details of the juncture phenomena will be presented in the following way. The chapter will be divided into two main sections (3.2 and 3.3) describing, respectively, junctures in which the prejunctural syllable is a short open one; and junctures in which the prejunctural syllable is a closed or long open one. Within these two main sections, the juncture phenomena will be handled in groups, each group occurring with the same juncture-prosody. There will also be three further sections; one on the special juncture-prosody Y (3.4); one on

juncture with pause (3.5); and one on those junctures peculiar to particles (3.6).

3.2 JUNCTURES OF THE TYPE Jv

Junctures of the type Jv are those in which the pre-junctural syllable is a short open one, i.e. has the structure (C)V or (c)v. For junctures of this type, a closed system of two prosodic features is set up. These prosodic features will be represented in the phonological transcription by ˀ and ² ('glottal' and 'non-glottal'), written immediately above the + sign between the two syllables in juncture. It should be noted that where both of these juncture-prosodies can occur in the same phonological environment (for instance, when the post-junctural syllable has an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cp), their occurrence is defined grammatically, not phonologically.

Junctures of the type Jv will be described in two sections, the first (3.21) describing junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody ˀ; and the second (3.22) describing the junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody ².

3.21 Junctures of the type Jv with the juncture-prosody ˀ

The juncture-prosody ˀ occurs only if the initial consonantal unit of the post-junctural syllable is a member of the subsystem Cp, or of the subsystem cp; or, (and this only applies within a word, and not across word boundaries), if the post-junctural syllable is vowel-initial with the initial prosody W[1]. The phonetic exponent of ˀ juncture-

1. There is one exception to the above statement - the form ro?rot 'a dance'; the sequence ?r has not been found elsewhere in the language.

prosody is a glottal plosive, with voiceless articulation of the phonetic exponent of the following consonantal unit if it is a member of one of the subsystems Cp or cp; or with voiced articulation of the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody w.

In the examples given in this chapter, the syllables whose juncture is being considered will be underlined in the reading transcription[1], which will be given first. This will be followed by a translation, and by both a phonetic and a phonological transcription of the syllables in juncture.

The phonological transcription will be invariant; that is to say, a particular syllable will always have the same phonological transcription irrespective of its phonetic shape in any given context. Thus, for instance, the phonological transcription of the word tɛp 'fish', will be ɸyTʌp, whether it occurs at the phonetic level as (tɛp),(tɛb), (tɛm), (tɛɛ), or (tɛ). This means that a scatter of forms at the phonetic level can be related to one form at the phonological level, and that, on the other hand, ambiguities at the phonetic level are resolved at the phonological. For instance, the last phonetic form cited above, viz, (tɛ), could be related to any of ten different phonological forms, according to the context in which it occurred. The scatter of forms, however, will be reflected in the system of juncture-prosodies, with some additional subsystems which will be described later in the chapter.

mɛ̃ʌ?pɯmuñ	'those who understand'	(ˌʌ?pu)	ɸwyà ? + ɸwpi	6.13n[2]
?ĭkže ?təč~rɛ	'one side was hard'	(ˌkse?'tʁ:d)	ɸy^{y}KÈ ? + ɸwyTÉt^{y}	1.25
krʌ̃?kʌ	'crest'	(grʌ̃?ˌkʌ)	nwy^{r}KA ? + ɸwyKÀ	2.9
?ʌ̃a?və	'to ask for something'	(a?'ʊʏ)	ɸya ? + ɸwy^{w}É	F311.13

---

1. The reader is reminded that the reading transcription is 'morphological' in the sense that it retains the shape of the morpheme as it occurs in isolation.

2. A reference followed by an 'n' means that the form cited was obtained as a note on that particular line of the text; such notes were obtained from Francisco Suterc.

3.22 Junctures of the type Jv with the juncture-prosody ²

The juncture-prosody ² is unrestricted in occurrence with respect to the following consonantal unit, and has the following phonetic exponents.

a) When the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, and has an initial consonantal unit which is a member of one of the subsystems Cp or cp, the phonetic exponent of ² juncture-prosody is lengthening and voiceless articulation of the phonetic exponent of the initial unit. At faster speeds, however, there may be absence of the phonetic exponent of lengthening. E.g.

ape	'worked'	(ap'pe)	ɣ́ya ² + ɣ́yPÉ	4.6
ŋvra ko	'a buriti palm'	(ˌŋgʷrak'ko)	ɣ́^{rw}ŊÀ ² + ɣ́wKÉ	1.35
ʔĩkže	'one side'	(ʔiˌkse)	nʸ^{ʔ}i ² + ɣ́^{y}KÈ	1.22

b) When the post-junctural syllable occurs with tertiary stress, and has an initial consonantal unit which is a member of one of the subsystems Cp or cp, the phonetic exponent of ² juncture-prosody is voicing of the phonetic exponent of the initial unit. E.g.

ɛ, pu mõ,	'L-t us go'	('ɛbu)	ɣ́yÁ ² + ɣ́wPI	3.17
tok rÃ̃ ta	'the flower of the trumpet bush'	(ˌrÃ̃da)	nwy^{r}JÀ ² + ɣ́TA	1.14
akuno	'he fled'	(agu)	ɣ́ya ² + ɣ́wki	1.17

In faster speech, the phonetic exponent of the initial consonantal units P and p can occur as a labial frictionless continuant; the phonetic exponent of T or t can occur as an alveolar flap; and the phonetic exponent of K and k can occur as a velar frictionless continuant, or zero. These phonetic exponents tend particularly to occur when both the pre-junctural and the post-junctural syllables have one or other of the vowel units A or a. E.g.

ɛ, pa mõ,	'let us go'	('ɛʋa)	ɣ́yÁ ² + ɣ́PA	2.10
kva, tokɨč;	'Quickly!'	('kʋaro)	ɣ́^{w}KÁ ² + ɣ́wta	3.8

kʌ kamrek	'it was ripe'	('kʌɣa)[1]	ʭwyKÀ $\overset{2}{+}$ ʭyka	5.11
krÃ²kʌ kamrek	'a red crest'	(ˌkʌa)	ʭwyKÀ $\overset{2}{+}$ ʭyka	2.9

c) When the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, has an initial consonantal unit which is a member of the subsystems Cn or cn, and occurs with the syllable-prosody n, the phonetic exponent of a ² juncture-prosody is lengthening and voiced articulation of the phonetic exponent of the initial unit.

When the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, and has the initial consonantal unit J or j, with the initial-prosody y; or is vowel-initial with the initial-prosody w; then the phonetic exponent of ² juncture-prosody is lengthening and voicing of the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosodies.

When the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, and has the initial prosody ², the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody ² is lengthening and voicelessness of the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody.[2]

In all these cases, there is fluctuation with a phonetic exponent of ² juncture-prosody which is simply voicing (or voicelessness in the case of the initial-prosody ²) of the phonetic exponent of the initial consonantal unit or initial-prosody, particularly at faster speeds. For these junctures, the phonetic exponent of lengthening is a less regular characteristic than for those described in (a).

---

1. (ɣ) represents a voiced velar frictionless continuant, rather than a voiced velar fricative.

2. The phonetic data pertinent to this juncture admits of interpretation as either a ² or a ² juncture-prosody (see the last example cited). The latter interpretation has been preferred because of its parallellism with the other junctures described in this subsection (c).

arĩ nɔ̃	'they stayed lying down'	('rĩn'nɔ̃)	ny^{r}Jĺ $\overset{2}{+}$ nwNÁ	4.14
nɛ̃ kumɛ̃	'and he threw it'	(gu'mɛ̃)	∅wki $\overset{2}{+}$ nyMÁ	3.21
ʔĩžɨ	'to cut something in pieces'	(ʔiʒ'ʒɯ)	ny^{y}ʔi $\overset{2}{+}$ ∅wy^{y}Jĺ	FS[1]
nɛ̃ ʔɔ̃ʔo	'and eat one'	('ʔɔ̃ʔ'ʔo)	$nw^{ʔ}$Á $\overset{2}{+}$ ∅$w^{ʔ}$É	1.21

d) When the post-junctural syllable occurs with tertiary stress, and has the initial consonantal units and/or initial prosodies described above in (c), the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody ² is as given above, but without any lengthening. Also, when the initial consonantal unit is J or j, with the initial-prosody y, the phonetic exponent of y is a palatal frictionless continuant.

ʌmri~ñũm	'so'	(m'briŋũm)	∅y^{r}Mĺ $\overset{2}{+}$ nw^{y}NIm	7.8
ñʌ vɛʔɛ	'Can it be ..?'	(n'dʒʌvɛ)	∅wy^{y}NÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ ∅y^{w}A	6.Kb
iʔɔ̃ ža	'the one'	('ʔɔ̃ja)	$nw^{ʔ}$Á $\overset{2}{+}$ ∅^{y}JA	8.64

e) When the post-junctural syllable has an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cn, with ∅ syllable-prosody; or has the initial C unit J, with r initial-prosody; then the phonetic exponent of ² juncture-prosody is voicing of the initial C unit in the first case, and of the initial-prosody in the second case. This phonetic exponent occurs for all stress on the post-junctural syllable.

kva nʌ!	'Not so!'	('kwàn'dʌ)	∅^{w}KÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ ∅wyNÁ	1.24
mrɨ rũm mɔ̃	'he came back from the hunt'	(m'bɯrũ)	∅wy^{r}Mĺ $\overset{2}{+}$ nw^{r}JIm	5.17

f) When the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, and is vowel-initial without initial-prosody, the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody ² is zero. E.g.

čʌ ũm kʌ̃m ʔkaŋo?	'Do you want honey mixed with the wax?'	('tçʌ'ũm)	∅wy^{y}TÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ nwĺm	3.20

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1. A single FS in the reference indicates that the form in question was recorded directly onto its file-slip.

g) When the post-juncturəl syllable occurs with tertiary stress, and is vowel-initial without initial-prosody, the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody [2] is zero. If the phonetic exponents of the vowel units in the two syllables in juncture are the same, (i.e. as given in chapter two), then the phonetic exponent of the vowel unit in the post-junctural syllable is usually zero. It is also usually zero if the post-junctural syllable is a syllable-unit U, and occurs with y syllable-prosody.

mɛ̃ičtɛ ɔmuñ	'we saw him'	(ˌtɛɔ)	∅yTÀ $\overset{2}{+}$ ∅wa	6.BD.3
ka arĩ[1]	'you may'	(ka'rĩ)	∅KA $\overset{2}{+}$ ∅ya	5.6
ʔʌmri anɛ̃[1]	'(I) spoke as follows'	(m'bri'nɛ̃)	∅y^{r}MÍ $\overset{2}{+}$ ∅ya	8.1

3.3 JUNCTURES OF THE TYPE Jc

Junctures of the type Jc are those in which the pre-junctural syllable (at the phonological level) is a closed one or is a long open one. For junctures of this type, a closed system of three prosodic features is set up. These prosodic features will be represented in the phonological transcription by Z, X, and H.

The phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody Z is voiced articulation of the phonetic exponents of the phonological elements in juncture.[2] The phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody X is voiced articulation of the phonetic exponent of the final phonological element, and voiceless

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1. In examples in which a syllable is elided, the syllable following the elided (post-junctural) syllable will be underlined, and given in the phonetic transcription, but not in the phonological.

2. The expression 'the phonological elements in juncture' means the final phonematic unit of the pre-junctural syllable, and the initial phonematic unit of the post-junctural syllable, except for vowel-initial post-junctural syllables with an initial-prosody, in which case the reference is to the initial-prosody.

articulation of the phonetic exponent of the initial phonological element. The phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody H is voiceless articulation of the phonetic exponents of the phonological elements in juncture.

Throughout this section (3.3) on junctures of the type Jc, charts will be used on which the particular junctures under consideration in any subsection will be marked with an 'x'. However, an example will not be given of every such juncture, but simply sufficient examples to illustrate each type. These examples will be given first for which no further statements are needed to describe the phonetic exponents of the elements in juncture than those that were given in chapter 2; following these, any necessary further statements will be given, with examples to illustrate.

3.31 Junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody Z

The phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody Z is voiced articulation of the phonetic exponents of the phonological elements in juncture. Of the three prosodic features set up for Jc type junctures, Z is much the commonest, accounting for over 80 per cent of the occurrences of Jc junctures in text.

The junctures which are comprised within this group will be described in five subsections (3.311 - 3.315), each subsection sharing some common feature at the phonetic level in addition to occurring with the juncture-prosody Z.

3.311 'Simple' junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody Z

'Simple' junctures are defined negatively as those that are not 'nasal', 'non-y', 'ə', or 'vowel' junctures, these being defined in the following sections. That is to say, in general they are junctures in which the phonetic exponents of the phonemogical elements in juncture are not both nasals; in which the phonetic exponent of the final-prosody y with the c units t and n is not zero; and in which the pre-junctural syllable does not have a phonetic exponent analysable as of phonological structure CVə or CV.

Junctures which can be classed as 'simple' are marked with an 'x' on the following chart; those that are also marked with an asterisk may occur as vowel junctures (see 3.315) when the post-junctural syllable occurs with tertiary stress; and those that are bracketed only rarely occur as simple junctures, but are included for completeness; they will be discussed in the sections on ə and vowel junctures.

The chart is divided into two main sections; junctures in the first section occur with Z juncture-prosody independently of the stress on the post-junctural syllable (except the two asterisked junctures); junctures in the second section (separated from the first by double vertical lines) occur with Z juncture-prosody only when the post-junctural syllable has tertiary stress.

INITIAL PHONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

		(with any stress)								(with tertiary stress only)					
		M	N	Ŋ	^{r}J	^{y}J	^{w}V/v	$^{?}$V/v	V/v	P/p	T	^{y}T/(t)[1]	K/k	(n)[1]	(j)[1]
FINAL	p				x	x	x	x	x			x			x
	t				x	*x	x	x	x			*x			*x
	t^{y}						x	x	x						
	k	(x)	(x)		x	*x	x	x	x						*x
UNITS	m				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	n				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	n^{y}						x	x	x	x	x		x		
	r	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	v	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

In the giving of the examples, and in the description of the phonetic exponents, the junctures will be considered by columns, as indicated by the single vertical lines.

Column 1

ŋ̈ɨv mũi 'that mud' (ŋ'gɯʊ'mũi) ɸwyŊ̈ɪv $\overset{Z}{+}$ nwMɪə^{y} FS16.23

The phonetic exponent of the final c unit r is a dental lateral.

nɛ̃ ŋ̈rɛr ma 'and heard the singing' (ŋ'grɛlm'ba) ɸy^{r}ŊÁr $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɸMA 2.34

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1. The initial elements which are bracketed only occur when the juncture-prosody Y is present (apart from some loan words and adverbs). Such elements will be indicated in this way on all the charts. Where it is necessary, for completeness, to cite examples involving them, the juncture-prosody Y will not be indicated in the phonological transcription, in accordance with the practice (in this thesis) of not introducing elements that have not yet been defined and described.

Column 2

ñũm ra	'now already'	(ɲũm''ra)	$nw^{y}NIm \overset{Z}{+} \not{\mu}^{r}JÁ$	4.10

The phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody r when the final c unit is t or n is a dental lateral; and, in this case, the phonetic exponent of t may also be a dental lateral.

mʌnrÃ~rɛ	'a macaw'	(m'bʌn'lÃ)	$\not{\mu}wyM\acute{A}n \overset{Z}{+} nwy^{r}JÁ$	7.46
mut rɨ~ti	'a long neck'	(m'bul'lɯ:)	$\not{\mu}wM\acute{I}t \overset{Z}{+} \not{\mu}wy^{r}J\acute{I}$	FS40.8

When the post-juncturel syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody y is a grooved alveolo-palatal fricative articulation. When the post-juncturel syllable occurs with tertiary stress, and the final c units of the pre-junctural syllable are members of the subsystem Scp, the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody y is a grooved, alveolo-palatal and fricative articulation. When the final c units of the pre-junctural syllable are members of the subsystems Scn or Scj the phonetic exponent of y initial-prosody is a palatal frictionless articulation. In the case of members of the subsystem Scj there is, however, occasionally free fluctuation between the fricative and frictionless phonetic exponents.

kep žuk...	'he wandered about for fear of him'	(ˌkeb'ʒu:::)	$\not{\mu}yK\grave{E}p \overset{Z}{+} \not{\mu}w^{y}J\acute{I}k$	1.17
mɨtžapoččʌ	'east'	(mˌbudʒa)	$\not{\mu}wyM\grave{I}t \overset{Z}{+} \not{\mu}yja$	1.3
ũm ža	'the wax'	('ũmja)	$nw\acute{I}m \overset{Z}{+} \not{\mu}^{y}JA$	3.26
vaŋɛ nɨv ža	'this new craiba tree'	(n'dɯʋʒa)	$\not{\mu}wyN\acute{I}v \overset{Z}{+} \not{\mu}^{y}JA$	9.29

Column 3

Mitvrə~rɛ	'Moon'	(m'bud'ɹrʏ)	$\not{\mu}wyM\acute{I}t \overset{Z}{+} \not{\mu}wy^{rw}\acute{E}$	1.2
kÃm, "ɛ,	'he said to him, "Alright," '	(ˌkÃm'ɛ:)	$nwyK\grave{A}m \overset{Z}{+} \not{\mu}y\acute{A}$	2.21

The initial-prosody ʔ has the phonetic exponent of zero in all the junctures in this column, unless the preceding word is a particle (see 3.6 for this case).

ŋoʔkõnʔɨ̃ 'gourd-seeds' ('kõn'ɯ or 'kõ'nɯ)[1] nwKÁn ǂ ɣwyʔÍ 5.9

añɨ̃r ʔɔ ča 'he kept on speaking like this' (ŋũ̃ro) nwy^{y}NÍr ǂ ɣwʔA 4.14

Column 4

ačpẽn kura 'he struck another one' ('pẽngu) nyPÁn ǂ ɣwki 4.14

ʌpeñ pe 'while working' ('peŋbe) ɣyPEn^{y} ǂ ɣyPE 4.9

The phonetic exponent of the final c unit r is a dental lateral.

mɛ̃ičtɛ ʔpir kenÃ! 'We did kill him!' ('pĩlge) nyPÍr ǂ ɣyke 7.66

Column 5

nɨ̃v ñĩñu 'the lad's nose' (n'dɯ̃ŋĩ) ɣwyNÍv ǂ nyni FS210.19.

The phonetic exponent of the final c unit r is a dental lateral.

par ñĩkže 'the side of the foot' ('palŋĩ) ɣPÁr ǂ nyni FS56.21

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1. Occasionally, especially when the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary stress, the final contoid initiates the following phonetic syllable.

Column 6

(The phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody Y is the same as the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody y as described under column 2, for tertiary stress).

kok žakrɨ	'a cold wind'	('kogʒa)	ɣwKÉk $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣyja	FS85.6
kẽn žaka	'a white stone'	('kẽnja)	nyKÁn $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣyja	FS57.14

The phonetic exponent of the final c unit r is a dental lateral.

ičkapẽr žarẽ	'tell (him) my story'	('pẽlja)	nyPÁr $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣyja	8.20

3.312 'Nasal' junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody Z

'Nasal' junctures are those in which the phonetic exponent of the final c unit of the pre-junctural syllable is a nasal, and the initial consonant unit of the post-junctural syllable is a member of the subsystem Cn or of the subsystem cn. Such junctures will be represented in the phonological transcription by an 'n' written immediately following the symbol Z.

On the following chart, 'nasal' junctures are indicated by an 'x'; those that are asterisked may occur as 'vowel' junctures when the post-junctural syllable occurs with tertiary stress and the syllable-prosody n (see 3.315).

INITIAL UNITS

(with any stress)

FINAL UNITS	M	N	^{y}N	Ŋ	(n)
p		x	x	x	x
t	x		*x[1]	x	*x
t^{y}	x	*x	x	x	
m		x	x	x	x
n	x		*x[1]	x	*x
n^{y}	x	*x	x	x	

a?tep, nɛ̃ 'he drew near, and' ('temnɛ̃) ⁄yTÉp $\overset{Zn}{+}$ nyNA 2.34

mãn mɔ̃, '(they will) come here' ('mãn'mɔ̃) nMÁn $\overset{Zn}{+}$ nwMÁ 8.40

When the post-junctural syllable occurs with the syllable-prosody ⁄ the phonetic exponent of the initial C unit is oral closure, at bilabial, dental, or velar points of articulation.

i?kritmʌnrÃ~rɛ 'his pet macaw' ('krin'bʌn) ⁄y^{r}KÍt $\overset{Zn}{+}$ ⁄wyMÁn 6.AG.1

iǒkrÃmŋet~ti 'My father,' ('krÃm'ge:) nwy^{r}KÁm $\overset{Zn}{+}$ ⁄yŊÉt 1.14

If the pre-junctural syllable has the syllable-prosody ⁄, and the final c unit n; and if the post-junctural syllable has the initial C unit Ŋ; then the phonetic exponent of the final c unit n fluctuates between a dental nasal, and a dental nasal preceded by a transitional dental plosive. E.g.

mɛñ ŋɔ̃ '(you) gave (me) honey' (m'bɛ$^{i}_{ŋ}$'ŋɔ̃ or m'bɛ$^{g}_{ŋ}$'ŋɔ̃) ⁄yMÁn^{y} $\overset{Zn}{+}$ nwŊÁ FS74.22

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1. These junctures only occur as nasal junctures if the post-junctural syllable has the syllable-prosody ⁄; if it has the syllable-prosody n, they occur as 'ə' or 'vowel' junctures, as described in 3.314 and 3.315.

When the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, the phonetic exponent of the final c unit t in a syllable with the syllable-prosody ⁄ fluctuates between a dental stop, a dental nasal, and a dental nasal with a preceding transitional dental plosive. Cf. the paragraph above.

kvrət ñĩ	'The fish's flesh'	('kʊrɤd'ɲĩ or 'kʊrɤ^{d}n'ɲĩ)	⁄wy^{rw}KÉt$^{Zn}_{+}$nyNÍ	FS.54.4
tokɨč mõ,	'(I) am going immediately'	('km^{q}ɲ'mõ or 'km^{i}ɲ'mõ)	⁄wyKÍt$^{yZn}_{+}$nwMÁ	8.25n 8.25

3.313 'Non-y' junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody Z

'Non-y' junctures are those in which the phonetic exponent of the final-prosody y is zero, when it occurs with the final c units t or n. In junctures of this type the post-junctural syllable has an initial consonantal unit which is a member of the subsystem Cj, or of the subsystem cj.

'Non-y' junctures will be represented by the symbol ɤ, written after the symbol Z, in the phonological transcription.

On the following chart, 'non-y' junctures are marked with an 'x'; the junctures with an asterisk can occur as 'vowel' junctures when the post-junctural syllable has tertiary stress (see 3.315).

INITIAL ELEMENTS
(with any stress)

FINAL ELEMENTS		$^{r}_{J}$	$^{y}_{J}$	(J/j)
	t^{y}	x	*x	*x
	n^{y}	x	x	x

There is one further juncture of type 'non-y' not shown on the chart. This is the juncture between the final phonological elements n^{y} and either of the initial phonological elements T or t (with y initial-prosody or Y juncture-prosody) when the latter occur in a syllable with tertiary stress.

For the phonetic exponents of the consonantal units and the prosodic features, see the corresponding junctures without the final-prosody y, as described in 3.311, columns 2, 4, and 5, pp. 73-74.

ʔĭkže pič rɛrɛk 'one side only was soft' ('pillɛ) ɸyPít^{y} Zy ∓ ɸy^{r}JA 1.23

mɛ̆omõr čvəñ ža 'he who had brought them' (''tɕɯʏnja) ɸwy^{w}TÉn^{y} Zy ∓ ɸ^{y}JA 8.55

3.314 'ə' junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody Z

By a 'ə' juncture is meant one in which the pre-junctural syllable has a phonetic structure which is identical (at the phonetic level) with that of a long open syllable (see 2.211.32, page 25, and 2.212.3, page 32, for the details). This juncture will be represented in the phonological transcription by a 'ə' written after the symbol Z. In junctures of this type, both the pre-junctural and post-junctural syllable can occur with primary or secondary stress only.

Junctures of the type 'ə' are marked with an 'x' on the following chart.

INITIAL ELEMENTS

(with primary or secondary stress only)

FINAL ELEMENTS	M	N	^{y}N	Ŋ	^{r}J	^{y}J	^{w}V
p	x						
t		x					
t^{y}			x[1]				
k	x	x	x	x		x	
m	x						
n		x					
n^{y}			x				
r					x		
v							x
ə	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

'ə' junctures are of three phonological types; those in which the phonetic exponents of the final elements and of the initial elements are the same, or differ only in mode of articulation; those in which the final c unit is k; and those in which the final element is ə. Also, in addition to the junctures shown on the chart, those in which the pre-junctural syllable has the structure CVə, and one or other of the final-prosodies w and y (but not both); and in which the post-junctural syllable has tertiary stress (with any initial consonantal unit), occur as ə junctures.

rop ma	'the dog's (own) liver'	('ro:m'ba)	⁄w^{r}JÁp $^{Zə}_{+}$ ⁄MÁ	FS10.21
kuk ño~ti	'a wrinkled face'	('ku:n'dʐo)	⁄wKÍk $^{Zə}_{+}$ ⁄w^{y}NÉ	FS215.2
nã nɨv vər ket nɛ̃	'the young man didn't bathe'	(n'dɯ:'ʊʷl)	⁄wyNÍv $^{Zə}_{+}$ ⁄wy^{w}Ér	FS251.6
ŋroi ñĩ	'the porcupine's quill'	(ŋ'groi'ɲĩ)	⁄w^{r}ŊÁə^{y} $^{Zə}_{+}$ nyNÍ	FS
ku?ɒau, pu mɛ̃ čer	'if you err, we shall burn'	('paubu)	⁄PÁə^{w} $^{Zə}_{+}$ ⁄wPI	2.6

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1. This juncture occurs as a ə juncture only when the post-junctural syllable has the syllable-prosody n.

As was mentioned in 3.311 (see the bracketed forms on the chart in that section) those junctures in which the final c unit is k can also occur as simple junctures. E.g.

kuk ño~ti 'a wrinkled face' ('kugn'dʒo) ʄwKIk $\overset{Z}{+}$ ʄw^{y}NE FS.215.2

When the pre-junctural syllable occurs with both of the final-prosodies w and y, the phonetic exponent of the final-prosodies may be as given in chapter 2, (see 2.212.3, page 32), or it may be zero. E.g.

kia rač 'a large grill for cooking' ('kia'r$\overset{??}{a}$adʒi ʄyKÍə^{wy} $\overset{Zə}{+}$ ʄ^{r}JÁt^{y} or 'ki:'r$\overset{??}{a}$adʒi) FS.229.28

3.315 'Vowel' junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody Z

'Vowel' junctures are those in which the pre-junctural syllable has a phonetic structure which is identical (at the phonetic level) with that of a short open syllable.[1] In vowel junctures, one or both of the syllables in juncture occurs with tertiary stress; the case in which it is the post-junctural syllable, however, is much the commoner of the two.

The junctures comprised within this group are indicated on the following chart with an 'x'. Those junctures to which reference has been made in earlier sections (indicated on the charts at that point by an asterisk or bracketing), and which can therefore occur in an alternative form at the phonetic level, will be underlined.

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1. At the phonetic level, 'vowel' junctures and Jv type junctures are homophonous (when the post-junctural syllable has the same structure and stress). They should not be confused, however, since at the phonological level they are quite different, and function in two different prosodic systems. Phonetic identity does not necessarily imply phonological identity.

INITIAL PHONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

(usually with tertiary stress)

		P	T	^{y}T	K	M	N	^{y}N	Ɲ	^{r}J	^{y}J	^{w}V/v	p	(t)	k	(n)	(j)
FINAL	ʔ	x				x							x				
	t		x				x	x			x			x		x	x
	t^{y}			x			x	x			x					x	x
	k	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x
UNITS	m					x											
	n						x	x								x	
	n^{y}						x	x								x	
	r									x							
	v											x					
	$ə^{wy}$	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

The phonetic exponents of the junctures on the chart are the same as those given for Jv junctures, with the juncture-prosody 2, and with the post-junctural syllable having the same structure and stress; see 3.22. E.g.

ičkrÃmŋet ta	'my father'	('ɛeda)	ɸyNÉt $^{Zv}_{+}$ ɸTA	8.15
arĩk, pa	'(you) stay here, while I'	('rĩba)	ny^{r}Jík $^{Zv}_{+}$ ɸPA	4.7
ʔapeč, ñũm	'it came to an end, and'	('ɔeɲũm)	ɸyPÉt^{y} $^{Zv}_{+}$ nw^{y}NIm	3.6
kot Ža	'He will'	('koja)	ɸwKÁt $^{Zv}_{+}$ ɸ^{y}JA	7.67FS
kvər rɛrɛk~ti	'soft manioc'	('kʊvrɛ)	ɸwy^{w}KÉr $^{Zv}_{+}$ ɸy^{r}JA	FS48.19
pɨka ñĩnua, nɛ̃	'she scooped a hollow, and'	('dunɛ̃)	ɸwNIə^{wy} $^{Zv}_{+}$ nyNA	7.10
tÃ ñũm mã	'But away ...'	(ɲũm'mã)	nw^{y}NIm $^{Zv}_{+}$ nMÁ	2.32

3.32 Junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody X

The juncture-prosody X has the phonetic exponent of voiced articulation of the phonetic exponent of the final

phonological element, and voiceless articulation of the phonetic exponent of the initial phonological element.

In all junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody X, the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, and its initial C unit is a member of the subsystem Cp, or of the subsystem cp.

The junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody X can be divided into three groups, which are termed 'simple', 'non-y', and 'ə', corresponding to the groups set up for the juncture-prosody Z. On the following chart simple junctures will be marked with an 'x'; 'non-y' junctures with a ȳ; and 'ə' junctures with a 'ə'.

INITIAL ELEMENTS

(with primary or secondary stress only)

FINAL ELEMENTS	P	T	^{y}T	K	p	(t)	k
p	ə				ə		
t^{y}		ə					
t^{y}			ə			ə	
k	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə
m	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
n	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
n^{y}	x	x	ȳ	x	x	ȳ	x
r	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
v	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə

The examples will be given in three subgroups, (a) to (c), with simple junctures described first, then the 'non-y' junctures, and finally the ə junctures.

Subgroup (a): simple junctures.

ʔpoñ pa 'he cleaned them' ('po^{i}n'pa) /wPÉn^{y} $\overset{X}{+}$ /PÁ 2.20

ŋ±v kužatɛ 'he pushed the mud'(ŋ'gu^{u}ku) /wyNÍv $\overset{X}{+}$ /wkì

FS259.11

The phonetic exponent of the final c unit r is a dental lateral.

ñ̃r tã̃ ñũm 'But' (ˌn̪ũ̃l'tã̃) nwy^{y}Nl̃r $\overset{X}{+}$ nwyTÁ 7.49

Subgroup (b): 'non-y' junctures.

rõ̃ñ čet 'a burnt macauba fruit' ('rõ̃n'tɕede) nw^{r}JÁn^{y} $\overset{Xy}{+}$ ⌀y^{y}TÉt FS70.13

Subgroup (c): ə junctures.

vamɛ̃kep pɛ̃p 'the four of them became soldiers' (ˌke:'pɛ̃^{m}p) ⌀yKÈp $\overset{Xə}{+}$ nyPÁp 8.59

pʌtkʌk tvəm 'the sloth's fat' ('kʌ:'t^{ə}ʊʏm) ⌀wyKÁk $\overset{Xə}{+}$ ⌀wy^{w}TÉm FS80.11

ku?pau ket nɛ̃ '(you) did not err' ('pau'ke:) ⌀PÁə^{w} $\overset{Xə}{+}$ ⌀yKÉt 2.6n

The phonetic exponent of the final-prosodies w and y is (predominantly) zero.

?ĩnua ket nɛ̃ '(you) did not build it' (n'du:'ke:) ⌀wNÍə^{wy} $\overset{Xə}{+}$ ⌀yKÉt 7.10n

3.33 Junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody H

The phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody H is voiceless articulation of the phonetic exponents of the final and initial phonological elements.

All junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody H are of the simple type. Also, the final unit in the pre-juncturel syllable is a member of the subsystem cp only; and the initial consonantal unit of the post-junctural syllable is a member of the subsystem Cp, or of the subsystem cp, only.

Junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody H are indicated by an 'x' on the following chart.

INITIAL ELEMENTS

FINAL ELEMENTS	(with any stress) P	T	K	p	k	(with non-tertiary stress) ^{y}T/t	(T/t)
p		x	x		x	x	x
t	x		x	x	x	x	x
t^{y}	x	x	x	x	x		

apka?ti	'tomorrow'	(apka)	⁄yap $\overset{H}{+}$ ⁄yka	3.6
žʌt pže	'a potato hole'	(ˌžʌt'pse)	⁄wy^{y}JÀt $\overset{H}{+}$ ⁄y^{y}PÉ	7.9

The phonetic exponent of the final-prosody y (with the final c unit t and H juncture-prosody) is a palatalised articulation of the final contoid, with a palatal glide between the voccid and the final contoid.

ičpoč, tÃ	'we returned, but'	(ˌpo^{i}ʧ'tÃ)	⁄wPÈt^{y} $\overset{H}{+}$ nwyTÁ	6.48

3.4 THE JUNCTURE-PROSODY Y

The juncture-prosody Y has been set up to highlight the correlation between the grammatical relationship of certain (grammatical) elements, and the juncture between these elements. Vowel-initial stems (for details, see 5.3) have what are termed 'weak forms', which occur only when the stem is in grammatical construction with a preceding grammatical element; the juncture between the weak form and the preceding element is always characterised by the juncture-prosody Y.

The phonetic exponents of the juncture-prosody Y are the same as those of the initial-prosody y when it occurs with the initial phonological elements T, N, J; t, n, j, as

described in the sections on Jv and Jc junctures;[1] and it has zero phonetic exponent with the initial c unit p. Y juncture-prosody occurs with the initial units N and n only when the post-juncture syllable has the syllable-prosody n.

The juncture-prosody Y does not occur alone, but always in conjunction with one of the junctures already described in sections 3.2 and 3.3. It will be written in the phonological transcription preceding the symbols for the other juncture-prosodies, and separated from them by an oblique stroke. E.g.

apka?ti čo?to	'many days'	('tidʒo)	⁄yTÍ $^{Y/2}_{+}$ ⁄wta	7.6
kapot ñĭpok ri	'in the middle of the plateau'	('poɲĭ)	⁄wPÉt $^{Y/ZV}_{4}$ nyni	1.17
katorčʌ	'mother'	('tol'tçʌ)	⁄wTÁr $^{Y/X}_{+}$ ⁄wyTÁ	7.11
rop čva	'the dog's tooth'	('rop'tçʊa)	⁄w^{r}JÁp $^{Y/H}_{4}$ ⁄^{W}TÁ	FS6.2

For some special junctures with the juncture-prosody Y, see chapter 5, section 5.32.

---

1. If Y juncture-prosody has the same phonetic exponents as y initial-prosody, it may well be asked why it is introduced into the analysis: could it not equally well be stated that the particular grammatical relationships in question correlated with y initial-prosody? The basic reason is that stated in the introduction, namely, using an approach which emphasises syntagmatic relationships. An analysis in terms of y initial-prosody alone would draw attention to the initial characteristics of the syllable, but that would be all; an analysis in terms of a juncture-prosody draws attention to the relation between that syllable and the preceding one, and this, it is felt, is the function of the phonetic forms so handled.

There is also the secondary consideration of predominance. It will be noted that Y juncture-prosody occurs with certain initial units only, and so far as these units are concerned, their occurrence with y initial-prosody is rare, and in some cases is a mark of a loan word. See the footnote to čipro in 2.222.2, page 39.

3.5 JUNCTURES WITH PAUSE

To account for all the phonetic data recorded in the text material, it is necessary to set up a phonological unit 'pause': two such pause units are recognised, non-final pause, and final pause.

Non-final pause is any pause which occurs sentence-medial; final pause is any pause which occurs sentence-final. For juncture with these pause units, the same juncture-systems are used as have already been described (except for the special case of the occurrence of the echo-vocoid: see 2.211.31, final paragraph, page 25). That is to say, short open syllables occur with either of the juncture-prosodies ˀ or ² ; closed and long open syllables occur with either of the juncture-prosodies H or X (but not Z). At final pause, however, the juncture-prosody ˀ is never found; that is to say, ˀ juncture-prosody, when linking a syllable to pause, is a marker of non-finality.

In the phonological transcription non-final pause will be represented by ○, final pause by O. E.g.

" nʌ, "	(n'dʌˀ/)[1]	ɸwyNA $\overset{?}{+}$ ○	"Nd''	2.4
" nʌ,"	(n'dʌ/)	ɸwyNA $\overset{?}{+}$ ○	" No"	2.6
"pu mɛ̃ cer."	(bumɛ̃t'tɕe̞r/)	ɸy^{y}TEr $\overset{H}{+}$ O	" we will burn'	2.6
"nɔ̃r nɨv"	('nɔ̃ln'dɯ ʍ/)	ɸwyNIv $\overset{X}{+}$ O	'When he was a young man"'	6.Qa

---

1. The oblique bar represents a pause in the phonetic transcription.

3.6 JUNCTURES PECULIAR TO PARTICLES

There is a group of junctures peculiar to particle + major word sequences, in which the ultimate syllable of the particle is a closed one, i.e. the junctures belong to the general category of Jc type junctures. This group of junctures can be divided into two subgroups as follows. The first subgroup comprises those junctures in which the juncture-prosody is ?; and the second group comprises those junctures in which the post-junctural syllable has the initial-prosody ?. Thus, in each case, the final contoid of the particle immediately precedes a glottal plosive, forming a phonetic sequence which is never found in major word + major word sequences (see 3.311, column 3).

In these junctures, the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody ?, or the initial-prosody ?, is a glottal plosive, often with glottalisation of the phonetic exponents of the vowel unit, and of the final c unit in the pre-junctural syllable. Also, the phonetic exponent of the final c units m, n, and r (no example was found with a final c unit v) varied between voiced, voiceless, and a transition from voiced to voiceless, and the phonetic exponent of r was an alveolar flap (contrast the usual dental lateral when preceding another contoid). E.g.

kɔt ʔpĩr	'they killed him'	(kɔ̰t̰ʔ'pĩl) ɲwKAt + nyPĩr	7.61
ũm kã̀m ʔkaŋo	'honey mixed with the wax'	(gã̰m̰ʔka) nwyKAm + ɲyka	3.23
nã̀ žar ʔkañve	'he pierced it here'	('ʒar̰ʔ,ka) ɲ^{y}JÁr + ɲykà	MF86.12

In the case in which the post-junctural syllable has the initial-prosody ?, the juncture-prosody will be analysed as H if the final c unit of the pre-junctural syllable is a member of the subsystem cp; and X if it is a member of any of the other subsystems set up for final place. This contrasts with major word + major word sequences, in which analogous junctures can only occur with the juncture-prosody Z (see 3.311).

kep ʔĩkže ʔtəč	'one side became hard'	(ˌkep^{ʔʔ}ʔi)	nyKÈp $^{H}_{+}$ ɣ^{ʔ}y^{ʔ}i	1.23
ñũm ʔɔ̃ ža	'and one of them'	(ˌnũm^{ʔʔ}ˈʔɔ̃)	nw^{y}NIm $^{X}_{+}$ nw^{ʔ}Á	8.64

CHAPTER 4 THE SENTENCE, THE CLAUSE, AND THE PIECE

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CHAPTER 4. THE SENTENCE, THE CLAUSE, AND THE PIECE

4.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The grammatical structure of Apinayé will be described by means of a hierarchy of elements set up at the grammatical level. In this chapter, the three largest elements in this hierarchy will be described - the sentence, the clause, and the piece [1]. Subsequent chapters (6-9) will describe the grammatical elements that are smaller than the piece.

The chapter will be presented in three major sections; the sentence (4.2), the clause (4.3), and the piece (4.4).

4.2 THE SENTENCE

The sentence is defined both phonologically and grammatically. Phonologically, there is the occurrence of one of the final-prosodies (f and r) set up for the tune (see 2.422, page 58), and there is also potentiality of pause before and after the sentence [2]. Grammatically, the sentence is defined as a sequence of clauses, in paratactic relationship, the mono-clausal sentence being the limiting case.

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1. This is not to deny, or imply, that it would not be possible to set up larger elements than these, but no attempt has been made to do so in this thesis.

2. It is only rarely that there is absence of pause.

In text material, it is not always easy to determine the boundaries of sentences, as grammatically, it is only necessary that they coincide with the end of a clause, and phonologically, it is not always possible, with complete certainty, to decide whether a particular pitch sequence is a final fall or not. It could, perhaps, be said that the sentence is a somewhat loose phonological grouping of clauses within some larger framework, such as a narrative, or a conversation.

Sentences have been found to comprise from one to fourteen clauses, but sentences with over 5 clauses account for less than 15 per cent of all sentences, and those with over 8 clauses for less than 3 per cent. The average number of clauses in a sentence was found to be somewhat over three. The percentage of sentences comprising from 1 to 5 clauses is given below, the percentages being given to the nearest five.

2 clauses	25 per cent
3 and 4 clauses	20 per cent
1 clause	15 per cent
5 clauses	10 per cent

Examples are given below of sentences with 2, 4, 6 and 8 clauses respectively.

"ɛ, mamrĩ iñmÃ amɛ̃." 'Alright, you can throw it to me' 2.18

ñũm mɛ̃pa?pÃm že ?ɔ̃ vər ?tɛ̃m, nɛ̃ ?poč, nɛ̃ ñũm kÃm: "ñʌ nã ka ičpumu?" 7.93

'So one of our ancestors arrived there, and he (Vañmɛ̃ kaprÃn~rɛ) said to him, "Do you recognise me?" '

ñũm kupɨ, ñũm Mɨtvrə~rɛ mÃ ?kaŋo mɛč ža ta, nɛ̃ kumɛ̃, ñũm Mɨt~ti kÃm: "kep ũm kÃm ?kaŋo; kep ũm kÃm ?kaŋo." 3.21

'He caught it. Then he (Woodpecker) pulled off some good honey for Moon, and threw it. But Sun said to him, "Let it become honey mixed with the wax - let it become honey mixed with the wax." '

'nʌ; kɔtpa ža akupɛ̃~m ʔɔiñmõr ket nɛ̃; mɛ̃ičtɛ ɔmuñ, nɛ̃ ʔpĩr, nɛ̃ kurũm iñmõr, nɛ̃ ičpoč, tɅ̃ ʔtɛ̃m, nɛ̃ ʔpoč kenɅ̃." 6 BD.1-8

' 'No, I am not going to take him there again. We saw him, and killed him, and then returned from there, but nonetheless he has definitely come back." '

4.3 THE CLAUSE

The clause is the largest grammatical unit to be set up, other than the sentence, and comprises one or more pieces. Every clause (without the Connective Piece) can occur as a mono-clausal sentence; that is to say, every clause has the potentiality of occurrence with one of the final prosodies set up for the tune, and of being preceded and followed by silence.

All clauses can be assigned to a limited number of clause-types, which are the abstracted patterns of individual clauses. The clause-types thus set up can be grouped into major and minor clause-types, which are described, respectively, in sections 4.31 and 4.32.

4.31 Major clause-types

Major clause-types differ from minor clause-types in three ways: their structure can be stated in terms of pieces, they exhibit a certain flexibility of order, and they have a much wider external distribution.

It is found that for each of the major clause-types there is one order of the constituent pieces which is much more common than the other possible orders. Moreover, when the same pieces are found occurring in the different major clause-types, they occur in the same order relative to one another; thus, the Subject Piece precedes the Adverb Piece, which in turn precedes the Indirect Piece. This order will be termed the 'favourite' order.

There are also certain orders, infrequent in occurrence, which differ from this favourite order, and these will be termed 'non-favourite' orders.

Further, certain of the pieces of which a clause consists can occur immediately following the Connective Piece, and preceding all the other pieces; since this order often correlates with emphatic intonation (i.e. a tune-unit D, with high tune-prosody; see 2.421), it will be termed the 'emphatic' order.

It was also found that certain major clause-types occurred in two forms, which are termed 'extended' and 'non-extended'. Extended clauses are marked in various ways, such as by the occurrence of the extended form of the verb in a verbal phrase-type 1 (i.e. consisting of a verb only: see 7.21); or by the occurrence of the Subject Particle, -tɛ (see 9.22); or by the occurrence of the conjunctions ñĩr-nɛ̃ and ñĩr-ñũm. Non-extended clauses are marked, partly negatively, by the absence of the above markers; and partly positively, by the presence of other Predicate Particles than the Subject Particle.

A count was made for the commonest of the major clause-types (the Verbal Clause-Type) of the relative frequency of the favourite and non-favourite orders (putting emphatic orders with non-favourite orders), and of the extended and non-extended forms. The results are listed below:

favourite order, non-extended form	80 per cent
favourite order, extended form	12 per cent
non-favourite orders, non-extended form	7 per cent
non-favourite orders, extended form	1 per cent.

There are four major clause-types - the Verbal Clause-Type, the Nominal Clause Type, the Indirect Clause-Type, and the Predicate Particle Clause-Type. These will be described in turn in sections 4.311 - 4.314.

4.311 The Verbal Clause Type

Of the four major clause-types, one is found to occur much more commonly in text material than the others, accounting for some 80 per cent of all the clauses that occur. It is termed the 'Verbal Clause-Type' because it always comprises a Verbal Piece, which occurs in the final place in the clause.

The Verbal Clause-Type will be described in three sub-sections, (a) to (c), dealing with the favourite, non-favourite, and emphatic orders respectively.

(a) The favourite order

The favourite order of the Verbal Clause-Type consists of a sequence of 6 pieces, in the order shown below:-

Conn.P. - Subj.P. - Pred.Part.P. - Adv.P. - Indir.P. - Verbal P.

No example with all six pieces was found in text, but examples with five were not uncommon. The minimum form consists of the Verbal Piece only.

In the examples, the clause under consideration will be given first in the reading transcription, and this will be followed by a classification of the clause as a non-extended Verbal Clause-Type (nxVCTf), or as an extended one (xVCTf). Also, the pieces will be identified by means of the following abbreviations:- Connective Piece - CP; Subject Piece - SP; Predicate Particle Piece - PPP; Adverb Piece - AP; Indirect Piece - IP; Verbal Piece - VP.

kato,[1] nxVCTf 'he was born' 6 F.1.
VP

ñɛ̃r-nɛ̃ kot mã kɛ̃n prek~ti var omõr, xVCTf 7.26
CP PPP AP IP VP

'so they took him away to the mountain'

Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ tãm nã Ã ri vamɛ̃atoanɛ̃ nxVCTf 7.20
SP PPP AP VP

'it is Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ himself that has been doing this to you all'

(b) The non-favourite orders

There are two non-favourite orders of the Verbal Clause-Type. In the first, the Predicate Particle Piece precedes the Subject Piece.

nɛ̃ ñũm tɛ nÃ ža ŋoč-mÃ opa nxVCTnf 7.2
CP PPP SP IP VP

'and his mother would carry him to the river'

In the second, an Adverb Piece occurs following the Indirect Piece, not preceding it, as in the favourite order: this will be termed 'Adverb Piece 2', and abbreviated as AP2.[2]

Amri-ñũm Vañmɛ̃ka prÃn~rɛ mɛ̃ičkÃm Ã kato
CP SP IP AP2 VP nxVCTnf 6.A.2

'Now, it was in the following way that Vañmɛ̃ka prÃn~rɛ was born among us'

---

1. This minimum form of the Verbal Clause-Type is not common; its most frequent occurrence is sentence-initial, repeating the Verbal Piece at the end of the previous sentence. It is also used in commands.

2. Two examples were found in text (7.83 and 8.10) in which both Adverb Pieces occurred in the same clause.

(c) The emphatic orders

The Indirect and Adverb Pieces can occur preceding all other pieces in the clause, except the Connective Piece. In this position they are termed the Emphatic Indirect and Adverb Pieces since they often occur with emphatic stress (indicated by underlining) and the tune-unit D with the high tune-prosody. They will be symbolised as EIP and EAP respectively, and the clause will be symbolised as VCTem.

ñũm ŋo?kõn ža <u>kamã</u> kɔtpu ža pa?kra že ?ɔpakatɔ.
CP EIP PPP VP
nxVCTem 5.5

'we shall create our descendants <u>inside</u> the gourds'

ñũm <u>ra</u> Mɨtvrə-rɛ ža tɛ̃, nxVCTem 5.15
CP EAP SP VP

'Moon had already arrived'

There also occurs what may be termed an 'Emphatic Object Piece', in the same position as the other emphatic pieces, when the Verbal Piece is transitive. In this case there is cross-reference between the Emphatic Object Piece and the bound object of the Verbal Piece.

tok rã̃ nã̃ pa ?tɛ kuku nxVCTem 1.10
EOP PPP VP

'it was the flower of the trumpet bush that I ate'

The Predicate Particle Piece can also occur in an emphatic position; for further detail see 9.312. It is labelled EPPP in this position. E.g.

ñum ke vɛ?ɛ prɨ ?krač kã̃m ñʌč ku?tʌ~rɛ mɛñ ñõpoñ ?ɔ̃ mɔ̃ 13.16
CP EPPP EIP SP IP VP

'Now (surprisingly?) it was at the beginning of the path that Woodpecker was pecking out honey!

Examples with two Emphatic Pieces have been found; in the majority of these cases, the Emphatic Pieces are the Adverb and Object Pieces, and usually in that order.

Ãm ĩ ičtɛ ɔmuñ kenɁ̃.
EAP EOP PPP VP xVCTem 8.31

'it was definitely his body that I saw'

4.312 The Nominal Clause-Type.

The Nominal Clause-Type is the second most common of the major clause-types, accounting for a little under 10 per cent of all major clause-types. It is termed the 'Nominal Clause-Type' because it always comprises a Nominal Piece, which occurs in the final place. It is distinguished from the Verbal Clause-Type in that it never comprises a Verbal Piece.

Unlike the Verbal Clause-Type, the Nominal Clause-Type has not been found occurring in the extended form, but only in the non-extended form. It exhibits, however, favourite, non-favourite, and emphatic orders, which will be described below, in three sub-sections (a) to (c).

(a) The favourite order

The favourite order of the Nominal Clause-Type consists of a sequence of 6 pieces, in the order shown below:-

Conn.P. - Subj.P. - Pred.Part P. - Adv.P. - Indir.P. - Nominal P.

No example was found in text with more than 4 pieces; in its minimum form it comprises the Nominal Piece only.

For the examples, the same notation will be used as was used for the Verbal Clause-Type, with the addition of NP for Nominal Piece, and of NCT for Nominal Clause-Type.

i?krãžɔpap kupɛ̃čɛ~rɛ pič NCTf 7.90
NP

'his hat was a cloth one'

kɔtpa ža čɛp ãm ičpe kupɛ̃ NCTf 7.82
PPP AP IP NP

'I am going to become a white man'

nɛ̃...mɛ̃mɔ žɛ arĩ mɛ̃akukreč~rɛ, NCTf 8.9
CP SP AP NP

'these things belong to you'

(b) The non-favourite orders

The Nominal Clause-Type exhibits the same two non-favourite orders as does the Verbal Clause-Type (see 4.311 (b), page 95).

nɛ̃ aŋõ ŋvra žɛ amã rɛrɛk NCTnf 1.24
PPP SP IP NP

'your buriti fruit is soft'

nɛ̃ amñĩ mã ačku?tã õ NCTnf 4.23
CP IP AP2 NP

'when they have their own food'

(c) The emphatic orders

The Indirect and Adverb Pieces can occur in the emphatic position. No example was found with more than one emphatic piece.

ɑmri-ñũm kãm kɔtpu žɑ mɛ̃pape kupɛ̃; 8.1
CP EIP PPP IP NP NCTem

'now, it was with him that we
became white people'

ñũm ra iʔõ ža kÃm ʌpeñ čveñ, NCTem 8.63
CP EAP SP IP NP

'already one was his maid'

4.313 The Indirect Clause-Type

The Indirect Clause-Type is a little less common than the Nominal Clause-Type (about 7 per cent of major clause-types). It is termed the 'Indirect Clause-Type' because it always comprises an Indirect Piece, which occurs in the final place. It differs from the Nominal Clause-Type in this respect, and in not always comprising a Nominal Piece; it differs from the Verbal Clause-Type in never comprising a Verbal Piece.

The Indirect Clause-Type was found to exhibit only favourite and non-favourite orders, which are described in turn below. It can also occur in extended and non-extended forms, but the former is restricted to those indirect clauses that introduce direct speech; see below.

(a) The favourite order

The favourite order of the Indirect Clause-Type consists of a sequence of 5 pieces, in the order shown below:-

Conn.P. - Subj.P. - Pred.Part P. - Adv.P. - Indir.P.

One example was found with all 5 pieces, but more than 3 pieces was rare. In its minimum form it comprises the Indirect Piece, and one other piece.

In addition to the notation already introduced, the abbreviation ICT will be used for 'Indirect Clause-Type'.

ñĩr tÃ ñũm amñĩ kamÃ pižaÃm ʔɔ; nxICTf 7.81
CP IP

'but he was embarrassed about himself'

ñũm ʔõ ža apu Ãm iʔprõ ʔÃ nxICTf 8.64
CP SP AP IP

'and the other was probably his wife'

(b) The non-favourite order

There is only one non-favourite order of the Indirect Clause-Type, in which the Predicate Particle Piece precedes the Subject Piece.

ʌmri-ñũm čɛp põɨ ʔpʌr ža mɛ̃õ ŋoñõprɨ kamÃ nxICTnf 9.18
CP PPP SP IP

'now there was a corn-plant in their bathing place'

There is one particular form of the Indirect Clause-Type which occurs very commonly (relative to other forms of the clause-type), and which has a very limited distribution. In form, it always occurs with the Indirect Particle mÃ 'to' (third person stem is kÃm); and it always occurs immediately preceding direct speech, functioning as an introduction to it. Also, it not infrequently occurs with the final-prosody set up for the tune (see 2.422, page 58), and it is the only form of the Indirect Clause-Type that has been found in the extended form.[1]

In the reading transcription such indirect clauses will be punctuated with a colon.

---

1. Occasionally, this clause occurs without the Indirect Piece, i.e. it consists of a Connective Piece, with or without a Subject Piece. See, for instance, 6.N.2.

nɛ̃ kʌ̃m: nxICTf mult.
CP IP
'and he said to him'

ñɛ̃r-ñũm kɔt kʌ̃m: xICTf 8.11
CP PPP IP
'so he said to him'

ʌmri-ñũm Mɨt~ti ñʌč ku?tʌ~rɛ mʌ̃: nxICTf 3.27
CP SP IP
'then Sun said to Woodpecker'

4.314 The Predicate Particle Clause-Type

Certain clauses were found, both in text and in elicited material, which can not be included in the other major clause-types, as none of them ever comprise a Verbal Piece or a Nominal Piece; and only occasionally an Indirect Piece. On the other hand, they differ both internally (their structure is stateable in terms of pieces, and shows variability of order) and in distribution from the minor clause-types. Consequently, they are handled as major clause-types, and are termed 'Predicate Particle Clause-Types' since they always comprise one or more members of the Predicate Particle Piece.

As so few examples were found, no attempt has been made to set up favourite, non-favourite, and emphatic orders, as was done for the other major clause-types, although this might be possible with further data. Also, no examples were found in the extended form.

mɛ̃?õ nã ka? PPCT 'Who are you?' 7.94
QP[1] PPP

---

1. For the establishment of the Question Piece see the next section.

ke arĩ tãm. PPCT 'He is the one who knows' 8.8
CP AP PPPem

4.315 Question, Command, and Statement

All major clause-types can be classified as questions, commands, or statements, independently of their grouping into clause-types. The definitions are given in the following paragraphs.

A question is any clause which includes a Question Piece (QP). The Question Piece occurs preceding all other pieces (including the emphatic pieces) except the Connective Piece, and comprises one member of the class of interrogatives (see 8.2). Questions will be punctuated in the reading transcription with a question mark, and the clause will be identified with an oblique bar and the symbol q following the identification of the clause-type. E.g.

mɔ nã ka ʔtɛ aku? VCT/q 1.9
QP PPP VP

'What have you been eating?'

čʌ ũm kÃm ʔkaŋo? NCT/q 2.4
QP NP

'Do you want honey mixed with the wax?'

ñʌ Ãm ʔÃ́puri nã ka akužarɛ̃ñ ʔɔ anɛ̃?
CP EAP PPP IP VP
VCT/q 5.6

'Is what you are saying really true?'

A command is any Verbal Clause-Type, or Nominal Clause-Type in which the Nominal Piece has a Class 2b modifier as head word, which occurs initial in speech (i.e. conversation, as opposed to narrative) and has nothing in it which precedes the Adverb Piece (except, rarely, a Quantitative Particle). A sequence of

commands may be connected by the connective nɛ̃ 'and', each clause fulfilling the stated conditions, other than initiality. If the verb is a Class 1.1 or 1.2 verb it occurs with the second person prefixes (see 5.2) under the appropriate syntactic conditions (see 7.321.1 and 7.321.2).

Commands will be punctuated in the translation with an exclamation mark (but not in the reading transcription unless the tune-unit occurs with the high tune-prosody - see 2.421), and the clause will be identified with an oblique bar and the symbol c following the identification of the clause-type. E.g.

vaiñmÃ kaŋo mɛč ža mɛ̃ VCT/c 3.32
IP VP
'throw us some good honey! '

amÃ uma ʔket nɛ̃ NCT/c 3.46
IP NP
'don't be afraid! '

kÃm amñĩ krÃ rũm kapa, nɛ̃ ʔaŋrɛ ʔo ʔkupuʔ mač, nɛ̃ kÃm amɛ̃.
IP VP CP IP VP CP IP VP

VCT/c + VCT/c + VCT/c 3.41

'Pull it off your head for him, wrap it up well in the feather ornament, and throw it to him.'

A statement is any clause which does not answer to the conditions for a question and a command. It is left unmarked in the analysis - see examples previous to this section.

4.316 Major clauses as included clauses

Of the four major clauses, two have been found occurring as 'included clauses'; that is to say, filling

a place within a piece which can be filled by a single word; these two are the Verbal Clause-Type, in the extended form, and the Nominal Clause-Type.

The extended Verbal Clause-Type can fill the place of a noun, or of an adverb.

In the examples, the constituent pieces of the included clause will be identified in the first line under the reading transcription; then the clause-type of the included clause, and finally, the pieces in the whole clause.

pu mɛ̃ tañ-mʌ̃ kɔt mɛ̃pakačɨv amñĩtɔ? pumu nxVCTf 7.15
QP PPP IP VP
(xVCTf/q)
PPP VP[1]

'we shall see whatever he makes for us'

nɔ iñɲet, kɔt ri ičtʰ̃ʌmneñ ?ɔ pa? čveñ ta, ... (part of nxVCTf) 6BR.2.
PPP AP IP VP
(xVCTf)
CP SP

'but as for my uncle, who has been ' giving orders for me to be killed'

ñʌ nã ka mɛ̃ ičtɛ karɔ̃? čʌ?kɔt ?ɔanɛ̃? nxVCTf/q 7.77
PPP VP
(xVCTf)
QP PPP AP VP

'Did you do as I instructed you?'

---

1. The included clause is the object of the verb in this example, but this is not immediately apparent, as the object is analysed as an integral part of the Verbal Piece.

The Nominal Clause-Type can fill the place of a noun only.

nã aŋõ ŋvra ža amÃ rɛrɛk kao. nx VCTf 1.24
PPP SP IP NP
(NCTnf)
VP[1]

'you are eating your soft buriti fruit'

4.32 Minor clause-types

Minor clause-types are distinguished from major clause-types by their (internal) structure, and by their (external) distribution. Unlike major clause-types, minor clause-types have a fixed sequence of grammatical elements, all of which belong to the same word class for any particular minor clause-type. Also, minor clause-types have only been found occurring in direct speech (not narrative), and almost invariably introduce it as the first grammatical element(s) following the Indirect Clause-Type which precedes direct speech (see 4.313, page 99). There are two minor clause-types, which will be described in 4.321 and 4.322: the Interjectory Clause-Type, and the Vocative Clause-Type.

4.321. The Interjectory Clause-Type

The Interjectory Clause-Type comprises members of

---

1. In this example, the Nominal Clause-Type is the object: for further comments, see footnote on the previous page.

the class of interjections only (see 8.3) usually singly, but occasionally in pairs or triplets. This minor clause-type can occur as a response to a question or statement, as well as introducing direct speech. It often occurs as the peak of the tune-unit D (see 2.41).

In the examples, the Interjectory Clause-Type will be set in the context of the clause it follows or precedes, the latter simply being identified as a Verbal Clause-Type, a Nominal Clause-Type, etc. without the constituent pieces being individually identified.

"ɛ, ɔičkõ; ža kɔtpu ža mɛ̃ ɔičkõ." 8.23
InjCT VCT/c nxVCTem

'Drink it! This is what we are going to drink'

"ñʌ nã ka vɛ mɛ̃ Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ pi?" "ə, mɛ̃ičtɛ ʔpĩr kenÃ." 7.66
VCT/q InjCT exVCT

'Did you kill Vañmɛ̃ KaprÃn~rɛ?" "Yes, we did kill him."

4.322 The Vocative Clause-Type

The Vocative Clause-Type comprises a noun, and usually occurs with the tune-unit A: see 2.41.

"ŋkrÃmŋet~ti, pu mõ, ..." 3.2
VocCT VCT

'Father, let us go, ...'

When both the Interjectory Clause-Type, and the Vocative Clause-Type occur speech-initial, the Vocative Clause-Type usually follows the Interjectory Clause-Type, but the reverse order does occur.

"kva, paʔkrÃm~rɛ, mɔ nã ka ʔke-ri amñĩñĩpeč?! " 4.17
InjCT VocCT VCT/q

'But my son, why have you behaved like this?'

"ičkrÃmŋet-ti, kva nʌ, pa pãm ičʌ?kʌ ža pɨ;" 3.37
VocCT InjCT VCT

'No, no, my father, I myself will catch the head-ornament.'

4.4 THE PIECE

The piece is the grammatical element which is set up in the grammatical hierarchy intermediate between the clause and the phrase, and most (though not all) pieces comprise one or more phrases. All pieces can be assigned to the limited number of Pieces set up for the description of the Clause-Types in the preceding major section (4.3).

For convenience of description, Pieces are divided into two groups: those whose structure can be stated by means of phrases (Phrasal Pieces); and those whose structure can not be stated by means of phrases (Non-Phrasal Pieces). These will be described in turn in sections 4.41 and 4.42.

4.41 Phrasal Pieces

There are two sorts of Phrasal Piece - Nominal and Verbal; the former will be described in 4.411, the latter in 4.412.

4.411 Nominal Pieces

A Nominal Piece is one which always comprises at least one nominal phrase, as set up in 6.2. Pieces have been found comprising a maximum of three phrases.

There are 4 Nominal Pieces[1] which have been set up:- the Indirect and Emphatic Indirect Pieces, the Emphatic Object Piece, and the Subject Piece. These will be described in three sub-sections (a) to (c), in the order given above, the two Indirect Pieces being considered together.

(a) The Indirect and Emphatic Indirect Pieces

The Indirect and Emphatic Indirect Piece always and only comprise phrases of the Nominal Phrase Type B (see 6.212.22), that is, phrases that comprise an Indirect Particle (see 9.2). The former Piece frequently comprises two such phrases, and sometimes three, but the latter has only been found with one.

In the examples given in this section on Phrasal Pieces, the phrases of which the particular piece under consideration consists will be underlined, and all the Pieces will be labelled. The usual identification of the Clause-Type will follow.

ñũm mã kɛ̃n tak ʔɔ a?par-mʌ̃ tɛ̃. nxVCTf 7.28
CP AP IP IP AP2 VP

'and he fell downwards, dashing against the rocks'

ñũm ʌpeñ pe ačpɛ̃n mʌ̃ ʌmra? ʔɔ ṗa nxVCTf 4.8
CP IP VP

'and they were shouting to one another, as they worked'

---

1. The Transitive Verbal Piece may comprise a nominal phrase, but this nominal phrase does not have status as a Piece.

kamÃ[1]ketka poi, nxVCTem 8.15
EIP PPP VP

'when you arrive back in it (the village)'

(b) The Emphatic Object Piece

The Emphatic Object Piece may comprise any nominal phrase-type other than B, and has been found comprising only one phrase. It is distinguished from the Indirect Pieces by its internal structure, and from the Subject Piece by the fact that the clause in which it occurs can be transformed into a favourite order clause with the (erstwhile) Emphatic Object Piece immediately preceding the verb. By a suitable choice of verb, the phonetic shape of the verb marks the fact that the preceding nominal phrase is functioning as its object.

nɛ̃ i?kritmʌnrÃ~rɛ kuvɨ̀ mÃ kumɛ̃, nxVCTem 7.74
CP EOP IP VP

'and they threw his pet macaw into the fire'

This clause can be transformed into

nɛ̃ kuvɨ̀ mÃ i?kritmʌnrÃ~rɛ mɛ̃ nxVCTf
CP IP VP

where mɛ̃ is that form of the verb kumɛ̃ which occurs with an immediately preceding object.

(c) The Subject Piece

The Subject Piece, like the Emphatic Object Piece, may comprise any nominal phrase-type other than B, but unlike it, has been found to comprise up to three phrases. It is distinguished from the Indirect Pieces by internal

---

1. For a discussion of the special case in which the Nominal Phrase-Type B consists of the Indirect Particle only, see 6.212.22, footnote 1.

structure, and from the Emphatic Object Piece[1] by not being transformable, as there described.

ñữm ñʌč krÃ?kʌ kamrekˇti, ʌ?kʌ čvəñ ža, a?pã̃ñ-?Ã̃ mã aŋže.
CP SP AP VP

nxVCTf. 3.50

'and the red-crested woodpecker, the owner of the head-ornament, fled away from them into the jungle'

4.412 The Verbal Piece

The Verbal Piece comprises one, and only one, verbal phrase; for the description of the verbal phrase, see 7.2.

akapẽr ket nẽ, nxVCTf/ɸc 1.21
VP

'Be quiet! '

nẽ ?tẽm kure kumrẽč, nxVCTf 3.50.
CP VP

'and spread very rapidly'

4.42 Non-Phrasal Pieces

There are four Pieces whose structure is not stateable

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1. There are other distinguishing features such as the fact that the Subject Piece can occur in a clause with an intransitive verb, whereas the Emphatic Object Piece cannot; and the Subject Piece shows concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece and with the verb, if of a suitable class, which the Emphatic Object Piece does not.

in terms of phrases. They are the Predicate Particle Piece, the Connective Piece, and the Adverb and Emphatic Adverb Pieces. These will be described in three sub-sections, (a) to (c), according to the order given above, with the Adverb Pieces considered together.

(a) The Predicate Particle Piece

The Predicate Particle Piece consists of an ordered sequence of particles, each of which is assignable to a closed class; these classes, and their order within the Predicate Particle Piece, will be described in 9.3.

"pu mɛ̃ mɔ̃," nxVCTf 6.F.4.
PPP VP

'let us go!'

ñɛ̃r-nɛ̃ kɔt mã kɛ̃n prekˇti vər ɔmɔ̃r xVCTf 7.26
CP PPP AP IP VP

'so they took him away to the mountain'

nɔ nã prɛ pa ʌ̃m ičpižaʌ̃m nɛ̃. NCTf 7.98
CP PPP AP NP

'but I was embarrassed'

(b) The Connective Piece

The Connective Piece is that piece which always precedes the other pieces in the clause, whether in favourite, non-favourite, or emphatic order. It consists of a sequence of up to three members of the class of conjunctions (see 8.4).

nɛ̃ tɛ̃ nxVCTf mult.
CP VP

'and went'

ʌmri-ñũm čɛp Čũčũˇrɛ ža kʌ̃m: nxICTnf 3.1
CP PPP SP IP

'now Moon said to him'

ñɛ̃r-nɛ̃ kɔt kÃm mɛ̃ñ, xVCTf 2.26
CP PPP IP VP

'so he threw it to him'

(c) The Adverb and Emphatic Adverb Pieces

The Adverb Piece is defined as that Piece which occurs following the Subject and/or Predicate Particle Pieces, and preceding the Indirect Piece, in the favourite order of the major clause-types.

The Emphatic Adverb Piece is defined as that Piece which occurs preceding the Subject and/or Predicate Particle Pieces. Its internal structure (non-phrasal) distinguishes it from the Emphatic Indirect and Object Pieces (phrasal).

nɛ̃ ra amñĭ mÃ ʔprɔ̃ ñĭpeč. nxVCTf 5.12
CP AP IP VP

'he had already made a wife for himself'

"tɔkɛ̃č pu mɔ̃! " nxVCTem 3.14
EAP PPP VP

'let us go soon! '

CHAPTER 5 THE PREFIXIAL PARADIGM, AND STRONG AND WEAK FORMS

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CHAPTER 5 THE PREFIXIAL PARADIGM, AND STRONG AND WEAK FORMS

5.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In this chapter, the forms of the prefixial paradigm and the strong and weak forms of stems will be described. These apparently diverse subjects are grouped together in this chapter for the sake of economy of description. The prefixial paradigm occurs (in general) with nominals, verbals, and certain classes of particles; strong and weak forms are exhibited (in general) by nominals and verbals. Hence, to save needless repetition, and since the phonology of these forms (as opposed to their grammatical function) is independent of the grammatical class to which they are prefixed or belong[1], they are thus described in a separate chapter. Moreover, the prefixial paradigm and the distribution of strong and weak forms are closely related, for non-3rd person prefixes are affixed to the weak form, and 3rd person prefixes to the strong form.

The chapter will be divided into two parts, the first (5.2) describing the prefixial paradigm, and the second (5.3) describing the strong and weak forms.

5.2 THE PREFIXIAL PARADIGM

The prefixial paradigm, comprising eleven members, is set out below: the forms given are those that occur with any monosyllabic noun whose initial C unit is a member of the subsystem Cp (excluding T when it occurs with the initial-prosody y). Other forms of the prefixes than those listed will be discussed in sections 5.21 and 5.22.

The members of the paradigm will be presented in four columns. The first column will give the translation, the second the reading transcription, the third the phonetic transcription, and the fourth the phonological transcription. This last will be given in terms of the phonological elements set up for the syllable unit U (see 2.22, pp.34 - 40) with certain additional consonantal units, which will be discussed below.

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1. The 3rd. person prefixes form a partial exception to this statement.

'1st.pers.sg.'	ič-	(i‡ʒ)	/yit^{y}
'2nd.pers.sg.'	a-	(a)	/ya
'3rd.pers.sg.'	i?-	(i)	/yi
'1st.pers.dual exc.'[1]	pa?-	(pa)	/ypa
'1st.pers.dual inc.'[1]	vaič-[2]	(vai‡ʒ or vai‡ʒ)	/yvat^{y}
'2nd.pers.dual'	vara-	(vara)	/yva ~[2]~ /yra
'3rd.pers.dual'	va?-	(va)	/yva
'1st.pers.pl.exc.'	mɛpa?-[2]	(mɛba)	nyma ~[2]~ /ypa
'1st.pers.pl.inc.'	mɛič-	(mɛi‡ʒ or mɛ‡ʒ)	nymat^{y}
'2ndpers.pl.'	mɛa-[3]	(mɛa)	nyma ~[2]~ /ya
'3rd.pers.pl.'	mɛ?-[3]	(mɛ)	nyma

Two new phonological elements, initial c units, have been introduced in the phonological analysis of the prefixial paradigm: these are represented in the phonological transcription by v and r. The phonetic exponents of these initial c units are the same as those of the initial-prosodies w and r, but they have not been handled as initial-prosodies because they do not have the grammatical and phonological implications that the initial-prosodies have (in terms of juncture and strong and weak forms).

It is of interest to note, with respect to the phonology of the prefixial paradigm, that the prefixes occur with the syllable-prosody y only; that the initial c units (p, v, r and m) all have labial phonetic

---

1. The term 'exclusive' means 'exclusive of the 3rd person' and the term 'inclusive' means 'inclusive of the 3rd person'.

2. The forms va- and mɛ- are isolatable as 2nd.order prefixes, but it has not been thought profitable to handle the paradigm in terms of orders. It will serve the purpose of the thesis better to consider the prefixes as (unitary) elements in a paradigmatic system, which functions as a unitary whole in the grammar of the language. Cf.H.McKaughan, 'The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs', Publications of the Institute of National Language, Manila, 1958, p.8: 'However, for ease of description and reference, we have listed the members of the paradigms as units without further analysis.'

3. The prefixes vamɛa- (7.21) and vamɛ- (8.59) were also recorded. The former was translated as equivalent to mɛa-, but the latter was translated as 'they four'.

exponents, except r; that the juncture between any two syllables within a prefix is ^{2} only; and that the c unit m can occur word-initial in a prefix, but not in a simple stem or root[1].

The detailed description of the various forms of the members of the paradigm will be given in two main sections: 5.21 will describe the 1st. person (inclusive) prefixes, and 5.22 will describe the other prefixes.

5.21 The forms of the 1st.person (inclusive) prefixes

The 1st.person (inclusive) prefixes, viz., iǒ-, vaiǒ-, and mẽiǒ-, occur in a variety of forms, which parallel those exhibited by a syllable with the final c unit t and the final-prosody y as described in chapter 3, under the section on Jc type junctures (3.3). That is to say, 1st.person (inclusive) prefixes occur in junctures with the juncture-prosodies Z, X, H, and Y; and in junctures with the juncture-prosody Z they occur in simple, nasal, non-y, and vowel junctures. There are no ə junctures because U syllable units do not occur with this structure.

The examples will be confined to those with the 1st.person singular prefix iǒ-. The prefix will be underlined in the reading transcription; the phonetic transcription will be of the whole word (as given in isolation); and the phonological transcription will be confined to the prefix and the syllable immediately following it.

<u>iǒ</u>vrək	'I descend'	(idʒ'ʷrˌgʷ)	/yit^{y} $^{Z}_{+}$ /wy^{rw}Ék
<u>it</u>ri	'together with me'	(id'li)	/yit^{y} $^{Zy}_{+}$ /y^{r}Jí
<u>iǒ</u>pa	'my arm'	(i‡t'pa)	/yit^{y} $^{H}_{+}$ /PÁ
<u>iǒ</u>užakor	'I smoke'	(it,tɕujak'koro)	/yit^{y} $^{Y/Xv}_{+}$ /wtì
<u>iž</u>akva	'my mouth'	(iʒ/$_{j}$ak'kʷa)[2]	/yit^{y} $^{Y/Zv}_{+}$ /yja

---

1. Except for certain members of the Adverb Class (see 8.52).

2. There is fluctuation in the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody Y, when it occurs with the initial c unit j, between an alveolo-palatal grooved fricative articulation and a palatal frictionless articulation when the preceding syllable has the structure /yit^{y}.

5.22 The forms of the non-1st person (inclusive) prefixes

The non-1st person (inclusive) prefixes share the common phonological feature that they allconsist of short open syllables, of structure cv, and can therefore occur with the juncture-prosody system set up for Jv junctures in chapter 3 (see 3.2), i.e. ˀ and ² juncture-prosodies. In the paragraphs below, the distribution of these juncture-prosodies with the prefixes will be described; and the various forms of the 3rd. person prefixes will also be described.

The 2nd. person prefixes always occur with the juncture-prosody ². E.g.

apa	'your arm'	(ap'pa)	/ya $\overset{2}{+}$ /PÁ
akatɔ	'you were born'	(agat'tɔ)	/ya $\overset{2}{+}$ /yka

The 1st. person exclusive prefixes (pa- and mɛ̃pa-) occur with the juncture-prosody ˀ when affixed to a stem whose initial consonant unit is a member of the subsystem Cp, unless the juncture-prosody Y is present, in which case the juncture-prosody is ². It is also ² in all other cases. E.g.

paˀpa	'our arms'	(paˀ'pa)	/ypa $\overset{?}{+}$ /PÁ
paĕva	'our teeth'	(pat'tɕ^{ə}wa)	/ypa $\overset{Y/2}{+}$ /^{W}TÁ
pakatɔ	'we were born'	(pagat'tɔ)	/ypa $\overset{2}{+}$ /yka

The 3rd. person singular prefix occurs in two forms, zero and /yi. The former occurs with nouns, modifiers, and verbs: the latter with nouns only.

The 3rd. person singular prefix zero always occurs with the juncture-prosody ˀ when prefixed to a modifier; it occurs with ˀ or ² juncture-prosody when prefixed to a verb, depending on the subclass of the verb. (For affixation to nouns, see the next paragraph.) E.g.

nã ˀkaŋrɔ nɛ̃[1]	'he/it is hot'	(nãˀka)	nNA $\overset{?}{+}$ /yka
nã pa	'he walked'	(nãp'pa)	nNA $\overset{2}{+}$ /PÁ
nã ˀprɔ̃t	'he ran'	(nãˀ'prɔ̃^{n}dɔ̃)	nNA $\overset{?}{+}$ nw^{r}PÁt

1. nã and nɛ̃ are particles, the former used because ˀ juncture-prosody is not found following silence, the latter being necessitated by the grammatical structure of a modifier preceded by nã.

Both of the 3rd.person singular prefix forms occur with nouns. The form zero is found with all vowel initial nouns except those which are disyllabic and whose penultimate syllable has the structure /y?a: the form /yi occurs with all other noun stems. In this latter case, if the stem has an initial consonant unit which is a member of one of the subsystems Cp or cp, or is vowel initial with w initial-prosody, the prefix is linked by the juncture-prosody ? to the stem; otherwise, it is linked by the juncture-prosody ². E.g.

ɔ̃	'food or his food'		
?ĩfũu	'nose or his nose'		
i?kamro	'his blood'	(i?ka)	/yi ?+ /yka
va or i?va	'his tooth'	(i?'wa)	/yi ?+ /ʷÁ
imut	'his neck'	(im'budu)	/yi ²+ /wMĺt

A rare third form of the 3rd.person singular prefix was found with vowel initial nouns. The form was /y?i[1] and was found with both ? and ² juncture-prosodies, the former when the initial-prosody w was present, the latter when the initial-prosody ? was present. E.g.

?i?vrɘ[2]	'his ribs'	(?i?'ʊrɣ)	/y?i ?+ /wy^{rw}É
?i?ɨ[2]	'his lead-shot'	(?i?'?ɯ)[3]	/y?i ²+ /wy$^{?}$Í[3]

5.3 STRONG AND WEAK FORMS

Certain of the stems which can occur with the prefixial paradigm are found in two different forms. These two forms are termed 'strong' and 'weak', the latter occurring only when it is in construction with a preceding grammatical element, the former occurring without being in such a construction.

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1. This form of the 3rd.person prefix necessitates introducing the new phonological element ʔ , as an initial c unit: it is not analysed as an initial-prosody for the reasons given in the paragraph which follows the listing of the prefixial paradigm (see p.115)

2. Corresponding dual and plural forms were also found, such as mɛ̃?i?- and va?i-.

3. This form (and parallel ones) is analysed as occurring with a ² juncture-prosody and an open pre-junctural syllable, rather than as a closed pre-junctural syllable with H juncture-prosody, because of the general phonological feature that a long contoid is the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody ².

The relationship, at the phonological level, between the strong and weak forms of any particular stem can be stated solely in terms of the phonology of the two forms. That is to say, two stems from different grammatical classes, which have the same strong form, will have the same weak form; and vice-versa. Strong forms are always vowel initial; weak forms are always consonant initial.

The juncture between a weak form and the preceding syllable is always characterised by the juncture-prosody Y (see 3.4, p.84): the juncture between a strong form and any syllable which may precede it is never characterised by Y juncture-prosody.

The description of the strong and weak forms will be given in two main sections, the first (5.31) describing the structure of strong and weak forms and the relationship between them, the second (5.32) describing some special junctures in which the post-junctural syllable is a weak form.

5.31 The structure of strong and weak forms and the relationship between them

The description of strong and weak forms will be given in two main sections. The first of these (5.311) will describe strong and weak forms whose initial syllable has the syllable-prosody n; the second (5.312) will describe strong and weak forms whose initial syllable has the syllable-prosody ∅.

5.311 Strong and weak forms with the syllable-prosody n

Stems whose strong and weak forms have an initial syllable with the syllable-prosody n have a weak form whose initial consonant unit is either n or N[1]. The former is found when the stem is disyllabic, the latter when it is monosyllabic.

In the examples throughout this section (5.3) the first column will give the strong form in reading transcription; the second column will give the initial syllable of the strong form in the phonological trans-

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1. Very occasionally, in the speech of some speakers, the initial C unit was Ŋ not N. Thus, aŋĩn for aĩĩn 'your dung' (1.9).

cription; the third will give the weak form in reading transcription; the fourth will give the initial syllable of the weak form in the phonological transcription; and the fifth will give a translation.

r̃	nwyIr	ñr̃	nwyNIr	'to sit'
ãm	nAm	ñãm	nNAm	'chin'
õpo	nwa	ñõpo	nwna	'to extract'
ʔĩkra	ny ʔ i [1]	ñĩkra	nyni	'hand'

5.312 Strong and weak forms with the syllable-prosody ⁄

The description of the strong and weak forms of stems whose initial syllable has the syllable-prosody ⁄ will be given in three subsections. The first, 5.312.1, will describe stems whose weak form has one of the initial consonant units J or j; the second, 5.312.2, will describe stems whose weak form has one of the initial consonant units T or t; and the third, 5.312.3, will describe stems whose weak form has the initial consonant unit p.

5.312.1 Weak forms with the initial consonant unit J, or j

Stems whose weak form is found with the initial consonant unit J, or j, have strong forms with the initial-prosody ʔ, except for the case in which the stem is monosyllabic and has the final c unit t with the final-prosody y: for this case, see the next section.

ʔi [2]	⁄y ʔ I	ž̆i	⁄yJI	'bone'
ʔarɛ̃	⁄y ʔ a	ž̆arɛ̃	⁄yja	'to say something'

---

1. At the phonetic level this syllable was found as either (ʔi) or (ʔĩ) or, occasionally, (ʔ̃ĩ). It is analysed as having n syllable-prosody rather than ⁄, even though the first of these forms appears to predominate, because the corresponding weak form has the initial c unit n.

2. Monosyllabic stems, with the initial-prosody ʔ, have a marked tendency to occur in the weak form only when prefixed with the non-3rd person prefixes, and not in the other constructions in which a weak form is found.

5.312.2 Weak forms with the initial consonant unit T, or t

Stems whose weak form occurs with the initial consonant units T or t have strong forms without initial-prosody, or with the initial-prosody w. The only exceptions are disyllabic stems whose penultimate syllable has the syllable-prosody w and whose ultimate syllable is not of the general structure $/^{y}$NV. Also included in this group are monosyllabic stems with the initial-prosody ? and the final c unit t, with y final-prosody.

om	/wEm	čom	/wTEn	'to pound something'
ʌpeñ	/wya	čʌpeñ	/wyta	'to work'
užanãr	/wi	čužanãr	/wti	'to return'
uñve	/wi $\overset{2}{+}$ /wy^{wy}NE	čuñve	/wti + /wy^{wy}NE	'to cook something'
?eč	/y$^{?}$Et^{y}	čeč	/yTEt^{y}	'to tell lies'

5.312.3 Weak forms with the initial consonant unit p

Stems whose weak form occurs with the initial consonant unit p have strong forms whose penultimate syllable has the syllable-prosody w, and whose ultimate syllable does not have the general structure /^{y}NV.

ɔmu	/wa $\overset{2}{+}$ /wMI	pumu	/wpi $\overset{2}{+}$ /wMI	'to see something'
utĩ	/wi $\overset{2}{+}$ nyTI	putĩ	/wpi $\overset{2}{+}$ nyTI	'heavy'

5.32 Junctures involving a weak form

When the post-junctural syllable belongs to the weak form of a stem, and has the general structure pi or ni, very commonly the phonetic exponent of the v unit i is zero, and the initial c unit p or n can be regarded as forming a closed syllable with the elements of the pre-junctural open syllable. This new closed syllable is then in juncture with the following syllable with a Jc type juncture.

In the examples, the three syllables under consideration will be underlined in the reading transcription and will be given in both phonological and phonetic transcription. The v unit whose phonetic exponent is zero will be bracketed, and the juncture analysed in terms of the Jc type juncture system.

ʔɔamñĩpɨ̱tʌ	ny^{y}NÍ $^{Y}/_{4}^{2}$ ⁄wyp(i) $^{H}_{+}$ ⁄wyTÁ	('ɲĩp'tʌ)	8.9
	'to take care of something'		
tu ñĩre	⁄wTÍ $^{Y}/_{4}^{2}$ nyn(i) $^{Zy}_{+}$ ⁄y^{r}JÉ	('tun'le)	3.53
	'one side of his stomach'		
ŋo ñĩkže ʔʌ	⁄wŋÈ $^{Y}/_{4}^{2}$ nyn(i) $^{X}_{+}$ ⁄y^{y}KÉ	(ˌŋgo^{i}ɲ'kse)	4.5
	'on one side of the river'		

CHAPTER 6 THE NOMINAL PHRASE, THE NOMINAL, AND THE NOMINAL SUFFIXES.

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CHAPTER 6 THE NOMINAL PHRASE, THE NOMINAL, AND THE NOMINAL SUFFIXES

6.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In describing the structure of the various major clause-types set up in chapter 4, use was made of what were termed 'Phrasal Pieces', which were subdivided into Nominal and Verbal Phrasal Pieces (see 4.41, p107). The former were defined partly in terms of their internal structure, as including at least one nominal phrase; and partly in terms of their external distribution in the clause-types. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the internal structure of the nominal phrase, which will be done by means of a system of nominal phrase-types, whose structure, in turn, is stated by means of a number of word classes. Thus, in this chapter, the elements of the grammatical hierarchy smaller than the piece, and which are relevant to the description of nominal pieces, will be described - the (nominal) phrase, the various nominal word classes, and the nominal affixes.

The chapter will be presented in three main sections - the Nominal Phrase (6.2), the Nominal (6.3), and the Nominal Suffixes (6.4).

6.2 THE NOMINAL PHRASE

The nominal phrase will be described in two main sections; the first, 6.21, will describe its internal structure, and the second, 6.22, the various constructions into which nominal phrases enter within the piece.

6.21 The structure of the nominal phrase

The structure of the nominal phrase will be described in terms of a system of nominal phrase-types, each of which can be considered to consist of a nucleus, comprising major and minor words only, and an optional periphery, comprising particles only. Section 6.211 will describe the periphery, and section 6.22 the nucleus.

6.211 The periphery of the nominal phrase

The periphery of the nominal phrase comprises particles only, and may or may not occur in any particular phrase. The particles of the periphery can be grouped into three closed classes - the Nominal Particle Class, the Quantitative Particle Class, and the Terminal Particle Class.

All peripheral particles are invariant (i.e. they never occur affixed), and they almost always are found with tertiary stress on the ultimate syllable.

The three classes of peripheral particle will be described in the sections 6.211.1 to 6.211.3. Examples, however, will not be given in these sections as the occurrence of these particles will be illustrated in the examples given in the section on the nucleus of the nominal phrase (6.212).

6.211.1 The Nominal Particle Class

The Nominal Particle (NPt) Class is a closed class defined as consisting of the following five particles - ža, ta, že, ata, and žaža. It is very difficult to assign any meaning to the first four of these particles (which are listed approximately in their relative frequency in text and which are generally substitutable for one another), but at times they can be translated by 'this' or 'which'; že is also used with the sense of 'from among'. The fifth particle žaža is used as a generic or group plural, in such phrases as mɛ̃mɨ̈ žaža 'men (in general)', or mɛ̃ʌpeñ čveñ žaža 'the workmen (considered as a group)', and is always associated with the 3rd.person plural prefix mɛ̃-.

In the great majority of cases these particles are found following the nucleus, but they occasionally occur between the words of which the nucleus is comprised. It is difficult to say whether such occurrences are infrequent free variants, or whether there is some semantic difference, such as emphasis on some word, or group of words, in the phrase. When a particle occurs within the nucleus, the major word which immediately follows it may occur in either the strong or the weak form.

6.211.2 The Quantitative Particle Class

The Quantitative Particle (QPt) Class is a closed class, defined as consisting of the following two particles - va 'two', and mɛ̃ 'more than two'. These always occur finally in the phrase, and so follow any members of the Nominal Particle Class that may be present.

6.211.3 The Terminal Particle Class

The Terminal Particle (TPt) Class is a closed class, defined as consisting of the following particle - nɛ̃. Unlike the two previous classes, this class occurs if and only if certain syntactic conditions are fulfilled (see 6.212.14), and it never occurs with the other two classes.

6.212 The nucleus of the nominal phrase

The description of the nuclei of nominal phrases will be given in terms of a system of nominal phrase-types[1]. This system is subdivided into two types of phrase - simple and complex. Simple phrase-types will be described in 6.212.1, and complex phrase-types in 6.212.2.

All phrase-types, whether simple or complex, can be analysed as subordinate endocentric constructions, except the phrase-type B, which is exocentric. Also, apart from the phrase-type C, the head word of the construction is the first word.

Within the nucleus of a nominal phrase, all attributive (non-head) forms which exhibit the contrast between strong and weak forms (see 5.3), occur in the weak form when immediately following another major word; they may occur in either form when following a Nominal Particle (see above, on previous page).

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1. The description is confined to nominal phrase-types consisting of nominals only in the simple phrases, but the extended form of the verb can also form part or all of the nucleus of a nominal phrase (for further detail, see 7.31, §§3).

6.212.1 Simple nominal phrase-types

Simple nominal phrase-types are divided into unitary, binary, and trinary forms on the basis of the number of (simple) phrases that they comprise. These will be termed Nominal Phrase-Types 1, 2, and 3[1], respectively, and will be described in sections 6.212.11 - 6.212.13. A fourth section, 6.212.14, describes the conditions under which the Terminal Particle is found in the simple nominal phrase-types.

6.212.11 Nominal Phrase-Type 1

The Nominal Phrase-Type 1 occurs in two forms, which are termed 1a and 1b.

Nominal Phrase-Type 1a comprises a major noun (N)[2]; or a major noun preceded by a minor noun (Nmr); or a minor noun[3].

In the examples, the constituent members of the phrase will be identified by the abbreviations given: the phrase-types themselves will be identified by such abbreviations as NPT-1a, etc.

mɛñ N	NPT-1a	'honey'	2.3
añɔ̃ mɛñ ta Nmr N NPt	NPT-1a	'your honey'	3.25
añɔ̃ Nmr	NPT-1a	'yours'	8.10

---

1. Numerals are used for simple phrase-types; capital letters will be used for the complex phrase-types.

2. The term 'phrase' may seem a little anomalous applied to a single form, but it seems simpler and more consistent to use this terminology thus preserving the parallellism with the other (polyverbal) phrase-types.

3. These three forms are grouped together as Nominal Phrase-Type 1a because the first two have parallel distribution in the other phrases, and because this is the simplest place in which to include the third. This third form, however, is rare, and (as might be expected) does not parallel the distribution of the other two closely, being more limited in distribution.

Nominal Phrase-Type 1b comprises a sequence of one, two, or three[1] modifiers (M), one of which may be a minor modifier (Mmr).

ʔkeñ mɛč M M	NPT-1b	'he was almost naked'	7.91
mɛ̃apiitɐ̃ Mmr	NPT-1b	'all of you'	6.BS.2

6.212.12 Nominal Phrase-Type 2

Nominal Phrase-Type 2 is a binary simple nominal phrase consisting of a Nominal Phrase-Type 1a followed by a Nominal Phrase-Type 1.

In the examples in the following sections a literal translation will be given to facilitate understanding. The Nominal Particles will not be translated, and this will be indicated by a dash - ; prefixes will be translated, and will be followed by a plus (+) linking them to the translation of the stem to which they are affixed.

ŋo ñĩkže N N NPT-1a NPT-1a NPT-2 water side	'one side of the river'	4.5
mɨ̃ ñ5 ʔaŋro N Nmr N NPT-1a NPT-1a NPT-2 man poss. pig	'the man's pig'	MF11O.12

1. No example with three modifiers was found in text material, but only in elicited material.

ʔĩkže	pič	rerek	'one side only was soft'	1.23
N	Mnr	M		
NPT-1a	NPT-1b			
NPT-2				
side	only	soft		

6.212.13 Nominal Phrase-Type 3

Nominal Phrase-Type 3 is a trinary simple nominal phrase consisting of a Nominal Phrase-Type 1a followed by a Nominal Phrase-Type 2.

ñʌč	krʌ̃ʔkʌ	kamrek	žą	'the red-crested woodpecker'	3.28
N	N	M	NPt		
NPT-1a	NPT-1a	NPT-1b			
	NPT-2				
NPT-3					
woodpecker	crest	red	-		

6.212.14 The occurrence of the Terminal Particle

The occurrence of the Terminal Particle is closely linked with the occurrence of the Predicate Particle Piece, and so it is necessary to make a distinction between its occurrence in speech, and in narrative (cf.9.311).

In speech, the Terminal Particle closes a nominal phrase in which the final major form is a modifier, and which is clause-final, if

a) the clause contains a Predicate Particle Piece; or

b) the clause is an imperative one; or

c) the clause follows a sequence of clauses, the first of which fulfils either of the above conditions.[1]

In the examples, the Predicate Particle Piece will be underlined, and the nominal phrase analysed in the usual way. If the clause is imperative, this will be stated.

" nɔ nã prɛ pa ãm ičpiža**ãm** nɛ̃ ." 7.98

PPP NPT-1b

but non-future compl. I only I+embarrassed -

'but I became embarrassed'

" amã uma ?ket nɛ̃ " imperative 'don't be afraid' 3.46

NPT-1b

you+to fearing not -

" mɔ nã ka ?tɛ aku , nɛ̃ aŋĩn mɛǒ nɛ̃ ?" 1.9

PPP NPT-2

what non-future you emph. it+eat, and your+dung good -

'What have you been eating, and is your dung good?'

When the clause occurs sentence-medial, and is linked to the following clause by the conjunction nɛ̃ 'and', the Terminal Particle and the conjunction can be regarded as 'fusing' so that only one nɛ̃ occurs.

" zaã nã pa ičpunui nɛ̃ ñɛ̃ ." 5.21

PPP NPT-1b CP VP

that is why non-future I I+ruined - and sit

'That is why I am sitting here ruined (literally, that is why I am ruined and sitting here)'

---

1. The statement of the occurrence of nɛ̃ is complicated by two factors; (a) its homophony with the conjunction nɛ̃ (see ex.5.21 above); and (b) the 3rd.person pronoun being zero in most cases. It is possible, therefore, that further material and research might modify the above statements, to a greater or less extent. With those that follow, however, they give a high degree of predictability of the occurrence of nɛ̃.

In narrative (in which certain restricted forms only of the Predicate Particle Piece are found - see 9.311.12), nɛ occurs if the Subject Piece occurs in the clause, or a preceding one.

tʌ̃	ñũm	vɛ	ʌ̃m	iŋet	ta	ʔʌ̃ʔamakkrɔ	nɛ̃ .	6.BL.1
					SP	NPT-1b		
but	and	-	only	his+uncle	-	him+fearing	-	

'But his uncle was really afraid of him'

6.212.2 Complex nominal phrase-types

A complex nominal phrase-type is one that includes a form that is not a nominal. There are three such complex phrase-types, which are termed Nominal Phrase-Types A, B, and C, and which are described in sections 6.212.21 - 6.212.23 respectively.

6.212.21 Nominal Phrase-Type A

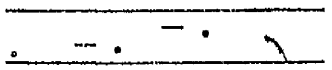
Nominal Phrase-Type A consists of a simple phrase-type followed by a modal. This phrase-type is only found clause-final, that is to say, it is found only in the Nominal Piece in the Nominal Clause-Type. No example has been found in which the modal was separated from the nucleus by a peripheral particle.

To distinguish this phrase-type from the simple phrase-types it is sufficient to consider the contrast between phrase-type 2, when two modifiers occur (the phrase thus having the structure N - M - M), and the present phrase-type when it consists of a phrase-type 2, with one modifier, followed by the modal (the phrase thus having the structure N - M - Ml, where Ml stands for modal). These two phrase-types contrast in the following two respects:

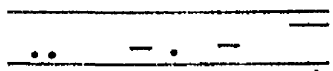
a) The Terminal Particle can never occur following the present phrase-type, whereas it follows the phrase-type 2 whenever the necessary conditions are fulfilled (as in example 1.9 on the previous page).

b) The ultimate syllable of the final modifier in phrase-type 2 occurs as the peak of a tune-unit D, whereas in phrase-type A it is the ultimate syllable of the non-final modifier, immediately preceding the modal.

The two examples immediately following this paragraph illustrate the phonological difference between Nominal Phrase-Type A and Nominal Phrase-Type 2 by giving the pitch pattern of the two phrases. The third example gives a further example of Phrase-Type A, but without the pitch pattern.



ɔ?to	kure	kumrɛ̌č	ɔ?,togu'regum'rɛtç	hD[f]	4.4
M	M	M1			
NPT-1b					
NPT-A					
he-many	soon	intensity	'they will increase very rapidly'		



mɛ̃kuprə	žɔ?to	mɛč	mɛ̃up,prɤjɔ?,tom'bɛ[i]	hD	8.41
N	M	M			
NPT-2					
single-woman	many	good	'a good many of the single women'		

mɛ̃pa?pɐ̃m	žə	?ɔ̃	kenɐ̃	'he is definitely one of our ancestors'	7.14
N	NPt	M	M1		
NPT-2					
NPT-A					
our-father	-	one	certainty		

6.212.22 Nominal Phrase-Type B

Nominal Phrase-Type B is an exocentric phrase consisting of a simple nominal phrase-type, or a Nominal Phrase-Type C (q.v.below), (or a verbal phrase-type), followed by an Indirect Particle (see 9.2)[1].

1. In analysing this phrase-type as exocentric, note has been taken of

This phrase-type occurs in the Indirect and Emphatic Indirect Pieces only.

ŋoč̌por~rɛ	fi̋ɛ̋rkʌ	ǰa	mʌ̋	'into the wasp's nest'	3.53
N	N	NPt	IPt		
	NPT-2				
	NPT-B				
wasp	nest	-	into		

kɛ̋n	prek~ti	vər		'towards the mountain'	7.26
N	M	IPt			
	NPT-2				
	NPT-B				
rock	high	towards			

6.212.23 Nominal Phrase-Type C

Nominal Phrase-Type C consists of a simple nominal phrase-type as head, preceded by a Nominal Phrase-Type B as attributive.

ũm	kʌ̋m	ʔkaŋo	'honey mixed with the wax'	2.14
N	IPt	N		
	NPT-B	NPT-1a		
	NPT-C			
wax	with	liquid (honey)		

(con) the fact that an Indirect Particle is always found preceded by a nominal phrase, a verbal phrase, or prefixed. Thus, the phrase always has two parts - an indirect particle, and a preceding grammatical element. Cf. the parallel analysis of the Transitive Verbal Piece (7.211.1, $\overset{s}{s}2$). This means that this nominal phrase-type can occur simply as an inflected Indirect Particle.

ŋɨv	ʔo	ɛ̃rkʌʔ~ti	'a wasp-nest made of mud'	3.52
N	IPt	N		
NPT-B		NPT-1a		
NPT-C				
mud	with	nest		

6.22 Constructions into which nominal phrases enter

In analysing the pieces in which nominal phrases are found occurring, it is necessary not only to distinguish the above phrase-types, but also three types of construction into which such phrase-types enter. These are described in turn below.

A simple construction is one which comprises only one of the phrase-types described above: all the examples so far given in this chapter have been of this type.

A coordinate construction is one in which two or more nominal phrases are linked by means of the particle conjunction nɛ̃ 'and'.

In the example, the line underneath the whole piece will have co written in its centre to indicate the type of construction. E.g.

mɛ̃kuprə	ža	nɛ̃	mɛ̃ʔprɔ̃ʔket	ža	'the single women and the single men'	8.53
NPT-1a			NPT-1a			
co						
SP						
single	women-and		single	men -		

An appositional construction is one in which two nominal phrases are juxtaposed without the particle conjunction nɛ̃, and without forming a single phrase[1].

In the examples, the line underneath the whole piece will have app in its centre to indicate the type of construction. Also, except for the case in which the phrases are type B, a comma will mark the end of the phrases in apposition. E.g.

ñũm Čũčũ~rɛ, Mɨtvrə~rɛ, ʔtəčkĩñ, 'and Moon was overjoyed' 3.5

NPT-1a app NPT-1a
SP

and Lunar Moon he-very happy

ñũm ñʌč krÃʔkʌ kamrek~ti, ʌʔkʌ čvəñ ža, 3.50

NPT-3 app NPT-2
SP

and wood-pecker crest red head-ornament person -

'and the red-crested woodpecker, the owner of the head ornament'

ñũm ʌpeñ pe ačpɛ̃n mÃ ʌmraʔ ʔɔ pa 'they were shouting to one another as they worked' 4.8

NPT-B NPT-B NPT-B
app
IP

and working in another to shouting with go (intens)

---

1. In appositional constructions, even though a major word follows another major word (across the boundary between the two phrases), it does not occur in the weak form. This distinguishes it from a single phrase.

6.3 THE NOMINAL

A nominal is defined as any major form[1] that occurs in the nucleus of a nominal phrase-type.

Nominals are divided into two major classes - nouns and modifiers, and these classes will be defined and described in sections 6.31 and 6.32 respectively.

6.31 The noun

A noun is defined as any form which, when it occurs as the final word in a sentence-final clause in which there is a Predicate Particle Piece, is not followed by the terminal particle nɛ̃.

'kɔtpa ža čɛp ãm ičpe kupɛ̃.' (1st PPP pers.)	'I am going to become a white man' N	6.BP2.

Nouns are divided into two main classes - minor nouns and major nouns. These will be described in 6.311 and 6.312 respectively.

6.311 Minor nouns

A minor noun is defined as any noun which cannot occur with the suffixes ~rɛ 'diminutive' and ~ti 'augmentative'.

---

1. Except for the extended form of a verb, which is defined independently; see 7.3 and 7.31.

There are two minor nouns, ʔamɛ̃ 'both', and ɔ̃ 'possession'. They exhibit strong and weak forms in the same way as major words (see 5.3); thus iža̲mɛ̃, 'both of us, we two', ažamɛ̃ 'both of you, you two', ʔamɛ̃ 'both, both of them, they two'; and iñɔ̃ 'my possession', añɔ̃ 'your possession', ɔ̃ 'his, her, its possession'. ʔamɛ̃ has not been found in the weak form other than when prefixed, but ɔ̃ occurs in the (uninflected) weak form ñɔ̃ when occurring in a Nominal Phrase-Type 2 or 3.

Minor nouns are distinguished from major nouns on the following three grounds:-

a) they do not occur suffixed with -rɛ and -ti;

b) they can only occur preceding the nucleus;

c) they are always followed by strong forms.

ʔamɛ̃ mi ža	'these two men'	FS216.22
Nmr N NPt		
iñɔ̃ ʔaŋro	'my pig'	FS
Nmr N		

Minor nouns are distinguished from the peripheral particles on the following three grounds:-

a) they occur with the prefixial paradigm[1], and exhibit strong and weak forms;

b) they occur preceding the major words in the nucleus;

c) they usually occur with primary stress or secondary stress on the ultimate syllable.

---

1. This statement does not imply that there are no particles that occur with the prefixial paradigm, but only that, in the context of nominal phrases, occurrence with the prefixial paradigm is one of the characteristics of minor nouns, as opposed to peripheral particles.

6.312 Major nouns

A major noun is defined as any noun that can occur with the suffixes ~re and ~ti.

Major nouns can be independently classified on three[1] grounds, as follows.

a) on the basis of their internal structure;

b) on the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence with the prefixial paradigm;

c) on the basis of their juncture with a preceding particle.

The classes set up on these grounds will be described in turn in sections 6.312.1 - 6.312.3.

6.312.1 Simple, derived, and compound nouns

All major nouns can be classified as simple, derived, or compound, on the basis of their internal structure.

Simple nouns are defined as those that comprise one morpheme only.

Derived nouns are those that comprise an extended verb

---

1. A fourth classification of some of the major nouns will be set up in 6.42.

stem followed by the bound root[1] -čʌ 'nominaliser'. The verb stem may be either transitive or intransitive; transitive forms will be translated by a past participle, intransitive forms by a gerund.

ka?tɨ̈čʌ	'breechcloth'	cf.	ka?tɨ̈?	'folded'
katorčʌ	'mother'	cf.	kator	'bearing'
kõmčʌ	'cup'	cf.	kõm	'drinking'
tɨ̈kčʌ	'breath'	cf.	tɨ̈k	'dying'

Compound nouns are those that comprise two or more roots or stems (neither of which is čʌ). Eight types of compound noun have been found, which are presented in the following three groups: A - those that comprise nominals only; B - those that comprise a verb; C - those that comprise a particle.

Group A - compounds comprising nominals only.

N + N	krÃ?kʌ	'crest'	cf.	krÃ	'head'
				kʌ	'skin'
	mɨ̈tžapoččʌ	'east'	cf.	mɨ̈t	'sun'
				žapoččʌ	'place of frequentative emergence'
N + M	krÃ?tɨ̈k~rɛ	'wasp'	cf.	krÃ	'head'
				tɨ̈k	'black'
M + N	rɛrɛkkʌ	'flanks'	cf.	rɛrɛk	'soft'
				kʌ	'skin'
N + N + M					
	ropkrÃžakɛt	'night-ape'	cf.	rop	'dog'
				krÃ	'head'
				žakɛt	'round'

---

1. -čʌ is analysed as a bound root, rather than as a suffix, because while it does not occur free, it also does not exhibit any of the phonological characteristics associated with a suffix (cf. 6.41).

Group B - compounds that comprise a verb (always in the extended form).

N + V	kʌčkapɛ̃r	'tape recorder'	cf.	kʌč	'container'
				kapɛ̃r	'speaking'
V + N	kritmʌnrÃ~rɛ	'pet macaw'	cf.	ʔɔʔkrit	'raised'
				mʌnrÃ~rɛ	'macaw'
	ɛ̃rkʌ	'wasp-nest'	cf.	ɛ̃r	'sitting'
				kʌ	'skin (i.e. shell)'
V + ñi	ʔečñi	'liar'	cf.	ʔeč	'lieing'
				ñi	'characterised by'

Group C - compounds that comprise a particle, always an Indirect Particle.

Pt + N	ʔÃŋo	'sweat'	cf.	ʔÃ	'on'
				ŋo	'water'
Pt + V	ʔÃñor	'heart'	cf.	ʔÃ	'on'
				ñor	'suspended'

6.312.2 Noun classes 1 and 2

All major nouns can be classed as Class 1 or 2 on the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence with the prefixial paradigm.

A Class 1 noun is defined as any major noun that can occur with the prefixial paradigm; a Class 2 noun is defined as any noun that cannot occur with the prefixial paradigm. Semantically, Class 1 nouns are objects or persons sustaining a close relationship to human beings, such as parts of the body, relatives, and such possessions as houses, bows, feather ornaments, etc; Class 2 nouns are objects or persons that do not sustain such relationships.

Some examples of members of these two classes are listed below, each with the translation 'your .....', and 'the man's ....'. Since Class 1 nouns occur in the weak form in these constructions, the strong form will be given in brackets, to facilitate comparison between the two classes. The classes will be identified as N/1 and N/2 respectively.

apṛɨ	'your footprint'	N/1	
añõ pṛɨ	'your trail'	N/2	
mɨ pṛɨ	'the man's footprint'	N/1	
mɨ ñõ pṛɨ	'the man's trail'	N/2	
ažakva	'your mouth'	N/1	(ʔakva)
añõ ʔaŋro	'your pig'	N/2	
mɨ žakva	'the man's mouth'	N/1	(ʔakva)
mɨ ñõ ʔaŋro	'the man's pig'	N/2	
ače	'your cloth'	N/1	(e)
añõ e	'your spider'	N/2	
mɨ če	'the man's cloth'	N/1	(e)
mɨ ñõ e	'the man's spider'	N/2	

Certain nouns, such as ma 'liver', belong to both classes.

ama	'your (own) liver'	añõ ma	'your liver (of some animal)'

A few nouns were uncertainly classed, such as pʌr 'canoe'.

apʌr	'your canoe'	añõ pʌr	'your canoe'

Class 2 nouns are divided into two subclasses a and b: Subclass 2a nouns are defined as those that can immediately follow a noun to form a Nominal Phrase-Type 2[1]; Subclass 2b nouns are defined as those that cannot so occur.

---

1. There are a few nouns (shown to be such by the non-occurrence of the Terminal Particle), such as čvəñ, which have been found in an attributive place only; they are classed as 2a nouns.

ʔamɨ̈	N/2a	'tail'	rɔp žamɨ̈ 'the dog's tail'
ŋrɛ	N/2a	'egg'	krÃʔɨ̈-rɛ ŋrɛ 'the hen's egg'
rɔp	N/2b	'dog'	mɨ̈ ñõ rɔp 'the man's dog'

6.312.3 Noun classes A and B

All major nouns whose initial consonant unit is a member of the subsystem Cp or of the subsystem cp can be classed as A or B on the basis of their juncture with a preceding particle, (or minor noun).

A Class A noun is defined as any noun such that the sequence particle + noun occurs with the juncture-prosody ʔ; a Class B noun is defined as any noun such that the sequence particle + noun occurs with the juncture-prosody ².

Some members of these two classes are given below in pairs for contrast. In the reading transcription, the members of Class A will be written with an initial glottal-plosive when following particles or minor nouns. The nouns will be identified as N/1,A etc.

par	'foot'	N/1,A	nã ʔpar kañvə	'he pierced the foot'
par	'bed'	N/1,B	nã par ñĩpeč	'he made a bed'
tu	'stomach'	N/1,A	nã ʔtu pumu	'he looked at the stomach'
tu	'grass'	N/2,B	nã tu krÃʔta	'he cut the grass'
kaʌr	'splinter'	N/2,A	iñõ ʔkaʌr	'my splinter'
kaɨ̈	'peanuts'	N/2,B	iñõ kaɨ̈	'my peanuts'

6.32 The Modifier

A modifier is defined as any form, which when it occurs as the final word in a sentence-final clause in which there is a Predicate Particle Piece, is followed by the terminal particle nɛ̃.

no nã prɛ pa ʌ̃m ičpižaʌ̃m nɛ̃. 'but I became embarrassed' 7.98
PPP M TPt
(1st.pers.) (affixed with 1st. pers.prefix ič-)

Like nouns, modifiers are divided into two main classes - minor modifiers and major modifiers; these will be described in turn in 6.321 and 6.322.

6.321 Minor modifiers

A minor modifier is defined as any modifier which cannot occur with the suffixes ~rɛ and ~ti.

There are two minor modifiers, pič 'only' and piitʌ̃ 'all'. They are distinguished from major modifiers on three grounds as follows:-

a) they do not occur suffixed with ~rɛ and ~ti;

b) they are followed by strong forms;

c) they always occur with the juncture-prosody ² when preceded by a short open syllable.

prĩn ža pič ə 'only these bitter scuari nuts' FS219.6
N NPt Mmr M

ŋo piitʌ̃ ũm 'all the dirty water' FS218.6
N Mmr M

They are distinguished from the peripheral particles on the following two grounds:-

a) they occur with the prefixial paradigm; e.g. ičpič 'only I', mẽičpiitÃ 'all of us';

b) they always occur with primary or secondary stress on the ultimate syllable.

6.322 Major modifiers

A major modifier is defined as any modifier that can occur with the suffixes ~rɛ and ~ti.

The description of the major modifiers will be presented in two main sections, the first, 6.322.1 dealing with their classification, and the second, 6.322.2 with some aspects of their phonology.

6.322.1 Classification of the major modifiers

Major modifiers can be independently classified on two[1] grounds, as follows:-

a) their internal structure:

b) their occurrence or non-occurrence with the prefixial paradigm.

---

1. A third classification of some of the major modifiers will be set up in 6.42.

It will be seen that these two classifications parallel the first two classifications of the noun (see 6.312); there is no third classification on the ground of the juncture with a preceding particle as the sequence particle + modifier occurs only when the modifier is prefixed, for Class 1; Class 2 modifiers all occur with the same juncture.

The classes set up on these two grounds will be described in sections 6.322.11 and 6.322.12 respectively.

6.322.11 Simple, derived, and compound modifiers

Like major nouns, all major modifiers can be classified as simple, derived, or compound.

Simple modifiers are defined as those that comprise one morpheme only. Some of the simple modifiers found in text are given below.

kamrek	'red'	prek	'tall, high'
ket	'no, none'	rač	'large, big, many'
mɛč	'good'	rɛrɛk	'soft'
o?to	'many'	tɛč	'hard'

Derived modifiers are defined as those that consist of pi- prefixed to an extended verb stem, always of Class 2. The sequence particle + derived modifier has the juncture-prosody ^{2}. E.g.

pinĩñ	'to have had intercourse'	cf. kunĩ	'to have intercourse with someone' (form (iv) is nĩñ)
pipro	'covered'	cf. pro	'to cover something'

2/B?

Compound modifiers are defined as those that comprise two or more stems. Four types of compound modifier were found, which are grouped into two groups parallel with the first and the last set up for the noun.

Group A - compounds comprising nominals only.

M + M	pɔŋri~rɛ	'narrow'	cf.	pɔ	'broad'
				ŋri	'small'
N + M	?irɛrɛk	'weak'	cf.	?i	'bone'
				rɛrɛk	'soft'

Group B - compounds that comprise a particle, or a minor noun. The particle is always an Indirect Particle, the minor noun ?amɛ̃.

Pt + M	?ɔmɛč	'to do well'	cf.	?ɔ	'with'
				mɛč	'good'
	?Ã?amakkrɔ	'to be afraid'	cf.	?Ã	'on'
				?amakkrɔ	'afraid'
Nmr + M	?amɛ̃čkrut	'two'	cf.	?amɛ̃	'both'
				ačkrut	'two'

6.322.12 Modifier classes 1, 2, and 3

All major modifiers can be classed as Class 1, 2, or 3 as follows.

A Class 1 modifier is defined as any modifier that can occur with the prefixial paradigm, the paradigm showing concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece or Subject Piece. All the simple, derived, and compound modifiers given thus far (except ?omɛc) belong to this class, as do the majority of modifiers.

A Class 2 modifier is defined as any modifier that always occurs with the Indirect Particle mÃ in the same clause, the particle showing concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece or the Subject Piece. Class 2 modifiers are further divided into two subclasses a and b; Class 2a cannot occur with the prefixial paradigm, Class 2b can. In this latter case, there is no concord of person between the prefixial paradigm and the Predicate Particle Piece or the Subject Piece.

Eight members of Class 2 were found, four in each subclass; these are listed below, and some examples are given from text to illustrate their occurrence in a clause. The sequence particle + plosive-initial member of Class 2 always occurs with the juncture-prosody ².

Subclass 2a		Subclass 2b	
kaŋa	'lazy'	?ape	'to be sorry for'
kor	'thirsty'	kĩñ	'to like' (other than food)
krɨ	'cold' (of persons)	prÃm	'to need, want, desire, be hungry'
ma	'wild, untamed'	uma	'to fear'

nɛ̃ kÃm kor,	'they will be thirsty'	1.34
"amÃ uma ?ket nɛ̃."	'Don't be afraid!'	3.46
"iñmÃ mɛ̃papiitÃ mɛ̃pažape."	'I am sorry for us all.'	8.19

A Class 3 modifier is defined as any modifier which does not occur with the prefixial paradigm, nor with the Indirect Particle mÃ. The only members of this class that have been found are the two compound modifiers ?omɛc 'to do well', and ?omnui 'to do badly'; and modifiers which are the extended form of a Class 2 verb, such as pĩr 'killed', ñor 'suspended', etc.

There are a few modifiers to which it is not possible to apply the above criteria for collocational or syntactic reasons. For example, ũm 'dirty', is only used of water, not persons, and so there is no possibility of obtaining it with the prefixial paradigm; and ñi 'characterised by', has only been found in an attributive place. Such modifiers as these,

therefore, will be classed simply as modifier, without further subclassification.

6.322.2 Emphatic forms of the major modifiers

Many major modifiers have been found to occur in special emphatic forms, peculior to modifiers. Three types of emphatic form can be distinguished, and these are described in turn below.

Type A. In Type A emphatic forms there is marked glottal restriction of the stressed vocoid, often with a medial glottal plosive. This vocoid is also frequently lengthened. This emphatic form seems to occur with any modifier.

mɛč	'good'	Emph.forms	(m'' bɛ?:?:?dʐi, m'' bɛ?:?ɛ?:?dʐi, etc)
krɔ	'rotten'	" "	(" krɔ?:?:?, " krɔ?:?ɔ?:?, etc)
ŋri~rɛ	'small'	" "	(ŋ''gri?:?:?rɛ, ŋ''gri?:?:?iɾɛ, etc)

Type B. Type B emphatic forms have only been found to occur with modifiers whose ultimate syllable has the V unit I, and the syllable-prosody y (with or without the syllable-prosody w). Its phonetic exponent is a very close articulation of the stressed vocoid, so as to produce friction (indicated by a + under the vocoid in the phonetic transcription), accompanied by voicelessness.

pɨčiʔ~ti	'one'	Emph.forms	(pɯ̟''tɕi̟ʔ'ti)
tɨk~ti	'dirty'	" "	('' tɯ̟:::'di)

Type C. Type C emphatic form was found with one modifier only, whose ultimate syllable has the V unit A, and the general structure $CV\partial^{y}$. The phonetic exponent is voiceless articulation of the vocoid, with lengthening.

ʔakai~ti	'white'	Emph.form	(ʔak''kɑ̟:::i'di)

6.4 THE NOMINAL SUFFIXES

There are two nominal suffixes[1], ~rɛ 'diminutive', and ~ti 'augmentative', with (one or both of) which all major nominals occur.

There are a few instances of suffixed forms being further suffixed, up to three suffixes.

pu?~ti, pu?ti?~ti 'species of motuca fly'

krẽ~rɛ, krẽrɛ?~ti, krẽrɛ?ti~rɛ 'species of small parrot'

The nominal suffixes will be described in two main sections: the first, 6.41, will describe their phonology; the second, 6.42, will define certain classes of nominal based upon the form of their suffixation with ~ti.

---

1. A suffix -č 'feminine' can be analysed as occurring with the following nominals:-

mɔi	'bull'	mɔč	'cow, cattle'
tõ	'brother'	tõč	'sister'
ŋet	'uncle'	ŋeč	'aunt',

and with various nominals containing the root ŋet, such as krãmŋet '(special) father', krãmŋeč '(special) mother'.

It seems doubtful whether this suffix is entering into any new combinations. The 'feminine' is given by using ni 'woman', following the noun; e.g. kupẽ ni 'white woman'; rop ni 'bitch'.

6.41 The phonology of the nominal suffixes

The phonology of the nominal suffixes will be described in two sections: 6.411 will describe the phonetic exponents of the word-prosody of stress; 6.412 will describe the juncture between the stem and the suffix.

6.411 The word-prosody of stress and suffixed stems

The word-prosody of stress exhibits a variety of patterns with respect to the distribution of the four stresses (primary, secondary, etc) over a suffixed stem. These can be summed up by saying that the ultimate syllable of the stem can occur with any non-tertiary stress, and the suffixial syllable with any of the four possible stresses. Many of these combinations were found, but the combinations primary + primary and primary + tertiary (on the ultimate syllable of the stem and the suffixial syllable respectively) are much the commonest.

In the reading transcription, suffixes will be written preceded by a tilde (~), and if the ultimate syllable of the stem, or the suffixial syllable, occur with emphatic stress, this will be marked by an acute accent on the emphatic syllable.

Some examples of the various stress patterns are given below. The ultimate syllable of the stem, and the suffixial syllable, with the preceding and following syllables, will be given in phonetic transcription, with the pitch pattern. The piece to which the suffixed form belongs will be indicated.

ñũm mɛ̃ʔkot kritmʌnrÃʷrɛ ʷčʌm, — — . — / ˌbʌn̪lÃrɛtˈtɕʌm — VP — 6.AE2

'behind them, he placed his pet macaw (on a stick)'

ñũm ra mɛ̃ʔkot kritmʌnrÃ~rɛ čʌm, 'bʌn'lÃ'rɛt'tçʌm 6.AX4
VP

'behind them, he had already placed his pet macaw (on a stick)'

nɛ̃ i?kritmʌnrÃ~rɛ́ kuvɨ̀ mÃ kumɛ̃, ˌbʌnˌlÃ''rɛgu 7.74
EOP

'and his pet macaw they threw into the fire'

6.412 The juncture between a stem and the nominal suffixes

The juncture phenomena relevant to nominal suffixation will be described in two subsections, the first (6.412.1) dealing with Jv type junctures, and the second (6.412.2) with Jc type junctures.

6.412.1 Jv type junctures between a stem and the nominal suffixes

The juncture between a nominal stem, whose ultimate syllable is a short open one, and the suffix ~rɛ, is always with a ² juncture-prosody; with the suffix ~ti, however, both ʔ and ² juncture-prosodies occur, on the basis of which two classes of nominal are set up in 6.42.

mʌnrÃ~rɛ	'macaw'	(ˌmbʌn'lÃ'rɛ)	ɸwy^{r}JÁ ² ɸy^{r}JÁ
mÃ~ti	'ostrich'	('mÃt'ti)	nwyMÁ ² ɸyTÍ
po?~ti	'bread'	('po?'ti)	ɸwPÁ ʔ ɸyTÍ

6.412.2 Jc type junctures between a stem and the nominal suffixes

The distribution of the juncture-prosodies set up in 3.3 for Jc type junctures with respect to the final phonological unit of the stem and the suffixial syllable, is set out in the following chart.

		THE SUFFIXIAL SYLLABLES	
		ɸy^{r}JÁ	ɸyTÍ
FINAL PHONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS	p	Z	H
	t	Z	Zə
	t^{y}	Z$_{\bar{y}}$	H
	k	Z	Zə
	m	Z	Z
	n	Z	Z
	n^{y}	Z$_{\bar{y}}$	Z
	v	Z	Z
	r	Zə	Z
	ə	Zə	Zə

It will be seen that the junctures with the suffix ~rɛ parallel those described in 3.3 for junctures in which the post-junctural syllable had the initial C unit J, the initial-prosody r, and primary stress. On the other hand, almost the reverse is true of the junctures with the suffix ~ti, only those junctures in which the final phonological elements are p or t^{y} parallelling those in which the post-junctural syllable has the initial C unit T, and primary stress. For the other junctures, the parallel ones described in 3.3 all occurred with the juncture-prosody X, whereas here they all occur with the juncture prosody Z. These juncture phenomena are thus peculiar to the suffix ~ti.

tik~rɛ	'black'	('tɯg'rɛ)	ɸwyTÍk $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɸy^{r}JÁ
rõñ~rɛ	'a spiny club-palm'	('rõn'lɛ)	nw^{r}JÁn^{y} $\overset{Z_{\bar{y}}}{+}$ ɸy^{r}JÁ
pʌr~rɛ	'an ani (bird)'	('pʌ:'rɛ)	ɸwyPÁr $\overset{Zə}{+}$ ɸy^{r}JÁ
pʌt~ti	'great anteater'	('pʌ:'di)	ɸwyPÁt $\overset{Zə}{+}$ ɸyTÍ
mrũm~ti	'ant'	('mrũm'di)	nw^{r}MÍm $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɸyTÍ
mai~ti	'crab'	(m'bai'di)	ɸMÁə^{y} $\overset{Zə}{+}$ ɸyTÍ

6.42 Classes of nominal based on suffixation with the suffix ~ti

All major nominals whose ultimate syllable is a short open one are divided into two classes on the basis of their suffixation with the suffix ~ti.

A Class F (fortis) noun is one whose juncture with the suffix ~ti is marked by the occurrence of the juncture-prosody ʔ; a Class L (lenis) noun is one whose juncture with the suffix ~ti is marked by the occurrence of the juncture-prosody ².

kro	N/F	'root, tendril'	suffixed form: kroʔ~ti
kro	N/L	'rat'	suffixed form: kro~ti

CHAPTER 7 THE VERBAL PHRASE AND THE VERB

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CHAPTER 7 THE VERBAL PHRASE AND THE VERB

7.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In chapter 4 the Verbal Piece was set up, and was described as occurring only in the Verbal Clause-Type, and always in the final place in that clause-type. It was classed as a Phrasal Piece (4.41), and was stated to comprise 'one, and only one, verbal phrase'(4.412). The purpose of this chapter is to describe the structure of the verbal phrase[1]; this will be done by means of a system of verbal phrase-types, whose structure, in turn, will be stated in terms of various word classes, such as the verb, the modifier, and the modal.

The chapter will be presented in two main parts - the Verbal Phrase (7.2), and the Verb (7.3).

7.2 THE VERBAL PHRASE

The structure of the verbal phrase is stated by means of a system of verbal phrase-types, which are divided into simple and complex forms; the former are described in 7.21, and the latter in 7.22.

---

1. Traditionally, the term 'phrase' has tended to be restricted to nominal phrases, and it might be thought that there was no case for introducing verbal phrases into this description as the verbal piece comprises one verbal phrase only, and so the structure could be stated in terms of the verbal piece only. This would be a possible alternative analysis, but it is felt that the parallellism with the nominal phrases (though not complete) justifies setting up verbal phrases also.

7.21 Simple verbal phrase-types

Simple verbal phrase-types are divided into unitary and binary forms on the basis of the number of phrases occurring in the phrase-type. The unitary verbal phrase-type will be termed Verbal Phrase-Type 1[1], and is described in 7.211; the binary verbal phrase-type will be termed Verbal Phrase-Type 2, and will be described in 7.212.

7.211 Verbal Phrase-Type 1

Verbal Phrase-Type 1 is a unitary simple verbal phrase, comprising a verb without any further forms following it. Each such phrase can be classified in two independent ways, as transitive or intransitive, and as extended or non-extended. All four possible forms (transitive extended, transitive non-extended, etc) occur. The transitive and intransitive forms will be described in 7.211.1; the extended and non-extended forms in 7.211.2.

7.211.1 The transitive and intransitive forms of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1

An intransitive Verbal Phrase-Type 1 consists of a verb of the Verb Class 1 (see 7.321); a transitive Verbal Phrase-Type 1 always contains a verb of the Verb Class 2 (see 7.322).

Class 2 (transitive) verbs are always preceded by a grammatical element which may be termed the 'object'. This grammatical element is either a member of the prefixial paradigm, a nominal phrase (of any type other than A and B), or an included clause. The transitive Verbal Phrase-Type 1 is therefore analysed as exocentric, as it always comprises

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1. Numerals will be used for simple verbal phrase-types, and capital letters for complex verbal phrase-types; cf. the labelling of the nominal phrase-types.

a verb and a preceding grammatical element.[1]

In the examples, the verb will be identified as intransitive, V(i), or as transitive, V(t), and the phrase-type will be identified as iVPT-1 or tVPT-1 correspondingly. Where the phrase is transitive, and the object is free, the latter will be identified as a nominal phrase, or included clause. A word for word literal translation will also be given, for phrases that contain more than a stem.

tɛ̃ V(i)	iVPT-1	'went'	mult.
poi V(i)	iVPT-1	'came back'	6.AH4
mɛ̃a:umu V(t)	tVPT-1	'(I can) see you'	4.13
you + see			
ŋvra ko pumu NPT-2 V(t)	tVPT-1	'he saw the buriti palm'	1.35
buriti wood see			
tañ-mÃ kot mɛ̃pakačiv amñĩto? pumu (xVCT/q) V(t)	tVPT-1		7.15
how he us+for make see			
		'(we shall) see whatever he makes for us'	

---

1. Cf. the analysis of the Nominal Phrase-Type B (6.212.22, page 133). There are two main reasons for handling the sequence object + verb as a grammatical unit, rather than as a sequence of units. The first of these is phonological; if the verb is one which exhibits the contrast between strong and weak forms, then in the sequence object + verb the verb is always in the weak form, except with a third person prefix. Or to put it in another way, the sequence object + verb is always marked by the juncture-prosody Y, apart from the exception mentioned. But all other sequences, consisting of major words, which are so marked, are handled as phrases and it is therefore considered best to handle the sequence object + verb as a grammatical unit. The second reason is syntactic. The sequence object + verb parallels, in its external distribution, the intransitive form of Verbal Phrase-Type 1, which is a single word, and so this sequence is handled as a grammatical unit.

7.211.2 The extended and non-extended forms of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1

The extended form of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1 is that form in which the verb occurs in the extended form; the non-extended form is that form in which the verb occurs in the non-extended form (see 7.31, §§ 2, for the definition of extended and non-extended forms).

The occurrence of this phrase-type in its two forms is one of the marks of the extended and non-extended forms of the Verbal Clause-Type (see 4.31, §§5).

In the examples, the extended form of the verb will be indicated by the letter 'x' and the non-extended form by the letters 'nx' following the symbol i or t, and separated from it by an oblique stroke. The extended and non-extended forms of the phrase-type will be indicated by the letters 'x' or 'nx', respectively, immediately preceding the symbols i and t.

tɛ̃ V(i/nx)	nxiVPT-1	'went'	mult.
ʔtɛ̃m V(i/x)	xiVPT-1	'he went'	2.37
ičpoč V(i/x)	xiVPT-1	'we came back'	6.BD6
mɛ̃apumu V(t/nx)	nxtVPT-1	'(I can) see you'	4.13
tañ-mʌ̃ kukreč, tɛr~rɛ, pumuñ (NCT/Q) V(t/x)	xtVPT-1		2.40
how thing possess- see (owned?) ion			
'they will see what they possess'			

7.212 Verbal Phrase-Type 2

Verbal Phrase-Type 2 is a binary simple verbal phrase, consisting of a Verbal Phrase-Type 1 followed by a Nominal Phrase-Type 1b (see 6.212.11, page 128).

In this verbal phrase-type, the Phrase-Type 1 always occurs in the extended form, and the phrase is closed by the Terminal Particle nɛ̃ if it occurs in a sentence-final or semi-final clause, which is non-extended, and which fulfils the conditions stated in 6.212.14, page 130.

The examples of this verbal phrase-type will be given with the clause in which they occur, so that the conditions for the occurrence of nɛ̃ can be exemplified.

nã	pa	apumuñ	ket	nɛ̃;	'I do not know you'	7.94
		V(t/x)	M	TPt		
		xtVPT-1	NPT-1b			
		VPT-2				
PPP		VP			nxVCTf	
- I		you+see	not	-		

nɛ̃	ʔpoč	ket.	'and never came back'	6.BU2
	V(i/x)	M		
	xiVPT-1	NPT-1b		
	VPT-2			
CP	VP		xVCTf	
and	he+come	not		
	back			

7.22 The (complex) Verbal Phrase-Type A

There is only one complex verbal phrase-type, which consists of a simple verbal phrase-type followed by a modal; it will be termed the Verbal Phrase-Type A.

The pitch-cum-stress pattern of this verbal phrase-type parallels that described for the Nominal Phrase-Type A (see 6.212.21, page 132).

If the simple phrase-type is the unitary one, it occurs in the extended form if the modal is a major word, and in the non-extended form if the modal is a particle.

ʔpoč ket žape	'he may not return'		7.73
V(i/x) M M1			
VPT-2			
VPT-A			
he+come back	not	uncertainty	

ʔɨ̃r kumrɛ̃č	'you must kill him'		6.AT2
V (t/x) M1			
xtVPT-1			
VPT-A			
he+kill	intensity		

apĩ mÃn	'(you) must kill him without fail'		6.BC2
V(t/nx) MIPŁ			
nxtVPT-1			
VPT-A			
he+kill	completive		

7.3 THE VERB

A verb is defined as any form which, when it occurs as the final word in a sentence-final clause in which there is a Predicate Particle Piece, is not followed by the Terminal Particle nɛ̃; and which cannot occur with the nominal suffixes ~rɛ and ~ti in the non-extended form.

All verbs can be independently classified on the following two grounds:-

a) the phonological relationship between the extended and non-extended forms;

b) the occurrence or non-occurrence of the verb with an immediately preceding nominal phrase to form an exocentric phrase.

While verbs, like nominals, can also be classified on the ground of their internal structure, this ground is so closely related to ground (b) that it is not set up separately and independently.

The description of the verb, therefore, will be presented in two main sections: 7.31 will describe the Classes A, B and C set up on the basis of (a); 7.32 will describe the Classes 1 and 2 set up on the basis of (b).

7.31 Verb Classes A, B and C

All verbs are divided into three classes A, B and C on the ground of the phonological relationship between their extended and non-extended forms.

The extended form of a verb is that form which occurs as the head (first) word in the Verbal Phrase-Types 2 and

A[1]; the non-extended form is that form which occurs in the Verbal Phrase-Type 1 when the Predicate Particle Piece does not include the Subject Particle; it is also the form given in isolation.

The extended form of the verb can occur in any place in which a nominal can occur, so that every nominal phrase has an alternative form in which one of the places is filled by a verb stem in the extended form. Where extended forms exhibit the contrast between strong and weak forms, the distribution of these is the same as for a nominal. Some examples are given below of nominal phrases containing an extended verb stem; the constituents, the phrase(s), and the piece will be identified in the usual way.

mɛ̃ʌpeñ čvəñ žaža	'the workmen'	4.12
V(i/x) N NPt		
NPT-2		
SP		
working person gen.pl.		

nÃ ža pumuñ ʔo	'looking at his mother'	6.H3
N NPt V(t/x) IPt		
xtVPT-1		
NPT-B		
IP		
mother - seeing with		

moč kʌr ma	'(he) heard the cattle lowing'	7.86
N V(i/x) V(t/nx)		
NPT-2		
nxtVPT-1		
VP		
cattle lowing hear		

1. Except in the case in which the head word is immediately followed by a particle modal; see 7.22, §3.

All extended forms have an ultimate syllable which has one of the two general structures CVc[1]/or CVə$^{w(y)}$; non-extended forms may have an ultimate syllable of any structure.

Class A verbs are those whose non-extended and extended stems are identical.

Examples will be listed in four columns, the first giving the non-extended form, the second the extended form, the third the class, and the fourth the translation.

arĩk	arĩk	A	'to remain, stay, dwell'
ku?pau	ku?pau	A	'to bungle something'
prõt	prõt	A	'to run'
tɛ̃m	tɛ̃m	A	'to fall'
?ĩnua	?ĩnua	A	'to hollow something'

Class B verbs are those whose ultimate syllable in the non-extended form differs from the ultimate syllable of the extended form by the final c unit only. All members of this class therefore have a non-extended form whose ultimate syllable has the structure CV.[2]

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1. Because of the phonological parallelism between extended forms in that their ultimate syllables are all closed, a final c unit ? is set up which occurs in the extended form of verbs only. Its phonetic exponent is glottal plosive when the following syllable has an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cp, and is zero in all other cases.

2. Also included in this class are those verbs whose non-extended form has the structure ⌀wPEə^{y} for its ultimate syllable: all such belong to the subclass Bč.

Class B is divided into a number of subclasses according to the final c unit of the extended form.[1] Subclasses will be indicated by such abbreviations as Bk, Bñ, Br[2], etc.

kura	kurañ	Bñ	'to beat something or someone'
ku?e	ku?e?	B?	'to stand (intens)'
mra	mrar	Br	'to walk, go (intens)'
poi	poč	Bč	'to come back, arrive'
tɛ̃	tɛ̃m	Bm	'to go, come'
vrə	vrək	Bk	'to descend'

Class C verbs are those whose non-extended and extended forms have no regular stateable relationship to one another. They are also subclassed according to the final c unit of the extended form.

akia	akžer	Cr	'to shout'
ča	am	Cm	'to stand'
ka?tɕ	ka?ek	Ck	'to break something (intens)'
ŋõr	õt	Ct	'to sleep'

7.32 Verb Classes 1 and 2

The verb classes 1 and 2 are set up on the basis of

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1. It has been pointed out that a more economical analysis would be obtained by defining Class B verbs as those whose non-extended form lacks the final c unit of the extended form. Then, if such a definition were used, there would be no need for subclassing. If, however, the relationship between the extended and non-extended forms is stated this way round, a parallel procedure has to be followed in the subclassing of Classes 1 and 2, which makes for a very complicated statement. Hence, this analysis has been chosen here as giving a simpler total description of the verb system.

2. Of the 10 possible final c units, only 6 have been found occurring in extended forms of this class; of these 6, ñ, r and ? account for over 80 per cent of the members of this class.

whether they can form an exocentric (verbal) phrase with a preceding nominal phrase. Class 1 will be described in 7.321, Class 2 in 7.322.

7.321 Verb Class 1 (intransitive)

Verbs of Class 1 are defined as those that can not form an exocentric (verbal) phrase with an immediately preceding nominal phrase. All Class 1 verbs are thus conveniently termed 'intransitive'.

Class 1 verbs will be described in three sections, 7.321.1 - 7.321.3, dealing with the three subclasses (1.1 - 1.3), set up on the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence with the prefixial paradigm in the extended and non-extended forms.

7.321.1 Class 1.1 verbs

Class 1.1 verbs are defined as those that always occur with the prefixial paradigm. The prefixial paradigm always shows concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece and the Subject Piece.[1]

Plosive-initial Class 1.1 verbs are further subdivided

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1. This fact is a useful distinguishing criterion between Class 1.1 verbs and Class 2 verbs, as the latter, when prefixed, do not show concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece or the Subject Piece.

on the basis of whether they occur with ˀ or ² juncture-prosody with the third person prefix (zero). Those that occur with ˀ juncture-prosody will be termed 1.1a; those that occur with ² juncture-prosody 1.1b.

Class 1.1 verbs occur in simple, derivd , and compound forms which will be described in 7.321.11 - 7.321.13 respectively.

7.321.11 Simple Class 1.1 verbs

Simple Class 1.1 verbs are those that comprise one morpheme only. Some members of this class are listed below, classified as to their extended form as well as to subclass 1.1a or 1.1b.

kapɛ̃r	1.1b/A	'to talk, speak'
kato	1.1b/Br	'to be born, come out'
krĩ	1.1a/Bˀ	'to sit down (intens)'
kuˀe	1.1b/Bˀ	'to stand (intens)'
pa	1.1b/Bˀ	'to walk, go (intens)'
prõt	1.1a/A	'to run'
ˀapeč	1.1/A	'to finish, come to an end'
ˀeč	1.1/A	'to tell lies'
ˀĩkvÃ	1.1/Bˀ	'to lie down (intens)'

7.321.12 Derived Class 1.1 verbs

Derived Class 1.1 verbs are those that consist of a Class 2 verb stem affixed with the intransitivising prefix pi-.

pipro	1.1b/Bˀ	'to cover oneself, to be covered'
		cf. pro 'to cover something'

piaŋri	1.1a/B?	'to give birth to a child'
		cf. amñĩaŋri 'to observe taboos'[1]

7.321.13 Compound Class 1.1 verbs

Compound Class 1.1 verbs are those that consist of two or more stems, and they can be divided into two main groups: Group A compounds are those that consist of nominal stems only; Group B compounds consist of a verb stem and one or more nominal stems. These are described in turn below.

Group A - those that comprise nominal stems only; in each case, the initial constituent of the compound is a noun of Class 1 (see 6.312.2, page 141).

N + N	tužaro	'to be pregnant'	cf. tu (1) 'stomach'	žaro (1) 'womb'
N + M	kʌkaŋro	'to have a fever'	cf. kʌ (1) 'skin'	kaŋro 'hot'

Group B - those that consist of a verb stem with one or more nominal stems.

N + V	t̪ikčʌmẽ	'to breathe'	cf. t̪ikčʌ (1) 'breath'	mẽ (2) 'to throw something'
	krÃkato	'to be awake'	cf. krÃ (1) 'head'	kato (1.1) 'to come out'

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1. The root *aŋri was not found free, but only in this derived verb, and the compound amñĩaŋri. It would presumably mean 'to put a taboo on something or someone'. Childbirth was associated with work and food taboos.

V + M + M ʔamakketkati 'to have nothing more to do with'

cf. ʔamak (1.2d) 'to feel' ket 'not'
kati (meaning uncertain, but probably 'not, nothing'
cf. amrÃkati 'nothing, not a trace')

7.321.2 Class 1.2 verbs

Class 1.2 verbs are those that occur with the prefixial paradigm in the extended form only, but never in the non-extended form. The prefixial paradigm shows concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece, and the Subject Piece.[1]

Class 1.2 verbs are divided into simple and derived forms (there are no compound members of this class), the former being described in 7.321.21, the latter in 7.321.22.

7.321.21 Simple Class 1.2 verbs

Simple Class 1.2 verbs are those that comprise one morpheme only. They are divided into four subclasses, a to d, on the basis of the phonological structure of their extended form; these subclasses are described in 7.321.211 - 7.321.214.

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1. As with Class 1.1 verbs, this fact serves to distinguish Class 1.2 and Class 2 verbs; cf. 7.321.1, S 1, footnote 1, page 167.

7.321.211 Simple Class 1.2a verbs

Simple Class 1.2a verbs are those whose (strong) extended form is disyllabic, with a penultimate syllable of structure ɣwya(c). If the non-extended form is also disyllabic, the final c unit in the penultimate syllable is the same in the extended and non-extended forms; if the non-extended form is trisyllabic (in which case the non-ultimate syllables are ɣya + nwymi), the c unit in the penultimate syllable of the extended form is m.

The examples will be presented in the same way as in 7.31, in four columns, the first giving the non-extended form, the second the (strong) extended form, the third the class, the fourth the translation.

a?kĩ	ʌ?kĩñ	1.2a/Bñ[1]	'to steal'
amɛ̃ra	ʌmra?	1.2a/B?	'to shout'
ape	ʌpeñ	1.2a/Bñ	'to work'
apku	ʌpkur	1.2a/Br	'to eat'

In the particular case in which the ultimate syllable of the non-extended form has the structure ɣwy^{y}TA, the (strong) extended form is a monosyllable of structure ɣwy ʌr.

aču	ʌr	1.2a/Br	'to enter'

7.321.212 Simple Class 1.2b verbs

Simple Class 1.2b verbs are those whose extended form has an initial syllable of structure ɣypi(c).

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1. It has been decided to class these extended forms as Class B rather than Class C, as, once the class is known to be 1.2a, 1.2b, etc., the differences between the extended and non-extended forms, other than the final c unit, is fixed.

If the non-extended form is disyllabic, and the penultimate syllable does not have the structure ɣyat^{y}, then the extended form is also disyllabic with the syllable ɣypi as the penultimate syllable. If the penultimate syllable of the non-extended form is ɣyat^{y}, then the extended form is trisyllabic, the antepenultimate syllable being ɣypi and the penultimate syllable being ɣya.

*a?kʌ[1]	*pikʌr	1.2b/Br	'to mix'
*apkže	*pikžer	1.2b/Br	'to turn over'
ačpu	piapu?	1.2b/B?	'to fight, struggle'

If the non-extended form is trisyllabic, and has a penultimate syllable of structure ki, the extended form is also trisyllabic, with the antepenultimate syllable being ɣypi. If the non-extended form is trisyllabic, and has a penultimate syllable of structure mi or ni, the extended form is disyllabic with the penultimate syllable of structure ɣypim or ɣypin respectively. In the particular case in which the penultimate syllable is mi, and the ultimate syllable has an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cp, the extended form has an ultimate syllable with an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cn, the phonetic exponents of the two C units having the same point of articulation.

akunɔ	pikunɔr	1.2b/Br	'to flee'
*añĩpa	*piñpañ	1.2b/Bñ	'to exchange'
amɨ̃ti	pimnir	1.2b/Br	'to dream'

7.321.213 Simple Class 1.2c verbs

Simple Class 1.2c verbs are those whose extended form is a monosyllable with an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cp (other than T with the initial-prosody y),

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1. Forms which have only been found in compounds (usually with the particle ?ɔ) will be asterisked.

and whose non-extended form is disyllabic with the penultimate syllable of structure /yit^{y}.

ičkɔ̃	kɔ̃m[1]	1.2c/Bm	'to drink'
ičtu	tur	1.2c/Br	'to urinate'

7.321.214 Simple Class 1.2d verbs

Simple Class 1.2d verbs are defined negatively as those which do not belong to any of the three previous subclasses; for this class the relationship between the non-extended and extended forms is that stated in 7.31.

All members of this subclass are monosyllables in the non-extended form (which thus distinguishes them phonologically from the other three subclasses), and none are vowel initial without initial-prosody.

ča	ʌm	1.2d/Cm	'to stand'
mɔ̃	mɔ̃r	1.2d/Br	'to go, come'
ŋrɛ	ŋrɛr	1.2d/Br	'to sing'
poi	poč	1.2d/Bč	'to come back, arrive'
tɛ̃	tɛ̃m	1.2d/Bm	'to go, come'
ñɨ̃	ɨ̃r	1.2d/Cr	'to sit'

7.321.22 Derived Class 1.2 verbs

Derived Class 1.2 verbs are those which consist of a

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1. Class 1.2c verbs, in the extended form, occur with the juncture-prosody ˀ with the third person prefix.

Class 2 (transitive) verb stem, prefixed with a derivative prefix. There are three pairs of derivative prefixes, for non-extended and extended forms respectively; these will be described below.

The derivative prefixes ač- and pi-

Disyllabic verbs of Class 2, whose initial syllable in the non-extended form has the structure ɣyka, occur as Class 1.2 verbs when prefixed with ač- in the non-extended form, and pi- in the extended form.

ačka?tɛ	pika?ek	1.2/Ck[1]	'to break (intens)'
ačkapo	pikapoñ	1.2/Bñ	'to separate'

Disyllabic verbs of Class 2b, whose initial syllable in the non-extended form has the structure ɣwki, occur as Class 1.2 verbs when prefixed with ač- to form (iii), and with pi- to the extended form.

ačkvə̃ñ	pikvə̃ñ	1.2/A	'to break'

The derivative prefixes av- and u-

Disyllabic verbs of Class 2, whose initial syllable in the non-extended form has the structure ɣyka, or ɣy?a, occur as Class 1.2 verbs when prefixed with av- to the non-extended (weak) form, and u- to the extended (weak) form.

avkakre	ukakreñ	1.2/Bñ	'to scratch, rub'
avžaɨ	užaɨr	1.2/Br	'to tap, peck'
avžarč	užarə̃ñ	1.2/Bñ	'to say, relate, teach'

The derivative prefixes ʌ- and ʌ-

Disyllabic verbs of Class 2a, whose initial syllable has the structure ɣwki in the non-extended form, occur as Class 1.2 verbs when prefixed with ʌ- in both the non-extended and extended forms.

ʌkučɔt	ʌkučot	1.2/A	'to roast'
ʌkukža	ʌkukžer	1.2/Cr	'to ask'

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1. The derived members of Class 1.2 have their extended forms classed in the same class as the Class 2 verb from which they are derived.

7.321.3 Class 1.3 verbs

Class 1.3 verbs are those that never occur with the prefixial paradigm.

Class 1.3 verbs will be described in two sections, 7.321.31 and 7.321.32, dealing respectively with simple and compound forms (there are no derived members of this class).

7.321.31 Simple Class 1.3 verbs

Simple Class 1.3 verbs are those that comprise one morpheme only.

anɛ̃	añɛ̃r	1.3/Cr	'to do or speak thus, like this'
aŋže	aŋžeč	1.3/Bč	'to enter (intens)'
ažet	ažet	1.3/A	'to remain, stay, live'
cr	cr	1.3/A	'to melt'
žuk	žuk	1.3/A	'to wander, drift'

7.321.32 Compound Class 1.3 verbs

Compound Class 1.3 verbs are those that comprise two or more roots.

Compound Class 1.3 verbs can be divided into two groups; Group A consists of the noun amñĩ 'self' compounded with Class 2 verbs; Group B compounds are those that consist of one or two members of the Adverb Class (see 8.2) compounded with Class 1.2d verbs (see 7.321.214).

Group A - those that consist of amñĩ and a Class 2 verb.

amñĩ + V(2)	amñĩma	1.3/Br	'to think'
		cf.	ma 'to hear, know, understand something'
	amñĩñĩpeč	1.3/A	'to behave, act thus'
		cf.	ñĩpeč 'to make, do something'

Group B - those that consist of one or two adverbs and a Class 2.2d verb.

A + V (1.2d)	amrĩñ̃	1.3/Br	'to be quiet'
		cf. amrĩ	'permissive'
		ñ̃	'to sit'
	mãrĩča	1.3/Cm	'to be quiet'
		cf. mã	'away'
		arĩ	'yet, still'
		ča	'to stand'

7.322 Verb Class 2 (transitive)

Verbs of Class 2 are defined as those that can form an exocentric phrase with a nominal phrase. All Class 2 verbs are thus conveniently termed 'transitive'.

All Class 2 verbs can occur with the prefixial paradigm, the paradigm not exhibiting concord with the Predicate Particle Piece and the Subject Piece. With verbs that exhibit the contrast between strong and weak forms, the weak form occurs with a free object, and with the non-third person prefixes; the strong form with the 3rd person prefixes.

Class 2 verbs are divided into simple and compound forms; the former will be described in 7.322.1, the latter in 7.322.2.

7.322.1 Simple Class 2 verbs

Simple Class 2 verbs are those that comprise one morpheme only.

Plosive-initial Class 2 verbs are divided into two subclasses 2a and 2b on the ground of whether they occur with ʔ or ² juncture-prosody with the third person prefix respectively; cf. Class 1.1 verbs (7.321.1).

Some members of this class are listed below: where relevant, it is the strong extended form that will be cited.

ʌm	ʌm	2/A	'to place something'
õpo	õpoñ	2/Bñ	'to extract something'
ɔmu	ɔmuñ	2/Bñ	'to see something'
kura	kurañ	2a/Bñ	'to hit something'
kupĩ	pĩr	2b/Br	'to kill something'
kapa	kačʌr	2b/Cr	'to pull something up, or out'
ʔarẽ	ʔarẽñ	2/Bñ	'to tell, say something'

Those (disyllabic) members of subclass 2b, which have a penultimate syllable of structure ɣwki, occur in four different forms. If a member of this group is regarded as having a particular form of the general structure ɣwki + CV(c), where C is any consonantal unit, and V is any vowel unit, then the four forms are the following:-

(i) ɣwki ² + CV(c)

(ii) ɣya ² + CV(c)

(iii) CV(c)

(iv) CVx/c,

where x is the final c unit of the extended form.[1] The syntactic distribution of these forms is shown on the following chart.

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1. The only exceptions to the above statement of the forms are those members of this group which belong to the extended class C.

	NON-EXTENDED FORMS		EXTENDED FORM
Person of PPP or SP.	Occurs with: Free object Non-3rd.person bound object	Occurs with: 3rd.person bound object	Occurs with All bound and free objects
non-2nd.	CV(c)	ɣwki ^{2} + CV(c)	CVx/c
2nd.	CV(c)	ɣya ^{2} + CV(c)	CVx/c

In the particular case in which C is T, with the initial-prosody y, the fourth form has a strong form Vx, and a weak form ^{y}TVx.

Members of this group occur quite commonly in text, and some are listed below. Where they belong to Class C, all four forms will be given.

kuči		2b/Br	'to put something down'
kukrɛ̃		2b/Br	'to eat something'
kuku		2b/Br	'to eat something (intens)'
kuma		2b/Br	'to hear, understand something'
kumɛ̃		2b/Bñ	'to throw something'
kuŋõ		2b/Cr	'to give something'
	aŋõ	ŋõ õr	
kupĩ		2b/Br	'to kill someone'
kupɨ		2b/Br	'to take hold of, catch something'
kurɛ̃		2b/Bñ	'to throw something (intens)'
kuta		2b/Cr	'to pull something'
	ata	ta ʔɨr	
kuvɔ		2b/Cr	'to eat something sweet'
	ʔ	ʔɔ ʔɔr	

7.322.2 Compound Class 2 verbs

A compound Class 2 verb is one that comprises two or more stems. Compound Class 2 verbs are divided into two

main groups - homogeneous and heterogeneous. Homogeneous compounds are those that comprise major stems only; heterogeneous compounds are those that comprise both major and particle stems.

Homogeneous compounds are of one type only, viz., a nominal stem and a verb stem. In each case, the nominal stem precedes the verb stem, and the verb is in the form which it exhibits with a free object.

<u>ʔõkapa</u>	2/Cr	'to pull up something one at a time'
		cf. ʔõ (M) 'other, one'
		kapa (2b) 'to pull something up'
<u>kvəʔo</u>	2a/$\overset{B}{\emptyset}$r	'to eat some of something sweet'
		cf. kvə (N) 'a few, some'
		ʔo (2b) 'to eat something sweet'

Heterogeneous compounds are of one general type, viz., Indirect Particle + major stem.[1] The indirect particles

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1. The reasons for analysing such forms as compounds, (particularly in the case in which the major stem is a verb), rather than as a sequence of the Indirect Piece and the Verbal Piece, are the following:-

a) The non-occurrence of the Adverb Piece 2 following the Indirect Particles and preceding the Verbal Piece. Such a sequence would be a non-favourite order of the Verbal Clause-Type (see 4.311(b), page 95), but such compounds as the above are not uncommon, and it would therefore be reasonable to have expected such a sequence to have been found.

b) The use of the compounded form in nominal contexts parallelling simple Class 2 verbs. E.g. <u>piče ʔoaʔkĩñ</u> 'stolen bananas'; cf. <u>ŋoi ñor</u> 'a suspended pot'.

c) The parallel compounds formed with nominal stems.

In connection with these compounds, it should be noted that the stem with which the particle is compounded can still occur with the prefixial paradigm, so that a prefix can occur word medially. E.g. <u>ʔɔpakatɔ</u> 'we created it'.

which are so compounded are the two glottal-initial ones, ʔɔ and ʔÃ, and the major stems are verbs or nominals[1], the former being members of Class 1.

IPt + V	ʔɔkatɔ	'to create, invent something'	cf. katɔ l/la/Br 'to come out, be born'
	ʔÃamm̃ne	'to order someone to be killed'	cf. amm̃ne 1.2a/Bñ 'to order to kill'
	ʔɔamñĩpɨtʌ	'to take charge of, look after something'	cf. *amñĩpɨtʌ 1.3/Br 'to take charge, take care'
IPt + Nom.	ʔɔmrɔ	'to cook something in ashes'	cf. mrɔ (N) 'ashes'
	ʔɔkatɛ̃	'to empty something'	cf. katɛ̃ (M) 'empty'
	ʔÃnɔʔtəč	'to recognise, know someone'	cf. nɔ (N) 'eye' təč (M) 'hard'

When ʔɔ is compounded with Classes 1.2c and 1.2d (see 7.321.213 and 7.321.214), it almost invariably occurs as ɔ- with non-extended forms, but fluctuates with extended forms.

arĩ ɔmɔ̃ 'you can take it' 2.29

kɔtpa ža akupm̃-m ʔɔiñmɔ̃r ket nɛ̃

'I am not going to take him away again' 6.BD2.

---

1. It is interesting to note that all the borrowed verbs that were found were thus compounded with ʔɔ. These were:

ʔɔnaŋa or ʔɔnãda	'to swim'	(Port.nadar)
ʔɔkɔ̃nta	'to count'	(Port.contar)
ʔɔvɛne	'to sell'	(Port.vender)

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CHAPTER 8 THE NON-NOMINAL, NON-VERBAL MAJOR WORD CLASSES

8.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the course of the description of Apinayé grammatical structures thus far, reference has been made to certain word classes which are neither nominals nor verbs. It is the purpose of this chapter to define and describe these classes, which are distinguished from (the great majority of) nominals and verbs, in that (apart from the modals) they are all invariant: that is, they never occur affixed, nor do they exhibit any contrast between strong and weak forms. They are distinguished from the particle classes discussed in the next chapter in that each of the classes described in this chapter comprises major words only, or major words and particles, but not particles only.

All the classes described in this chapter are small in membership (the Adverb Class is the largest, with less than 50 members), and are distinguished from one another by their distribution in the various clause-types and pieces set up in chapters 4 to 7.

There are five such classes: the Interrogatives, the Interjections, the Conjunctions, the Adverbs, and the Modals. They will be described in this order, which is the order in which they were introduced in chapters 4 to 7 in the definition of particular clause-types, pieces, or phrases.

8.2 THE INTERROGATIVE

In section 4.315 (page 102), it was stated that all major clause-types could be classified as questions, commands or statements, and that questions were marked by

the occurrence of a Question Piece, preceding all other Pieces except the Connective Piece, and consisting of one member of the class of interrogatives (Int). This class is defined as consisting of a certain set of forms, which are divided into simple and compound, described in 8.21 and 8.22 respectively.

8.21 Simple interrogatives

Simple interrogatives consist of one major root only; the following have been found[1]:-

čʌ	'interrogative'
ñʌ	'interrogative (expresses stronger emotional content such as surprise, concern, etc)'
mɛ̃ʔõ or va$_2$ʔõ[2]	'who?'
mɔ or mɛ̃mɔ[2]	'what? why?'
nɔk	'where?'

---

1. The form pɛ̃r occurred three times in text (5.19,21; 7.22) immediately preceding the particle adverb apu, and was in each case translated by 'why': (in two of these cases apu preceded the interrogative mɔ). It is uncertain whether it should be handled as an interrogative, as its place in the sentence does not parallel the other interrogatives.

2. Forms homophonous with these interrogatives have been found occurring in other places, raising the question of whether these homophonous forms should be analysed as belonging to another class, or whether it should be said that the interrogatives can occur in other places than the Question Piece. Either solution poses problems. For instance, the form mɛ̃mɔ occurs as an object, and so could be analysed as a noun, but it would be unique among the nouns in always occuring with the prefix mɛ̃-, and no other prefix. On the other hand, homophony and semantic similarity alone, are not the best grounds for identifying two forms (i.e. further criteria such as affixes in common, or parallel distribution in larger grammatical units, would be much surer). In this case, the homophonous forms are handled as belonging to different classes, according to where they occur. E.g. ñũm mɛ̃ʔõ za kʌ̃m: 'and someone said to
CP SP I P
her' (6.k1), where mɛ̃ʔõ is analysed as a noun; and tʌ̃ ñũm
CP
va ñɛ̃ʔɛ̃-m mõ 'but the two of them went off somewhere (9.25),
PPP AP VP
where ñɛ̃ʔɛ̃-m is analysed as a (compound) adverb.

8.22 Compound interrogatives

Compound interrogatives are all heterogeneous, consisting of a major root followed by a particle, in each case, an Indirect Particle. The following compound interrogatives were found:-

mɔ~tɔ[1]	'with what'
ñɛ̃-ri[2]	'where (at)'
ñĩʔɛ̃-m(ɑ̃)[2]	'where (to)'
tañ-mɑ̃[2]	'how'

8.3 THE INTERJECTION

In 4.321 (page105) the Interjectory Clause-Type was defined as a minor clause-type, and as comprising one or more members of the class of interjections. An interjection is any invariant (major) form which does not answer to the definitions of the other classes in this chapter, i.e. never occurs in the Pieces by means of which conjunctions, adverbs, and modals are defined.

All interjections are major words, and can be divided into simple and compound forms, the former being described in 8.31, the latter in 8.32.

---

1. The form of this interrogative at the phonetic level was (m'bot'tɔ), so it has been written in the reading transcription in a manner parallel with the writing of the nominal suffix ~ti, rather than as a major word + particle compound, when the form *m'bodɔ would have been expected.

2. See the previous page for this footnote.

8.31 Simple interjections

Simple interjections are those that comprise one root only; apart from apa they are all monosyllables.

Simple interjections can be divided into two groups, which may be termed 'initiatory' and 'responsive'. 'Initiatory' interjections are those that almost invariably initiate conversation, occuring sentence-initial; they only rarely occur with the final-prosodies f and ſ set up for the tune. 'Responsive' interjections are those that only rarely initiate conversation, but occur, rather, in response to a preceding statement or question; they often occur with the final-prosodies f and ſ. These two groups are listed below.

Initiatory interjections

če[1]	'Look!' (expresses surprise)
kva	Calls attention to a following statement, often a rebuke, or a command; when preceding another interjection, adds emphasis to it
pa or apa	'Oi!' (calls attention to following question)
to	Calls attention to what follows; lacks the emotional force of kva
ɛ	Calls attention to what follows; seems to differ little from to

Responsive interjections

mã	'No' (only used by women)
nʌ[2]	'No' (only used by men)
tə	'that is so; yes' (expresses agreement with a previous utterance)
ə	'Yes'
ɜ̃	Emphatic response to previous utterance.

---

1. This is the only interjection found in narrative.

2. It would seem that nʌ can also be used occasionally as an initiatory interjection; 6.U3 may be an example of such a use.

Occasionally, interjections occur in sequences of two or three. Apart from kva, which may precede either initiatory or responsive interjections, such sequences consist entirely of initiatory or responsive interjections. The sequences found were the following:-

With kva:	kva to		kva nʌ
Initiatory:	ɛ to	to ɛ	ɛ to ɛ
Responsive:	ɛ̃ nʌ		

8.32 Compound interjections

Compound interjections are those that comprise more than one root. Apart from those that consist of an interjection and a connective, it has not been found possible to identify the constituents with any certainty.

Ãto or ãto[1]	'Yes, certainly' (responsive interjection)
konɛ̃ or konɛ̃-ñũm[2]	'I don't know' (responsive interjection) cf. ñũm (CjPt) 'and'
ku-ñũm[2]	'Of course' (responsive interjection) cf. ñũm as above.
va-nɛ̃	Calls attention to following utterance, usually with expostulatory force (initiatory interjection) cf. nɛ̃ (CjPt) 'and'
ketəri	'No' (emphatic; used only by women) (responsive interjection)
okora, o-ta, ori, orira	'Look!' (often associated with če) (initiatory interjections)

---

1. These forms have been analysed as compounds as the syllable Ã or ã only occurs in this combination with to.

2. These are analysed as compounds because they occur as sentences, so that the connective cannot be analysed as part of the following clause. ku was found once in text (1.30) where it was probably an alternative form of kva.

8.4 THE CONJUNCTION

The Connective Piece was defined (in 4.42(b), page 111) as the non-phrasal piece which always precedes all other pieces in any clause-type, whether it occurs in a favourite, non-favourite, or emphatic order. A conjunction (Cj) is any form which is found in the Connective Piece.

Conjunctions are divided into two classes - particle and major; the former is described in 8.41, the latter in 8.42.

8.41 Particle conjunctions

A particle conjunction is any conjunction that occurs finally in a sequence of conjunctions.

Particle conjunctions are divided into simple and compound forms, the former being described in 8.411, the latter in 8.412.

8.411 Simple particle conjunctions

Simple particle conjunctions are those that comprise one root only: the following three were found:-

ke	'when, so that'
nɛ̃	'and'
ñũm	'and'

nɛ̃ and ñũm differ from one another in that nɛ̃ introduces a clause without change of subject (as marked by the Subject Piece and/or the Predicate Particle Piece) from the preceding clause, whereas ñũm introduces a clause with a change of subject. In particular, when the subject is third person singular (which is zero in the Predicate Particle Piece), the changes of third person singular subjects are marked by the use of nɛ̃ and ñũm. This difference in function between nɛ̃ and ñũm also holds when they occur in sequence with other conjunctions, and in the compounds Amri-nɛ̃ and Amri-ñũm.

An example illustrating this difference is given below.

Amri-<u>ñũm</u> kÃm mɛñ kaŋɔ mɛč kvata, <u>nɛ̃</u> kumɛ̃, <u>ñũm</u> pɛr,
and him+to honey liquid good ,ull and it+ and it+catch
some threw fire

<u>nɛ̃</u> a?par - mÃ tɛ̃, <u>ñũm</u> kupɨ, <u>ñũm</u> a?tɨ. 2.7
and down to go and it+ and go out
catch

'Then he (the woodpecker) pulled some good honey off for him, and threw it; it caught fire, and fell, but he (Sun) caught it, and it went out.'

Simple particle conjunctions can occur in pairs, subject only to the condition that ke occurs finally in the sequence.

8.412 Compound particle conjunctions

Compound particle conjunctions are those that comprise more than one root, each of which is a particle. One such particle compound was found, <u>ñũm?Ã</u>, where ?Ã is an Indirect Particle. It has the meaning of 'until an action is completed'. E.g.

ñũm?Ã apka?ti ?apeč, 'until the day had come to an end' 3.6
CP SP VP

8.413 The phonology of the particle conjunctions nɛ̃ and ñũm

The particle conjunctions nɛ̃ and ñũm have a marked tendency to be separated by pause from the clause in which they occur, so that while they are linked, at the grammatical level, to the clause following them, at the phonetic level they are linked to the clause preceding them.

In the examples, the conjunction(s) under consideration will be underlined in the reading and phonetic transcriptions.

mra, nɛ̃ aŋže, ñũm nÃ ʔɔ api, ˌmbranaŋ'gzeŋũmʔ / 'nÃʔɔp'pi 7.4

ñɛ̃r nɛ̃ mõr, 'ŋmɯ̃lnɛ̃/ ˌmõl 7.30

Also, the particle conjunction nɛ̃ occurs very frequently as (n) at the phonetic level, whenever it follows a word whose ultimate syllable is a short open one; or whenever it follows a word whose ultimate syllable is a closed or a long open one, and precedes a word which is vowel initial without initial-prosody, or pause.

ñũm Mɨt~ti mõ, nɛ̃ omu, nɛ̃ kuta, ˌŋũm'bɯ:'di'mõnɔm'kungut'ta 5.12

čʌm, nɛ̃ otɛ̃, nɛ̃ opei. 'tçʌmnɔt'tɛ̃nɔp'pei 6. AK2-4

nɛ̃ tɛ̃, nɛ̃ ŋvra ža ... nɛ̃t'tɛ̃nʔ / ŋ'gʊrai 1.18

8.42 Major conjunctions

A major conjunction is any conjunction which occurs initially in a sequence of conjunctions.

Major conjunctions are divided into simple and compound forms, the former being described in 8.421, the latter in 8.422.

8.421 Simple major conjunctions

Simple major conjunctions are those that comprise one root only: the following were found:-

no	'but'	tʌ̃	'but, until, when'[1]
ñɛ̃r	'so'		

ñɛ̃r occurs only when followed by one or more of the other conjunctions (particle or major), and when followed by nɛ̃ or ñũm it occurs in extended clauses only.

Only one sequence, ñɛ̃r tʌ̃ ñũm, has been found with more than one major conjunction in it; all other sequences containing a major conjunction contain one only, followed by one or two particle conjunctions; e.g. tʌ̃ ñũm, no ke, ñɛ̃r nɛ̃ ñũm.

8.422 Compound major conjunctions

Compound major conjunctions are those that comprise more than one root, one of which must be a major one. Two types of compound major conjunction were found - homogeneous, and heterogeneous: these will be described in turn.

Two homogeneous major conjunctions were found - rʌ̃ʔʌ̃ 'until', and tʌ̃mtʌ̃ 'until, when', but it has not proved possible to identify the constituents with any certainty.

Two heterogeneous compounds were also found - ʌmri-nɛ̃,

---

1. tʌ̃, when followed by ñũm, seems sometimes to occur as a shorter form of tʌ̃mtʌ̃ 'until, when': see for instance, 6.P2.

and ʌmri-ñũm. These compounds function in a very similar way to the particle conjunctions nɛ̃ and ñũm, but occur less frequently. It is possible that they mark the beginning of some unit larger than the sentence, such as a paragraph.

8.5 THE ADVERB

In 4.42(c), (page112), the Adverb Piece was defined as the non-phrasal Piece which occurs preceding the Indirect Piece and following the Subject and Predicate Particle Pieces in the favourite order of the clause-types. An adverb is defined as any form which occurs in the Adverb Piece.

The description of the adverbs will be given in two main sections, the first, 8.51, describing the classification of the adverbs, the second, 8.52, some aspects of the phonology of adverbs.

8.51 The classification of the adverbs

Adverbs are divided into two main classes, major and particle; major adverbs are described in 8.511, particle adverbs in 8.512.

8.511 Major adverbs

A major adverb (A) is any adverb which can occur in the Adverb Piece 2, that is, following the Indirect Piece in a

non-favourite order of the clause-types (see 4.311(b), 4.312(b), pages 95 and 98.

Major adverbs can be classed as simple and compound. Simple major adverbs comprise one root only. The following is a list of some simple major adverbs found in text.

ačtɛ	'again; more'	ra	'already'
arĩ	'still, yet'	ri	'continuously'
mã	'away (from here)'	tokɨč	'quickly'
mãn	'to here'	Ã	'like this, thus'

Compound major adverbs comprise two roots. It has not always proved possible to identify the constituent roots, but where it has proved possible, this will be done.

a?par-mÃ	'downwards'	cf. mÃ	(IPt)	'to'
a?pɨ̃ñ-?Ã	'separately, distributively'	cf. ?Ã	(IPt)	'on'
akupɨ̃-m	'again to there'	cf. mÃ	(IPt)	'to'
akupɨ̃-n	'again to here'			
kor-mÃ	'still, yet'	cf. mÃ	(IPt)	'to'
mãprĩ	'permissive'			
mãmrĩ				
?Ãpuri	'it's true, it's certain'			

Major adverbs have only been found singly in Adverb Piece 2, but they can occur in pairs in the Adverb Piece. E.g.

ke ra kupɛ̃ ža mÃr ĩ ri mɛ̃añĩkra kamÃ ri mɛ̃mɔ žapro 8.10
CP EAP SP AP IP AP2 VP

'so that it must be the white people who buy these things from you'

8.512 Particle Adverbs

A particle adverb (APt) is any adverb which cannot

occur in the adverbial Piece 2. The particle adverbs found in text are listed below.

apu	'doubtful'(?)	mÃnɛ̃n	'also'
atar	'there (at)'	ñæ̃č	'almost'
kop	'permissive'(?)	Ãm	'only, just, that's all'

Particle adverbs may occur preceding or following a major adverb, or in pairs. E.g.

pu mɛ̃ <u>kop arĩ</u> ama, PPP AP VP	'let us wait a while'	7.76
čɛ, nã <u>apu Ãm</u> teñĩto? ket, Inj PPP AP VP	'behold, they were doing nothing'	4.16
ʌmri-ñũm <u>?ʌmri Ãm</u> añæ̃r kumrɛ̃č. CP AP VP	'but they behaved in just the same way'	4.15

8.52 Some aspects of adverb phonology

Adverbs, at the phonological level, exhibit two features which are peculiar to them as a class. The first of these is that non-ultimate syllables in adverbs exhibit forms not exhibited by other U syllable types; the second is the placing of emphatic stress. These are described in turn.

Certain adverbs have non-ultimate syllables which require an analysis using phonological units and combinations of units not required by other classes. Thus, an initial c unit m occurs in such syllables, as does the c unit t, but without the initial-prosody y, or the juncture- or sody Y. Also, the vowel initial syllable ɤwya is found with a ? initial-prosody only in the adverbs, and, apart from the Nominal Particle žaža, adverbs are the only forms with an initial syllable of structure ɤy^{y}ja which are not weak forms. E.g.

<u>mÃ</u>nɛ̃n	'also'	nwyma
<u>tokæ̃</u>č	'quickly'	ɤwta
<u>?ʌ</u>mri	'then, now'	ɤwy$^{?}$a
<u>žatÃ</u>	'then, now'	ɤy^{y}ja

Also, under this general heading, it should be noted that ačku?tÃ is the only trisyllabic form in which the antepenultimate syllable has an open vowel unit, and the penultimate syllable a close one.

The second feature peculiar to certain adverbs, is that emphatic stress occurs on a non-ultimate syllable.[1] In this case, the syllable in question will be marked with an acute accent. These emphatic forms are given below.

amrÁ́kati	'nothing'	(am''rÃat'ti)
mű́tar	'(over) there'	('mũ:t'tari)
mű́tũm	't. over there'	('mũ:t'tũmũ)
?Á́puri	'it's true, it's certain'	('?Ã^{m}bri)

From their phonological structure it seems likely that all these forms are compounds, but it has not proved possible to identify the constituents other than *mũ 'there', and (probably) *tar 'at there'.

8.6 THE MODAL

The modal (M1) is defined as that form which occurs final in the Nominal Phrase-Type A, (see 6.212.21, page 132); it also occurs final in the Verbal Phrase-Type A (7.22, page 162).

Modals will be described in two sections, 8.61 and 8.62, the former dealing with their classification, the latter with some aspects of their phonology.

---

1. In fact, the stress always occurs on the first syllable of type S. In this connection, it is interesting to note that amrÃkati also occurs as mrÃkati; and that its Portuguese equivalent nadinha, which has penultimate stress, is pronounced with initial stress, viz.('nã::dʒinu).

8.61 The classification of the modals

Modals are divided into major and particle modals: the former are described in 8.611, the latter in 8.612.

8.611 Major modals

Major modals (Ml) are defined as those which occur with the extended form of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1 (see 7.211 page 158). Three major modals have been found, which are:-

kenÃ	'certainty'
kumrẽč	'intensity'
žape	'uncertainty'

The form kumrẽč was given inflected, viz., ičkumrẽč, 'I am first'. Modals, however, have not been analysed as nominals, as they do not occur with the nominal suffixes ~re and~ti, nor the Terminal Particle, nor have they been found in phrases other than those mentioned above.

8.612 Particle modals

Particle modals (Ml.Pt) are defined as those which occur with the non-extended form of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1 (see 7.211). Two particle modals were found, viz.,

mÃn	'completion'	(used only in positive clauses)
ri	'completion'	(used only in negative clauses).

8.62 Some aspects of modal phonology

It has already been pointed out in 6.212.21 (page 132, cf. also 7.22, page 162) that the major form which precedes a modal in a Nominal or Verbal Phrase-Type A occurs as the peak of a tune-unit D or A, and not infrequently with high tune-prosody. The modal itself, whether major or particle, frequently occurs with secondary or tertiary stress on its ultimate syllable: major modals are the only major words of which this is true. For examples, see 6.212.21.

CHAPTER 9 THE INDIRECT PARTICLES, THE PREDICATE PARTICLES, AND THE FREE EMPHASISING PARTICLE

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CHAPTER 9 THE INDIRECT PARTICLES, THE PREDICATE PARTICLES, AND THE FREE EMPHASISING PARTICLE

9.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the previous chapter, the major word classes, other than nominals and verbs, were defined and described; this chapter serves a parallel purpose in that it will define and describe those particle classes which were used in the description of various pieces and phrases in chapters 4 to 7, but which were not defined and described at that point.

The classes to be described all share the common feature that they comprise particles only and are small in membership (the Indirect Particles are the most numerous and less than 30 of these were found).

There are a number of such particle classes to be described, which can be conveniently grouped into three groups of particles, according to the piece in which they occur: these three groups are the Indirect Particles, the Predicate Particles, and the Free Emphasising Particle. They will be described in this order in sections 9.2 - 9.4, this also being the order in which they are introduced in chapters 4 to 7.

9.2 THE INDIRECT PARTICLES

An Indirect Particle (IPt) is defined as any particle other than the Subject Particle -ta (see 9.311.21) which can

occur affixed with the members of the prefixial paradigm.[1]

An indirect particle always forms one constituent (the final one) of the Nominal Phrase-Type B (see 6.212.22, page 133), which occurs in the Indirect Piece (see 4.411(a), page 108.

Indirect particles are divided into simple and compound forms: the former will be described in 9.21, the latter in 9.22.

9.21 Simple Indirect Particles

Simple indirect particles are those that comprise one (particle) stem only. They are divided into two subclasses, 1, and 2, on the ground of the number of stems exhibited, and subclass 2 is further subdivided on the ground of the forms of the third person singular prefix with which the members occur. 9.211 will describe subclass 1, 9.212, subclass 2.

9.211 Subclass 1 of the Simple Indirect Particles

This subclass comprises those indirect particles which exhibit two forms of the stem, one with non-third person prefixes, the other with third person prefixes. Four such particles have been found, which may be grouped into two pairs, the members of each pair closely resembling each other.

---

1. Under special circumstances (see 9.312.3) the pronouns pa 'I', and ka 'you', can be prefixed by va- and mẽ-. They are distinguished from the Indirect Particles by their place in the clause.

The first pair consists of the particles pe 'in, on, from among' and mÃ 'to, for'. The third person singular form of the particle pe is kep, and of mÃ is kÃm. The forms pe and mÃ are those that occur with a (preceding) nominal phrase[1]. It should be noted that the dual and plural third person prefixes (va- and mɛ̃-) are linked to kep and kÃm by the juncture-prosody [2].

The second pair is ʔɔ 'with, by' and ʔÃ 'on'. In this case, the third person singular form is the one just given, which is also the one which occurs with a nominal phrase[2]. With the non-third person prefixes a stem with the initial C unit T is used; e.g. ičto 'with me', ičtÃ 'on me', etc.[3]

9.212 Subclass 2 of the Simple Indirect Particles

This subclass comprises those indirect particles which exhibit one form of the stem only. It is further subdivided into subclasses, 2a, 2b, and 2c, on the basis of the forms of the third person singular prefix.

---

1. pe and mÃ thus parallel, in distribution, the weak forms of major words; kep and kÃm the strong forms.

2. ʔɔ and ʔÃ thus parallel the distribution of ʔ-initial major words, as such forms have a marked tendency to use the strong (ʔ-initial) form following a nominal phrase, as well as for the third person. Cf. p.120, fn.2.

3. The forms to and tÃ of the stems are also used when following a nominal whose final c unit has a phonetic exponent which is dental in point of articulation. E.g. ačpɛ̃n to 'with another'; katut-tÃ 'on top of'.

Subclass 2a, occurs with the third person singular prefix ku-, which is unique to this subclass. The particles found in this subclass are the following:

čvar	'like, similar to'
mɛ̃	'as well as, besides; concerning'
ri	'together with, at, near, by'
rʌ̃m	'than'
rũm	'from'

Subclass 2b occurs with the third person singular prefix zero. The following particles were found in this subclass.

kačɨv	'to, for'
kamʌ̃	'inside, on'
kutʌ̃	'as well as'
kʌ̃m	'within, on'

Subclass 2c occurs with the third person singular prefix i?-. The particles found in this subclass are the following:

ket	'after, behind (in single file)'
kuri	'together with, at, near, by'
vər[1]	'towards, in the direction of'

9.22 Compound Indirect Particles

Compound indirect particles are those that comprise two stems, the first a nominal, the second a simple indirect particle: they are thus all heterogeneous compounds.

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1. The particle vər inflects in the same way as the noun vrə 'rib' and the verb vrə 'to descend', viz., ičvər (idʒ'ʊʁʏ), avər, i?vər.

The following are the compound indirect particles that were found; where the nominal constituent was found free, it will be given, with its class and meaning. Also, where the nominal constituent is plosive-initial, it can be classified as a or b according to whether the third person prefix is linked to it by a ? or ² juncture-process.

?ĩmõk-?Ã	'on top of'		cf. ?ĩmõk (N/2a) 'top (of a tree), source (of a river)'
?ĩpɔk-ri	'in the middle of'		cf. ?ĩpɔk (N/2a) 'centre'
?ĩžɨk-ri	'in front of'		
katut-ri	'behind'	?	cf. katut (N/1) 'back'
katut-tÃ	'on top of'	?	cf. katut (N/1) 'back'
kɔt-tÃ	'in the middle of'	a	
krak-ri	'underneath'	a	
mə-ri	'at the edge of'		
par-pe	'underneath, beneath'	a	cf. par (N/1) 'foot'
pÃñ-?Ã	'instead of, in the place of'	a	
pu-?Ã	'round about'		

9.3 THE PREDICATE PARTICLES

A predicate particle is defined as a member of one of the closed classes which will be described below. The term 'predicate particle' is used because the members of these classes occur in the Predicate Particle Piece, and, with the exception of the emphatic pronoun tãm, occur only there.

These closed classes are distinguished by their distribution in the various forms of the Predicate Particle Piece. Hence, the description of the predicate particles will be in terms of the structure of the Predicate Particle Piece, which is described in 9.31. Some aspects of the phonology of the Predicate Particle Piece are then given in 9.32.

9.31 The structure of the Predicate Particle Piece

The structure of the Predicate Particle Piece will be described in two main sections: the first, 9.311, will describe the non-emphatic forms of the Piece; the second, 9.312, the emphatic forms of the Piece.

9.311 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece

In consideration of the structure of the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece, two distributional factors have to be taken into account: the first is whether the Piece occurs in the extended or non-extended form of the clause (see 4.31, §§ 5, 6); the second is whether the Piece occurs in narrative or speech. To disregard this latter distinction (so far as this material is concerned) would be to obscure the structure of the Predicate Particle Piece by uniting forms that should be kept separate.

The discussion, therefore, of the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece will be given in two main subdivisions - 9.311.1, dealing with non-extended clauses; 9.311.2 dealing with extended clauses. These two subdivisions will be further divided so as to handle the different forms found, relating these to speech and to narrative.

9.311.1 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses

The description of the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses will be given in two subsections, 9.311.11 and 9.311.12, the former dealing with its structure in speech, the latter with its structure in narrative.

9.311.11 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses in speech

By 'speech' is meant direct speech or conversation. All the material is, of course, based on speech, but when used in this context 'speech' is to be understood as having reference to conversation[1].

The non-emphatic Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses in speech occurs in two distinct, though related, forms, which will be termed forms (a) and (b); they are described in turn below.

Form (a). This form comprises a maximum sequence of five places in which the first place always occurs.[2] The five places, with the particles that fill them, are charted below.

1	2	3	4	5
pa	ža	čɛp	tɛ	va
ka	ta		vɛ	mɛ̃
∅				
pu				
kɔtpa[3]				
kotka				
kot				
kotpu				

1. A very considerable proportion of the text material is, in fact, conversation, this evidently being characteristic of Apinayé stories. In the great majority of cases, the conversation is introduced by the special form of the Indirect Clause-Type, described in 4.313(b), page100.

2. Under certain conditions, places 4 and 5 may occur without 1 (and be non-third person); these are

(a) when a previous clause is partially repeated; e.g. "na va kuvɛ - va kuvɛ." 'so that we may eat it', 3.30;

(b) in imperative clauses; e.g. "nʌ, mɛ̃ arĩ mõ" 'Alright, you (pl) may go', 8.44.

(c) when the subject of a clause is unambiguously indicated in the preceding clause; e.g. "vaiñmã̃ kaŋo mɛc ža mɛ̃, ñũm va kupɛ́" 'threw us (two) (vaiñmã̃) some good honey, and we (two) will catch it', 3.32.

Such occurrences, however, are relatively rare.

3. See page 206.

The particles found in places 1, 3 and 4 are predicate particles; those in 2 are two members of the Nominal Particle Class (see 6.211.1, page 126), and those in 5 are the members of the Quantitative Particle Class (see 6.211.2, page 127). This latter class closes the non-emphatic forms of the Piece as it closes the nominal phrase. The former class occurs only if the long forms of the pronouns occur, and ta only occurs with the third person in free fluctuation with ža.

The predicate particles are described in turn below.

Place 1. This place is filled by a class of particles which may be termed pronouns.[1] These pronouns occur in short and long forms, the latter being used predominantly in sentence-initial clauses, the former in non-initial clauses. pa is first person; ka is second person; ∅ is third person; pu is first person exclusive, i.e. first and second persons, exclusive of the third.

This form of the Predicate Particle Piece is used to refer to 'future' actions; that is, to actions which have not yet taken place, or which are taking place now but are considered as continuing into the future. E.g.

" nʌ, kotpa ža kupɨ "	'No, I'll catch it'	3.39
" kotka ʔomnui nɛ̃, pu mɛ̃ por "	'If you bungle it, we shall burn'	2.17
" ɛ, pu mɔ̃ "	'Let us go! '	3.17

---

1. The term 'pronoun' has been applied to these forms, thus linking them with the nouns, for the following reasons:-

a) they occur in construction with the Nominal Particles and the Quantitative Particles;

b) they can occur prefixed by va- and mɛ̃- (see 9.312).

3.(relative to page 205).

The forms ketpa and ketka were occasionally recorded, and are treated as (rare) free variants.

Place 3 is filled by the particle čep, to which it has not proved possible to assign a meaning. E.g.

" kotpa ža čep ãm ičpe kupẽ " 'I am going to become a white man' 6.BP2

Place 4 is filled by the two particles tɛ and vɛ. Both of these emphasise the given unit to some extent; tɛ seems to be contrastive - you as opposed to me, etc; vɛ implies such emotions as surprise, exasperation, and concern. tɛ is linked by the juncture-primary ? to preceding particles, by the juncture-primary ² to preceding major words. vɛ can occur in an emphatic form vɛ?ɛ - see 9.312. E.g.

ñ̃ič̃ pu ?tɛ mẽ pĩ žapok mrɨ kamÃ kuku [1] 9.51

'we would still be eating rotten wood with meat'

" tañ-mÃ kotka ža vɛ mẽ ?o " 'How could you have done so? " 7.67

No example with all five places filled was found, but an example with four is cited immediately above. (7.67).

Form (b). This form of the Predicate Particle Piece comprises a maximum sequence of six places, of which the first and the third always occur; the six places, with the particles that fill them, are charted below.

1	2	3	4	5	6
nã	prɛ	pa ka / pu	čep	tɛ vɛ	va mẽ

---

1. This is the only example found of tɛ occurring in a Predicate Particle Piece of form (a), and is found in narrative, not in speech. See the footnote attached to 9.311.12, $\frac{s}{s}$ 2.

It will be seen that this differs from form (a) in the occurrence of the two places preceding the pronouns; in the non-occurrence of the long forms of the pronouns, and (consequently) the non-occurrence of the Nominal Particles.

The first two places are described below.

Place 1 is filled by the particle nã, which is regarded as a tense particle, with the general meaning of 'non-future'. It is used in reference to past action, or to present action (often without distinction) when it is not considered as continuing into the future. Contrast this with the meaning of form (a). In Nominal Clause-Types, and Predicate Particle Clause-Types, it has more the force of a 'stative'. E.g.

" mɔ nã ka ʔtɛ aku? " 'What are you (or, have you been) eating?' 1.11

" nã pa ičpunui nẽ " 'I am ruined' 5.21

Place 2 is filled by the particle prɛ, which is regarded as an aspective particle, meaning 'completion'. It tends, therefore, to act somewhat as a past tense, but isn't often used. E.g.

" mã, mẽpaʔpãm nã prɛ kato " 'No, it is an ancestor that has been born' 6.N3-4

Two occasional variations from the order given for the two forms have been noted. The particles tɛ and vɛ may occur following the quantitative particles va and mẽ, and in this case, the latter may be repeated. E.g.

" nã nã ka mẽ vɛ mẽ Vañmẽkaprãn~rɛ pĩ? " 6.AY5

'But I thought that you had killed Vañmẽkaprãn~rɛ?'

Also, prɛ has been found both preceding and following the pronouns. This appears to be a matter of idiolect, as the text material regularly used the order given above, but other informants gave the reverse order.

It will be seen that the pronouns and the quantitative particles combined form an 11-member paradigm corresponding

t: the prefixial paradigm (see 5.2). The tw: are placed side by si:e f r comparis:n, using the sh:rter f:rms : f the pr::uns, an: the f:rms : f the prefixial paradigm that : ccur with m:n:-syll:'ic pl sive-initial n:uns.

1st.pers.sg.	pa		ič-
2nd. - -	ka		a-
3rd. - -	∅		i?-
1st.pers.dual exc.	pu		pa?-
1st. - - inc.	pa	va	vaič-
2nd. - -	ka	va	vara-
3rd. - -		va	va?-
1st.pers.pl.exc.	pu	mɛ̃	mɛ̃pa?-
1st. - - inc.	pa	mɛ̃	mɛ̃ič-
2nd. - -	kpa	mɛ̃	mɛ̃a-
3rd. - -		mɛ̃	mɛ̃?-

9.311.12 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses in narrative

By 'narrative' is meant the consecutive narrative of a story, other than the conversation which is included in it.

In this context, the Predicate Particle Piece occurs in two forms.[1] The first is simply prɛ, which was not found in combination with any other predicate particles. The second is the last three places in the forms found in speech, viz

1	2	3
čɛp	tɛ	va
	vɛ	mɛ̃

1. The only exceptions to this statement were in the text given by Francisco Suter (text 9), where the opening sentence, and the closing sentences used form (b) of the Predicate Particle Piece as follows.

ʌmnɛpe-mʌ̃ nɛ̃ pu čɛp ?tɛ mʌ̃ pĩ žapɔk ku 'A long time ago we used to cut rotten wood' 9.1

ʌmri-ñũm Kañe~ti nɛ̃ prɛ mɛ̃ɔ̃ža ?ɔkato 'So it was Star-woman who created our food' 9.46

It will thus be seen that there is no occurrence of the tense particle nɛ̃, nor of the pronouns. This latter point reflects the fact that the narrative is always third person; but the absence of the nɛ̃ means that it has to be assumed that it is narrated in the past tense, as this is not formally marked at any point. The following are some examples from narrative.

tɑ̃mtɑ̃ ñũm <u>ɛrɛ</u> kɔtɔ	'until he had been born'	6.E2
ñũm <u>vɑ</u> ʔɔr ʔɔ čɑ	'they (tw) went on eating'	1.22
ñũm <u>čɛp ʔtɛ mɛ̃</u> kɑ̃m:	'and they said to her'	9.43

9.311.2 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses

As with the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses, this section will be divided into two subsections,9.311.21 and 9.311.22, the former describing the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses in speech, the latter in narrative.

9.311.21 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses in speech

In the great majority of cases, the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses comprises only the inflected <u>Subject Particle</u>. The non-third person forms of this particle consist of a stem <u>-tɛ</u>, prefixed by members of the prefixial paradigm; the third person forms are <u>kɔt</u>, <u>vakɔt</u>, and <u>mɛ̃kɔt</u>. The singular part of the paradigm is thus <u>ičtɛ</u> 'I', <u>atɛ</u> 'you', and <u>kɔt</u> 'he, she, it'.

The Subject Particle (along with the whole of the extended clause) is often used in a timeless sense,

expressed in English by the simple present. Thus, vapo?~ti kot mɛ̃mɔi žakʌr mɛč 'knives cut things well', and ičtɛ mɛ̃mɔ, kaŋɔ?tɨk~rɛ, pumuñ rɛ ?Ã 'I d n't kn w this thing, c ffee'. It is als used when the clause is an included one: see 4.316, page104. But at ther times, it is used in a manner parallel with the n n-extended clauses.

Occasionally the Subject Particle is preceded by the initial part f the n n-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece, the 'initial part' being defined as the exclusion of the last three places. E.g.

" kotpa ža atɛ añɛ̃r " 'that's what you say' 3.40
PPP(a) SPt V(ex)

" nã̃ prɛ mɛ̃kot kuvɨ mÃ mɛ̃ñ " 'they threw me into a fire' 7.98
PPP(b) SPt IP VP(ex)

9.311.22 Non-emphatic forms f the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses in narrative

The Predicate Particle Piece occurs in only one form in extended clauses in narrative - the third pers n form. E.g.

ñũm mɛ̃kot mã... ?pĩr mÃ omõr 'and they t. k(him)away t kill him' 7.24

9.312 Emphatic forms f the Predicate Particle Piece

As n emphatic forms f the Predicate Particle Piece were f und in extended clauses, and only one (vɛ?ɛ) in narrative, it has n t been c nsidered necessary t divide this secti n in the same way that 9.311 was divided.

The Predicate Particle Piece occurs in three types of emphatic form; the first is marked simply by position; the second by the use of particular emphatic forms; the third by reduplication. These are described in turn in sections 9.312.1-3 below.

9.312.1 Emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece marked solely by position

Only one emphatic form of the Predicate Particle Piece has been found of this type. In this, the particle čɛp occurs in an emphatic position, preceding an Emphatic Adverb Piece, and the Predicate Particle Piece, emphasised in the second way (see 9.312.2). čɛp was also of higher pitch in this context than in the non-emphatic form of the Predicate Particle Piece. This form of the Predicate Particle Piece will be symbolised as EPPP.

" čɛp apu tãm kot amñĩñɛč " 'for he is behaving in
EPPP EAP emPPP(a) VP this way' 6.21

9.312.2 Emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece marked by particular emphatic forms

Emphatic forms of this type can be divided into two subtypes, the first using the emphatic form of the particle vɛ; the second using the emphatic pronouns. These are described in turn below, under the headings of subtypes (a) and (b).

Subtype (a). The particle vɛ occurs in the emphatic form vɛ?ɛ, and when it does, it usually occurs in the emphatic position, that is, preceding any other Emphatic Pieces and/or the Predicate Particle Piece (thus overlapping with the

emphatic form described in the section above). In this context, it can be regarded as a discontinuous member of the Predicate Particle Piece occurring in the Emphatic Predicate Particle Piece (EPPP). vɛ?ɛ, however, has also been found following the non-emphatic form of the Predicate Particle Piece when utterance-final; in this case, the Predicate Particle Piece is analysed as occurring in an emphatic form, symbolised as ~~PPP~~em. As noted above, vɛ?ɛ has been found in narrative also. E.g.

ñũm ke vɛ?ɛ prɨ ?krač kãm ñʌč kuʔtʌ-rɛ mɛñ ñõpoñ ʔo mõ 3.16
CP EPPP EIP SP IP VP

'Now (surprisingly?) it was at the beginning of the path that Woodpecker was pecking out honey'

" ñʌ vɛ?ɛ kɔt ʔo mɛ̃paʔpɨrʌk? " 'Do you think he'll really
~~EPPP~~ EIP(a) be like us?' 6.K2

" mɛ̃mɔ nã vɛ?ɛ ? " 'What on earth is that? " FS
emPPP(b)

Subtype (b). The Predicate Particle Piece is also emphasised by the use of the class of Emphatic Pronouns[1], which comprises the following three members:

pãm 'myself, ourselves'

kãm 'yourself, yourselves'

tãm 'himself, herself, itself; themselves'

The non-third persons immediately follow the final particle in the non-emphatic form[2]; the third person immediately precedes the initial particle[3]. The emphatic pronouns have not been

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1. It is not certain how to handle the three forms pač, kač, tač, which were given when followed by pič 'only'. They were only given in response to elicitation, and were not found in text, but their obvious phonological parallellism with pãm, kãm, and tãm would seem to indicate that they should be considered with the emphatic pronouns. It is interesting to note that, when followed by pič, the usual juncture patterns were not used, the echo-vowel being repeated. E.g. ('padʒi'pidʒi), etc.

2. pãm was found once following the Predicate Particle Piece and separated from it by the particle verb ãm 'only', viz, " kotpa ža ãm pãm kupɨ " 'I (and only I) will catch it', 3.36.

3. In the idiom ke arĩ tãm 'He's the one who knows' (8.8) tãm occurs without any other member of the Predicate Particle Piece.

found occurring with tɛ and vɛ. This form of the Predicate Particle Piece is also symbolised as emPPP.

" ka mɛ̃ kãm ʔɔamñĩpɨtʌ " 'it is you yourselves who must look after them' 8.9
em PPP(a) VP

" nʌ, tãm nã ra mɛ̃akvəñĩmɛč ʔɔ mõ " 'No, he is the one who is already killing some of you' 6.U3-4
emPPP(b) AP IP VP

Unlike the non-emphatic pronouns, the emphatic pronouns have been found in another piece other than the Predicate Particle Piece, viz., the Emphatic Object Piece. E.g.

" tãm ičtɛ omuñ kenÃ " 'It was definitely he himself that I saw' 8.31
EOP SP VP(t)

9.312.3 Emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece marked by reduplication

When the Predicate Particle Piece is non-third person it can be made emphatic by the repetition of the pronoun, with or without the Nominal Particle. When the Predicate Particle Piece has the form (a), the pronoun is repeated following the non-emphatic form; when it has the form (b) it is repeated preceding the non-emphatic form. If the Predicate Particle Piece is dual or plural, the repeat pronoun is prefixed with a va- or mɛ̃- accordingly. Such reduplicated forms were not found with čɛp, tɛ, or vɛ. E.g.

" nʌ, pa mɛ̃pa ža mÃr mɛ̃ʔpÃñ-ʔÃ omõ " 7.43
PPP PPP(r)

'No, we will take him away instead of them'

vaka ža nã ka va tɛ̃m 'you (two) fell' MF31.18
PPP(r) PPP

9.32 Some aspects of the phonology of the Predicate Particle Piece

There are two aspects of the phonology of the Predicate Particle Piece which are unique to it, and therefore of special interest. They are described below.

The first of these is very common, and consists in the reduction of the number of syllables as compared with a very slow enunciation of the same form. This reduction is particularly marked with form (b), of which two examples are given below.

nã ka mɛ̃ ʔoažapeč...	(ŋgam'ʔo ...)	7.81
nã pu čɛp ʔte mɛ̃	(mput'tçeptem)	9.1

The second feature was not found in text material, but was used quite commonly by the informant Miguel Fernandez. In this case, the phonetic exponent of the initial C unit P was a bilabial nasal when it followed the contracted form of nã. E.g.

ya nã pa ri mra	(,panmari...)	MF22.9

9.4 THE FREE EMPHASISING PARTICLE, mÃr

The particle mÃr is unique among the particles in that it is not confined to functioning as a constituent of a particular type of phrase or piece, but may be attached to any. Hence, it has not been described thus far, and is termed a 'free' particle.

The particle mÃr has been found following every piece in the clause, except the Adverb Piece, and also the Interjectory Clause-Type. It can also occur in the Transitive Verbal Piece, between the object and the verb.

It functions as a retrogressively emphatic particle, so that the last major word in the preceding phrase or piece occurs as the peak, often in the high trend, of a tune-unit D. When mãr follows the Predicate Particle Piece, the Piece occurs in the reduplicated form, described above (see ex 7.43). When it follows a Nominal Phrase-Type B (i.e. one with a final indirect particle) it is the indirect particle that is emphasised.

In the examples, the piece or phrase that mãr is following will be labelled and underlined with a broken line; mãr itself will be underlined with a solid line. E.g.

" tã mãr ka arĩ ičpumu "
CP

" tãmãlga... 8.11

'Nevertheless, you will continue to see me'

" nʌ, pa mẽpa ža mãr mẽʔpãñ-ʔã omõ "

..hameɔ"pajamãr 7.43

'We indeed will take him away instead of them'

" nʌ, pu mẽ mã kẽnkrã ʔprek-ti vər mãr omõ."
IP

6.AA3-4

...,kẽngrãʔ,pre:di"ʊvlmãrɔ'mõ

'No, let us take him away to the mountain'

AN ANALYSIS OF TEXT 6

The following pages present an anlysis of text no.6, in two sections. The first of these, covering the first 17 sentences, is presented with a full phonological and grammatical analysis; the second, covering the remaining 55 sentences, with an outline grammatical analysis only.

In the first section, the analysis of the text is presented sentence by sentence, as the sentence is the largest unit set up for which there is a congruence of phonology and grammar. Each sentence will be presented in four distinct ways. First, in the reading transcription; second, in a free translation; third, in the phonological analysis; and fourth, in the grammatical analysis. Each of these is described below.

The reading transcription is that used throughout the thesis thus far, apart from the following two differences: (a) each clause will be numbered consecutively throughout the sentence, the number being written as a subscript at the beginning of the clause; (b) each pause-group (see below for this) will be marked by an oblique line and labelled with a series of consecutive superscripts, a, b, c, etc, within each sentence. It is hoped that the reading transcription, thus numbered and labelled, will provide a convenient means of cross-relating the phonological and grammatical analyses.

The unit for the presentation of the phonological analysis will be the 'pause-group'[1], i.e. the stretch of speech between successive pauses. A phonetic transcription of each pause-group will be given (not enclosed in brackets, however); above this a transcript of the pitch pattern will be given, enclosed between lines, as has already been done; above this again will be the phonological analysis of the pitch pattern; and finally, beneath the phonetic transcript, there will be a phonological analysis presented in three levels. The first will give the analysis in terms of the phonematic units and prosodic features; the second in terms of the syllable units; and the third in terms of the word type.

The unit for the presentation of the grammatical analysis (other than the sentence, of course) is the clause. Each clause is given in the reading transcription, beneath which there is a line separating it from the analysis. The analysis is presented in a series of levels, corresponding to those already described, viz, morpheme, word-class, phrase-type, piece, and clause-type. The phrase-type level, however, is more complex than the others as several layers of phrase analysis

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1. For a theoretical discussion of the pause-group, see Part II, §§9.4, pp.61-62, of 'Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior', by K.L.Pike, SIL, 1955.

may occur (e.g. in the complex phrase-types), so that it is sometimes necessary to devote several lines to phrase-level analysis. Where this is done, such lines will be grouped together by a curly bracket at the left hand end. Finally, beneath the clause-level analysis, a word by word literal translation will be given.[1]

The sentences will be labelled with capital letters, A, B, C, etc, and the clause numbers and the pause-group letters will be written immediately after the sentence letter. Thus, the second clause in the first sentence is labelled A2, and the second pause-group in the first sentence is labelled Ab. When the analysis of the sentence has been completed, a double line will be drawn across the page.

In the second section, a grammatical analysis only is given, at the word-class, piece, and clause levels, with a literal translation. The free translation is given at the foot of the page.

To facilitate readier understanding of the text analysis, the following list of the grammatical abbreviations used is provided. In general, symbols indicating cross- and sub-classification will consist of small letters, the former preceding the main symbols, the latter following them. With the list of abbreviations is given a reference to the main paragraph dealing with that particular grammatical category.

A	Adverb (major)	8.511
AP	Adverb Piece	4.42(c)
AP2	Adverb Piece 2	4.311(b)
APt	Adverb (particle)	8.512
c	command clause-type	4.315
c	compound	
Cj	Conjunction (major)	8.42
CjPt	Conjunction (particle)	8.41
CP	Connective Piece	4.42(b)
EAP	Emphatic Adverb Piece	4.311(c)
EIP	Emphatic Indirect Piece	4.311(c)
em	emphatic form	
EOP	Emphatic Object Piece	4.411(b)
EPn	Emphatic Pronoun	9.312.2

1. Prefixes, however, as before, will also be translated, because of their significance for the grammar.

EPPP	Emphatic Predicate Particle Piece	9.312
f	favourite order of clause-type	4.31
FEPt	Free Emphasising Particle	9.4
i	intransitive form of VPT	7.211.1
ICT	Indirect Clause-Type	4.313
Inj	Interjection	8.3
InjCT	Interjectory Clause-Type	4.321
Int	Interrogative	8.2
IP	Indirect Piece	4.411(a)
IPt	Indirect Particle	9.2
M	Modifier (major)	6.322
Ml	Modal (major)	8.611
MlPt	Modal (particle)	8.612
Mmr	Modifier (minor)	6.321
N	Noun (major)	6.312
NCT	Nominal Clause-Type	4.312
nf	non-favourite order of clause-type	4.311(b)
Nmr	Noun (minor)	6.311
NP	Nominal Piece	4.411
NPt	Nominal Particle	6.211.1
NPT	Nominal Phrase-Type	6.212
Ns	Nominal suffix	6.4
nx	non-extended form of VPT and VCT	7.211.1
Pn	Pronoun	9.311.1
PrCT	Predicate Particle Clause-Type	4.314
PPP	Predicate Particle Piece	9.31, 4.42(a)
PPt	Predicate Particle	9.3
pr	prefix	
q	question form of clause-type	4.315
QP	Question Piece	4.315
QPt	Quantitative Particle	6.211.2
s	strong form	5.3

SP	Subject Piece	4.411(c)
SPt	Subject Particle	9.311.21
t	transitive form of VPT	7.211.1
TPt	Terminal Particle	6.211.3
V	Verb	7.3
VCT	Verbal Clause-Type	4.311
VocCT	Vocative Clause-Type	4.322
VP	Verbal Piece	4.412
VPT	Verbal Phrase-Type	7.2
w	weak form	5.3
x	extended form of VCT and VPT	4.31, 7.211.2
(...)	included clause	4.316

.....

SENTENCE A - Reading transcription

A $\overset{a}{1}$ ə, $_{2}$ ʌmri-fʉ̃m Vafʉ̃mɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ /^{b} mɛ̃ičkʌ̃m x̃ katɔ.

Free translation

Now, it was in the following way that Vafʉ̃mɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ was born among us.

Phonological analysis

pr mL$^{\not\#}$

Aa ˌʏʌm'bri'pʉ̃m'ʊa^{i}n'mɛ̃ap'prʌ̃n'lɛ:?

/wyɛ̀ $\overset{2}{+}$ /wya $\overset{2}{+}$ /y^{r}mí $\overset{2}{+}$ nwy^{y}Nímˌ $\overset{2}{+}$ n^{w}í.n^{y} $\overset{2}{+}$ nyMí. $\overset{2}{+}$ /yka $\overset{2}{+}$

S U - S - S S - S - U -

sWl cWht cWhm(s)

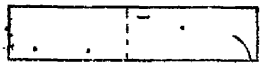
/over....

nwy^{r}pʌ́n $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣy^{r}Jʌ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ o

S - S

...cW̃hm(s)

pr hD^{f}



Ʌb mɛ̃ʈkʌ̃m"X̃gat'to

nymat^{y} $\overset{H}{+}$ nwyKʌ̃m $\overset{Z}{+}$ nwyʌ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣyka $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣwIʌ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ O

U - S S U - S

sW̃1(p) sW̃1 sW̃2

Grammatical analysis

Ʌ1	ɵ
	Inj
	Inj(r)
	-
	-
	InjCT
	yes

(The notes given at the foot of the pages are not footnotes proper, but general notes. If the reference isn't obvious, it will be given in the notes.)

1. In the phonological analysis, W̃ stands for word; the small letters s, r, and c for simple, repetitive, and compound words respectively; the numbers following sW̃ for the number of syllables; the letters o and c following rW̃ for open and closed respectively; and the letters hm and ht following cW̃ for homogeneous and heterogeneous respectively. ʌ (p) after any of the above symbols indicates that the word is a prefixed one, and an (s) that it is suffixed.

2. The interjection ɵ (Ʌ1) is a responsive one except in this one context, where the sequence ɵ, ʌmri-ñũm marks the beginning of a story.

3. Minor clause-types, and non-phrasal pieces, will have a dash at the phrase and piece levels in the former case, and at the phrase in the latter case.

A2	Amri-ñũm	Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ	mɛ̃ičkÃm	Ã	katɔ
	Cj-CjPt	N- -N- -Ns	pr9-IPt	A	pr3-V
	cCj	cN:2b	IPt: 2b	A	V:1.1b/Br
	-	NrT-1a	NrT-B		nxiVPT-1
	CP	SP	IP	AP2	VP
		nxVCTnf			
	now	Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ	us-within	thus	he-born

SENTENCE B - Reading transcription

B $^{a}_{1}$ mɛ̃ičkÃm Ã katɔ, $_{2}$ nɛ̃ /^{b} kɔr-mÃ ʔaro ri.

Free translation

While he was still unborn,

---

1. Morphemes occurring bound in a particular word will be marked with a hyphen on the bound side, and the whole word will be underlined before proceding to the next level.

2. The prefixes will be identified by numbers, according to the listing given in 5.2.

3. The name of the subject of this story is handled as a compound, as it is always given in this form. It is interesting to note, however, that Vañmɛ̃ is currently in use as a name among the Apinayés, and that kaprÃn means 'tortoise' or 'turtle'.

4. It is characteristic Apinayé style to repeat part of a final clause (occasionally, clauses) as the initial clause in the next sentence, but no attempt is made to reproduce this in the free English translation, as this is not normal English style.

Phonological analysis

pr hD

Ba mɛ̃tɨkʌ̃m"ʌ̃ɣat'to:nɛ̃

nymat^{y} $\overset{H}{+}$ nwyKʌm $\overset{Z}{+}$ nwyʌ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣyka $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣwTʌ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ nyNʌ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ o

U - S S U - S S

sW1(p) sW1 sW2 sW1

pr hD^{f}

Bb ˌkɔlmʌ̃?a"ro:'ri

ɣwKʌ̀r $\overset{Z}{+}$ nwyMʌ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣy$^{?}$a $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣw^{r}Jɛ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣy^{r}Jɪ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ O

S - S U - S S

cWht sW2 sW1

Grammatical analysis

B1 as latter half of A2 (see previous page)

B2

nɛ̃	kɔr-mʌ̃	?aro	ri
CjɪPt	?-IɪPt	N^{S}	IɪPt
CjɪPt	cʌ	N:1/L	IɪPt:2a
-	-	NɪT-1a	
-	-	NɪT-B	
CP	ʌP	IP	
	nxICTf		
and	still	womb	in

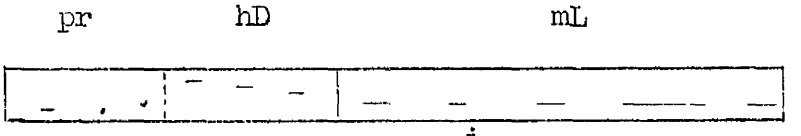
SENTENCE C - Reading transcription

C $_{1}^{a}$ kɔr-mʌ̃ ?aro ri, $_{2}$ ñʉ̃m nʌ̃ ža ŋɔč mʌ̃ ɔpa..., $_{3}$ nɛ̃ /^{b} ŋɔč kʌ̃m ?ɔ ?krɪ̃, $_{4}$ ñʉ̃m kɛp tɛp, $_{5}$ nɛ̃ ?apoi, $_{6}$ ñʉ̃m mra.

Free translation

his mother used to carry him to the river, and sit down with him in the water. He would turn into a fish, emerge, and swim about.

Phonological analysis



Ca ˌkɔlmʌ̃ʔa"ro'ri'ɲũm'nʌ̃iŋ'go^{i}ɲ'mʌ̃ɔp'pa::::'nɛ̃:

ɣwKl̀r Z + nwyMĺ ƨ + ɣyʔa ƨ + ɣw^{r}Jɛ̃ ƨ + ɣy^{r}Jɪ́ ƨ + nw^{y}Nɪ́m Zn + nwyNʌ́ ƨ +

S - S U - S S S S

cWht sW2 sW1 sW1 sW1

ɣ^{y}Jʌ́ ƨ - ɣwNɛ́t^{y} Zn - nwyMʌ́ ƨ - ɣwʌ́ ƨ - ɣrʌ́ ƨ - nyNʌ́ ƨ - o

S S S S - S S

sW1 sW1 sW1 cWht sW1

Cb ŋˌgo^{i}ʈkʌ̃ʷmʔɔʔ'krʌ̃ɲũm'kep'tɐmnɛ̃ʔap'poiɲũm'bra

ɣwNɛ̀t^{y} H + nwɣKʌ́m X + ɣwʔʌ́ ? + ny^{r}Kɪ́ ƨ + nw^{y}NIm X + ɣyKɛ́p H + ɣyTʌ́p Zn +

S S S S S S S

sW1 sW1 sW1 sW1 sW1 sW1 sW1

nyNʌ́ ƨ + ɣyʔa ƨ + ɣwɾɛ́e^{y} Ze + nw^{y}NIm Zv + ɣ^{r}Mʌ́ ƨ + o

S U - S S S

sW1 sW2 sW1 sW1

Grammatical analysis

C1 as B2, apart from the Cjʌ̃t (see previous page)

C2

ñữm	nÃ	ža	ŋoč	mÃ	ɔpa...
CjPt	N	NPt	N	IPt	IPt-V
CjPt	N:1/(?)	NPt	N:2b	IPt:1	cV:2/B?
{ ·			NPT-1a		
{ —	NPT-1a		NPT-B		nxtVPT-1
CP	SP		IP		VP
			nxVCTf		

and mother - water to him-carry (intens)

C3

nɛ̃	ŋoč	kÃm	?ɔ	?krĩ
CjPt	N	IPt	IPt	pr3-V
CjPt	N:2b	IPt:2b	IPt:1	V:1.1a/B?
{	NPT-1a			
{ -	NPT-B	NPT-B app		nxiVPT-1
CP		IP		VP
		nxVCTf		

and water within him-with she-sit (intens)

C4

ñữm	kɛp	tɛp
CjPt	IPt	N
CjPt	IPt:1	N:2b/B
-	NPT-B	NPT-1a
CP	IP	NP
	NCTf	

and him-from fish

C5

nɛ̃	?apoi
CjPt	pr3-V^{s}
CjPt	V:1.1/Bč
-	nxiVPT-1
CP	VP
	nxVCTf

and he-go out (intens)

C6

ñữm	mra
CjPt	V
CjPt	V:1.2d/Br
-	nxiVPT-1
CP	VP
	nxVCTf

and go (intens)

Note. The ñữm of C6 should be nɛ̃ rather than ñữm, since the subject of the clause is the same as the previous one, nviz, Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ. (For the use of nɛ̃ and ñữm, see 8.411.) FS changed it to nɛ̃, and in the parallel account in text 7, a nɛ̃ is used. Cf. also D3 below, which can be regarded as an expansion of this clause.

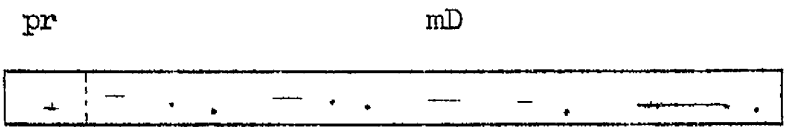
SENTENCE D - Reading transcription

D $\overset{a}{1}$ kep tɛp, $_2$ nɛ̃ ʔapoi, $_3$ nɛ̃ ri amɲĩkatiʔ ʔɔ mra...., $_4$ nɛ̃ /^{b} akupɛ̃-m mra, $_5$ nɛ̃ /^{c} nɅ̃ ža /^{d} mɅ̃ aŋže, $_6$ ɲũm /^{e} ʔɔ api, $_7$ nɛ̃ mã ɔpa.

Free translation

When he had played, he would enter his mother, who then carried him up the bank, and took him away.

Phonological analysis



Da ˌkep'tɛmnɛ̃ʔap'poinɛ̃rim'ɲĩat'tiʔɔm'bra::::nɛ̃ʔ

| | | |

mD...

Db aup'pɐ̃m'bran?

ɣya ² + ɣwki ² + nwyPÍm Zv + ɣrMÁ ² + nyN(ʌ) ? + o

U - U - S S S

cWht sWl sWl

Dc 'nɐ̃ja?

nwyNÁ ² + ɣyJA ? + o

S S

sWl sWl

mD

Dd ˌmɐ̃aŋ'gjeɲɐ̃m?

nwyMÀ ² + ɣya ² + ɣyŋÉ ² + nwŋNIm ? + o

S U - S S

sWl sW2 sWl

pr mD[f]

De ˌʔɔapˌpin'mɐ̃ɔp'pa

ɣwʔÀ ² + ɣya ² + ɣyPÌ ² + nyN(ʌ) Zn + nMÁ ² + ɣwA ² + ɣPÁ ² + o

S U - S S S S - S

sWl sW2 sWl sWl cWht

---

1. When the particle conjunction nɐ̃ occurs as (n) at the phonetic level (see, for instance, Db and De above), in the phonological analysis it will be represented as nyN(ʌ), as the juncture is now a Jc type juncture rather than a Jv one. The (n), however, still functions as being part of a particle, as the juncture with pause in Db shows.

2. In Dd, the sequence (gje) is that given by Estevam Laranja; Francisco Sutero gave it as (gze).

3. When the pause-group is short, the phonological analysis will be written beside the phonetic transcript, not beneath it.

Grammatical analysis

D1 as C4 without the CjPt (see p. 225)

D2 as C5 (see p. 225)

D3

nɛ̃	ri	amfíkati?	?ɔ	mra...
CjPt	A	N- -V	IPt	V
CjPt	A	cV:1.3/B?	IPt:1	V:1.2d/Br
		xiVPT-1		
-	-	NPT-B		nxiVPT-1
		nxVCTf		
and	contin.	playing	with	go (intens)

D4

nɛ̃	akupɛ̃-m	mra
CjPt	?-IPt	V
CjPt	cA	V:1.2d/Br
-	-	nxiVPT-1
CP	AP	VP
	nxVCTf	
and	there again-to	go (intens)

D5

nɛ̃	nʌ̃	ža	mʌ̃	aŋže
CjPt	N	NPt	IPt	V
CjPt	N:1/(?)	NPt	IPt:1	V:1.3/Bč
	NPT-1a			
-	NPT-B			nxiVPT-1
CP	IP			VP
	nxVCTf			
and	mother	-	to	enter (intens)

1. Sentence D has started with the repetition of the antepenultimate and penultimate clauses of sentence C, and has expanded on the final clause, using the same verb, mra.

D6	ñũm	ʔɔ	api
	CjPt	IPt	V
	CjPt	IPt:1	V:1.2d/Br
	-	NPT-B	nxiVPT-1
	CP	IP	VP
		nxVCTf	
	and	him-with	climb

D7	nɛ̃	mã	ɔpa	
	CjPt	A	IPt-V	
	CjPt	A	V:2/B?	
	-	-	nxtVPT-1	
	CP	AP	VP	
		nxVCTf		
	and	away	him-carry	(intens)

SENTENCE E - Reading transcription

E $^{a}_{1}$ ʔɔpa, $_{2}$ tÃmtÃ.... ñũm prɛ /^{b} katɔ.

Free translation

This she went on doing, until he was born.

Phonological analysis

pr mL^{f}...

Ea ʔɔp,padÃm'tÃ:::ɲũmbrɛʔ

ɲw^{ʔ}A $\overset{2}{+}$ ɲPA $\overset{2}{+}$ nwyTAm $\overset{X}{+}$ nwyTÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ nw^{y}NIm $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɲy^{r}PA $\overset{ʔ}{+}$ o

S - S S - S S S

cWht cWhm sWl sWl

Eb kat'tɔ ɲyka $\overset{2}{+}$ ɲwTÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ 0

U - S

sW2

Grammatical analysis

E1 as final word in D7 (see previous page: ʔɔpa is a rarer form of ɔpa).

E2

tÃmtÃ...	ñũm	prɛ	katɔ
?-Cj	CjPt	PPt	pr3-V
cCj	CjPt	PPt	V:1.1b/Br
-	-	-	nxiVBT-1
CP		PPP(b)	VP
		nxVCTf	
until		and complet.	he-born

SENTENCE F - Reading transcription

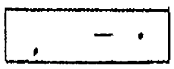
F $^{a}_{1}$ katɔ, $_{2}$ nɛ̃ ĩ $/^{b}$ ʔÃaʔtũm~rɛ, $_{3}$ ñũm $/^{c}$ mɛ̃ kÃm: $_{4}$" pu mɛ̃ mɔ̃, $_{5}$ nɛ̃ žʌt ʔɔ̃kapa"; $/^{d}_{6}$ nɛ̃ žʌt ver mɔ̃, $_{7}$ nɛ̃ $/^{e}$ ñũm nÃ ža kuci; $/^{f}_{8}$ VañmɛkaprÃn~rɛ či.

Free translation

Some time later, they (the women) said to her (his mother), "Let's go and pull the potatoes up!" So they set off for the potato-plot, where she put VañmɛkaprÃn~rɛ down on the ground.

Phonological analysis

mL



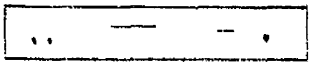
Fa kat'tɔnĩʔ

ɣyka $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣwĨ $\overset{2}{+}$ nyN(A) $\overset{Z}{+}$ nyI $\overset{?}{+}$ o

U - S S S

sW2 sW1 sW1

mD



Fb ʔÃaʔ'tũ::m'rɛɲũmʔ nwy^{ʔ}Á $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣya $\overset{?}{+}$ nwTÍm $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣy^{r}JÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ nw^{y}NIm $\overset{?}{+}$ o

S - U - S - S S

cWht(s)

pr mL^{ɸ}

Fc mɛ̃k,kÃm'pumɛ̃'mõn'ʒʌdõgap'pa::

nyma $\overset{2}{+}$ nwyKÌm $\overset{X}{+}$ ɣwPÍ $\overset{2}{+}$ nyMÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ nwMÍ $\overset{2}{+}$ nyN(Á) $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣwy^{y}JÁt $\overset{Z}{+}$

U - S S S S S S

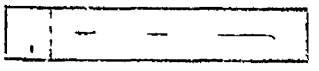
sWl(p) sWl sWl sWl sWl sWl

nw^{ʔ}Á $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣyka $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣPÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ o

S - U - S

cWhm

mL

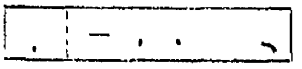


Fd nɛ̃'ʒʌd'ʊɤl'mõ::nʔ nyNÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣwy^{y}JÁt $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣwy^{w}Ér $\overset{Z}{+}$ nwMÍ $\overset{2}{+}$ nyN(Á) $\overset{?}{+}$ o

S S S S S

sWl sWl sWl sWl sWl

pr mD^{ɸ}

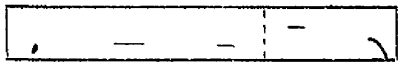


Fe ɲũm'nÃjagut'tçi: nw^{y}NIm $\overset{Zn}{+}$ nwyNÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣ^{y}JÁ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣwki $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣy^{y}TÍ $\overset{2}{+}$ o

S S S U - S

sWl sWl sWl sW2

pr mD^{f}



Ff ʋa^{i}ɲ,mɛ̃ap,prʌ̃n'lɛt'tɕi

ɲ^{w}ʌn^{y} Zn + nyMʌ̀ ^{2}+ ɲyka ^{2}+ nwy^{r}Pʌ̀n Z + ɲy^{r}Jʌ́ Y/^{2}+ ɲyTʌ́ ^{2}+ 0

S - S - U - S - S - S

cWhm(s) sWl

Grammatical analysis

F1 see final word in E2 (p.230)

F2

nɛ̃	ʃ	ʔʌ̃a?tũm~rɛ
CjPt	ʌ	IPt-M- -Ns
CjPt	ʌ	cM:1
-	-	NPT-1b
CP	ʌP	NP
	NCTf	
and	when	he-passing some time

F3

ñũm	mɛ̃	kʌ̃m
CjPt	QPt	IPt
CjPt	QPt	IPt:1
-	-	NPT-B
CP	PPP	IP
	nxICTf	
and	plural	her-to

F4

pu	mɛ̃	mɔ̃
PPt	QPt	V
Pn	QPt	V:1.2d/Br
		nxiVPT-1
PPP(a)		VP
	nxVCTf	
we(exc)	pl.	go

F5

nɛ̃	žʌt	ʔɔ̃kapa
CjPt	N	M- -V
CjPt	N:2b	cV:2/Cr
{ -	NPT-1a nxtVPT-1	
CP	VP	
	nxVCTf	
and	potato	one-pull up

F6

nɛ̃	žʌt	vɐr	mɔ̃
CjPt	N	IPt	V
CjPt	N:2b	IPt:2c	V:1.2d/Br
{ -	NPT-1a NPT-B		nxiVPT-1
CP	IP		VP
	nxVCTf		
and	potato	towards	go

F7

nɛ̃	ñũm	nʌ̃	ža	kuči
CjPt	CjPt	N	NPt	pr3-V
CjPt	CjPt	N:1/(?)	NPt	V:2b/Br
-	-	NPT-1a		nxtVPT-1
CP		SP		VP
		nxVCTf		
and		mother	-	him-put down

F8

Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ			čі
N-	-N-	-Ns	V^W
	cN:2b		V:2b/Br
{	NPT-1a		
	nxtVPT-1		
	VP		
	nxVCTf		
Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ	put down		

SENTENCE G - Reading transcription

G $\overset{a}{1}$ ʌmri-nɛ̃ /^{b} ʌkvəñ ʔɔ mɔ̃.

Free translation

Now, while she was pulling the potatoes up,

Phonological analysis

mL^{f}...

Ga ʌm'brinɛ̃ʔ ɣwya $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣy^{r}Mĺ $\overset{2}{+}$ nyNʌ $\overset{?}{+}$ o

U - S S

sW2 sW1

...mL^{f}

Gb ʌk'kʊɤɲɔm'mɔ̃ ɣwya $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣwy^{w}Kɛ́n^{y} $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣw^{ʔ}ʌ $\overset{2}{+}$ nwMʌ́ $\overset{2}{+}$ O

U - S S S

sW2 sW1 sW1

Grammatical analysis

Gl	ʌmri-nɛ̃	ʌkvəñ	ʔɔ	mɔ̃
	Cj-CjPt	pr3-V^{S}	IPt	V
	cCj	V:1.2b/Bñ	IPt:1	V:1.2d/Br
		xiVPT-1		
	-	NPT-B		nxiVPT-1
	CP	IP		VP
		nxVCTf		
	now	she-pulling up with		go

1. The ʌmri-nɛ̃ in Gl is the first 'ʌmri-' conjunction since the one which occurred in the initial sequence e, ʌmri-ñũm. It probably introduces the detail of the second incident in the life of Vañmɛ̃-kaprʌ̃n~rɛ, sentence F having given the background.

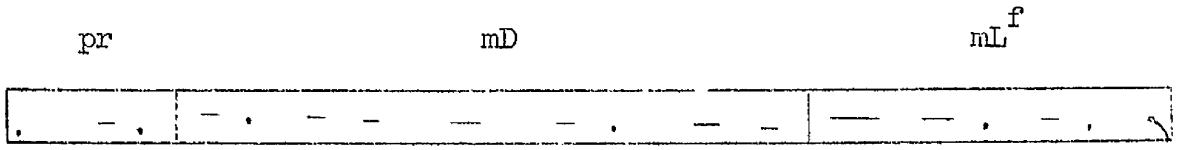
SENTENCE H - Reading transcription

H [a]1 ʌkvəñ ʔɔ mɔ̃, 2 ñũm ra Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ ʔkrʌ̃ žarĩ, 3 nɛ̃ ri...
nʌ̃ ža pumuñ ʔɔ nɔ̃.

Free translation

Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ raised his head, and lay there looking at her.

Phonological analysis



Ha ʌk,kʷʏɲɔm'mɔ̃nũm'ra'vai̯n'mɛ̃ap'prʌ̃nlɛʔ'krʌ̃i'rĩn'li::'nʌ̃ibum'buɲɔn'nɔ̃

ɣwya 2 + ɣwy^{w}Kɛ̀n^{y} Z + ɣw^{ʔ}ʌ 2 + nwMʌ 2 + nw^{y}NIm Z + ɣ^{r}Jʌ 2 + ɣ^{W}ʌn^{y} Zn + nyMʌ 2 +
U - S S S S S S - S. -
sW2 sW1 sW1 sW1 sW1 cWhm(s)..

ɣyka 2 + nwy^{r}Pʌn Z + ɣy^{r}Jʌ ? + nwy^{r}Kʌ Y/2 + ɣyja 2 + ny^{r}Jɪ 2 + nyN(ʌ) Z +
U - S - S S U - S S
...cWhm(s) sW1 sW2 sW1

ɣy^{r}Jɪ 2 + nwyNʌ 2 + ɣ^{y}Jʌ Y/2 + ɣwpi 2 + ɣwMɪn^{y} Z + ɣw^{ʔ}ʌ 2 + nwNʌ 2 + 0
S S S U - S S S
sW1 sW1 sW1 sW2 sW1 sW1

Grammatical analysis

H1 as G1 (see previous page) apart from the compound conjunction ʌmri-nɛ̃.

H2	ñữm	ra	Vaữmɛ̃kaprɑ̃n~rɛ	ʔkrʌ́	žarɪ̃
	CjP̃t	A	N- -N- -Ns	N	V^W
	CjPt	A	cN:2b	N:1a/A/F	V:2/B?
				NPT-1a	
	-	-	NPT-1a	nxtVBT-1	
	CP	MP	SP	VP	
			nxVCTem		
	and	already	Vaữmɛ̃kaprɑ̃n~rɛ	head	raise

H3	nɛ̃	ri...	nʌ̃	ža	pumuñ	ʔɔ	nɔ̃
	CjPt	A	N	NPt	V^W	IPt	V
	CjPt	A	N:1/(?)	NPt	V:2/Bñ	IPt:1	V:1.2d/Br
			NPT-1a				
			xtVPT-1				
	-	-	NPT-B				nxiVPT-1
	CP	MP	IP				VP
			nxVCTf				
	and	contin.	mother	-	looking at	with	lie

SENTENCE I - Reading transcription

I $^{a}_{1}$ ñữm /^{b} mɛ̃ʔɔ̃ ža ɔmu, $_{2}$ nɛ̃ kʌ̃m: /$^{c}_{3}$ " čɛ... ɔri, $_{4}$ Vaữmɛ̃kaprɑ̃n~rɛ ta /^{d} kʌ̌č~mʌ̃ ñɛ̃, $_{5}$ nɛ̃ ra mɛ̃pa?pumuñ ʔɔ ñɛ̃.

Free translation

Someone saw him, and said to her, " Look! Vaữmɛ̃kaprɑ̃n~rɛ is already sitting up, and looking at us! "

Phonological analysis

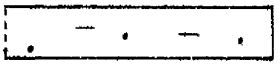
pr

Ia ˌpʊ̃m? nw^{y}Nɪ̀m ? o

S

sW1

mD



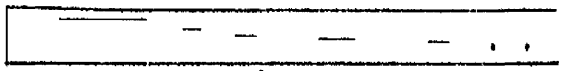
Ib mɛ̃'ʔɔ̃jɔm'bungʌ̃m

nyma ² nwʔʌ́ ² p^{y}Jʌ ² pwa ² pwMɪ́ ² nyN(ʌ) Z nwyKʌm ² o

U - S S U - S S S

sW1(p) sW1 sW2 sW1 sW1

hD...



Ic "tɕe:::ɔ'ri'ʊa^{i}ɲ'mɛ̃ap'prʌ̃nlɛra?

py^{y}Tɛ̋ ² pwa ² py^{r}Jɪ́ ² p^{w}ʌ́n^{y} Zn nyMʌ́ ² pyka ² nwy^{r}ɹʌ́n Z

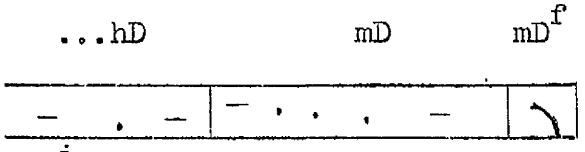
S U - S S - S - U - S -

sW1 sW2 cWhm(s)...

py^{r}Jʌ ² pTʌ ? o

S S

sW1



Id ˌkʌ^{i}ɲmɤ̃ˌɲɯ̃n'lamɛ̃ʊaʔpum'buɲɔn'ɲɯ̃:

ɤ́wKɺ̀t^{y} Zn + nwyMɺ̄ 2 + nwy^{y}Nɺ̀ 2 + nyN(ɺ) Z + ɤ́^{r}Jɺ́ 2 + nyma 2 + ɤ́ypa Y/ʔ
S - S S S S U - U -
cWht sW1 sW1 sW1 sW2(p)...

ɤ́wpi 2 + ɤ́wMɺ́n^{y} Z + ɤ́w^{ʔ}ɺ 2 + nwy^{y}Nɺ́ 2 + O
U - S S S
..sW2(p) sW1 sW1

Grammatical analysis

I1	ñɯ̃m	mɛ̃ʔõ	ǰa	ɔmu
	CjP̣t	prl1-N	N̤t	p̀r3-V^{s}
	CjP̣t	N:2b/(?)	NPt	V:2/Bñ
	-	NPT-1a		nxtVPT-1
	CP	SP		VP
		nxVCTf		
	and	someone	-	him-see

I2	nɛ̃	kɑ̃m
	CjPt	IPt
	CjPt	IPt:1
	-	NPT-B
	CP	IP
	nxICTf	
	and	her-to

I3	če...	ɔri
	Inj	Inj
	Inj(i)	Inj(i)
	-	-
	-	-
	InjCT	
	look!	look!

I4	Vaĩmɛ̃kaprãn~rɛ	ta	kʌč-mĭ	ñɛ̃
	N- -N- -Ns	NPt	?-IPt	V
	cN:2b	NPt	c/.	V:1.2d/Br
	NPT-1a		-	nxiVPT-1
	SP		/.P	VP
		nxVCTf		
	Vaĩmɛ̃kaprãn~rɛ	-	up	sit

I5	nɛ̃	ra	mɛ̃pa?pumuĩ	?o	ñɛ̃
	CjPt	/.	pr8- -V^{W}	IPt	V
	CjPt	/.	V:2/Bñ	IPt:1	V:1.2d/Br
	{		xtVPT-1		
	-	-	NPT-B		nxiVPT-1
	CP	/.P	IP		VP
			nxVCTf		
	and	already	us(exc)-looking at	with	sit

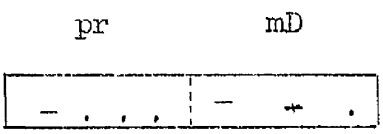
SENTENCE J - Reading transcription

J $_{1}^{a}$ nɛ̃ ñũm akupɛ̃-m tɛ̃m, $_{2}$ nɛ̃/^{b} ʌčoñ ?o nõ

Free translation

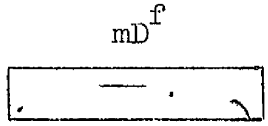
But he fell down again, and lay kicking his legs in the air.

Phonological analysis



Ja ˌnɛ̃ɲũmagup'pũm'tɛ̃mnɛ̃?

nyǸ	² +	nw^{y}NIm	Z +	ɣya	² +	ɣwki	² +	nwyPÍm	X +	nyTÁm	Zn +	nyNÁ	? +	o					
S		S		U	-	U	-	S		S		S							
sẀl		sẀl				cẀht				sẀl		sẀl							



Jb ʌt'tɕo::ɲɔn'nɔ̃

ɣwya	² +	ɣw^{y}TÉn^{y}	Z +	ɣw$^{?}$Á	² +	nwNÍ	² +	O											
U	-	S		S		S													
		sẀ2		sẀl		sẀl													

Grammatical analysis

J1

nɛ̃	ñũm	akupɛ̃-m	tɛ̃m
CjPt	CjPt	?-IPt	V
CjPt	CjPt	cÁ	V:1.2d/Á
-		-	nxiVPT-1
CP		AP	VP
		nxVCTf	
and	and	there again-to	fall

J2

nɛ̃	ʌc̆oñ	?ɔ	nɔ̃
CjPt	pr3-V^{S}	IPt	V
CjPt	V:1.2a/Bñ	IPt:1	V:1.2d/Br
	xiVPT-1		
-	NPT-B		nxiVPT-1
CP	IP		VP
	nxVCTf		
and	kicking	with	lie

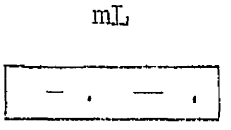
SENTENCE K - Reading transcription

K $\overset{a}{1}$ ñũm mɛ̃ʔɔ̃ ža kʌ̃m:/$\overset{b}{2}$ " ñʌ vɛʔɛ /^{c} kɔt ʔɔ mɛ̃paʔpɨ̇rʌkʔ"

Free translation

Then someone said to her, " Is he going to be like us?"

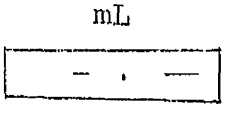
Phonological analysis



Ka 'nũmɛ̃'ʔɔ̃igʌ̃m nw^{y}NÍm $\overset{Zn}{+}$ nyma $\overset{2}{+}$ nwʔ$\overset{2}{+}$ ɣ^{y}JʌÍ $\overset{2}{+}$ nwyKʌm $\overset{2}{+}$ o

S U - S S S

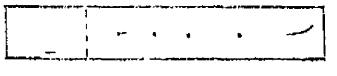
sW1 sW1(p) sW1 sW1



Kb n'dzʌʊɛ'ʔɛ:ʔ ɣwy^{y}NÍʌ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣy^{w}Íʌ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣyʔÍʌ $\overset{?}{+}$ o

S S - S

sW1 sWem



Kc ,kɔt'ʔɔmɛ̃ʊaʔpɯ'rʌ: ...

ɣwKʌt $\overset{H}{+}$ ɣwʔÍʌ $\overset{2}{+}$ nyma $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣypa $\overset{Y/ʔ}{+}$ ɣwɏpi $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣwy^{r}JʌÍk $\overset{Ze}{+}$

S S U - U - U - S

sW1 sW1 sW2(p)

---

1. The 'em' after the sW in Kb stands for 'emphatic', and both syllables are analysed as syllable type S, as there are no syllable units U with these structures.

2. The end of sentence K is a rare instance of sentence-final not being marked by pause - hence the dots after the phonetic transcript, and the Ze juncture with the first syllable of sentence L.

Grammatical analysis

K1	ñũm	mɛ̃ʔɔ̃	ǰa	kɐ̃m
	CjPt	prll-N	NPt	IPt
	CjPt	N:2b/(?)	NPt	IPt:1
	-	NPT-1a		NPT-3
	CP	SP		IP
		nxICTf		
	and	someone	-	her-to

K2	ñʌ	vɛʔɛ	kɔt	ʔɔ	mɛ̃paʔpɨrʌk
	Int	PPt	PPt	IPt	pr8- -V^W
	Int	PPt:em	Pn	IPt:1	V:2/4
	-	-	-	NPT-3	nxtVPT-1
	QP	EPPP	PPP(a)	IP	VP
			nxVCTem/q		
	ques.	incred-ulity?	he(fut)	it-with	us(exc)-resemble

SENTENCE 1 - Reading transcription

L $\overset{a}{1}$ " mã;/$\overset{b}{2}$ mɛ̃paʔpɐ̃m ǰe ʔɔ̃ nã katɔ, $_3$ nɛ̃ /^{c} ʌ̃ nã ʔtɛ amñĩñĩpeč ʔɔ anɛ̃. "

Free translation

" No. When one of our ancestors was born, he used to behave just like this. "

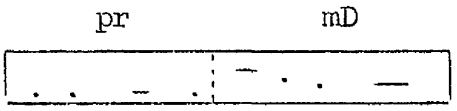
Phonological analysis

mL^r

La 'mã: $nM\acute{}_{+}^{2}$ o

S

sWl

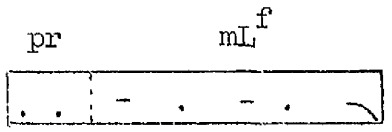


Lb mɛ̃ʋa?,pʌ̃mje'?ɔ̃nãgat'tɔ:n?

nyma ²₊ ɣypa ?₊ nwyPʌ̀m ᶻ₊ ɣy^{y}JE ²₊ nw?ʌ́ ²₊ nNʌ ²₊ ɣyka ²₊ ɣwTʌ́ ²₊ nyN(ʌ) ?₊ o

U – U – S S S S U – S S

sW1(p) sW1 sW1 sW1 sW2 sW1



Lc ʌ̃nã?'tɛmɲĩɲ'pejɔn'nɛ̃:

nwyʌ ²₊ nNʌ ?₊ ɣyTʌ́ ²₊ ɣyam ᶻⁿ₊ ny^{y}NI ʸ/₊² nyn(i) ˣ₊ ɣyPʌ́t^{y} ᶻ₊ ɣw?ʌ ²₊

S S S U – S – U – S S

sW1 sW1 sW1 cWhm sW1

ɣya ²₊ nyNʌ́ ²₊ O

U – S

sW2

Grammatical analysis

L1	mã	L2	mɛ̃pa?pʌ̃m	ʒ́e	?ɔ̃	nã	kato
	Inj		pr8--N	NPt	M^{S}	PPt	pr3-V
	Inj(r)		N:1/ʌ	NPt	M:1	PPt	V:1,1b/Br
	-	{	NPT-1a		NPT-1b		
	-	{	NPT-2			-	nxiVPT-1
	InjCT		SP			PPP(b)	VP
	no (woman speaking)		nxVCTf				
			our(exc)-father	-	one	non-fut.	he-born

1. Francisco Sutero regularly gave (dʒ) for the (j) of the text, as in Lc.
2. The initial syllable of the form anɛ̃ is frequently elided, as in Lc.

L3	nɛ̃	ʌ̃	nã	ʔtɛ	amñĩñĩpeč̌	ʔɔ	anɛ̃
	CjPt	A	PPt	PPt	N- -V	IPt	V
	CjPt	A	PPt	PPt	V:1.3/A	IPt:1	V:1.3/Cr
					xiVPT-1		
	-	-	- -		NPT-B		nxiVBT-1
	CP	EAP	PPP(b)		IP		VP
					nxVCTem		
	and	thus	non-fut.		emph. doing thus	with	do thus

SENTENCE M - Reading transcription

M [a]1 añɛ̃r kot, 2 ñũm mɛ̃ʔamačpɛ̃r təč, mɛ̃ɒmuñ təč žaža, kʌ̃m Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ žape nɛ̃.

Free translation

They continued talking like this, and those with insight, the ones with understanding, had pity on Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ.

Phonological analysis

	pr	mD	mD	mD
Ma	ˌɲũl'ko:ɲũmɛ̃ʔam'ba^{i}ʈ'pɛ̃l'tɤ:ɲmɛ̃ɔm'bu^{i}ɲ'tɤ:jagʌ̃mʋa^{i}ɲmɛ̃ap'prʌ̃nlɛjap			
	hD^{f}			
	"pe::nɛ̃			

1. Utterance-initial, the initial unstressed syllable of añɛ̃r tends to be omitted. Cf. footnote 2 on the previous page (añɛ̃r is the extended form of anɛ̃).

Ma(con) ɣya ²+ nwy^{y}Nìr X+ ɣwKÉt Zv+ nw^{y}NIm Zv+ nyma ²+ ɣy^{ʔ}a ²+ ɣMÍ.t^{y} H+

U - S S S U - U - S -

sW2 sW1 sW1 cWhm(p)...

nyPÍ.r X+ ɣwyTÉt^{y} Zn+ nyma ²+ ɣwa ²+ ɣwMÍn^{y} X+ ɣwyTÉt^{y} Zv+ ɣy^{y}ja ²+

S S U - U - S S U -

sW1 sW2(p) sW1 sW2...

ɣ^{N}J/. ²+ nwyKÍ.m Z+ ɣ^{N}Í.n^{y} Zn+ nyMÍ. ²+ ɣyka ²+ nwy^{r}PÁn Z+ ɣy^{r}J/. Y/²+ ɣyja ²+

S S S - S - U - S - S U -

sW1 sW1 cWhm(s) sW2...

ɣyPÉ̋ ²+ nyN/. ²+ 0

S S

sW1

Grammatical analysis

M1 afɛ̃r kot

V M

V:1.3/Cr M:1

xiVPT-1 NPT-1b

VPT-2

VP

nxVCTf

speak thus after

---

1. It seems best to interpret the junctures between kot and ñũm (see line 1 of the phonological analysis) and between teč and žaža (see line 2) as being Zv junctures, rather than Ze junctures, the length being regarded as a concomitant feature of the 'peak' stress rather than the phonetic exponent of a Ze juncture.

2. The initial syllable of the particle žaža has zero phonetic exponent in this utterance, perhaps because, at this speed of utterance, the phonetic exponent at slower speed, viz (i), has been 'fused' with the following (j).

M2 ñũm mɛ̃ʔamaǒpɛ̃r teǒ , mɛ̃omuñ teǒ žaža , kÃm ....

CjPt	prll-?-?	Mmr(?)	prll-V^{S}	Mmr(?)	NPt	IPt
CjPt	cN:1	Mmr(?)	N:1	Mmr(?)	NPt	IPt:1
{	NPT-1a	NPT-1b	NPT-1a	NPT-1b		
-	NPT-2		NPT-2			NPT-B
CP	SP (app)					IP

NCTf...

Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ		žape...		nɛ̃
N-	-N- -Ns	M^{W}		TPt
cN:2b		M:2b		TPt
{ NPT-1a	NPT-1b			
NPT-2				
NP				

. . .

and judging-one thinking under- thinking gen.pl. him-to standing-one

Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ pitying -

SENTENCE N - Reading transcription

N $^{a}_{1}$ kÃm ʔape nɛ̃, $/^{b}_{2}$ " mã, $_{3}$ mɛ̃paʔpÃm nã prɛ katɔ.

---

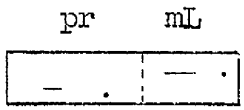
1. The classification of teǒ is uncertain. Its position here parallels that of a modifier, and it occurs with the prefixial paradigm. But it does not occur with the terminal particle under suitable conditions, and its juncture with a following glottal plosive is that of a particle. It has therefore been tentatively analysed as a minor modifier, and it is translated as 'thinking'.

2. It is uncertain whether to analyse the nɛ̃ in N1 as a Terminal Particle (only), as given in the analysis below, or as a particle conjunction (only), or as a 'fusion' of the two. If it is either of the two latter cases, then a further clause would have to be set up in N, which would be the special form of the Indirect Clause-Type which introduces direct speech, but which lacks the Indirect Piece. See 4.313, p.

Free translation

" No, " (they said), " it's an ancestor of ours who has been born.

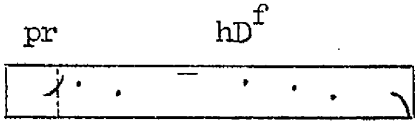
Phonological analysis



Na ,kÃm?ap'pe:nɛ̃ nwyKÀm X + ɣy ? a 2 + ɣyPÉ 2 + nyNÀ 2 + o

S U - S S

sW1 sW2 sW1



Nb 'mãmɛ̃va?'pÃmnãbrɛgat'tɔ

nMÁ 2 + nyma 2 + ɣypa ? + nwyPÁm Zn + nNÀ 2 + ɣy r PÀ 2 + ɣyka 2 + ɣwTÁ 2 + 0

S U - U - S S S U - S

sW1 sW1(p) sW1 sW1 sW2

Grammatical analysis

N1	kÃm	?apɛ	nɛ̃
	IPt	M S	TPt
	IPt:1	M:2b	TPt
	NPT-3	NPT-1b	
	IP	NP	
		NCTf	
	him-to	pitying	-

N2 as L1 (q.v., p.243)

N3	mɛ̃pa?pÃm	nã	prɛ	katɔ
	pr8- -N	PPt	PPt	pr3-V
	N:1/À	M t	P Pt	V:1.1b/Dr
	NPT-1a	-	-	nxiVPT-1
	SP	PPP(b)		VP
		nxVCTf		
	our(exc)-father	non-fut.	complet.	
			born	

1. The pitch pattern of Nb is analysed as having a double peak (on mã and pÃm) rather than two separate tune units D, as the only descending pitches are on unstressed syllables.

SENTENCE 0 - Reading transcription

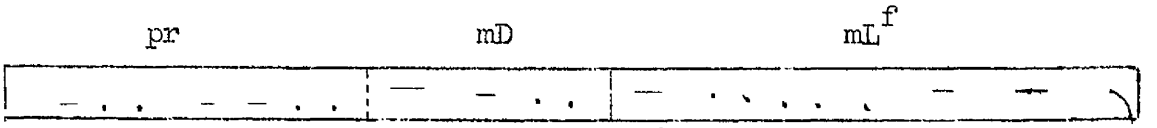
0 $\overset{a}{1}$ ñʌ kɔt apu mɛ̃pakamʌ̃ aptʌr, $_{2}$ nɛ̃ ri tañ-mʌ̃ mɛ̃pamʌ̃ amñĩtɔ,

$_{3}$ pu mɛ̃ ɔmu."

Free translation

It may be that he will grow up among us, and make all sorts of things for us, so that we can see them."

Phonological analysis



0a nɖʒʌgɔdap,pu,mɛ̃vagam'mʌ̃ap'tʌlnɛ̃rit'ta^{i}ɲmʌ̃mɛ̃vamʌ̃mɲĩt'tɔbu'mɛ̃ɔm'bu

ʎwy^{y}NI$_{\cdot}$ ²÷ ʎwKI$_{\cdot}$t ²÷ ʎyka ²÷ ʎwPI ²÷ nymà ²÷ ʎypa ²÷ ʎyka ²÷ nwyMI$_{\cdot}$ ²÷

S S U - S U - U - U - S

sW1 sW1 sW2 sW2(p)

ʎyap ²÷ ʎwyTI$_{\cdot}$r ²÷ nyNI$_{\cdot}$ ²÷ ʎy^{r}JI ²÷ ʎTI$_{\cdot}$n^{y} ²÷ nwyMI$_{\cdot}$ ²÷ nyma ²÷ ʎypa ²÷

U - S S S S - S U - U -

sW2 sW1 sW1 cWht sWi(p)...

nwyMI$_{\cdot}$ ²÷ ʎyam ²÷ ny^{y}NI ²÷ ʎwTI$_{\cdot}$ ²÷ ʎwPI ²÷ nyMI$_{\cdot}$ ²÷ ʎwa ²÷ ʎwMI ²÷ 0

S U - S - S S S U - S

cWhm sW1 sW1 sW2

Grammatical analysis

0l	ñʌ	kɔt	apu	mɛ̃pakamʌ̃	aptʌr
	Int	PPt	APt	pr8-IPt	pr3-V^{s}
	Int	Pn	APt	IPt:2b	V:1.1/C
	-	-	-	NPT-B	nxiVPT-1
	QP	PPP(a)	AP	IP	VP
			nxVCTf/q		
	ques.	he(fut)	?	us(exc)-inside	he-grow

02	nɛ̃	ri	tañ-mʌ̃	mɛ̃pamʌ̃	amñĩtɔ
	CjPt	ʌ	?-IPt	pr8-IPt	N- -?
	CjPt	ʌ	cʌ	IPt:1	cV:1.3/B?
	-	-	-	NPT-B	nxiVPT-1
	CP		ʌP	IP	VP

nxVCTf

and contin. whatever us(exc)-for make (something unknown)

03	pu	mɛ̃	ɔmu
	PPt	QPt	pr3-V
	Pn	QPt	V:2/Bñ
	-	-	nxtVPT-1
	PPP(a)		VP

nxVCTf

wc(exc) fut. pl. it-see

SENTENCE P - Reading transcription

P $\overset{a}{1}$ añɨr ?ɔ pa...; $/\overset{b}{2}$ tʌ̃ ñũm $/^{c}$ ĩ $/^{d}$ ʌptʌr.

Free translation

They went on talking like this until he grew up.

Phonological analysis

mL^{f}

Pa 'ɲũtrɔp'pa::?

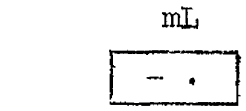
ɣya $\overset{2}{+}$ nwy^{y}NÍr $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣw$^{?}$ʌ $\overset{2}{+}$ ɣPʌ́ $\overset{?}{+}$ o

U - S S S

sW2 sW1 sW1

---

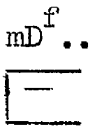
1. The analysis of the -tɔ in amñĩtɔ (02) is uncertain, though it was identified by the informant with the form tɔ of the Indirect Particle ?ɔ. But in that case, the stressing and grammatical structure are very unusual.



Pb 'tÃɲũm? nwyTÁ + nw^{y}NIm + o

S S

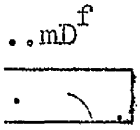
sW1 sW1



Pc 'ĩ:? nyÍ + o

S

sW1



Pd ʌp'tʌrʌ ɣwyap + ɣwyTÁr + 0

U - S

sW2

Grammatical analysis

P1	añ̃r	ʔɔ	pa...	P2	tÃ	ñũm	ĩ	ʌptʌr
	V	IPt	pr3-V		Cj	CjPt	Λ	pr3-V^{s}
	V:1.3/Cr	IPt:1	V:1.1b/B?		Cj	CjPt	Λ	V:1.1/C
	xiVPT-1				-	-	-	nxiVPT-1
	NPT-B		nxiVPT-1		CP		ΛP	VP
	IP		VP				nxVCTf	
	nxVCTf				until		when	he-grow

talking thus with he-go (intens)

SENTENCE Q - Reading transcription

Q $^{a}_{1}$ nɔ̃r nɨv.

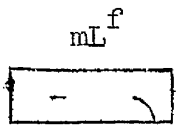
Free translation

Now, when he had become a young man,

---

1. When tÃ is followed by ñũm (P2) it appears to be an alternative form of tÃmtÃ 'until'. Cf.E2, p.230.

Phonological analysis



Qa 'nɔ̃ln'dɯ̃ɯ̃ nwŃr $\overset{Z}{+}$ ɣwyNív $\overset{X}{+}$ O

S S

sW1 sW1

Grammatical analysis

Q1	nɔ̃r	nɨ́v
	?	M
	?	M:1
	?	NPT-1b
	N/VBT-2	
	N/VCTf	
	lying down	new

1. The analysis of nɔ̃r is unknown, but it seems likely that it is the extended form of the verb nɔ̃ 'to lie down'. If this is so, the whole phrase may be verbal or nominal, as indicated.

(From here on, only an outline grammatical analysis of the text will be given, as described in the introduction to the text.)

R	1 nɔ̃r nɨ́v ,	2 ʌmri-nɛ̃	ĩ	ri	tañĩtɔ!
	as Q1 above	cCj	A	A	cV:1.3/B?
		CP	A.P		VP
			nxVCTf		
		now	when	contin.	make (something unknown)

he made all sorts of things.

1. The ʌmri-nɛ̃ of R2 can be considered as introducing the third incident in the life of Vañmɛ̃kaprɑ̃n~rɛ. Cf.G1, and footnote ad.loc.(p.234).

2. The -tɔ of tañĩtɔ (R2) is identified with that of amñĩtɔ: see 02, and the footnote ad.loc.(p.249). The tañĩ- is identified with the tañ- of tañ-mɨ́ 'how?'. Again, this would entail a very unusual word, grammatically and phonologically, for presumably the ĩ would be the echo-vocoid following the palatal ñ.

S 1 ñũm ʌ̃ mɛ̃pačɛčɲɪ rɛ tũm kenʌ̃ .

CjPt A cN:1/(?) M:1 M1
CP AP NP
NCTf
and thus we(exc)-liar a long time certainty

T 1 ñũm mɛ̃ʔɔ̃ ra ʔɔ ʔeč! U 1 mɛ̃ʔɔ̃ ra ʔɔ ʔeč,

CjPt N:2b/(?) A IPt:1 V:1.1/A
CP SP AP IP VP
nxVCTf
and someone already him-with he-lie

as T1, apart from the initial CjPt.

U 2 nɛ̃: (special form of the ICT introducing speech: see 4.313)

U 3 " nʌ , 4 tãm nã ra mɛ̃akvɛñĩmɛč ʔɔ mɔ̃ .

Inj(r) EPn PPt A cV:2a/A IPt:1 V:1.2d/Br
- emPPP(a) AP IP VP
InjCT nxVCTf
no (man speaking) himself non-fut. already you-some-killing with go

V 1 mɛ̃ape nʌ̃ že ɔʔto ; 2 mɛ̃ape pʌ̃m že ɔʔto ,

IPt:1 N:1/(?) NPt M:1[s]
IP NP
NCTf
you-from mother - many

as V1, with the substitution of pʌ̃m, N:1/A, 'father', for nʌ̃.

But we are inveterate liars, and so someone told lies about him, saying, " No, he is the one who is already killing some of you. You are his many mothers; you are his many fathers;

1. Since nʌ (U3) is a responsive interjection, it is probably given in response to some question not given here, such as who the killer was.

V 3 ʔtɤ̃ nã̃ ra mɛ̃akvəñĩmɛč̌ ʔɔ mɔ̃ ."

Cj	PPt	A	cV:2a/A	IPt:1	V:1,2d/Br
CP	PPP(b)	AP	IP		VP
			nxVCTf		

but non-fut. already you-some-killing with go

W 1 nɛ̃ ñũ̃m iŋet ʔɔ̃ ža kɤ̃m uma nɛ̃ .

CjPt	CjPt	N:1	M:1/(?)NPt	IPt:1	M:2b	TPt
CP		SP		IP	NP	
			NCTf			

and his-uncle one - him-to fearing -

X 1 ʔɤ̃amɨ̃ne . Y 1 nɛ̃ kɤ̃m: 2 " ãto ,

cV:2/Bñ			cInj(r)
VP		as I2 (q.v. p.238)	-
nxVCTf			InjCT
him-order to kill			expresses agreement

Y 3 mɛ̃ ɔmɔ̃ , 4 nɛ̃ apĩ .

QPt	cV:2/Br		CjPt	V:2b/Br	
PPP	VP		CP	VP	
nxVCTf/c			nxVCTf/c		
pl.	him-take		and	him-kill	

but he is already killing some of you." Then one of his uncles took fright, and gave orders for him to be killed, saying, " It is so; take him and kill him,

1. The ãto in Y2 is used in response to the statement given in sentences U and V concerning the supposed killing activities of Vañmɛ̃-kaprɤ̃n~rɛ.

Z 1 ǒɛp apu tãm kɔt amñĩñĩpeǒ ."

PPt	APt	EPn	SPt	cV:1.3/A
EPPP	EAP	cmPPPex.		VP
		xVCTem		
?	?	himself	he(habitual) act thus	

AA 1 nɛ̃ ñũm mɛ̃kʌ̃m ʔape ʔɔ ; 2 " nʌ ,

CjPt CjPt	IPt:1	M:2b^{s}	IPt:1	as U3 (q.v. p.252)
CP		IP		
	nxICTf			
and	them-to	him-pitying	with	

AA 3 pu mɛ̃ mã kɛ̃nkrʌ̃ ʔprɔk~ti vɛr mʌ̃r ɔmɔ̃ .

Pn QPt	A	cN:2b/B/F	M:1	IPt:2b	FEPt	cV:2/Dr
PPP(a)	AP		IP	+	FEPt	VP
			nxVCTf			
we(exc) pl.	away	rock	high	towards	emph.	him-take

AB 1 nɛ̃ ʔʌ̃ mʌ̃r kumɛ̃ , 2 ke ĩ tɛ̃ ,

CjPt	IPt:1	FEPt	V:2b/Bñ	CjPt	A	V:1.2d/Bm
CP	IP	+ FEPt	VP	CP	AP	VP
	nxVCTf				nxVCTf	
and	it-on	emph.	him-throw	so that	when	go

---

for he is behaving in this way." But they were sorry for him. "No, let us take him away to the mountain, and throw him off it,

---

1. Since the pronoun kɔt in Z1 is homophonous with the 3rd.person pronoun kɔt which occurs in form (a) of the PPP (see 9.311.11, p.205), and since the verb is a member of the Class A of extended forms, an alternative analysis would be to take kɔt as the pronoun of form (a).

| | | |

ÆE	2	ñũm	mɛ̃ʔkot	kritmʌnrʌ̃~rɛ	čʌm ,	3	nɛ̃	ɔmɔ̃ .		
		CjPt	IPt:2c	cN:1/A//(?)	V:2/A^{w}		CjPt	cV:2/Br		
		CP	IP	VP			CP	VP		
				nxVCTf				nxVCTf		
		and	them-after	pet-macaw	place		and	it-carry		

ÆF	1	kritmʌnrʌ̃~rɛ	čʌm ,	2	nɛ̃	ɔtɛ̃....,				
		as the last two words of ÆE2 above.			CjPt	cV:2/Bm				
					CP	VP				
					nxVCTf					
					and	it-carry				

ÆF	3	nɛ̃	mɛ̃ʔkɛ̃nkrʌ̃	ʔprek~ti	ʔʌ̃	api ,	4	nɛ̃	mɔ̃ ,	
		CjPt	cN:2b/B/F	M:1	IPt:1	V:1.2/Br		CjPt	V:1.2/Br	
		CP	IP			VP		CP	VP	
			nxVCTf						nxVCTf	
		and	rock	high	on	climb		and	go	

ÆF	5	ñũm	mɛ̃	ʔkužatɛ ,	6	ñũm	aʔpar-mʌ̃	tɛ̃ ,		
		CjPt	QPt	V:2a/Ck		CjPt	cA.	V:1.2d/Bm		
		CP	PPP	VP		CP	AP	VP		
			nxVCTf				nxVCTf			
		and	pl. him-push (intens)			and	downwards	go		

while he came following them, carrying his pet macaw, which he placed on a stick. He climbed up the mountain, and when he arrived, they pushed him off. As he fell,

ʌF 7 nɛ̃ kep pĩʔo , 8 nɛ̃ ʔkačkɛp ʔɔ mɔ̃ ,

CjPt	IPt:1	cN:2a/ʒ/(?)	CjPt	V:1.1a/ʌ	IPt:1	V:1.2d/ʒr
CP	IP	NP	CP	IP		VP
	NCTf			nxVCTf		
and	him-from	leaf	and	he-circling	with	go

ʌF 9 nɛ̃ pɨka kamʌ̃ tɛ̃m .

CjPt	N:2b/ʒ/F IPt:2b	V:1.2d/ʌ	
CP	IP	VP	
	nxVCTf		
and	ground within	fall	

ʌG 1 ʌmri-ñũm mɛ̃ iʔkritmʌnrʌ̃~rɛ pĩ , 2 nɛ̃ ʔkot kumɛ̃ .

cCj	QPt	cN:1/ʌ/(?)	V:2b/ʒr	CjPt	IPt:2c	V:2b/ʒñ	
CP	PPP	VP		CP	IP	VP	
		nxVCTf			nxVCTf		
now	pl.	his-pet-macaw	kill	and	him-after	it-throw	

ʌH 1 nɛ̃ mɔ̃ , 2 nɛ̃ vre , 3 nɛ̃ mã̀ mɔ̃ ,

as ʌF4 (q.v. p.256)		CjPt	V:1.2d/ʒk	CjPt	ʌ	V:1.2d/ʒr		
		CP	VP	CP	IP	VP		
		nxVCTf		nxVCTf				
and	go	and	descend	and	away	go		

he turned into a leaf, went circling down, and fell onto the ground. Then they killed his pet macaw, and threw it after him. Descending the mountain, they went off,

ΛH	4	nɛ̃	poi .	ΛI	1	nɛ̃	ʔarɛ̃ ,
		CjPt	V:1.1b/Bč			CjPt	V:2/Bñ^{s}
		CP	VP			CP	VP
		nxVCTf				nxVCTf	
		and	he-come back			and	it-tell

ΛI	2	ñũm	kɔt	ʔΛʌmneñ	čveñ ,	3	"	nʌ ,
		CjPt	SBt	cV:2/Bñ^{s}	N		Inj(r)	
		CP		SP			-	
				xICTf			InjCT	
		and	he	him-order to kill	one who		no (man speaking)	

ΛI	4	ʌ̃m	ʔΛ́puri	nã	ka	mɛ̃	ʔɔanɛ̃ ;
		ΛPt	cΛ	PPt	Pn	QPt	cV:2/Cr
		EΛP		PPP(b)			VP
				nxVCTem			
		only	truly	non-fut you		pl.	it-do thus

ΛI	5	pa	tañ-mΛ	ri	ičtĩr ,	6	nɛ̃	ičpaʔ	žape .
		Pn	cΛ	Λ	M:1		CjPt	V:1.1b/BʔMl	
		PPP(a)	ΛP		NP		CP	VP	
			NCTf					nxVCTf	
		I(fut)	somehow contin.		I-alive		and	I-go (intens)	uncertainty

---

and arrived back in the village. When they had related what had happened, the one who had ordered him to be killed said, " You have indeed done well; perhaps I will now be able to go on living. "

---

1. ΛI1 is an example of the special form of the ICT which introduces speech, but which lacks the final Indirect Particle. Also, the second and third words constitute an included extended verbal clause-type.

2. The nɛ̃ which links ΛI5 and 6 together is best regarded as a fusion of the Terminal Particle which should close the nominal phrase in ΛI5 and the conjunction which introduces ΛI6.

ΔJ 1 ʌmri-nɛ̃ i?teč̆kĩñ nɛ̃ , 2 ?tʌ̃ ñũm ĩ... mɨt ɔtɛ̃ ,

cCj	cM:1 TPt		Cj CjPt	Δ	N:2b	cV:2/Bm
CP	NP		CP	ΔP	SP	VP
	NCTf			nxVCTem		
now	he-very-happy		until	when	sun	it-raise

ΔJ 3 ñũm ĩ amɛ̃krɨ .

CjPt	Δ	N:2b/(?)	
CP	ΔP	NP	
	NCTf		
and	when	afternoon	

ΔK 1 amɛ̃krɨ ,

N:2b/(?)	
NP	
NCTf	
afternoon	

ΔK 2 ñũm , 3 č̆e , 2 nã mɛ̃?kot kritmʌnrʌ̃~rɛ č̆ʌm ,

CjPt	Inj(i)	PPt	IPt:2c	cN:1/Δ/(?)	V:2/Δ^{W}
CP	-	PPP(b)	IP	VP	
	InjCT		nxVCTf		
and	behold	non-fut	them-after	pet-macaw	place

ΔK 4 nɛ̃ ɔtɛ̃ , 5 nɛ̃ ɔpoi .

as ΔF2 (q.v. p. 256)	CjPt	cV:2/Bč̆
	CP	VP
	nxVCTf	
and it-carry	and	it-bring

He was very happy until the sun had risen high, and it had become afternoon, when, startlingly, Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ put his pet macaw on a stick, and arrived back with it.

1. The č̆e, ΔK3, has been analysed as 'inserted' into the beginning of clause ΔK2.

AL 1 ñũm iŋɔt ža ñɛ̃ , 2 nɛ̃ ɔmu , 3 nɛ̃ :

CjPt N:1 NPt V:1.2d/Br CjPt V:2/Bñ[s] CjPt
CP SP VP CP VP CP
nxVCTf nxVCTf ICT
and his-uncle - sit and him-see and

AL 4 " ñʌ nã ka vɛ̀ mɛ̃ Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ pĩ ?"

Int PPt Pn PPt QPt cN:2b V:2b/Br
QP PPP(b) VP
nxVCTf/q
ques. non-fut you emph. pl. Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ kill

AM 1 " mɛ̃ičtɛ ʔpĩr kenÃ ! "

SPt V:2b/Br Ml
PPpx VP
xVCTf
we (inc) him-kill certainty

AN 1 " nʌ ,

as U3 (q.v. p. 252)

AN 2 kɔt ta apkaʔti , 3 ka mɛ̃ mã akupɛ̃-m ɔmɔ̃ ,

Pn NPt N:2b/(?) Pn QPt A cA cV:2/Br
PPP(a) NP PPP(a) AP VP
NCTf nxVCTf
it(fut) - tomorrow you pl. away again there-to him-take

His uncle was sitting there, and when he saw him, he said, " I thought that you had killed Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ! " " We did kill him! " " Tomorrow you will take him away again,

AN 4 nɛ̃ apĩ mãn ." AO 1 " nʌ ;

Cjɨ't V:2b/Br M1ɨ't
C? V?
nxVCTf
and him-kill completive no (man speaking)

as U3, (q.v.p.252)

AO 2 kɔtpa akupɛ̃-m kɔt ?ɔiãmɔ̃r ket nɛ̃ ;

Pn cA I?t:2c cV:2/Dr M:1 T?t
1?1?(a) A? I? V?
nxVCTf
I(fut) again there-to him-after him-I-take not -

AO 3 mɛ̃iĭɔtɛ ɔmuñ , 4 nɛ̃ ?pĩr , 5 tʌ̃ ?tĩr ,

S?t V:2/Bñ Cjɨ't V:2b/Br Cj M:1
1?1?x V? C? V? C? N?
xVCTf xVCTf NCTf
we(inc) him-see and him-kill but he-alive

AO 6 nɛ̃ ?tɛ̃m , 7 nɛ̃ ?poĭ kenʌ̃ ."

Cjɨ't V:1.2/Bm Cjɨ't V:1.1b/Bĭ M1
C? V? C? V?
xVCTf xVCTf
and he-go and he-come back certainty

and this time make sure you kill him." "No, I am not going to take him away again. We saw him and killed him, but he is alive and has come back."

AP	1	" Á:to .	AQ	1	pa	čɛp	mɛ̃apÃñ-ʔÃ	mɛ̃kuma ,
		variant of Y2 (q.v. p.253)				In IPt	cIPt:a	V:2b/Br
						PNP(a)	IP	VP
							nxVCTf	
		expresses agreement				I(fut) ?	you-instead of	them-hear
AQ	2	ke	mɛ̃mɔ	žaža	mã	ɔmɔ̃ ,	3 nɛ̃	kupĩ .
		CjPt	N:2b/(?)	NPt	A	cV:2/Br	CjPt	V:2b/Br
		CP	SP		AP	VP	CP	VP
			nxVCTf				nxVCTf	
		so that	person (unknown)	gen.pl.	away	him-take	and	him-kill
AR	1	iñmÃ	pĩr	prÃm ."	AS	1 ʌmri-ñũm		apkaʔti ,
		IPt:1	M:3	M:2b		cCj		N:2b/(?)
		IP	NP			CP		NP
			NCTf					NCTf
		me-to	killed	wanting		now		the morrow
AS	2	ñũm	kačɨv	mɛ̃mɔ	že	ma ,		
		CjPt	IPt:2b	N:2b/(?)	NPt	V:2/Br		
		CP	IP		VP			
				nxVCTf				
		and	him-for	person (unknown)	-	hear		
AS	3	ñũm	mɛ̃	mã	akupɛ̃-m	ɔmɔ̃ .		
		CjPt	QPt	A	cA	cV:2/Br		
		CP	NP	AP		VP		
				nxVCTf				
		and	pl.	away	there again-to	him-take		

" That is so. Then I will instruct some others instead of you, so that they will take him away and kill him. I want him killed! " So, the following day, he instructed some others, and they took him away again.

ΛT 1 " kɔtka ža mɛ̃ atʌ̃ ɔmɔ̃ , 2 nɛ̃ ,

	ɨn	Nɪ't	Qɨ't	Λ	cV:2/Br	CjPt
	PPP(a)			ΛP	VP	CP
		nxVCTf				
	you(fut)	-	pl.	now	him-take	and

ΛT 3 kva , 2 kɔtka mɛ̃ ʔpĩr kumrɛ̃č ."

as ΛC3 (q.v. p. 255)	Pn	QPt	V:2b/Br	M1	
	PPP(a)		VP		
			nxVCTf		
Oi	you(fut)	pl.	him-kill	intensity	

ΛU 1 ʌmri-ñũm mɛ̃ mɛ̃ʔpʌ̃ñ-ʔʌ̃ ɔmɔ̃..., 2 nɛ̃ kupĩ .

	cCj	QPt	cIPt:a	cV:2/Br	as ΛQ3 (q.v. p.262)
	CP	PPP	IP	VP	
			nxVCTf		
	now	pl.	them-instead	him-take	and him-kill

ΛV 1 nɛ̃... ʔĩpɨ̃ ʔkritmʌnrʌ̃ɹrɛ ža pĩ .

	CjPt	M:1/(?)^{S}	cN:1/Λ/(?)	NPt	V:2b/Br
	CP	SP	VP		
			nxVCTf		
	and	he-on top	pet-macaw	-	kill

" You will take him away and make sure you kill him properly!" So they took him away instead of the others, and killed him. They also killed his pet macaw on top of the mountain,

1. The occurrence of kva (ΛT3) has been analysed in a similar way to the occurrence of čɛ in ΛK3. See footnote ad.loc., p.259.
2. ʔĩpɨ̃ (ΛV1) is analysed as modifying the (zero) 3rd.person subject, formally expressed in ΛU1, and continued by the nɛ̃s in ΛU2 and ΛV1. The strong form shows concord with a 3rd.person subject.

AW 1 nɛ̃ ʔɔamɛ̃rʌ , 2 nɛ̃ ʔaču .

CjPt	c?		CjPt	V:2/Br^{S}
CP	?		CP	VP
	?			nxVCT
and	him-with		and	it-bury

AX 1 nɛ̃ mɔ̃ , 2 nɛ̃ poi , 3 ñũm amɛ̃krɨ ,

as AF4 (q.v. p.256)		as AH4 (q.v. p.258)		CjPt	N:2b/(?)	
				CP	NP	
					NCTf	
and	go	and	arrive	and	afternoon	

AX 4 ñũm ra mɛ̃ʔkot ʔkritmʌnrʌ̃~rɛ čʌm ,

CjPt	A	IPt:2c	cN:1/A/(?)		V:2/A^{W}
CP	AP	IP		VP	
		nxVCTf			
and	already	them-after	pet-macaw		place

AX 5 nɛ̃ mɛč , 6 nɛ̃ tɛ̃ , 7 nɛ̃ poi .

CjPt	M:1	CjPt	V:1.2d/Bm	as AH4	
CP	NP	CP	VP	(q.v. p.258)	
NCTf		nxVCTf			
and	good	and	go	and	come back

and buried it, together with him. Then they returned. But already, by the afternoon, he had placed his pet macaw on a stick, and had returned, safe and sound.

1. It is not known to what class ʔɔamɛ̃rʌ (AW1) belongs. It looks like a compound class 2 verb (ʔɔ and a 1.2 verb) but the informant could not give it with a following modifier. Because of the sequence of nɛ̃s, if a verb, it has the subject 'they' expressed in AU1 on the previous page.

AY 1 ñũm iŋɐt ǯa ñɛ̃ , 2 nɛ̃ ɔmu , 3 nɛ̃: 4 ," kva ,

AY.1-3 as AL.1-3 (q.v.p.260) | as AC3 (q.v.p.255)

AY 5 ñʌ nã ka mɛ̃ vɛ mɛ̃ Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ pĩ ?"

as AL4 (q.v.p.260) apart from the repetition of the Quantitative Particle mɛ̃.

AZ 1 " mɛ̃ičtɛ ʔpĩr , 2 nɛ̃ ʔačʌr kenʌ̃ !"

SPt	V:2b/Br	CjPt	V:2/Br^{S}	Ml
IPP	VP	CP	VP	
xVCTf			xVCTf	
we(inc)	him-kill	and	him-bury	certainty

BA 1 kot ʔkritmʌnrʌ̃~rɛ pĩ - 2 kritmʌnrʌ̃~rɛ pĩ ,

IPt:2c	cN:1/A/(?)	V:2b/Br	as the final two words in the preceding clause.
IP	VP		
	nxVCTf		
it-after	pet-macaw	kill	

BA 3 nɛ̃ ʔɔamɛ̃rʌ , 4 nɛ̃ ʔačʌ .

BA.3-4 as AW.1-2 (q.v.p.264)

BB 1 tʌ̃ ʔtɛ̃m , 2 nɛ̃ ʔpoʔ̃ kenʌ̃ . BC 1 " nʌ ,

BB.1-2 as AO.6-7 (q.v.p.261) apart from tʌ̃ (but cf.AO5) for nɛ̃. | as U3 (q.v.p.252)

His uncle was sitting there, and when he saw him, he said, " Look here, I thought that you had killed Vañmɛ̃kaprʌ̃n~rɛ!" " We did kill him and bury him! Then we killed his pet macaw, and buried it along with him. But he has come back!"

BC 2 nɔ kɔtka ža mɛ̃ ʌ̃m iñmʌ̃ apĩ mʌ̃n ."

Cj Pn NPt QPt APt IPt:1 V:2b/Br MlPt
CP PPP(a) AP IP VP
nxVCTf
but you(fut) - pl. only me-for him-kill completive

BD 1 " nʌ ; 2 kɔtpa ža akupɛ̃-m ʔɔiñmɔ̃r ket nɛ̃ ;

as U3 (q.v.p.252) cf.A02, p.261 (adding the NPt ža and omitting the IPt kot)

BD 3 mɛ̃ičtɛ ɔmuñ , 4 nɛ̃ ʔpĩr , 5 nɛ̃ kurũm iñmɔ̃r ,

BD.3-4 as A0.3-4 (q.v.p.261) CjPt IPt:2a V:1.2d/Br
CP IP VP
xVCTf
and it-from I-go

BD 6 nɛ̃ ičpoč , 7 tʌ̃ ʔtɛ̃m , 8 nɛ̃ ʔpoč kenʌ̃ ."

CjPt V:1.1b/Bč
CP VP
xVCTf
and I-come back

BD.7-8 as BB.1-2 (q.v.p.265)

BE 1 " to , 2 kɔt ta apkaʔti ,

Inj(i)
-
InjCT
well

as AN2 (q.v.p.260)

" Then you must make sure you kill him for me." " No, I am not going to take him there again. We saw him, killed him, and returned from there, but nonetheless he has obviously come back." " Well then, tomorrow

BE 3 pa apÃñ-ʔÃ mɔ žɛ ʔta ,

ɪn cIɪt:a N:2b/(?) Nɪt V:2b/Cr

ɪnP(a) IP VP

nxVCTf

I(fut) you-instead of person (unknown) - take

BE 4 ke mɛ̃ mã ɔmɔ̃ ."

CjPt QPt Ā cV:2/Br

CP PPP ĀP VP

nxVCTf

so that pl. away him-take

BF 1 ñɛ̃r nɛ̃ kɔt pÃñ-ʔÃ mɛ̃mar ,

Cj CjPt SPt cIPt:a V:2b/Br

CP PPPx IP VP

xVCTf

so he him-instead of them-hear

BF 2 ñũm mɛ̃ mã kɔt ɔmɔ̃. BG 1 nɛ̃ mÃnɛ̃n kupĩ ;

CjPt QPt A SPt? cV:2/Br CjPt ĀPt V:2b/Br

CP PPP ĀP PPP? VP CP ĀP VP

nxVCTf? nxVCTf

and pl. away he? him-take and again him-kill

I am going to replace you with some others, so that they can take him away." So he instructed others, who took him away and killed him again.

---

1. The form of the clause given for BF2 appears to be what the text says, though the verb might be ɔmɔ̃r, in which the clause would be unambiguously extended. Francisco Sutero said that it was the same as ñũm mɛ̃kɔt mã ɔmɔ̃r, but this would imply the occurrence of an isolated prefix (mɛ̃), or the ĀP being in the middle of the PPP, either of which alternatives would be extremely strange.

BG 2 " kɔtka ǰa mɛ̃ apĩ , 3 nɛ̃ atʌ̃ ri ʔire ,

Pn	NPt	QPt	V:2b/Br	CjPt	A	A	V:2/Bñ^{S}
	PPP(a)		VP	CP	AP		VP
		nxVCTf			nxVCTf		

you(fut) - pl. him-kill and then contin. him-cut in pieces

BG 4 nɛ̃ aʔpɛ̃ñ-ʔʌ̃ arɛ̃ . BH 1 kɔ arĩk ǰape . "

CjPt	cA	V:2b/Bñ	CjPt	V:1.2a/A^{S}	M1
CP	AP	VP	CP	VP	
	nxVCTf			nxVCTf	

and distributively him-throw so that he-stay uncertainty

BI 1 ñũm mɛ̃ ɔmɔ̃.., 2 nɛ̃ kupĩ . BJ 1 nɛ̃... atʌ̃ ri ʔirɔ ,

as AS3 (q.v. p.262) omitting the AP. | as AQ3 (q.v.p.262) | as BG3 (q.v.above)

BJ 2 nɛ̃ aʔpɛ̃ñ-ʔʌ̃ ɔmra , 3 nɛ̃ ʔaret .

CjPt	cA	cV:2/Br	CjPt	V:2/A^{S}
CP	AP	VP	CP	VP
	nxVCTf		nxVCTf	

BK 1 tʌ̃ ñũm amɛ̃krɨ , 2 ñũm mɛ̃ʔkot kritmʌnrʌ̃-rɛ ǰa čʌm ,

Cj	CjPt	N:2b/(?)	as AE2 (q.v.p.256) adding the NPt ǰa
CP		NP	
	NCTf		

when afternoon

" You will kill him, and then cut him up into pieces, throwing each piece away separately. Then we shall see if he will stay like that." So they took him away and killed him. They cut him up into pieces, carried each piece away separately, and buried it. But when afternoon came, he put his pet macaw on a stick,

BK 3 nɛ̃ tɛ̃ , 4 nɛ̃ poi .

BK.3-4 as ʌX.6-7 (q.v.p.264)

BL 1 tʌ̃ ñũm ve ʌ̃m iŋet ta ʔʌ̃ʔamakkrɔ nɛ̃ .

Cj	CjPt	PPt	ʌPt	N:1	NPt	cM:1/(?)	TPt
CP		EPPP	ĒʌP	SP		NP	

NCTem

but emph. only his-uncle - him-he-afraid of -

BM 1 ʔʌ̃ʔamakkrɔ , 2 nɛ̃ ʔɔañɛ̃r ʔɔ ku?e , 3 nɛ̃ kʌ̃m :

repeat of the final piece of BL 1 (see above)	CjPt	cV:2/Cr	IPt:1	V:1.1b/B?	as I2 (q.v. p.238)
	CP	IP		VP	

nxVCTf

and him-doing thus with he-stand (intens)

BM 4 " kɔtka ža mɛ̃ tʌ̃ apĩ , 5 nɛ̃ ɔmɔ̃ ,

Pn	NPt	QPt	ʌ	V:2b/Br	as ʌE3 (q.v.p.256)
PPP(a)			ʌP	VP	

nxVCTf

you(fut) - pl. now him-kill

BM 6 nɛ̃ kuvɨ mʌ̃ amɛ̃ , 7 ke kapa ,

CjPt	N:2b/B/F	IPt:1	V:2b/Bñ	CjPt	V:2b/Cr
CP	IP		VP	CP	VP

nxVCTf nxVCTf

and fire to him-throw so that him-burn completely

---

and arrived back after them. His uncle was really frightened, and kept on acting towards him in this same way. " You are going to kill him", he said. " You will take him and throw him into a fire, so as to burn him completely.

BM 8 ka mɛ̃ ʔprʌʔčet žako ."

Pn	QPt	cN:2a/Ł	V:2/Br^{W}
PPP(a)		VP	
		nxVCTf	
you(fut)	pl.	charcoal	blow

BN 1 ñũm mɛ̃kɔt ɔmɔ̃r , 2 nɛ̃ žatʌ̃ ʔpĩr ;

CjPt	SPt	cV:2/Br	CjPt	Ł	V:2b/Br
CP	PPPx	VP	CP	ŁP	VP
	xVCTf			xVCTf	
and	they	him-take	and	then	him-kill

BN 3 nɛ̃ kacɨv kutɔ ; 4 nɛ̃ kuvɨ mʌ̃ kumɛ̃ ,

CjPt	IPt:2b	V:2b/(?)	CjPt	N:2b/B/F	IPt:1	V:2b/Bñ
CP	IP	VP	CP	IP		VP
	nxVCTf			nxVCTf		
and	him-for	it-light	and	fire	to	him-throw

BN 5 ñũm čer , 6 ñũm mɛ̃ kacɨv kɛ̃n ,

CjPt	V:1.2d/Ł	CjPt	QPt	IPt:2b	N:2b/B
CP	VP	CP	PPP	IP	NP
	nxVCTf			NCTf	
and	burn	and	pl.	him-for	stone

Then you will blow the charcoal dust away." So they took him, killed him, lit a fire for him, and threw him into it. When he had burned, they took a stone,

BN 7 nɛ̃ ʔʌ̃ ʔprʌʔčet žako .

CjPt IPt:1 cN:2a/A V:2/Br^{W}

CP IP VP

nxVCTf

and it-on charcoal blow

BO 1 prʌʔčet žakor mərape ,

cN:2a/A V:2/Br^{W} cM

VP

nxVCTf

charcoal blow because of

BO 2 ñũm vɛ ʔʌmri amfĩ kamʌ̃ ʔpiža ʌ̃m ʔɔ .

CjPt PPt A N:2b/L IPt:2b M:1 IPt:1

CP PPP AP IP

nxICTf

and emph. now self within he-being embarrassed with

BP 1 " ʌ̃to , 2 kɔtpa ža čɛp ʌ̃m ičpe kupɛ̃ .

as APl (q.v.p.262) Pn NPt PPt APt IPt:1 N:2b/B/(?)

PPP(a) AP IP NP

NCTf

I(fut) - ? only I-from white man

pounded the charcoal on it, and then blew it away. Because they had blown the charcoal dust away, he became embarrassed about himself. " Alright then, I will become a white man;

BQ 1 nʌ , 2 kɔtpa ža mɛ̃amɛ̃ ičpe kupɛ̃ ;

as U3	Pn	NPt	IPt:1	IPt:1	N:2b/B/(?)
(q.v.p.252)	PPP(a)		IP		NP
			NCTf		
	I(fut)	-	you-for	me-from	white man

BQ 3 ʔʌmri ka mɛ̃ ičkot ape kupɛ̃ .

A	Pn	QPt	IPt:2b	IPt:1	N:2b/B/(?)
MAP	PPP(a)		IP		NP
			NCTem		
then	you(fut) pl.		me-after	you-from	white man

BR 1 ʌmri-ñũm mɛ̃amɛ̃ mɛč nɛ̃ ;

cCj	IPt:1	M:1	TPt
CP	IP	NP	
	NCTf		
now	you-for	good	-

BR 2 nɔ ifŋet , kɔt ri ičtʌ̃ʌmneñ ʔɔ paʔ čveñ ta,

Cj	N:1	SPt	A	cV:2/Bñ	IPt:1	V:1.1b/Bʔ	N	NPt
CP						SP...		
						nxVCTf...		
but	my-uncle	he	contin.	me-ordering to kill	with	go (intens)	one who	-

for your sake, I will become a white man. Then you will be able to follow me in becoming white men, which will be to your advantage. But as for my uncle, who has been ordering me to be killed,

1. The clause, kɔt ri ičtʌ̃ʌmneñ ʔɔ paʔ, in BR2, is an included verbal clause, filling the place of a noun. See 4.316, pp.103-104.

BR 2(con) nɛ̃ kumɛ̃ ʌmneñ čvəñ že mɛ̃ ,

CjPt IPt:2a V:1.2a/Bñ^{s} N NPt QPt

...SP

...nxVCTf...

and him-besides ordering one who - pl.
to kill

BR 2(con) kɔt ta mɛ̃ ãm arĩk .

Pn NPt QPt ΛPt V:1.2a/A

PPP(a) AP VP

...nxVCTf

he(fut) - pl. only remain

BS 1 ãm arĩk , 2 nɔ iñmã mɛ̃apiitã ,

as final two words in BR2 above. Cj IPt:1 Mmr

CP IP NP

NCTf

but me-to you-all

BS 3 iñmã mɛ̃ažape . BT 1 añɛ̃r kot ,

IPt:1 M:2b as M1

IP NP (q.v.p.245)

NCTf

me-to you-pitying

---

and the others who have done the same, they will remain just as they are. But I am sorry for all of you." They continued to talk like this.

BT 2 ñũm Ã kɔt añɛ̃r ,

CjPt	A	SPt	V:1.3/Cr	
CP	EAP	PPPx	VP	
		xVCTem		
and	thus	he	act thus	

BT 3 nɛ̃ mɛ̃ičkačɨv kep kupɛ̃ kačɨv Ar .

CjPt	IPt:2b	IPt:1	N:2b/B/(?)	IPt:2b	V:1.2a/Br^{s}	
CP		IP			VP	
		xVCTf				
and	us-for	him-from	white man	for	enter	

BU 1 Amri-nɛ̃ akupɛ̃-m mɔ̃r , 2 nɛ̃ ?poč̌ ket .

cCj	cA	V:1.2d/Br		CjPt	V:1.1b/Bč	M:1	
CP	AP	VP		CP	VP		
	xVCTf				xVCTf		
now	again	there-to	he-go	and	he-come back	not	

---

and Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ did as follows: he turned into a white man for our sake, went away there, and never came back.

---

1. The clause, mɛ̃ickačɨv kep kupɛ̃, in BT3, is an included nominal clause, filling the place of a noun. See 4.316, pp.103-105.

VOCABULARY

The following vocabulary is a list of those stems and roots cited in the thesis and the text; it is hoped that it will facilitate understanding of those examples for which no analysis or literal translation, has been given.

The vocabulary will be given in three columns. The first of these will give the Ajinyé stem or root; the second its classification and subclassification by means of the symbols used throughout the thesis; the third its translation. Between the last two, however, certain forms in brackets will be given: these forms consist of the weak forms, extended forms, and forms (ii) to (iv) of Class 2b verbs with the initial syllable ku-. Where a verb has both a weak form and an extended form, the weak extended form only will be cited, unless the verb belongs to the Class C of extended forms, in which case both strong and weak extended forms will be given.

All stems are given in their (strong) uninflected form except in the case of proper names, where the suffix is an integral part of the name. Weak forms, extended forms, and forms (ii) to (iv) of Class 2b verbs with the initial syllable ku- are listed in the first column only if they are cited in the thesis or text. They will be indented and referred to the main entry.

Where a particular subclassification is unknown, this will be indicated by a bracketed question mark (?).

For the English translation of the Portuguese given for the Ajinyé forms, especially the names of flora and fauna, I am indebted to 'A Portuguese-English Dictionary', by J.L.Taylor, 1959, (British Edition).

The alphabetic letters used is the following: a, ã, ʌ, ʌ̃, č, e, ə, ɛ, ɛ̃, h, i, ĩ, ɨ̃, k, m, n, ñ, ŋ, o, ɔ, ɔ̃, ɔ̃, r, s, t, u, ũ, v, ž, ʔ.

ačʌ	V:1.2ɔ/Br	(čʌr)	'to enter'
ačkapo	dV:1.2/Bñ	(pikapoñ)	'to separate'
ačkaʔtɛ	dV:1.2/Ck	(pikaʔek)	'to break (intens)'
ačkuʔtÃ	A		meaning unknown
ačkvɛ̃ñ	dV:1.2/A	(pikvɛ̃ñ)	'to break'
ačo	V:1.2ɔ/Bñ	(čʌčoñ)	'to kick one's legs in the air'
ačpɛ̃n	N:2b		'another person or thing'
ačpu	V:1.2b/Bʔ	(piapuʔ)	'to fight, struggle'
ačtɛ	A		'more; again'
akia	V:1.2ə/Cr	(čʌkžer)	'to shout'
aku	(form (ii) of kuku, q.v.)		
akuno	V:1.2l/Br	(ikunor)	'to flee'
akupɛ̃-m	cA		'to there again'
akupɛ̃-n	cA		'to here again'
akvə	V:1.2ə/Bñ	(čʌkvən)	'to pull up'
ama	V:1.2ɔ/Ck	(žamak)	'to feel; wait, trust (with SPt)'
amɛ̃	(form (ii) of kumɛ̃, q.v.)		
amɛ̃krɨ	N:2ɔ/(?)		'afternoon'
amɛ̃ra	V:1.2ə/Bʔ	(čʌmraʔ)	'to shout, call'
amɛ̃ti	V:1.2b/Br	(pimnir)	'to dream'
amnɛpe-mÃ	cA		'a long time ago'
amñĩ	N:2b/L		'self, myself'
amñĩaŋri	cV:1.3/Bʔ	(amñĩaŋriʔ)	'to observe taboos'
amñĩkati	cV:1.3/Bʔ	(amñĩkatiʔ)	'to play'
amñĩma	cV:1.3/Br	(amñĩmar)	'to think'
amñĩñĩpeč	cV:1.3/A	(amñĩñĩpeč)	'to do, act, behave like this, in this way'

amñĩto	cV:1.3/B?	(amñĩto?)	'to make, do (what is strange or unknown)'
amrĩ	A		'permissive; may'
amrĩñɛ̃	cV:1.3/Br	(amrĩñɛ̃r)	'to be quiet'
amrʌ̃kati	cA	(emph.f rm amrʌ́kati)	'nothing'
amũču	V:1.2b/Br	(amimñur)	'to hide'
anɛ̃	V:1.3/Cr	(añɛ̃r)	'to do, say, like this, in this way'
*añĩpa	V:1.2b/Bñ	(piñpañ)	'to exchange'
·· añɛ̃r	(extended form of anɛ̃, q.v.)		
·· aŋõ	(form (ii) of kuŋõ, q.v.)		
aŋže	V:1.3/Bč	(aŋžeč)	'to enter (intens)'
apa	Inj(i)		calls attention to what follows
ape	V:1.2a/Bñ	(čʌpeñ)	'to work'
api	V:1.2a/Br	(čʌpir)	'to climb, ascend, go up'
apĩ	(form (ii) of kupĩ, q.v.)		
apka?ti	N:2b/(?)		'the next day; tomorrow'
apku	V:1.2a/Br	(čʌpkur)	'to eat'
apkže	V:1.2b/Br	(pikžer)	'to turn over'
aptʌr	V:1.1/A	(čʌptʌr)	'to grow (of humans)'
apu	APt		morning uncertain
arĩ	A		'still, yet'
arĩk	V:1.2a/A	(čʌrĩk)	'to remain, dwell, stay'
ata	NPt		–
· ata	(form (ii) of kuta, q.v.)		
atar	APt		'to there'
atʌ̃	A		'now; then'

avkakre	dV:1.2/Bñ	(čukakreñ)	'to scratch'
avža̠	dV:1.2/Br	(čuzža̠r)	'to tap, peck'
avžako	dV:1.2/Br	(čužakor)	'to smoke'
avžanʌ̃	dV:1.2/Br	(čužanʌ̃r)	'to return'
avžarɛ̃	dV:1.2/Bñ	(čužarɛ̃ñ)	'to say, relate, teach'
ažet	V:1.3/A	(ažet)	'to wait, remain, dwell'
*aʔkʌ	V:1.2b/Br	(pikʌr)	'to mix'
aʔkĩ	V:1.2b/Bñ	(čʌʔkĩñ)	'to steal'
aʔpar-mʌ̃	cA		'downwards, down'
aʔpa̠ñ-ʔʌ̃	cA		'separately, distributively'
aʔtep	V:1.2a/A	(čʌʔtep)	'to approach'
aʔta̠	V:1/Bk	(aʔta̠k)	'to go out (of a flame'
ãm	N:1	(ñãm)	'chin'
ãto	cInj(r)		expresses agreement
ʌčoñ	(strong extended form of ačo, q.v.)		
ʌkučot	dV:1.2/A	(čʌkučot)	'to roast'
ʌkukža	dV:1.2/Cr	(čʌkukžer)	'to ask'
ʌkukžer	(strong extended form of ʌkukža, q.v.)		
ʌkvəñ	(strong extended form of akvə, q.v.)		
ʌkžer	(strong extended form of akia, q.v.)		
ʌm	V:2/A	(čʌm)	'to place something'
ʌm	(strong extended form of ča, q.v.)		
ʌmneñ	(strong extended form of amɛ̃ne, q.v.)		

ʌmra?	(strong extended form of amɛ̃ra, q.v.)		
ʌmri-nɛ̃	cCj		'now, then, and, so' (followed by clause with same subject as the preceding one)
ʌmri-ñũm	cCj		'now, then, and, so' (followed by clause with different subject from the preceding one)
ʌñ	V:2/A	(čʌñ)	'to like (of food)'
ʌpeñ	(strong extended form of ape, q.v.)		
ʌpkur	(strong extended form of apku, q.v.)		
ʌptʌr	(strong extended form of aptʌr, q.v.; also, occasional free variant for aptʌr, q.v.)		
ʌr	(strong extended form of ačʌ, q.v.)		
ʌ?kĩñ	(strong extended form of a?kĩ, q.v.)		
ʌ?kʌ	N:1/(?)		'head ornament; crest'
ʌ?pumuñ	N:1		'one who knows, understands'
ã	A		'thus, in this way, like this'
ãm	APt		'only; no more than, to this extent'
ãto	cInj(r)	(cf.ãto)	expresses agreement
ča	V:1.2d/Cm	(ʌm, čʌm)	'to stand'
čapõ	N;2b/L		'soap'
-čʌ			nominalising root from verbs'
čʌ	Int		question-word

čʌm	(directed form of ʌm, V:2, q.v.)	
čʌpeñ	(weak extended form of ape, q.v.)	
čʌ?kot	cA(?)	'as follows; like this'
če	Inj(i)	'behold! look!'
če	(weak form of e, N:1, q.v.)	
čeč	(weak form of ?eč, q.v.)	
čer	V:1.2d/A	'to burn'
čet	V:1.2d/A	'to burn'
čɛp	PPt	meaning uncertain
či	(form (iii) of kuči, q.v.)	
čikar	N:2b/B	'cigarette'
čipro	N:2b/B/F	'swallow (bird)'
čivivi	N:2b/B/(?)	'whistle (instrument)'
čom	(directed form of om, q.v.)	
čɔ?to	(weak form of ɔ?to, q.v.)	
čukrut	N:2b/B	'guinea-hen'
čužaɨr	(weak extended form of avžaɨ, q.v.)	
čužakor	(weak extended form of avžako, q.v.)	
čužanʌ̃r	(weak extended form of avžanʌ̃, q.v.)	
Čũčũ~rɛ	N:2b/B	'Moon'
čva	(weak form of va, q.v.)	
čvar	IPt:2b	'like, similar to'
čvəñ	N:2a	'person who, one who'

e	N:1/(?)	(če)	'cloth, material'
e	N:2b/L		'spider'
ə	M:1/(?)	(čə)	'bitter, sour'
ə	Inj(r)		'yes'
ɛ	Inj(i)		'alright, well, then'
hɛ̃	Inj(?)		meaning unknown
ičkõ	V:1.2c/Bm	(kõm)	'to drink'
ičtu	V:1.2c/Br	(tur)	'to urinate'
ĩ	N:1/(?)	(ñĩ)	'flesh; thorn, spine'
ĩ	A		'when, at such time as'
ĩn	N:1	(ñĩn)	'dung, faeces'
ɨ̃	Inj(r)		emphatic response
ɨ̃r	(strong extended form of ñɨ̃, q.v.)		
ɨ̃rkʌ	cN:2a/F		'wasp-nest'
ka	Pn		'2nd.pers.sg.'
kaʌr	N:2a/A		'splinter'

kač	EPn(?)		'you only'
kačʌr	(extended form of kapa, q.v.)		
kačɨv	IPt:2b		'to, for, on behalf of, for the sake of'
kačkɛp	V:1.1a/A		'to spin, whirl, circle'
kaɨ	N:2b/B/L		'peanuts'
kamÃ	IPt:2b		'inside, in, within; on'
kamrek	M:1		'red'
kamro	N:1/A/(?)		'blood'
Kañe~ti	N:2b/B		'Star-woman'
kañvə	V:2a/Br	(kañvər)	'to pierce something; to shoot something with an arrow; sting someone'
kaŋa	M:2a		'lazy'
kaŋo	N:2a/A/F		'liquid; drink; liquid part of honey'
kaŋo?tɨk	cN:2b/A		'coffee'
kaŋro	M:1		'hot'
kao	V:2a/Br	(kaor)	'to suck something; eat something sweet'
kapa	V:2b/Cr	(kačʌr)	'to pull something off, up, out'
kapɛ̃r	V:1.1b/A		'to speak'
kapot	N:2b/B		'plateau'
kapreprek	V:2a/A		'to spank someone'
kaprÃn	N:2b/B		'tortoise, turtle'
karõ	N:1/A/F		'soul, spirit; photograph, picture'
katɛ̃	M:1/(?)		'empty'
katɔ	V:1.1b/Br	(katɔr)	'to go out, come out; be born'

kaᴐr	(extended form of kaᴐ, q.v.)		
kaᴐrčʌ	N:1/B/(?)		'mother'
katõtõk	N:2a/(?)		'thunder'
katut	N:1/B		'back'
katut-ri	cIPt/(?)		'behind'
katut-tʌ̃	cIPt/(?)		'on top of'
kaʔek	(extended form of kaʔtɛ, q.v.)		
kaʔtɛ	V:2b/Ck	(kaʔek)	'to break, split something'
kaʔtɨ	V:2b/Bʔ	(kaʔtɨʔ)	'to line something'
kaʔtɨčʌ	N:1/B/(?)		'breech-cloth'
kaʔtɨʔ	(extended form of kaʔtɨ, q.v.)		
kãm	EPn		'yourself, yourselves'
kʌ	N:1/A/F		'skin; bark; peel; breast'
kʌ	V:1.2d/Br	(kʌr)	'to make a noise (of an animal); to bellow'
kʌč	N:2a/B		'bottle; box'
kʌč-mʌ̃	cA		'upwards, up'
kʌr	(extended form of kʌ, q.v.)		
kʌ̃m	IPt:2b		'with; in, in the midst of'
kʌ̃m	(3rd.pers.stem of mʌ̃, q.v.)		
ke	CjPt		'so that; when'
kenʌ̃	Ml		'certainty'
keñ	M:3		'naked'
kep	(3rd.pers.stem of pe, q.v.)		
ke-ri	cA		'for this reason'(?)
ket	M:1		'negative; no, not, none'
ketari	cInj(r)		emphatic no (used by women only)

ketka	Pn	'2nd.pers.sg.future'
ketpa	Pn	'1st.pers.sg.future'
kɛ̃n	N:2b/B	'stone, rock'
kɛ̃nkrʌ̃	cN:2b/B/F	'rocky outcrop; hill'
kia	N:2b/B	'earth oven'
kĩñ	M:2b	'to like something (other than food)'
ko	N:1 or 2b/B/(?)	'wood; ornamental stick'
kok	N:2b/A	'wind'
kokoi	N:2b/B	'monkey'
kor	M:2a	'thirsty'
kot	IPt:2c	'behind, after'
kot-tʌ̃	cIPt:a	'in the middle of'
konɛ̃	cInj(r)	'I don't know'
konɛ̃-ñũm	cInj(r)	'I don't know'
kop	APt	meaning uncertain
kor-mʌ̃	cA	'still, yet'
kot	Pn	'3rd.pers.sg.future'
kot	(3rd.pers.stem of -tɛ, q.v.)	
kotka	Pn	'2nd.pers.sg.future'
kotpa	Pn	'1st.pers.sg.future'
kotpu	Pn	'1st.pers.exc.dual future'
kõm	(extended form of ičkõ, q.v.)	
kõmčʌ	N:1/A/(?)	'cup'
krač	N:2a/A	'start, beginning'
krak-ri	cIPt:a	'underneath'
krʌ̃	N:1/A/F	'head; protuberance'

krÃmŋeč	cN:1/A		'special female relative; godmother'
krÃmŋet	cN:1/A		'special male relative; godfather'
krÃžapap	cN:1/A		'hat'
krÃʔɨ	cN:2b/A		'hen, chicken'
krÃʔkʌ	cN:1/A/(?)		'crest'
krÃʔtɨk	cN:2b/A		'wasp'
krɛ̃	N:2b/B/L		'small parrot'
kritmʌnrÃ	cN:1/A/(?)		'pet macaw'
krĩ	V:1.1a/Bʔ		'to sit (intens)'
krɨ	M:2a		'cold (of persons)'
kro	N:2a/A/F		'root, tendril'
kro	N:2b/B/L		'large rat'
kro	M:1/F		'rotten'
krua	N:1/A		'arrow'
kuči	V:2b/Br	(ači, či, ir)	'to place something'
kuk	N:1/A		'face'
kukreč	N:1/(?)		'possession'
kukrɛ̃	V:2b/Br	(akrɛ̃, krɛ̃, krɛ̃r)	'to eat something'
kukrɨvkrɨv	M		'many small (of stones)'
kuku	V:2b/Br	(aku, ku, kur)	'to eat (intens)'
kukvɛ̃r	V:2b/A	(akvɛ̃r, kvɛ̃r)	'to break something with a stick'
kuma	V:2b/Br	(ama, ma, mar)	'to hear; understand; give instructions to'
kumɛ̃	V:2b/Bñ	(amɛ̃, mɛ̃, mɛ̃ñ)	'to throw something'
kumrɛ̃č	Ml		'intensity'
kuñne	V:2a/Bñ	(kuñneñ)	'to taste something'

kuño	V:2b/Br	(año, ño, ñor)	'to hang something up'
ku-ñũm	cInj(r)		'of course'
kunõ	V:2b/Cr	(anõ, ŋõ, õr)	'to give something)
kupɛ̃	N:2b/B/(?)		'white person; non-Indian'
kupɛ̃čɛ	N:2a/B/(?)		'cloth, material'
kupĩ	V:2b/Br	(apĩ, pĩ, pĩr)	'to kill something'
kupɨ	V:2b/Br	(apɨ, pɨ, pɨr)	'to take hold of something; catch, seize something'
kuprə	N:2b/B/(?)		'unmarried woman'
kupu	V:2a/B?	(kupu?)	'to wrap something up'
kupu?	(extended form of kupu, q.v.)		
kura	V:2a/Bñ	(kurañ)	'to beat, strike something'
kurañ	(extended form of kura, q.v.)		
kure	M		'soon'
kurɛ̃	V:2b/Bñ	(arɛ̃, rɛ̃, rɛ̃ñ)	'to throw something (intens)'
kuri	IPt:2c		'together with, at, near, by
kuta	V:2b/Cr	(ata, ta, ?ɨr)	'to pull something up, out off'
kutã	IPt:2b		'as well as'
kutɔ	V:2b/(?)		'to set light to something'
kuvɨ	N:2b/B/F		'fire'
kuvo	V:2b/Cr	((?) ?o, ?or)	'to suck, eat something sweet'
kužarɛ̃ñ	(alternate form of the weak extended form of avžarɛ̃, q.v.		
kužatɛ	V:2a/Ck	(kužaek)	'to push something (intens)'
ku?e	V:1.1b/B?	(ku?e?)	'to stand (intens)'
ku?e?	(extended form of ku?e, q.v.)		
ku?pau	V:2a/A		'to bungle something'

ku?tʌ	N:2a/(?)/(?)		'woodpecker'
kva	Inj(i)		calls attention to what follows'
kvə	N:1/A/(?)		'a little, a few, some'
kvəñĩmɛč	cV:2a/A		'to kill some of'
kvər	N:2b/B		'manioc'
kvəta	cV:2a/Cr	(kvə?ɨr)	'to pull some up, out, off'
kvə?o	cV:2a/Br	(kvə?or)	'to suck, eat some of something sweet'
kvɛ̃r	(form (iii) of kukvɛ̃r, q.v.)		
kvrət	N:2b/B		'a fish (Port.traira)'
ma	N:1 and 2a/(?)		'liver'
ma	M:2a		'tame, domesticated'
ma	(form (iii) of kuma, q.v.)		
mač	M:1		'good; well'
mai	N:2b		'crab'
mar	(form (iv) of kuma, q.v.)		
mã	Inj(r)		'no' (used by women only)
mã	A		'away (from here)'
mãmrĩ	cA		'permissive; may'
mãn	A		'to here'
mãprĩ	cA		'permissive; may'
mãrĩča	cV:1.3/Cm	(mãrĩ..ʌm)	'to be silent, quiet'
mʌn	N:2b		'macaw'
mʌnrÃ	N:2b/(?)		'the blue-and-yellow macaw'
mÃ	N:2b/L		'rhea'

mʌ̃	IPt:1	(3rd.pers.stem kʌ̃m)	'to, into; for'
mʌ̃n	MlPt		'completion ' (in positive clauses)
mʌ̃nɛ̃n	APt		'again; also'
mʌ̃r	FEPt		emphasises preceding phrase or particle
mərape	cM(?)		'for this reason'
mə-ri	cIPt		'at the edge of'
mərkañeñe	cN:2b/L		'dragonfly'
mɛč	M:1		'good; well'
mɛñ	N:2b		'honey'
mɛ̃	QPt		'more than two'
mɛ̃	IPt:2a		'as well as, besides; concerning'
mɛ̃	(form (iii) of kumɛ̃, q.v.)		
mɛ̃mɔ	N:2b/(?)		'thing, person (unknown, unspecified)'
mɛ̃mɔ	Int		'what? who?'
mɛ̃ñ	(form (iv) of kumɛ̃, q.v.)		
mɛ̃ʔɔ̃	N:2b/(?)		'someone (unknown)'
mɛ̃ʔɔ̃	Int		'who?'
mɨ	N:2a/(?)		'man; male'
mɨt	N:2b		'sun'
Mɨt~ti	N:2b		'Sun'
mɨtvrə	N:2b		'moon'
Mɨtvrə~rɛ	N:2b		'Moon'
mɨtžapoččʌ	N:2b/(?)		'east'
moč	N:2b		'cow; cattle'

moi	N:2b		'bull'
mɔ	Int		'what?'
mɔi	N:2b		'thing (unknown)'
mɔ~tɔ	cInt		'with what?'
mɔ̃	V:1.2d/Br	(mɔ̃r)	'to go, come'
mɔ̃r	(extended form of mɔ̃, q.v.)		
mra	V:1.2d/Br	(mrar)	'to walk, go (intens)'
mrar	(extended form of mra, q.v.)		
mrÁkati	cA	(emph. form)	'nothing'
mrɨ̇	N:2b/(?)		'game'
mrɨ̇	V:2/B?	(mrɨ̇?)	'to hunt something'
mrɔ	N:2b/(?)		'ashes'
mrũm	N:2b		'ant'
mut	N:1		'neck'
mũi	M:1		'that'
mũtar	cA	(emph.form mű́tar)	'over there'
mũtũm	cA	(emph. form mű́tũm)	'to over there'
mžen	N:1		'husband'

nã	PPt	'non-future'
nʌ	Inj(r)	'no' (used by men only)
nÃ	N:1/(?)	'mother'
nɛ̃	TPt	-
nɛ̃	CjPt	'and' (following clause has the same subject as the preceding one)
ni	N:2a/(?)	'woman; female'

nɨv	M:1	'new; young'
no	N:1/F	'eye'
no	Cj	'but'
nok	Int	'where?'
nõ	V:1.2d/Br	'to lie down'
nõr	unknown	unknown

ñãm	(weak form of ãm, q.v.)	
ñʌ	Int	question-word (with strong emotional content)
ñʌč	(variant form of ñʌi, q.v.)	
ñʌi	N:2b (occasionally ñʌč)	'woodpecker'
ñi	M	'characterised by'
ñĩ	(weak form of ĩ, q.v.)	
ñĩkra	(weak form of ʔĩkra, q.v.)	
ñĩkže	(weak form of ʔĩkže, q.v.)	
ñĩmɛč	(directed form of ʔĩmɛč, q.v.)	
ñĩn	(weak form of ĩn, q.v.)	
ñĩnua	(directed form of ʔĩnua, q.v.)	
ñĩñu	(weak form of ʔĩñu, q.v.)	
ñĩpeč	(directed form of ʔĩpeč, q.v.)	
ñĩpok	(weak form of ʔĩpok, q.v.)	
ñĩre	(weak form of ʔĩre, q.v.)	
ñɨ̃	V:1.2d/Br (ɨ̃r, ñɨ̃r)	'to sit, be seated'
ñɨ̃č	APt	'almost'
ñɨ̃r	Cj	'so, thus'
ñɨ̃r	(weak extended form of ñɨ̃, q.v.)	

ñɛ̃-ri	cInt	'where (at)?'
ñɛ̃-ri	cA	'somewhere (unknown)'
ñɛ̃rkʌ	(weak form of ɛ̃rkʌ, q.v.)	
ñɛ̃ʔɛ̃-m(ʌ̃)	cInt	'where to?'
ñɛ̃ʔɛ̃-m(ʌ̃)	cA	'to somewhere (unknown)'
ño	M:1	'withered, wrinkled'
ñopñop	M:1	'itchey'
ñor	((form (iv) of kuño, q.v.)	
ñõ	(weak form of õ, q.v.)	
ñõpo	(directed form of õpo, q.v.)	
ñõpoñ	(extended directed form of õpo, q.v.)	
ñũm	CjPt	'and ' (following clause has a different subject from the preceding one)
ñũm-ʔʌ̃	cCjPt	'until (the completion of something)'
ŋãrɛ̃	(rare variant of žarɛ̃, q.v.)	
ŋeč	N:1	'aunt'
ŋet	N:1	'uncle'
ŋĩmɛč	(rare variant of ñĩmɛč, q.v.)	
ŋĩn	(rare variant of ñĩn, q.v.)	
ŋɛ̃v	N:2b	'mud'
ŋo	N:2b/(?) (occasionally ŋoč)	'water; river'
ŋoč	(occasional variant of ŋo, q.v.)	
ŋočpor	cN:2b	'species of wasp'
ŋoi	N:2b	'pot'
ŋoñõprɛ̃	cN:2b/(?)	'bathing-place'

ŋo?kõn	N:2b		'gourd'
ŋo?kõn?a̰	N:2b/(?)		'gourd-seed'
ŋõ	(rare variant for ñõ, q.v.)		
ŋõ	(form (iii) of kuŋõ, q.v.)		
ŋõr	V:1.2d/Ct	(õt, ñõt)	'to sleep'
ŋreÃ	M		'many'
ŋrɛ	V:1.2d/Br	(ŋrɛr)	'to sing' (of men)
ŋrɛ	N:2a/F		'egg'
ŋrɛŋrɛr	M:1		'smooth'
ŋrɛr	(extended form of ŋrɛ, q.v.)		
ŋri	M:1/(?)		'small'
ŋroi	N:2b		'porcupine'
ŋvra	N:2b/(?)		'the wine mauritia or murity palm; log cut from this palm'
okapi	V:1.1/B?	(čukapi?)	'to look for a way to escape'
om	V:2/A	(čom)	'to pound something'
opok	M:1	(čupok)	'right' (of direction)
or	V:1.3/A		'to melt'
ɔičkõ	cV:2/Bm	(ɔ...kõm)	'to drink something'
ɔkɔra	cInj(i)		'look!'
ɔmnûi	M:1	(punui)	'useless, rotten, bad'
ɔmõ	cV:2/Br	(ɔ...mõr)	'to carry, take something'
ɔmõr	(extended form of ɔmõ, q.v.)		

ɔmra	cV:2/Br	(ɔ...mrar)	'to carry, take something (intens)'
ɔmu	V:2/Bñ	(pumuñ)	'to see; know, recognise; understand'
ɔmuñ	(strong extended form of ɔmu, q.v.)		
ɔpa	cV:2/Bʔ	(ɔ...paʔ)	'to carry, take something (intens)'
ɔpoi	cV:2/Bč	(ɔ...poč)	'to bring something'
ɔri	Inj		'look at that!'
ɔrira	cInj		'look at that!'
ɔ-ta	cInj		'look at that!'
ɔtɛ̃	cV:2/Bm	(ɔ...tɛ̃m)	'to carry, take something'
ɔʔto	M:1	(čɔʔto, žɔʔto)	'many'
õ	N:1/(?)	(ñõ)	'food'
õ	Nmr	(ñõ)	'possession'
õpo	V:2/Bñ	(ñõpoñ)	'to extract, pull out something'
õpoñ	(strong extended form of õpo, q.v.)		
õr	(form (iv) of kuŋõ, q.v.)		
õt	(strong extended form of ŋõr, q.v.)		
pa	N:1/A/(?)		'arm'
pa	V:1.1b/Bʔ	(paʔ)	'to walk, go (intens)'
pa	V:2/Br	(par)	'to complete something'
pa	Inj(i)		'Oi!'
pa	Pn		'1st.pers.sg.'
pač	EPn(?)		'I only'

par	N:1/A	'foot'
par	N:1/B	'bed'
par-pe	cIPt:a	'beneath'
pãm	EPn	'myself, ourselves'
pʌr	N:2a/B	'trunk; plant; wood'
pʌr	N:1 or 2b/B	'canoe'
pʌr	N:2b/B	'ani (a bird)'
pʌt	N:2b/B	'anteater'
pʌtkʌk	cN:2b/B	'sloth'
pÃm	N:1/A	'father'
pÃñ-ʔÃ	cIPt:a	'instead of'
pe	IPt:1 (3rd.pers.stem kep)	'from, from among; at'
pɛ̃p	N:2b/B	'warrior, soldier'
piaŋri	dV:1.1a/Bʔ (piaŋriʔ)	'to give birth to a child'
piapuʔ	(extended form of ačpu, q.v.)	
pič	Mmr	'only'
pičo	N:2b/B	'banana'
piitÃ	Mmr	'all, all of'
pikapoñ	(extended form of ačkapo, q.v.)	
pikaʔek	(extended form of ačkaʔtɛ, q.v.)	
pikʌr	(extended form of aʔkʌ, q.v.)	
pikunɔr	(extended form of akunɔ, q.v.)	
pikvɛ̃ñ	(extended form of ačkvɛ̃ñ, q.v.)	
pikžer	(extended form of apkže, q.v.)	
pimnir	(extended form of amɛ̃ti, q.v.)	
pinĩñ	dM:1	'to have had intercourse'

piniñket	cM:1	'not to have had intercourse; young'
piñpañ	(extended form of añĩpa, q.v.)	
pipro	dM:1	'covered'
pižaÃm	d(?)M:1	'ashamed, embarrassed'
pĩ	N:2b/B/F	'wood'
pĩ	(form (iii) of kupĩ, q.v.)	
pĩr	(form (iv) of kupĩ, q.v.)	
pĩʔo	cN:2a/B/(?)	'leaf'
pɨčɨ	M:1/F	'one'
pɨka	N:2b/B/F	'earth, land, ground, sand'
pɨne	(directed form of une, q.v.)	
pɨrʌk	(directed form of urʌk, q.v.)	
poč	(extended form of poi, q.v.)	
poi	V:1.2d/Bč (poč)	'to come back, return'
pok	N:2a/A	'flame'
poñ	V:unknown	'to clean something'
por	V:1.1b/A	'to catch fire, burn'
po	M:1/F	'broad'
poŋri	cM:1/(?)	'narrow'
põɨ	cN:2b/B/(?)	'corn'
prʌʔčet	cN:2a/A	'charcoal'
prÃm	M:2b	'need, want, desire; be hungry'
prek	M:1	'tall, high'
prɛ	PPt	'completive aspect'
prĩn	N:2b/B	'souari nut'
prɨ	N:1/A/F	'footprint'

prɨ	N:2b/B/F		'trail, path, road'
prɔ	V:2a/Bʔ	(prɔʔ)	'to cover something'
prɔ̃ʔket	N:2b/A		'young man'
pu	N:2b/B/F		'motuca fly'
pu	Pn		'lst.pers.exc.dual'
pumu	(directed form of ɔmu, q.v.)		
pumuñ	(extended directed form of ɔmu, q.v.)		
pune	(directed form of une, q.v.)		
punui	(weak form of ɔmnui, q.v.)		
purʌk	(directed form of urʌk, q.v.)		
pu-ʔɐ̃	cIPt:a		'round about'
pže	N:2a/(?)/(?)		'hole left when something is pulled up or out'

ra	A	'already'
rač	M:1	'big, large; many, many times'
rɐ̃	N:2a/F	'flower'
rɐ̃m	IPt:2a	'than'
rɐ̃ʔɐ̃	cCj	'until'
rɛ	M(?)	meaning unknown
rɛrɛk	M:1	'soft'
rɛrɛkkʌ	cN:1/(?)	'flank(s)'
ri	A	'continuously'
ri	MlPt	'completion' (in negative clauses)
ri	IPt:2a	'together with, at, near, by'

prɨ̇	N:2b/B/F		'trail, path, road'
prɔ	V:2a/Bˀ	(prɔˀ)	'to cover something'
prɔ̃ˀket	N:2b/A		'young man'
pu	N:2b/B/F		'motuca fly'
pu	Pn		'lst.pers.exc.dual'
pumu	(directed form of ɔmu, q.v.)		
pumuñ	(extended directed form of ɔmu, q.v.)		
pune	(directed form of une, q.v.)		
punui	(weak form of ɔmnui, q.v.)		
purʌk	(directed form of urʌk, q.v.)		
pu-ˀɐ̃	cIPt:a		'round about'
pže	N:2a/(?)/(?)		'hole left when something is pulled up or out'

ra	A	'already'
rač	M:1	'big, large; many, many times'
rɐ̃	N:2a/F	'flower'
rɐ̃m	IPt:2a	'than'
rɐ̃ˀɐ̃	cCj	'until'
rɛ	M(?)	meaning unknown
rɛrɛk	M:1	'soft'
rɛrɛkkʌ	cN:1/(?)	'flank(s)'
ri	A	'continuously'
ri	M1Pt	'completion' (in negative clauses)
ri	IPt:2a	'together with, at, near, by'

rɨ̃	M:1	'long'
rõñ	N:2b	'a macaw palm, the mucaja acromia; the fruit of the palm'
rõr	N:2b	'babassu palm'
rũm	IPt:2a	'from'
Siprĩ	N:2b	personal name
Sit~ti	N:2b	personal name
Sɨ̃t	N:2b	personal name
ta	NPt	-
ta	(form (iii) of kuta, q.v.)	
tač	EPn(?)	'he, she, it, them only'
tañĩtɔ	cV:1.3/Bˀ (tañĩtɔˀ)	'to do, make something unknown; to not know what you are going to do'
tañĩtɔˀ	(extended form of tañĩtɔ, q.v.)	
tañ-mʌ̃	cInt	'how? why?'
tañ-mʌ̃	cA	'whatever; somehow'
tãm	EPn	'himself, herself, itself, themselves'
tʌ̃	Cj	'but; until, then, when'
tʌ̃	A	'now; then'
tʌ̃mtʌ̃	cCj	'until, when'
tə	Inj(r)	expresses agreement
təč	M:1	'hard'
təč	Mmr(?)	'thinking'

təčkĩn	cM:1		'very happy, overjoyed'
tɛ	PPt		emphasises subject
-tɛ	SPt (3rd.pers.stem kɔt)		pronomial subject in extended clauses
tɛp	N:2b/B		'fish'
tɛr	N:1/(?)		'possession'
tɛ̃	V:1.2d/Bm	(tɛ̃m)	'to go, come'
tɛ̃m	V:1.2d/A		'to fall'
tɛ̃m	(extended form of tɛ̃, q.v.)		
tĩr	M:1		'alive, living'
tɨ	V:1.2d/Bk	(tɨk)	'to die'
tɨk	M:1		'dirty; black'
tɨk	(extended form of tɨ, q.v.)		
tɨkčʌ	dN:1/A/(?)		'breath'
tɨkčʌmɛ̃	cV:1.1a/Bñ	(tɨkčʌmɛ̃ñ)	'to breathe'
to	Inj(i)		'alright, well, then'
tok	N:2b/(?)		'trumpet-bush'
toanɛ̃	(alternate stem of ʔoanɛ̃, q.v.)		
tokɨč	A		'quickly'
tõ	N:1/A/(?)		'brother'
tõč	N:1/A		'sister'
tu	N:1/A/(?)		'stomach'
tu	N:2b/B/(?)		'plateau-grass'
tur	(extended form of ičtu, q.v.)		
tũm	M:1		'a long time; useless (with age)'
tvəm	N:1/A		'fat'

uma	M:2b	(puma)	'fearing, afraid of'
une	V:2/Bñ	(puneñ, pɨneñ)	'to catch something'
uñvə	V:2/Br	(čuñvər)	'to put something on the fire; to cook something'
urʌk	V:2/A	(purʌk, pɨrʌk)	'to resemble someone'
utĩ	M:1	(putĩ, pɨtĩ)	'heavy'

užanÃr (strong extended form of avžanÃ, q.v.)

ũm	N:2a	(ñũm)	'beeswax, honeycomb'
ũm	M	(ñũm)	'dirty (of water)'
va	N:1/(?)	(čva)	'tooth'
va	QPt		'two'
vakrɛ	N:1/(?)	(čvakrɛ)	'place, spot'
va-nɛ̃	cInj(i)		expresses expostulation
Vañmɛ̃	N:2b		personal name
Vañmɛ̃kaprÃn~rɛ	cN:2b		personal name
vaŋɛ	N:2b/(?)		'a tree' (Port.craiba)
vapɔ	N:1/F	(čvapɔ)	'knife'
va?õ	Int		'who?'
va?õ	N:2b/(?)		'someone (unknown, unspecified)'
vəi	N:1	(čvəi)	'daughter-in-law'
vər	IPt:2c		'towards, in the direction of'
vɛ	PPt (emph.form vɛ?ɛ)		probably adds emotional force

vɛ?ɛ (emphatic form of vɛ, q.v.)

vrə N:1/(?) 'rib (small)'

vrə V:1.2d/Bk (vrək) 'to descend, go down'

vrək (extended form of vrə, q.v.)

ža NPt -

žaã A 'for this reason'

žaka (weak form of ʔaka, q.v.)

žakʌr (extended directed form of ʔakʌ, q.v.)

žako (directed form of ʔako, q.v.)

žakor (extended directed form of ʔako, q.v.)

žakɔt (weak form of ʔakɔt, q.v.)

žakrɨ̈ (weak form of ʔakrɨ̈, q.v.)

žakva (weak form of ʔakva, q.v.)

žamɛ̃ (weak form of ʔamɛ̃, q.v.)

žamɨ̈ (weak form of ʔəmɨ̈, q.v.)

žape M1 'uncertainty'

žape (weak form of ʔape, q.v.)

žapoččʌ (weak form of ʔapoččʌ, q.v.)

žapok (weak form of ʔapok, q.v.)

žapro (directed form of ʔapro, q.v.)

žar APt 'here'

žarɛ̃ (directed form of ʔarɛ̃, q.v.)

žari A 'over there'

žarĩ (directed form of ʔarĩ, q.v.)

žaro (weak form of ʔaro, q.v.)

žatã A 'now; then'

žaža	NPt		'group or generic plural'
žʌt	N:2b		'sweet-potato'
že	NPt		-
ži	(weak form of ʔi, q.v.)		
žɔʔto	(occasional weak form of ɔʔto, q.v.)		
žuk	V:1.3/A		'to wander, drift, float (of a feather)'
ʔačʌ	V:2/Br	(žačʌr)	'to put something inside; to bury someone'
ʔaka	M:1/L	(žaka)	'white'
ʔakai	M:1	(žakai)	'white'
ʔakʌ	V:2/Br	(žakʌr)	'to cut something (intens)'
ʔako	V:2/Br	(žakor)	'to blow, smoke something'
ʔakɔt	M:1	(žakɔt)	'round; small (of a person)'
ʔakrɨ	M:1/L	(žakrɨ)	'cold' (not of humans)
ʔakva	N:1/F	(žakva)	'mouth'
ʔamačpɛ̃r	cV:1.1/A	(žamačpɛ̃r)	'to think, imagine'
ʔamak	(strong extended form of ama, q.v.)		
ʔamakkrɔ	cM:1/(?)	(žamakkrɔ)	'fearing, afraid of'
ʔamɛ̃	Nmr	(žamɛ̃)	'both, the two of'
ʔamɨ	N:2a/(?)	(žamɨ)	'tail'
ʔanɔ	V:2/Br	(žanor)	'to invite someone'
ʔaŋrɛ	N:1/(?)	(žaŋrɛ)	'feather ornament for the head'
ʔaŋro	N:2b/L		'pig'
ʔape	M:2b	(žape)	'to be sorry for, have pity for, be concerned for'

ʔapea	V:2/A	(žapea)	'to look for, hunt something'
ʔapeč	V:1.1/A	(žapeč)	'to come to an end, finish'
ʔapoččʌ	dN:1/(?)	(žapoččʌ)	'point or place of coming or going out (intens)'
ʔapoi	V:1.1/Bč	(žapoč)	'to go out, come out (intens)'
ʔapok	M:1	(žapok)	'rotten (of wood)'
ʔapro	V:2/Br	(žapror)	'to buy something'
ʔaret	V:2/A	(žaret)	'to bury someone'
ʔarẽ	V:2/Bñ	(žarẽñ)	'to say, tell something'
ʔarẽñ	(extended non-directed form of ʔarẽ, q.v.)		
ʔarĩ	V:2/Bʔ	(žarĩʔ)	'to raise, lift something'
ʔaro	N:1/L	(žaro)	'womb'
ʔʌmri	A		'now'
ʔã̀	IPt:1 (other stem tã̀)		'on'
ʔã̀	M(?)		meaning unknown
ʔã̀amm̃ne	cV:2/Bñ	(tã̀..ʌmneñ)	'to order someone to be killed'
ʔã̀aʔtũm	cM:1	(tã̀aʔtũm)	'passing some time'
ʔã̀aʔvə	cV:2/Br	(tã̀..ʌʔvər)	'to ask for something'
ʔã̀ʌmneñ	(strong extended form of ʔã̀amm̃ne, q.v.)		
ʔã̀ñor	cN:1	(tã̀ñor)	'heart'
ʔã̀ŋo	cN:1/(?)	(tã̀ŋo)	'sweat'
ʔã̀ŋrɛ	cV:2/Br	(tã̀ŋrɛr)	'to sing something (or by means of something(?))'
ʔã̀puri	cA (emph.form ʔã́puri)		'truly, certainly'
ʔã̀ʔamakkrɔ	cM:1/(?)	(tã̀..žamakkrɔ)	'to be afraid, frightened of something'

ʔeč	V:1.1/A	(čeč)	'to tell lies'
ʔečñi	cN:1/(ʔ)	(čečñi)	'liar'
ʔi	N:1/(ʔ)	(ži)	'bone'
ʔĩkra	N:1/F	(ñĩkra)	'hand'
ʔĩkvÃ	V:1.1/Bʔ	(ñĩkvÃʔ)	'to lie down (intens)'
ʔĩkže	N:1/(ʔ)	(ñĩkže)	'side'
ʔĩmɛč	V:2/A	(ñĩmɛč)	'to kill someone'
ʔĩmõk	N:2a	(ñĩmõk)	'head (of tree); source (of stream)'
ʔĩmõk-ʔÃ	cIPt	(ñĩmõk-ʔÃ)	'on top of'
ʔĩnua	V:2/A	(ñĩnua)	'to hollow out, scoop out something'
ʔĩñu	N:1/(ʔ)	(ñĩñu)	'nose'
ʔĩpeč	V:2/A	(ñĩpeč)	'to make, do something'
ʔĩpɨ	M:1	(ñĩpɨ)	'on top'
ʔĩpok	N:2a	(ñĩpok)	'centre'
ʔĩpok-ri	cIPt	(ñĩpok-ri)	'in the middle of'
ʔĩre	N:1/(ʔ)	(ñĩre)	'side'
ʔĩre	V:2/Bñ	(ñĩreñ)	'to cut something up into pieces'
ʔĩžɨk-ri	cIPt	(ñĩžɨk-ri)	'in front of'
ʔɨ	N:1/(ʔ)	(ži)	'lead-shot'
ʔɨr	(extended form of kuta, q.v.)		
ʔo	(form (iii) of kuvo, q.v.)		
ʔor	(form (iv) of kuvo, q.v.)		
ʔɔ	IPt:1	(other stem to)	'with, by'
ʔɔamɐ̃rʌ	cV(ʔ)		'to do something along with someone else (ʔ)'
ʔɔamñĩpɨtʌ	cV:2/Br	(tɔamñĩpɨtʌr)	'to take care of something'

ʔɔanɛ̃	cV:2/Cr	(tɔañɛ̃r)	'to do, make something like this, in this way'
ʔɔañɛ̃r	(extended form of ʔɔanɛ̃, q.v.)		
ʔɔaʔkĩ	cV:2/Bñ	(tɔ..ʧʌʔkĩñ)	'to steal something'
ʔɔaʔkĩñ	(strong extended form of ʔɔaʔkĩ, q.v.)		
ʔɔkatɛ̃	cV:2/Bʔ	(tɔkatɛ̃ʔ)	'to empty something'
ʔɔkatɔ	cV:2/Br	(tɔkatɔr)	'to create, invent something'
ʔɔkõnta	(borrowed)		'to count'
ʔɔmɛʧ	cM:3		'to do well'
ʔɔmnui	cM:3		'to do badly'
ʔɔ..mõr	(extended form of ɔmõ, q.v.)		
ʔɔmrɔ	cV:2/Bʔ	(tɔmrɔʔ)	'to cook something in ashes'
ʔɔnana	(borrowed)		'to swim'
ʔɔnãda	(borrowed)		'to swim'
ʔɔpa	(alternate form of ɔpa, q.v.)		
ʔɔvɛne	(borrowed)		'to sell'
ʔɔʔkrit	cV:2/A	(tɔʔkrit)	'to raise a pet animal'
ʔõ	M:1/(?)	(weak form not found)	'other; one'
ʔõkapa	cV:2/Cr	(ʔõkaʧʌr)	'to pull up, off one (at a time)'
ʔõʔo	cV:2/Br	(ʔõʔor)	'to suck, eat one of something sweet'

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