Faetar

Naomi Nagy

Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

Faetar ([fájdár]) is an oral language spoken in the village of Faeto, located high in the Apennine Mountains in the province of Foggia, the region of Apulia (*Puglia*), Italy.[1] The two villages of Faeto and Celle have a combined population of about 600 people. Earlier this century, the population was ten times larger than now (Valente 1973:39), (Ercolino 1989), but there has been an economically driven mass exodus from rural regions in Italy (and much of Europe). Faetar is in danger of disappearing within a few generations, as Faeto disappears. Meanwhile, it is undergoing change due to frequent contact with the Italian varieties spoken nearby. This grammar documents the current status of the language: This is a grammar of the way people speak in Faeto, and no effort is made to separate out Italian, Apulian regional varieties, and "true" Faetar forms (except in cases of obvious nonce borrowing).

Francoprovençal region

Faeto

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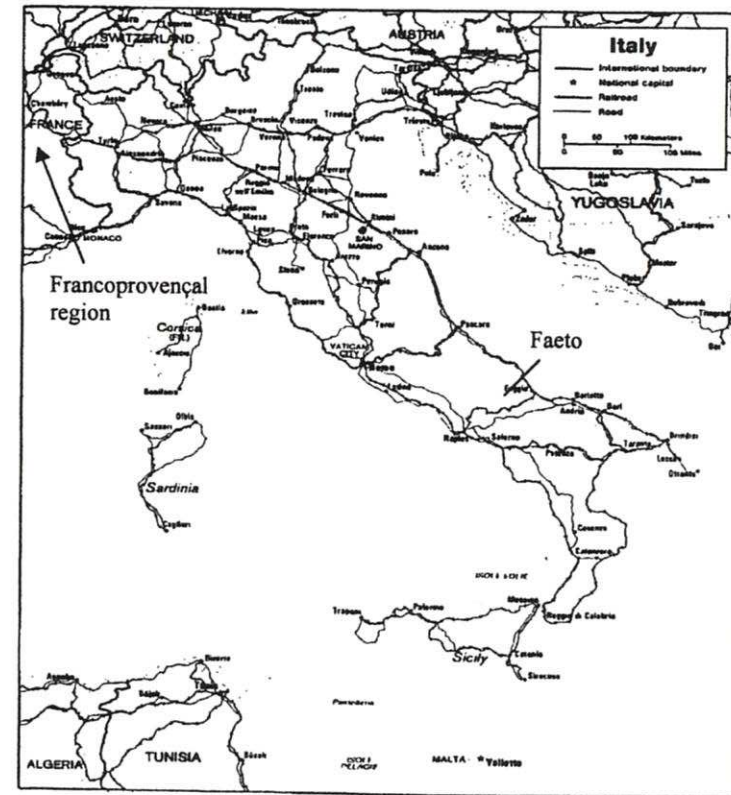
[1] The villagers of neighboring Celle St. Vito (which was apparently settled by the same people that settled Faeto) speak a very similar variety. All data presented in this grammar was collected in Faeto.

1.1. Linguistic history of the region

The earliest Romance language speakers arrived in the area when Apulia came under Roman influence around 325 B.C. However, the region remained fairly isolated until the end of the second century A.D. (Castielli 1992:7). Various Italian varieties, including Apulian, have been spoken there. At some point, a group (or groups) of people from the Francoprovençal (FP) region of France settled in Faeto, bringing with them the roots of the language that is now spoken there. While there are conflicting accounts of how and when these people migrated to this part of Apulia, the time period has been established as between the late 1200s and the 1500s (*cf.* (Nagy 1996:57-60).

FP is indigenous to a wedge-shaped region expanding eastward from Lyon, France, through the Alps into western Switzerland and the Piedmont region of Italy (Gardette 1983), (Schule 1978). The most likely source of Faetar is the region of the Ain and Isère River valleys (Nagy 1996:67-73). In France, the FP varieties have been virtually exterminated by aggressive majority-language legislation. Faetar is thus a doubly endangered language as it is now spoken by fewer than 500 people in Faeto.

There is no evidence of contact between Faeto and other FP speaking communities, except that elementary school students participate in an annual competition in Val d'Aosta. No one has ever mentioned to me any French relatives or other connections to France. Apart from the language, the culture of Faeto does not differ from that of neighboring towns. Because of this isolation from the French varieties of FP, Faetar has evolved differently and is no longer fully mutually intelligible with the varieties spoken in France. In addition, speakers have frequent contact with other towns in the region, all of which speak varieties of regional Italian. (The two exceptions are the neighboring village of Greci, which has a language of Albanian origin, and Celle, which also speaks a Francoprovençal variety.) Thus, virtually all inhabitants of Faeto are bilingual in (regional) Italian and Faetar.

1.2. Language usage patterns[2]

Adult members of the Faetar community, except some spouses from other towns, speak Faetar on a daily basis. Many children (generally with one non-Faetar parent) do not speak the language, although they understand it. If pressed, they can usually come up with various vocabulary items, but do not construct fluent sentences. It appears that teenagers gain an interest in speaking the language at the age when they must go to a neighboring town for school. All teenagers, even those who don't speak Faetar at home, understand the language completely and speak it to some degree. (Valente 1973:39) reported "the dialect is still very much alive, being almost the only mode of communication in the house and in town among members of the community" [my translation]. (Kattenbusch 1986:403) reports on a language usage survey in 1978-9, in which he found that 34 out of 35 people surveyed reported that they regularly spoke the "dialect." The one person who reported using Italian more frequently is a teacher. Because Kattenbusch doesn't provide the ages of his respondents, it is not clear whether at that time all children spoke the language, or were simply not included in this survey.

I did not encounter any monolingual Faetar speakers. This lack of monolingual speakers may not be a recent phenomenon, as (Valente 1973:39) reported that only the oldest inhabitants knew only Faetar, while the younger ones were bilingual (with Italian). This, however, is contradicted by a much older description of the community: "everyone knows and

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[2] This section is adapted from Nagy (1996: Chapter 3).

speaks Apulian-Foggiano, especially in public" (Morosi 1988:34), cited in (Valente 1973:40). There is no evidence of Faetar use being correlated to social class—people from every type of employment and income level speak it, and the language is held in high regard. The same was reported in (Kattenbusch 1979:143).

Replies to my questions about the history of bilingualism in Faeto range from "it's just happened in the last few generations" to "it was necessary for communicating with neighboring villages since the beginning." Speaker F72A said that her grandparents (who would have been in school toward the end of the nineteenth century) knew Italian, and that, in fact, everyone always had. In the next breath, she explained how the first settlers came from France and spoke French. Speaker F44A said that people only started learning Italian about twenty years ago. In contrast, Speaker M77 said that people have always known Italian because they needed it even to talk to their neighbors in Castelluccio (the closest town).

This range of views is also found in published descriptions of Faetar. The two extremes are represented by Valente and Kattenbusch. (Valente 1973:41) reports that Italian is not only *not* used by all of the community, but is "a recent and marginal acquisition" [my translation]. In contrast, Kattenbusch's 1978/79 survey found that informants use Italian with strangers, outside of Faeto, in school, and in the workplace (Kattenbusch 1979:142).

1.3. Linguistic beliefs and knowledge in Faeto[3]

The people of Faeto are cognizant of the historical difference between their language and those of the surrounding region. Everyone whom I asked about the origin of their language reported that it came from France. However, while recognizing that Faetar has a distinctive history, most speakers do not recognize it as being a complete linguistic system, mostly due to the lack of a standardized orthographic system. This attitude is documented in (*Ricerca...* 1991-2):

... but there doesn't yet exist a grammar or a dictionary or a standard mode of writing the language, and, in fact, to speak it. [my translation]

Voicing the sentiments of many members of her generation, F32A explains,

Our Faetar is already a bit Italianized. We don't speak a real Provençal. Even my parents don't really speak it. They never did... They don't teach the children, so they make mistakes... so now we have a different language. [my translation]

Many inhabitants believe that the language is dying out. In a text compiled by one of the local teachers, the following appears:

There is ... the phenomenon of the gradual loss (especially in the younger generations) of the most archaic vocabulary and phonetic and morphological structures which are most typical of our language, because these are too far from today's predominant reality: the Italian mass media. There is the phenomenon of Italianization of our Francoprovençal, that is, the addition of the inflections and colorings from Italian (*Ricerca...* 1991-2). [my translation]

There is a fair amount of cultural support of the language as a result of local pride connected to the distinctive heritage of the language. People's support for Faetar can be seen in institutions such as the annual tour of the local choir that performs partially in Faetar, a local museum with objects labeled in Faetar, the publication of *Il Provenzale*, a quarterly

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[3] This section is adapted from Nagy (1996: Chapter 3).

journal with a few articles in Faetar, numerous books which include sections written in Faetar, and an annual school project involving transcribing stories in Faetar.

Many speakers have suggested that I design an orthography for them and write a grammar book, two prerequisites for using Faetar as a teaching language in the local school, according to Italian law (Melillo 1999). This oft-repeated request serves as further evidence of the recognition of Faetar as a language in its own right, in the eyes of its speakers, and the level of prestige with which it is regarded. I am pleased to be accomplishing one of these goals with this book.

1.4.   Faetar as a result of contact

Faetar is a speech variety that has developed out of contact between speakers of Francoprovençal and southern varieties of Italian. Nearly identical phoneme inventories exist in Faetar and Italian, both languages have phonemic length distinctions for consonants but not vowels, and similar phonotactic constraints exist. The most obvious phonological difference between the languages is the high frequency of coda-position clusters in Faetar, but not Italian. Many of these clusters, as well as the common word-final obstruents, are due to the frequent deletion of post-tonic vowels. There are more words with word-final stress in Faetar than Italian, for the same reason. A notable difference from Italian, and similarity to French varieties, is the presence of the reduced vowel [ə].

At the morphological level, salient differences are apparent between Faetar and Italian, which may be traced to the FP origin of the language. Faetar has a negation marker [pa] that follows the highest verb, while Italian has the marker *non*, which precedes it. Italian is a pro-drop language, while Faetar is conspicuous in having double subject pronouns in some instances and null subject pronouns in others (like some varieties of FP). Verbal inflections, definite determiners, and pronouns all resemble FP more than Italian. Several of these patterns can be seen in the following sentence.

[nus	nə	mɪndʒúnə	pa	lu	tʃe]
we-strong	we-weak	eat-2p-PRES	NEG	the	meat

(1)   *We don't eat meat.*

1.5.   Orthography

Faetar is an unwritten language, or at least, unread. Written language tasks are conducted in Italian, which is also used in formal situations such as government business and religious ceremonies. There are a few speakers who occasionally write texts in Faetar, each using their own orthography and always adjoining an Italian translation. Even these writers cannot readily read their texts, and I have never seen anyone attempt to read them except for the sake of exhibiting their novelty. There is much debate regarding the relative value of the different orthographic systems (which have trade-offs between being phonetically consistent, Italian-like, or representative of the Francoprovençal etymology) and no solution has yet been achieved. While developing an orthography is in the works for my next project (a grammar written for the speakers of Faetar (Nagy and Zubair *in prep*)), I use International Phonetic Alphabet symbols to represent Faetar throughout this reference grammar.

1.6.   Other work

There have been a number of works written on Faetar. The full list of the publications on Faetar of which I am aware appears in the bibliography. Works discussing the internal and/or

external history of the language include: DeSalvio (1918), Kattenbusch (1979), Gallucci (1988), Morosi (1988), Nagy (1993), Nagy (1994), and Nagy (1996).

Phonological and phonetic description can be found in: Hoffman (1968), Melillo (1956-7), Minichelli (1994), Morosi (1988), Nagy (1994), Nagy (1995), Nagy (1996), Nagy & Napoli (1995), Rohlfs (1973), and particularly Kattenbusch (1982).

Previous grammars or fairly extensive grammatical sketches (none published in English) of which I am aware are: Giuliani (1995), Hoffman (1968), Fino (1970), Morosi (1988), and Kattenbusch (1982).

Some morphological aspects of the language are described in Nagy & Heap (1998).

Collections of texts and speech transcriptions include: Castielli (1999), Jaberg (1928-1940), Melillo (1956-7), Minichelli (1994), and Rubino (1994).

In terms of organization, I have benefited enormously from the recently published Francoprovençal grammar, *Parlons Francoprovençal: Une langue méconnue*, by Dominique Stich (1998). Where reasonable, I have organized my grammar in the same manner as Stich's so that comparison between Gallic and Apulian Francoprovençal varieties can be made. I have used the same words and phrases as examples, but this is constrained by the desire to use naturally occurring forms (rather than elicited translations) wherever possible.

1.7.   Procedure

I have spent parts of four summers (1992, 1993, 1994, 2000) in Faeto, working with approximately eighty informants, age 5-93, of varying degrees of bilingualism. I collected data consisting of naturally occurring speech and noted the speakers, contexts, and communicative intent. I listened to, participated in, and recorded one-on-one and small-group conversations. I also conducted several controlled tasks (e.g., describing pictures, naming objects, telling stories, recounting the day's activities in various tenses, conjugating verb paradigms) in order to efficiently collect comparable naturalistic data from multiple speakers. In all cases where elicited forms do not match what I observed in more communicative contexts, I give priority to the latter. Most descriptions in this grammar are based on these empirical data. Existing descriptions are adapted where appropriate.

Forty-six 90-minute cassettes have been recorded. In 1994, I worked for several days with Francesca Giuliani, who was collecting data for her MA thesis, and we jointly recorded eight of these cassettes, mostly filled with translations of Italian words and phrases to elicit the phonemic inventory and morphological paradigms. I am also pleased to have one cassette recorded by Dieter Kattenbusch in the 1970s and one recorded by Carmela Fino, showing earlier speech patterns of several of the same speakers I had recorded.

I transcribed and translated all elicitation tasks and narratives, and most other recorded speech, using the International Phonetic Alphabet. Extraction of relevant material from these was done, where feasible, with the assistance of Goldsearch (Boas, Meyerhoff et al. 1998), a tool for searching a database and coding tokens extracted from it. Otherwise, transcriptions were searched visually for examples. Speakers and exemplars were selected in order to represent the speech of males and females of different generations and of different occupational categories, and utterances from different types of contexts. I used data only from speakers who sound fairly fluent. This is a subjective but important distinction, especially in the selection of younger speakers.

1.8.   Methodological issues

Traditionally, reference grammars represent the language as a homogeneous entity, ignoring variation in favor of conciseness. In contrast, sociolinguists focus on linguistic variation and

its correlation to culturally relevant distinctions among speakers (e.g., sex, age, attitude) and are interested in the issue of representing such variation *in the grammar*. When a sociolinguist is confronted with the task of writing a grammar, the traditional methods of homogeneous grammar preparation clash with these sociolinguistic goals.

The challenge in bringing the two together is to efficiently and effectively codify a language without concealing the facts of language change and variation. Because so much (if not all) of variation is indexed to social factors, representation of social characteristics of the speakers must be incorporated into the already many-tiered hierarchy of a traditional grammar. For example, traditionally, one form serves to illustrate the 3rd person singular form of the indicative imperfect past of a Type 1 verb. But, in place of this one form, a "variationally correct" grammar must show many forms, one for each cross-section of the relevant social and contextual factors. More extensive searching for exemplars is necessary in order to turn up different variants. This grammar shows all the forms that have been produced and indicates who produced them, for each aspect of the grammar.

In addition to showing the possible forms for each cell of this many-dimensioned array, a sociolinguist is tempted to show the relative frequency of each form and which factors best correlate to it. I have relegated that aspect to other publications, and a simple list of types is provided here.

Many aspects of the speakers' social status (e.g., age, sex, level of education, type of occupation) may be relevant, as is the context of the utterance. Because we cannot foretell which of these factors will be relevant, they must all be made available for future analysis. In this grammar, readers may draw their own conclusions about relevant social characteristics; no attempt is made to generalize about which forms are associated with which groups of speakers. Most of the social information has been relegated to an appendix. A short code is provided for each utterance that indicates speaker, speech style, and interview number (see § *Abbreviations*).

Not only are forms elicited from a wide variety of speakers, but multiple variants are often elicited, either from one or from different speakers. To avoid favoring one variant over another, I list all forms observed. However, where examples provided for the sake of explaining the language to the fieldworker differ from natural speech forms, a note is made and the naturally occurring variants are considered more accurate. Every effort has been made to provide examples that have been captured on tape so that future work may refer back to the original data for information on context, etc.

These procedures have been designed for better attainment of the goal for this grammar, which is to provide a picture of Faetar that is faithful to the ever-changing and socially situated array of actual speakers, rather than some "ideal[ized] speaker-listener in a homogeneous speech community" (Chomsky 1965:3-4).

2. Abbreviations

2.1.   Speaker codes

Speaker codes, following every phrase transcribed in this grammar, provide information about the speaker and context. The first letter of the code indicates the sex (M or F) of the speaker. The following one- or two-digit number indicates the speaker's age when first interviewed. Letters A-E immediately following the age are used to distinguish among speakers of the same age. Following the first space, the following letters indicate the context of the utterance:

G	conversation with another native speaker / group member
C	conversation with fieldworker (interactive or descriptive task)
F	Storybook Task. (See Key to Appendix for details.)
S	constructed sentence to illustrate usage or form
T	translation from an Italian prompt
P	paradigm, e.g. conjugation

The final number, following the second space, is the interview number. "M28C P 84" indicates that the utterance was produced by a 28-year-old (at time of first interview) male, that it was part of a formally elicited paradigm, and that it occurred during interview 84. The appendix lists all the interviews, arranged alphabetically by speaker code. There, the reader will find further information on the speakers and interviews.

2.2.   Parts of speech

AUG	augmentative	NEG	negation marker
DET	determiner	PEJ	pejorative
COMP	complementizer	PL	pleonastic pronoun
DIM	diminutive	PRT	partitive
EXIS	existential construction	REFL	reflexive pronoun

2.3.   Tense, mood and aspect

If a verb is not marked otherwise, it is present indicative. (There is only one subjunctive form in Faetar. I leave it unspecified for tense.)

CND	conditional	PP	past participle
IND	indicative	PrP	present participle
INF	infinitive	PST	past (perfect)
IMP	imperative	SBJ	subjunctive
IMPF	imperfect		

2.4.   Other grammatical features

m.	masculine	1s, 2s, 3s	singular persons for verbs
f.	feminine	1p, 2p, 3p	plural persons for verbs
sg.	singular		
pl.	plural		

Italicized words in transcriptions are Italian borrowings (usually pointed out by speaker).

3. Phonology

3.1. Consonants

3.1.1. Single consonants

The phonemic inventory of Faetar single consonants is shown below. See Kattenbusch (1982:151-168) for minimal pairs illustrating the contrasts.

Manner	Place of articulation									
	Labial		Labio-dental		Dental		Palatal		Velar	
Stop	p	b			t	d			k	g
Fricative			f	v	s		ʃ		x	
Affricate					ts		tʃ	dʒ		
Nasal		m				n		ɲ		ŋ
Liquid						l, r		λ		

3.1.2. Aspirated h

There is also an *h-aspiré*-type phoneme that appears word-initially. This sound does not have phonetic expression but blocks sandhi phenomena that affect vowel-initial words. For example, the word [la attə] 'the cat' is never pronounced [l attə] and, in its plural form, is never preceded by an s-final determiner, as vowel-initial nouns are. Thus there must be something preceding the [a] that sounds word-initial, and that something is known as *h-aspiré*. Castielli (1999:5), a native speaker of Faetar, transcribes such words with an initial <h> to indicate the distinction. Kattenbusch (1982:331) notes an alternation between [ɣ] (an allophone of /g/) and Ø for this word, which may point toward the historical origin of the segment.

3.1.3. Consonant allophony

Many consonants have several allophones. Kattenbusch (1982:154-64) describes complementary environments for some allophonic sets, and free variation for others. The following examples of allophonic variation in initial position are taken from Kattenbusch's glossary, unless otherwise noted.

Table (1)   Word-initial allophonic variation

Strong form	*Weak form*	*Gloss*
voiceless fricative	Ø	
[ʃkandʒiy]	[kantʃiy]	*change-INF*
voiced fricative	Ø	
[ɣatt] (/g/ > [ɣ])	[att]	*cat*
[ɣwántsə] (/g/ > [ɣ])	[wántsə]	*cheek*

voiced fricative	**glide**	
lu vɛstʃitə F9B F 46	lu wɛstʃitə F5 F 72	*suit*
voiced stop	**voiced fricative (or glide)**	
[bumbəká]	[vuməká]	*vomit-INF*
[gállə]	[ɣállə], [wáll]	*rooster*
voiced affricate	**voiceless affricate**	
[dzi]	[tsi]	*uncle*
[dʒókkələ]	[tsókkələ]	*mouse*
voiceless affricate	**voiceless fricative**	
[tʃəməná]	[ʃəməná]	*walk-INF*
[tʃitt]	[ʃitt]	*wedding*
voiceless affricate	**voiceless stop**	
[dʒənát]	[kəɲátə]	*axe*
liquid	**glide**	
[lówə]	[jówə]	*yes*
liquid	**fricative**	
[lókkələ]	[βókkələ]	*hen*

3.1.4. Epenthetic n

[n] is occasionally appended to the ends of words that normally end in a vowel. This may occur phrase-internally or phrase-finally, and occurs with at least adjectives, adverbs, verbs, nouns, and pronouns.

sa	fiλa	me	rozə	i	fa	də	lo	kartələ<u>nn</u>
her	daughter	more	big	she	does	of	the	dish

(2)   Her biggest daughter does the dishes.   F5 F 72

dʒə	vɛj	illé<u>n</u>
I	go	there

(3)   I go there.   F32A S 79

allé<u>n</u>	illé
Go-IMP	there

(4)   Let's go there! F23 S 93

dʒi<u>n</u>	me	awruliá	ána	matʃin
I	REFL	wake-PST	this	morning

(5)   I woke up this morning.   M13C G 75

NN:	alórrə	i	e	kuŋjï	M56:	kuŋjï<u>n</u>
	so	it	is	finish-PP		finished

(6)   NN: So, it is finished? M56: Finished.   M56 C 73

3.1.5. Initial s

One apparent change in progress involves the initial segment of the word meaning 'fingernail'. For some speakers, this is an [s]-initial word, while for others, it is [u]-initial.

Table (2)

C-initial word F26A T 88	V-initial word M28C T 84	Both variants F32 T 79	Gloss
súnjə			*fingernail (s)*
na súnjə	na uŋkj, *naz uŋkj	na súnjə (f.), un unjá	*a fingernail*
di sunjə		də ləs únjə	*some fingernails*
la sunjə	l uŋkjə	la súnjə (s.) l uŋgjá	*the fingernail*
lez uŋkj	lez uŋkj	lə súnjə (pl.) di súnjə	*the fingernails* *two fingernails*
	sɪŋkə z unjə	sɪŋkə súnjə	*five fingernails*
	diz uŋkj		*ten fingernails*
	tə ten na man pién dez uŋkj		*You have a hand full of* *nails.*

3.1.6.   Geminates

Faetar has phonemic geminates. The allophonic alternations that affect single consonants do not exist for geminates.There are contrastive geminates for all the single consonants except /ɲ/, /λ/, /g/, /v/ and the affricates, as illustrated by the following (near) minimal pairs.

Table (3)   (Near) minimal pairs showing C length distinction

		Single Consonant		Double Consonant	
stops	p	[kúpə]	*bottom*	[kúppə]	*bowl*
	t	[alletá]	*to nurse*	[allettá]	*to winnow*
	k	[pákə]	*Easter*	[pákkə]	*piece*
	b	[filabustĩjə]	*astute*	[kuntrəbbuĩjə]	*to contribute*
	d	[adáttə]	*adept*	[addént]	*toward*
fricatives	f	[skyáfə]	*mucus*	[skyáffə]	*slap*
	s	[kas]	*cheese*	[kass]	*frying pan*
	ʃ	[lĩʃə]	*paving stone*	[lĩʃʃə]	*smooth*
nasals	m	[kalamájə]	*inkwell*	[bammátʃə]	*cotton*
	n	[lĩnə]	*linen*	[lĩnnə]	*moon*
liquids	l	[kulá]	*to strain*	[brɛllá]	*to shine*
	r	[barĩtənə]	*baritone*	[barrá]	*to close and lock*

3.2.   Vowels

The following vowels exist in Faetar. (See Kattenbusch 1982:136-141) for minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of the five tense vowels.

Table (4)

	Front		Central	Back	
	Tense	Lax		Lax	Tense
High	i	[ɪ]		[ʊ]	u
Mid	e	[ɛ]	ə	[ɔ]	o
Low			a		

Vowel quality (full vs. reduced vowel) is predictable: Tonic vowels are never schwa, post-tonic vowels categorically reduce to schwa, and pre-tonic vowels variably reduce to schwa. Schwa is not phonemic, but rather an allophone of some other vowel(s) in unstressed position. The lax segments, shown in square brackets, are allophones of the corresponding tense vowels. They appear optionally in closed syllables, in free alternation with the tense forms, but never appear in open syllables. For further discussion, see Hoffman (1968:13).

[ə] appears variably in word-final position in Faetar. Although the trend is toward appearance of the schwa when the following word begins with a consonant, there is not complete correlation between appearance of word-final schwa and a following consonant. The pattern is apparent in word list elicitation. I asked speakers to say each word twice with a pause in between, but some speakers did not make the requested pause between repetitions. The forms elicited from them have a schwa at the end of the first repetition but not the second (example from F8 T 5):
(7)

la skólə la skol	*the school the school*
la kázə la kaz	*the house the house*
lu kumúnə lu kumún	*the Town Hall the Town Hall*
la gîsə la gis	*the church the church*

[ə] sometimes appears where it is unneccesary for syllabification, as in the followings forms, which were produced sentence-finally (and pre-pausally).
(8)

rəmírə	*look at*	M77 F 57
viáwə	*see*	M77 F 57
ɛntrátə	*entrance*	F21 F 19
mamanónnə	*Grandma*	F21 F 19

There is at least one frequent vowel alternation: [o] ~ [u]:
(9)

[no]	~	[nu]	*we*
[o]	~	[u]	*pleonastic pronoun*
[rowə]	~	[ruwə]	*big*

s	o	sa	luá	kántə	no	sərán	kunténnə
If	PL	be-3s-SBJ	true	how	we	be-1p-CND	happy

(10)   *If it were true, how happy we would be!*   M74 T 77

o   jókkə
PL   snows
(11)   *It is snowing. M23B T 93*

u   maŋkə   sun   báj
PL   miss   his   father
(12)   *His father is missing. F29C F 39*

s   ʊnfánnə   ruwə   i   mʊndʒúndə
These children   big   they   eat
(13)   *These big children are eating.   M34A F 21*

l   ʊnfánnə   me   rowə
the   child   more   big
(14)   *the bigger child   F11B F 139*

3.3.   Diphthongs

The following diphthongs exist in Faetar:

Table (5)   *Rising*   *Falling*

aj	vaj	*time*		ja	bukkjá	*mouthful*
aw	àwzə	*I get up*		wa	fwa	*fire*
ej	kuttéj	*knife*		je	mjédəkə	*doctor*
ew	--			we	dʒwénə	*joint*
ij	kuɲíjə	*finish*		ji	ajir	*yesterday*
iw	--			wi	bwik	*a clan name*
oj	woj	*voice*		jo	ɪndjókkə	*on top of*
ow	rówə	*big*		wo	tʃwoz	*thing*
uj	--			ju	fjúrə	*flower*
uw	--			wu	--	

3.4.   Phonotactic constraints

Only certain segments can appear in certain syllable positions. The broadest distribution is found in onsets, particularly word-initial onsets. The most restricted distribution is found in word-medial codas. Consonant clusters, which cannot appear in word-medial codas, do appear word-finally.

Onsets may consist of any single consonant, or be empty:

Table (6)   *Word-initial and medial simple onsets*

stop	[kásə]	*house*
fricative	[faws]	*false*
affricate	[dʒi]	*I*
nasal	[nu]	*nine*
liquid	[rówə]	*big*

glide	[jennárə]	*January*
Ø	[alá]	*to go*

Word-initial onset clusters, consisting of an obstruent + an approximant, are possible:

Table (7)   *Word-initial onset clusters*

stop + liquid	[blékkə]	*disgusting*
	[brávə]	*good*
stop + glide	[kwa]	*tail*
	[bja]	*grain*
fricative + liquid	[fladʒellá]	*to lash*
fricative + glide	[fwa]	*fire*
affricate + glide	[dʒwénə]	*joint*

In word-initial position, clusters consisting of /s/ followed by any consonant are permitted:

Table (8)   *Word-initial onset /sC/ clusters*

/s/ + stop	[stájələ]	*star*
/s/ + stop	[spetʃ:iále]	*special*
/s/ + stop	[zdénta]	*without teeth*
/s/ + fricative	[ʃfuλìjə]	*to lose leaves*
/s/ + nasal	[ʃmudá]	*out of date*
/s/ + liquid	[sruájə]	*sun*

Word-medially, all onset clusters obey the sonority hierarchy, consisting of an obstruent followed by an approximant:

Table (9)   *Word-medial onset clusters*

stop + liquid	[batteddrá]	*carpet beater*
	[báttrə]	*to knock*
	[bəbliotékə]	*library*
stop + glide	[bíbbjə]	*bible*
fricative + liquid	[kədávrə]	*cadaver*
	[tʃífrə]	*digit*
fricative + glide	[dəlúvjə]	*flood*
affricate + glide	[armestítsjə]	*armistice*
*s + obstruent	--	--

Word-medial codas may contain the first half of any geminate, a nasal that is homorganic to the following consonant, or a liquid. Occasionally, obstruents do appear in coda position, but this is very rare word-medially.

Table (10)   *Word-medial codas*

first half of a geminate	[pák.kə]	*piece*
	[líʃ.ʃə]	*smooth*
homorganic nasals	[ab.bam.bá]	*sweaty*
	[ab.ban.dún]	*abandon*

liquids	[ad.dur.mŭj]	*asleep*
	[bal.dór.jə]	*gaiety*
exceptional /s/	[ba.zə.lĭs.kə]	*stupid person*
	[bas.tún]	*stick*

Up to this point, the phonotactic constraints of Faetar resemble those of Italian. In word-final codas, however, there are significant differences. While obstruents very rarely occur in codas word-internally in Faetar, they occur frequently in word-final position. Coda clusters are not rare in word-final position, but many may be the result of a non-surfacing final schwa.

Table (11)   Word-final simple codas

	stop	[ɪndjók(kə)]	*on top of*
		[bwik]	*a clan name*
		[kát(tə)]	*four*
	fricative	[kwajʃ]	*leg*
	affriλate	[wallútʃ]	*rooster*
		[gridʒ]	*grey*
	nasal	[affukkén]	*suffocating*
		[arán]	*copper*
	liquid	[ajɪr]	*yesterday*
		[frár(ə)]	*brother*
		[baŋgatiél]	*bench*

Table (12)   Word-final coda clusters

liquid + stop	[ammórb]	*stinky*
	[tʃiárp]	*prickly bush*
	[kult]	*well-educated*
	[assúrd]	*absurd*
	[assúrt]	*absorbed*
liquid + fricative	[belv]	*beast*
	[kurv]	*curve*
	[kunkúrs]	*contest*
liquid + affricate	[tʃɛrtʃ]	*oak*
nasal + stop	[kunt]	*fact, story*
	[mund]	*world*
	[baŋk]	*bank*
nasal + affricate	[kióntʃ]	*contented person*
liquid + nasal	[kakkiakárn]	*big fork*
/s/ + stop	[kust]	*cost*
	[ast]	*lance*

3.5.   Prosody

Stress is lexically marked, as illustrated by these minimal pairs:[4]

Table (13)

[balanzà]	*to weigh*	~	[balànzə]	*scale*
[arkətettà]	*to design*	~	[arkətèttə]	*architect*
[awzà]	*plow handle*	~	[àwzə]	*I get up*

Stress always appears on the rightmost non-schwa vowel of a word (except in some Italian borrowings). The stressed syllable is always one of the last three syllables in the word. However, stress is not on a fixed syllable, counting from the left or from the right, nor is it consistently on either an odd or an even syllable. Furthermore, stress may be on either an open or closed syllable:

Table (14)

Word	From end	From start	Gloss
[bró.kə.lə]	antepenultimate	1st	*fork*
[frá.rə]	penultimate	1st	*brother*
[am.máp.pələ]	antepenultimate	2nd	*interjection*
[kut.té.jə]	penultimate	2nd	*knife*
[am.bu.lán.zə]	penultimate	3rd	*ambulance*
[am.mat.tuf.flĭ.jə]	penultimate	4th	*to accumulate*
[am.mə.tun.tá]	ultimate	4th	*to bruise*
[am.mun.tu.nam.mén]	ultimate	5th	*accumulation*

Any vowel except schwa may be stressed, and any vowel may appear in an unstressed syllable:

Table (15)

Vowel	Stressed		Unstressed	
i	[avĭ]	*today*	[tʃiɲá]	*saucy*
ɪ	[dʒəlĭnnə]	*rooster*	[mɪndʒá]	*ate*
u	[alúnnə]	*student*	[kuttéjə]	*knife*
ʊ	[múkkə]	*cow*	[ammatuntá]	*to bruise*
e	[kuttéjə]	*knife*	[vekkardún]	*old man*
ɛ	[buféttə]	*table*	[allɛrdʒĭ]	*allergy*
o	[brókələ]	*fork*	[konttʃéttə]	*Concetta*
ɔ	[baldɔ́rjə]	*gaiety*	[ɔrmáj]	*henceforward*
a	[frárə]	*brother*	[avĭ]	*today*
ə	*		[dʒəlĭnnə]	*rooster*

One binary foot, a generalized trochee (Kager 1993), is built at the right edge of the word. Some words have one extrametrical syllable at their right edge, but no more than one. Thus the possible structures for the right edge of Faetar words are:

---

[4] This section is adopted from (Nagy 2000a).

(15)   a. Antepenultimate stress   b. Penultimate stress c. Ultimate stress

```
         F                        F                       F
        / \                      / \                      |
      σ   σ  <σ>                σ   σ                      σ
      |   |   |                 |   |                     / \
     μs  μw   μ                μs  μw                   μs  μw
      |   |   |                 |   |                     |
      V   ə   ə                 V   ə                     V
```

(a-c) show only the assignment of vowels to syllable nuclei. The strong (left) branch of any foot may have a coda consonant, the weak branch may not. The limitations of one extrametrical syllable and a binary-branching foot restrict stress to one of the rightmost three syllables of the word and account for the occurrence of only reduced vowels in post-tonic position. Any vowel in the weak side of a foot must reduce to schwa in order to be less sonorant than the vowel in the strong (left) side of the foot. Unfooted vowels also reduce, so a word-final vowel that is not part of a foot will surface as schwa.

To illustrate, [bró.kə.lə] 'fork' has stress on the first syllable. (bro.kə) is the only foot in the word. The vowel in the second syllable must surface as schwa in order to be less sonorant than the [o] in the first syllable of the same foot. [lə], being a light syllable, cannot be footed due to an absolute ban on degenerate feet, and it also surfaces as schwa. [fjú.rə] 'flower' is stressed on the penult and the whole word is exactly one foot, a trochee. Thus the vowel in its second syllable must reduce to schwa in order to be less sonorous than the [u]. A word like [maŋ.kún] 'no one', on the other hand, has two feet -- each a heavy syllable -- and so gets main stress on the final syllable. Each vowel remains full because it is on the strong side of a foot.

(16)   a. Antepenultimate stress   b. Penultimate stress   c. Ultimate stress

```
         F                          F                      F       F
        /  \                       /  \                     |       |
      σs    σw   σ               σs    σw                  σs      σw
      |     |    |                |     |                   /\      /\
      μ     μ    μ                μ     μ                  μs μw   μs μw
      |     |    |                |     |                   | |     | |
     bró    kə   lə              fjú    rə                 ma ŋ    kú n
```
         'fork'   'flower'   'no one'
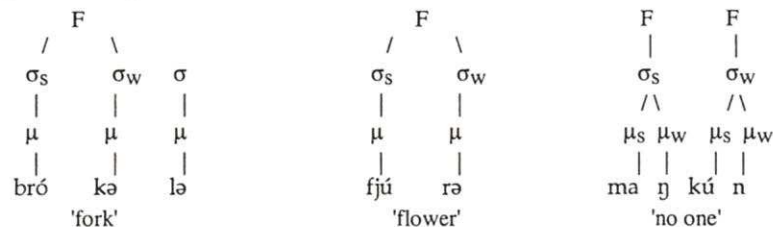
In words that have more than one heavy syllable, the right-most heavy syllable is stressed:
(17)

         [maŋkún]   no one
         [andík]   old
         [mattén]   morning
         [vɛkkardún]   old man

There are many words with final-syllable stress, although the final syllable is open and, in some cases, there is a closed penult. Because the stressed syllable is open and in word-final position, it cannot form a trochee, so stress could not be assigned to it by a trochee-forming

grammar. Like Italian, Faetar must have lexically marked stress to account for such words. Here are a few examples from Minichelli (1994):

Table (16)   Some exceptions to stress constraints

Faetar	Gloss	Possible Italian source
akkamá	really smelly	
akkussí	like this	
allerí	happiness	allegria
arká	arcade	arcata
bajá	cart	
barrí	barrel	barile

In some cases, comparison with the Italian source form of the word indicates that a final segment or syllable has been deleted since the Italian word was borrowed into Faetar, without affecting the stress pattern. Thus, stress appears on the last syllable of the word in the Faetar word because that is the syllable that is marked for stress in Italian. Such diachronic evidence would not be available to a speaker, so stress must be lexically marked, at least for these words, in order to preserve the Italian pattern.

3.6.   Raddoppiamento sintattico

Like many southern Italian dialects, Faetar exhibits a process of word-initial consonant lengthening following a word-final stressed vowel, known as *raddoppiamento sintattico* (RS). Valente (1973:43) explains it as assimilation to the Apulian dialect: There is a phono-syntactic pattern of strengthening the (otherwise weakened) final vowel in the pronunciation of two successive morphologically related words, giving, for example, [bbúkka bbarrá] 'closed mouth' from [búkka] + [barrá]. I adopt Repetti's (1991:307) analysis of RS: "raddoppiamento is caused by an empty mora which is present in the underlying representation (not added by a rule) ... [the mora] is now filled by spreading from the initial consonant of the following word."

Here are examples of phrases with measurably long word-initial consonants, indicating RS. My transcriptions do not generally show word-initial geminates, as I do not hear the length distinction reliably and there is some overlap in length between RS and non-RS context segments. See (Nagy 2001) for details.

nə	stunn própriə	la	ffermátə	də	lu	sɛmmáfərə
we	are really	the	stop	of	the	traffic-light

(18)   *We are right at the stoplight. F29C F 39*

ɪn	vɛtʃe	bu	sta	ffiʎə
In	constrast	uh	this	girl

(19)   *In contrast, uh, this girl--   F29C F 39*

e	tre	ffijáw
and	three	children

(20)   *... and three children. F29C F 39*

si	rəlodʒi	ffa	lə	katə
this	clock	it does	the	four

(21)   This clock shows 4:00.   F21 F 19

3.7.   Final deletion process

Any amount of material may be deleted from the end of a word as long as it occurs after the stress-bearing vowel. Deletion is more likely to occur in words with antepenultimate stress than in words with penultimate or ultimate stress (Nagy & Reynolds 1997:44-5). Vowels reduce to schwa as an intermediary step. The pattern is variable and present in the speech of all members of the community. Here are some of examples (Nagy & Reynolds 1997):
(22)

[brókələ] ~ [brókəl] ~ [brókə] ~ [brok]	*fork*
[tawolínnə] ~ [tawolín] ~ [tawolĭ]	*table-DIM*
[vatʃə] ~ [vatʃ]	*λow*
[kámiɲ] ~ [kámiə] ~ [kámi] ~ [kam]	*truλk*

Another example is this excerpt from the telling of *Little Red Riding Hood* (/kaputʃéttə róssa/ 'hood-DIM red'), where the post-tonic segments of /kaputʃéttə/ have been deleted.

i	dit	kaputʃé	va	dʒi	ta	nonn
she	said	hood-DIM	go	house-of	your	grandma

(23)   She said, "Little Red Riding Hood, go to your Grandma's."   M44A C 85

It is easy to see this process when it has applied to proper nouns that exist in Italian. The following pronunciations have been observed, where the post-tonic syllable(s) are deleted.

Table (17)   Toponyms   Nicknames

Faetar	Italian	Nickname	Full name
faît	*Faeto*	dunét	*Antonietta*
foddʒ	*Foggia*	pepín	*Josepina*
kastɛllútʃ	*Castelluccio*	dumɛník	*Domenico*
filadɛlfi	*Filadelphia*	dunín	*Antonio, Antonia*

4. Lexical Morphology

Lexical (content) morphemes are treated first. These include verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, comparatives, superlatives, numbers, and discourse markers. Then grammatical (structure) morphemes are described. These include articles, prepositions, pronouns, and conjunctions. Third, derivational morphology is addressed.

4.1.   Verbs

This section is based on an analysis of fifty verbs elicited in various ways—the most frequent verbs appearing in my recordings. Blank spaces have been left in the paradigms where no data is available, even when it would be possible to guess the form.

First, the six groups of infinitives are listed. Then the infinitival base, the base used for constructing simple tenses, is described. Following that, each tense/mood is described. Simple (one word) tenses are presented first, followed by composed (multi-word) tenses. Future and past are listed at the end of the simple tense section because there are both simple and composed forms for these tenses. Following the descriptions, charts of sample verbs are provided. Throughout this chapter, verbs are grouped according to the six infinitive types.

4.2.   Infinitives

There are six types of infinitives (grouped according to infinitive suffix): -[á], -[trə], -[rə], -[iə], -[ajrə], and irregular. However, most differences found in the conjugations oppose the Group 1 verbs (infinitives ending in –[á]) to all other verbs.

The **first group** has infinitives ending in –[a] and [a] is the theme vowel in the suffixes.

Table (18)

Infinitive	1s	Present part.	Past part.	Gloss
tʃantá	ttʃant	tʃantán	tʃantá	*to sing*
dumaná	adumán	dumanán	dumaná	*to ask*
pətʃá		pətʃán	pətʃá	*to sin*
dəná	dın	dənán	dəná	*to give*
mutsəká	mutsəkə	mutsəkán	mutsəká	*to chew, bite*
(a)ngjaná	ngjaná	nkjanán	ngjaná	*to go up*
maná		manán	maná	*to send*

The **second group** has a –[trə] or –[drə] ending in the infinitive and a /s/ or palatal in the infinitival base.

Table (19)

Infinitive	1s	Present part.	Gloss
ri(t/d)(ə)rə	rí	rəʃán	*to laugh*
nét(ə)rə / nəʃi	nájʃ / néə	nəʃán	*to be born*
kut(ə)rə	kuə, kutrə	kuzán	*to sew*
sat(ə)rə / sáλ(λ)ə / saλîr	sa(λə/j)	saλán	*to go out*

In the **third group**, the infinitive ending is **-[(ə)rə]** and the past participle is formed with –[i].[5]

Table (20)

Infinitive	1s	Present part.	Past part.	Gloss
vívərə	viv	vəván		to live
met(ərə)	met	mətán	máj	to put
tʃérə	tʃé(ə)	tʃəsán	tʃaj	to fall
(ʃ)muo(vər/i)ə	ʒmuóv(ə)	muován	ʒmui *to move*	
bát(ər)ə	bat(tə)	batán	bati	to hit
kwanáj(r)ə	kwanáj	kwanəʃán	kwanəʃi	to be familiar with
pérdərə		pɛrdán	pɛrdi	to lose

The **fourth group** has infinitives ending in **-[íə]** and several types of past participles.

Table (21)

Infinitive	1s	Present part.	Past part.	Gloss
məndʒíə	mɪndʒ	mʌndʒánnə	mʌndʒá	to eat
krəvíə	kriv	krəván	kəvérə	to cover
kunjii, kundʒi		kuŋgj, kunjə	kuŋʒján	kunji *to finish*
moríə		morán	mórrə	to die
sɛrvíə	sɛrv	sɛrván	sɛrvi	to serve
təníə	tin / ten	tenán	təni	to have, hold
vəníə	vinnə	vənán	vəni	to come

The **fifth group** has infinitives ending in –[ajrə].

Table (22)

Infinitive	1s	Present part.	Past part.	Gloss
avájrə	e	avi	to have	
sa(vájrə)	se	saván	savi	to know
putájrə	púλə / pówə / pwiλλə		puti	to be able
ulírə	wúλə		vuli	to want
vɛdáj(rə)	váj	vián	viáw	to see

Not fitting into groups are the following verbs. This may be because all catalogued forms of the infinitive happen to have been produced without pronunciation of the infinitival suffix. In all of these except the last, which apparently has two bases, the form produced as the infinitive is the same as the 1s present (allowing for the phonological Final Deletion process).

Table (23)

Infinitive	1s	Present part.	Past part.	Gloss

bájə	bájə	bián		to drink
pájə	paj	paján		to pay
krájə	kraj / kre			to believe
krájə	kraj	kreʃán		to grow
diʃ /dir	diʃ	dəʃán	di	to say
prennə	prɛn	prɛnján	práj	to take
riʃpún(də)	rəʃpún	riʃpunán	rəʃpuni	to answer
rəs(i/e)və	rəsévə	resəván	rəsəvi	to receive
kwɔrrə	kwɔr / kur	kurán	kuri	to run
fa	feə	fəʃán	fejə	to do, make

Finally, there are a few suppletive verbs:

Table (24)

Infinitive	1s	Present part.	Past part.	Gloss
étərə	ejə	DNE	sta	to be[6]
sta	estə		sta	to be
alá	vejə / vaj	alánə	alá	to go

The infinitive is not used in conjugated forms but appears as the second verb in some complex tenses and in infinitival clauses. (See § *Infinitival Clauses.*)

4.3. Infinitival bases

The infinitival base is the infinitive minus the infinitival suffix. This forms the base for the present, preterite, imperfect, future, conditional, present participle, past participle, and subjunctive.

Table (25)

Infinitive	Infinitival base	Gloss	Group
tʃantá	tʃant-	to sing	1
təníə	tən-	to have, hold	4
diʃ	dəʃ-	to say	6

There are a few exceptions. Several verbs have infinitival bases that end in an /s/ (realized a s[s], [z], or [ʃ]) that is not part of the infinitive. These include:

Table (26)

Infinitive	Infinitival base	Gloss	Group
ri(t/d)(ə)rə	rəʃ-	to laugh	2
kut(ə)rə	kuz-	to sew	2
nét(ə)rə	nəʃ-	to be born	2
tʃérə	tʃəs-	to drop	3
kwanáj(r)ə	kwanəʃ-	to be familiar	3

---

[5] Segments in parentheses were produced by some but not all speakers in contexts requiring the infinitive.

[6] The semantic difference between the two verbs glossed as 'to be' is discussed in the next section.

		with		
krájə-grow	krɛʃ-	*to grow*	6	
fa	fəʃ-	*to do, make*	6	

Two verbs have palatals in the infinitival base that are not part of the infinitive:

Table (27)

Infinitive	Infinitival base	Gloss	Group
sat(ə)rə	saλ-	*to go out*	2
prennə	prenj-	*to take*	6

Three verbs have suppletive bases that are used for the present participle, past participle, preterite, and imperfect.

Table (28)

Infinitive	Infinitival base	Gloss	Group
védáj(rə)	vi-	*to see*	5
bájə	bi-	*to drink*	6
étərə	sta	*to be*	6

One verb, meaning 'to finish' has two possible roots: [kunj-] and [kundʒ-]. Both have been observed in the infinitive and present, only the affricate form has been observed in the present particple, and only the glide form in the past participle.

4.4.   The two 'to be' verbs

Faetar has two verbs meaning 'to be'. Hoffman (1968:56) notes that [étərə] is a copula and [sta] expresses a condition, such as location, but that it is more complicated. He also notes (*ibid* 57) that when used with a copula, [étərə] expresses an action (in the passive voice) and [sta] expresses a state. The following two sentences illustrate that there is not complete complementary distribution between the use of the two verbs meaning 'to be'. The sentences have the same type of meaning and were uttered by the same speaker within one conversation, yet one uses [étərə] and the other [sta].

fors	i	λɛst	n	an	ata	tʃámbərə
maybe	he	is	in	an	other	room

(24)   *Maybe he is in another room. F29C F 39*

i	λe	u	banj
he	is	in-the	bathroom

(25)   *He is in the bathroom.   F29C F 39*

In some languages with two verbs meaning 'to be', the contrast is between temporary and permanent states. This is not the case in Faetar. The following sentences all imply permanence, however the first two use [sta] while the last two use [étərə].

e	i	λɛstə	purə	lu	kartí	du	faeto
and	it	is	also	the	region	of	Faeto

(26)   *And it is also the region of Faeto.   F68 C 128*

e	stan	tuttəwáj	dɪŋgjén	tʃa	nu
and	are	always	in	home	us

(27)   *And they are always inside our home.   M70 C 156*

i	e	pa	namuor	áwta
she	is	NEG	very	tall

(28)   *She is not very tall.   F29C C 14*

et	u	bra	kwattrá
is	a	good	boy

(29)   *He is a good boy.   F29C C 14*

4.5.   Present indicative

The patterns of the regular verbs are described first, and then the irregular verbs are listed. Here are two regular verbs conjugated in the present tense, [tʃantá] 'to sing' form Group 1 (-[á] ending in the infinitive) and [təníə] 'to have, hold' from Group 4 (-[íə] ending in the infinitive). When speakers are asked to conjugate, they generally provide double subject pronouns as shown here (examples from F29C P 14).

Table (29)	[tʃantá] *to sing*	[təníə] *to have, hold*
1s	dʒi dʒə tʃánt	dʒi dʒə tĩnə
2s	ti tə tʃánt	ti tə tĩnə
3s	i i tʃánt	i i tĩn(də)
1p	nussə nə tʃantúnn(ə)	nussə nə tənún(n)ə
2p	vussə və tʃantá	vussə və təníə
3p	isə i tʃantúnd	isə i tənuńd

4.5.1.   Singular persons

For most verbs, all three singular persons have the same form. Frequently, the singular present tense is the same as the infinitive. This is so for the following verbs:

Table (30)

Group	Infinitive	1s, 2s, 3s	Gloss
1	ngjaná	ngjaná	*to go up*
2	kút(ə)rə	kútrə	*to sew*
6	bájə	bájə	*to drink*
6	kwɔ́rrə	kwɔ́rrə	*to run*
6	krájə	krájə	*to believe*
6	krájə	krájə	*to grow*
6	diʃ	diʃ	*to say*
6	prénnə	prénnə	*to take*
6	pájə	pájə	*to pay*
6	rəs(î/é)və	rəs(î/é)və	*to receive*
6	riʃpún(də)	riʃpún(də)	*to respond*

This identity may be because the elicited form of the infinitive was lacking the final syllable that bears the infinitive marker. Supporting this, most other present tense forms are equivalent to the infinitive minus the infinitival marker (with stress-related vowel shifts between front vowels and schwa), as in:

Table (31)

Group	Infinitive	1s, 2s, 3s	Gloss
1	dumaná	(a)duman	to ask
	dəná	dɪn	to give
	mutsəká	mutsékə	to bite
	tʃantá	tʃant	to sing
2	krəvíə	kriv	to cover
	kunjii, kundʒí	kunj	to finish
	moriə	mor	to die
	(ʃ)muo(vər/i)ə	muov	to move
	sɛrvíə	sɛrv	to serve
	təníə	tin / ten	to have
	vəníə	vionnə	to come
	məndʒíə	mɪndʒ	to eat
3	bát(ər)ə	bát(tə)	to hit
	tʃérə	tʃe	to fall
	kwanáj(r)ə	kwanáj	to know
	(ʃ)mwó(vər/i)ə	(ʃ)mwóə	to move
	mét(ərə)	mét	to put
	vívərə	vív	to live
4	kút(ə)rə	kúə / kutrə	to sew
	rí(t/d)(ə)rə	ríə	to laugh

Other forms are used for the singular present tense of some verbs. All singular forms are identical within each of these verbs.

Table (32)

Group	Infinitive	Present (1s-3s)	Gloss
2	sát(ə)rə	sáʎə / saj	to go out
2	nét(ə)rə	nájʃ / néə	to be born
5	putájrə	púʎə	to be able
5	sa(vájrə)	se	to know
5	vɛdáj(rə)	vaj	to see
5	ulírə	wúʎə	to want
6	sta	estə	to be

The following verbs have different forms among the singular persons: the 1s and 2s forms consist of a base with no ending. The 3s has an (optional) final [t]/[d].[7]

Table (33)

Group	Infinitive	Present 1s	2s	3s	Gloss
2	nét(ə)rə	nájʃ / néə	ne		to be born
4	təníə	tin / ten	tin	tin(də)	to have
4	vəníə	vínnə	vínnə	víntə / víndə	to come
5	putájrə	púʎə / póʎə / pwíʎʎə	pu / pwə	puət(tə) / putə / puo	to be able
6	étərə	éjə	éjə	étə / aétə	to be
6	prénnə	prɛn	prɛn	prɛnd	to take

The following verbs are different in all three singular forms.

Table (34)

Group	Infinitive	1s	2s	3s	Gloss
5	sa(vájrə)	se	sa	sa(tə)	to know
5	avájrə	e	a	a(tə)	to have
5	ulírə	wúʎə	wʊ	wʊt	to want
6	fa	féə	fa	fatə	to do
6	alá	véjə / vaj	va	va(tə)	to go

4.5.2. Plural persons

The present tense for plural persons is formed by adding the following endings to the infinitival base:

(30) 1p   -un
      2p   -a (Group 1 verbs) or -i (other verbs)
      3p   -und

There are a few exceptions involving the base. They are of two types. The first type has different endings of the base within the present tense:

Table (35)

Group	Infinitive	1p	2p	3p	Gloss
1	dumaná	adumanúnnə	adumaná / adumandá	adəmanúnd / adəmandún	to ask
4	kunjii / kundʒí	kunjún	kuŋgíə	kunjúnd	to finish

In the second type, multiple variants for the third person plural exist:

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[7] Some of these verbs are also listed in the previous section (all singular persons identical) due to variation in the forms recorded.

Table (36)

Group	Infinitive	3p	3p	Gloss
3	vívərə		vund	to live
5	sa(vájrə)	savund	sand	to know
6	fa	fəʃund	fand	to do

4.5.3. Irregular verbs

The following verbs have (partially) suppletive present tense forms.

Table (37)

étərə to be (Group 6)
1s	ejə
2s	ejə
3s	(a)ét
1p	sun
2p	síjə
3p	sundə

nét(ə)rə to be born (Group 2)
1s	naíʃ / néə
2s	ne
3s	nétə
1p	nəʒún
2p	nəʒí
3p	nəʒúnd

avájrə to have (Group 5)
1s	e
2s	a
3s	atə
1p	(av)ún / u
2p	(av)í
3p	a(ndə)

putájrə to be able (Group 5)
1s	púλə
2s	pʊ
3s	pʊat
1p	pətún
2p	pətí
3p	pətúnd

sta to be (Group 6)
1s	estə
2s	estə
3s	estə
1p	stun
2p	st(i/a)
3p	stund

sa(vájrə) to know (Group 5)
1s	se
2s	sa
3s	sa(tə)
1p	savún
2p	saví
3p	savúnd/ san(d)

fa to do, make (Group 6)
1s	féjə
2s	fa(ʃ)
3s	fá(tə)
1p	fəʃún
2p	fəʃí
3p	fəʃúnd / fandə

védáj(rə) to see (Group 5)
1s	váj
2s	váj
3s	váj
1p	vəjúnd
2p	vəí
3p	vəjún

alá to go (Group 6)
1s	vejə
2s	va
3s	va(tə)
1p	alúnnə
2p	alá
3p	vandə / alúndə

4.6. Imperatives

The imperative is used for commands or requests. There are three forms: 2s, 1p (inclusive), and 2p. Most imperatives are identical to the 2s, 1p and 2p present indicative. The 2p imperative sometimes has a different suffix vowel than the indicative, and there are a few other irregularities. These may not reflect actual differences between indicative and imperative but rather variation possible in both forms.

Table (38)

Infinitive	Indicative			Imperative	
Imperative = indicative					
féjə to do					F26A P 88
2s	fa	F26A P 88		fa	F26A P 88
1p	fəʃún	F26A P 88		fəʃún	F26A P 88
2p	fəʃí	F26A P 88		fəʃíə	F26A P 88
kútərə to sew					F26A P 88
2s	kúə	F26A P 88		kúə	F26A P 88
1p	kusún	F26A P 88		kusún	F26A P 88
2p	kusí	F26A P 88		kusíə	F26A P 88
Imperative ≠ indicative					
bájə to drink					F26A P 88
2s	bájə	F26A P 88		báj	F26A P 88
1p	biún	F26A P 88	≠	bián	F26A P 88
2p	bií	F26A P 88		biíə	F26A P 88
kráj to believe					F26A P 88
2s	kráj	F26A P 88	≠	krédi[8]	F26A P 88
1p	kriún	F26A P 88	≠	krían	F26A P 88
2p	krií	F26A P 88	≠	kríə	F26A P 88
diʃ to say					F26A P 88
2s	diʃ	F26A P 88		diʃə	F26A P 88
1p	dəʃún	F26A P 88		dəʃún	F26A P 88
2p	dəʃí	F26A P 88	≠?	dəʃíə	F26A P 88
prennə to take					M28C P 84, M74 T 77
2s	prɛn	F32A P 79	≠	pre, prɛnd(ə)	M70 C 156
1p	prənjún	F32A P 79			
2p	prənji	F32A P 79			

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[8] This anomaly is actually the Italian form.

tənía *to have, hold*				F29C P 86→M74 T 77
2s	tinə/	F29C P 14 ≠	tenn	F29C P 14
	ten	F56B P 124		
1p	tənún(n)ə	F29C P 14		
2p	tənía	F29C P 14	tənía	F29C P 14
alá *to go*				F29C P 14
2s	va	M27A T 87, va	F29C P 14,	
		F29C P 14		F23, M32 T 93
1p	alúnnə	M27A T 87, ≠	alénn	F23, M32 T 93, F77 T 80
		F29C P 14		
2p	alá	M27A T 87, alá	F29C P 14	
		F29C P 14		

There are two common irregular imperatives. The first is the verb 'to be', illustrated here with the phrase [sta tʃíttə] 'Be quiet!'

Table (39)	Indicative		Imperative	
2s	estə	F29C P 14 ≠	sta(ttə) tʃíttə	M32 T 93
2p	sti, sta	F29C P 14 ≠	stívəs tʃíttə	M32, F23 T 93
		≠	*or* stásə tʃitt	M32, F23 T 93

The second irregular imperative is the 2s form of the verb 'to come', shown here in the phrase 'Come here!'

Table (40)	Indicative		Imperative	
2s	vintə	F77 T80 ≠	jan iké	M56 T 72, F77 T 80
		≠	van iké	M74 T 77
		≠	vɛn iké	M56 T 72, M44A T 85

Several speakers reported that an imperative literally meaning 'Let's go!' was not possible and provided the second form listed below, but M74 T 77, F77 T 80 provided a regular imperative form [allén] without hesitation. Here are a few naturally occurring imperatives:

awardá
wait-IMP
(31)   *Wait!*   *M32 C 93*

avárd	ən	átə	pu
wait-IMP	an	other	little

(32)   *Wait another bit!*   *F32A C 79*

ʃpríga	si
hurry-IMP	REFL

(33)   *Hurry up!*   *F56B C 153*

pre	préndə	di	o	traj	pre	pre	prɛnd	u	sa
Take-IMP	take-IMP	two	or	three	take-IMP	take-IMP	take-IMP	at-the	that

(34)   *Take! Take two or three! Take, take, take some!*   *M70 C 156*

métə	zi	a	burs	ja
put-IMP	these	in	bag	yes

(35)   *Put these in your purse, yes! M70 C 156*

The placement of object pronouns and the negative marker in imperatives are discussed, respectively, in "Pronouns" and "Negation."

4.7.   Imperfect

The imperfect is formed by adding the appropriate endings to the infinitival base. All singular person forms are identical, except for a few exceptional verbs. For several verbs, different speakers produce different forms, especially for the 2p form. Here are two regular verbs conjugated in the imperfect.

Table (41)	-avə verbs		-ivə verbs	
Infin.	maná *to send*		bájə *to drink*	
1s	manávə	F32A P 79	bivə	F26A P 88
2s	manávə	F32A P 79	bivə	F26A P 88
3s	manávə	F32A P 79	bivə	F26A P 88
1p	manəvánd	F32A P 79	biəván	F26A P 88
2p	manəvá	F32A P 79	biəvátə	F26A P 88
			bivá	M23C P 81
			biəvá	F32A P 79
3p	manəvánd	F32A P 79	biəvánd	F26A P 88
			bivánd	M23C P 81

4.7.1.   Endings

The imperfect endings all bear main word stress. In the singular persons, stress is on the penult (full vowel), and the final schwa may be deleted. In the plural persons, stress is on the last syllable. There are two sets of endings for the singular persons, but all verbs share the same plural endings.

Table (42)	[a]		[i]
1s	-avə		-ivə
2s	-avə		-ivə
3s	-avə		-ivə
1p	-əvan		-əvan
2p	-əva		-əva
3p	-əvand		-əvand

Group 1 verbs take [a] as the theme vowel in the imperfect endings. Verbs in Groups 2, 3, and 5 have [i]. Group 4 verbs also have [i], with two exceptions. One is [mʌndʒíə] 'to eat', which uses the [a] endings, and [moríə] 'to die', which was conjugated with no suffixes in the

singular. All the irregular (Group 6) verbs have [i] endings except for [avájrə] 'to have' and [étərə] 'to be', which use the [a] endings.

4.7.2.   Irregular imperfect forms

Table (43)   Irregular conjugations

Infinitive	1s	2s & 3s	1p	2p	3p	Gloss	Group
kunji	kuŋɟivə	kuŋɟivə	kunzəván	kunzəvá	kunzəvánd	cover	4
avájrə	évə	ávə	av(əv)ánə	avátə	avándə	open	5
vədájrə	viáw/ vəɟivə/ vi:və	viáw/ vəɟivə/ vi:və	vivəván/ vəɟavánnə/ viəvánnə	vivəvá/ vəɟəvá/ viəvá	vivəvánd/ vəɟəvánd/ viəvánd	see	5
bájə	bívə	bívə	biəván	biəvá	biəvánd	drink	6
kwɔ́rrə	kɔrtívə/ kurívə	kɔrtívə	kərəván	kərəvá	kərəvánd	run	6
étərə	évə	évə	səván(nə)	səvá	səvándə	be	6
krájə	krívə	krívə	krəiván	krəivá	krəivánd	believe	6
prénnə	prɛnívə	prɛnívə	prɛnjəván	prɛnjəvá	prɛnjəvánd	take	6

4.7.3.   Imperfect usage

Although the imperfect is usually used to describe non-punctual events, this is not always the case. In the course of narrating an event that had occurred, one speaker said:

dʒə diʃéva   fajdár e   maŋkunə   mə riʃpuní
I   say-IMPF   Faetar and   no-one   REFL answer-PST
(36) *I said it in Faetar and no one answered.*   F56B C 153

The typical pattern, however, is to use the imperfect for a state that existed at the time of some event being reported in the preterite or for an ongoing action or state.

dʒɪn m   e   awruliá ana matɪn o   suvandə lə vit   e   miéʃi
I   REFL am   awake-PP this morning PL is-IMPF the eight and thirty
(37) *I woke up this morning. It was 8:30.*   M13C C 75

tə   parlávə   pa   kum i   parlúndə jor italian
you talk-IMPF NEG like they talk   now Italian
(38) *(In those days) you didn't speak like they speak Italian now.*   F56B C 153

o   faʃiva   fríʃkə
PL   do-IMPF   cool
(39) *It was cool.* F56B C 153

4.8.   Conditional

The conditional is used in the host clause of a conditional statement (the "then" clause of an "if-then" sentence). The conditional is formed by adding endings to the infinitival base.

There is one set of endings for Group 1 verbs and another set for all other verbs. These two sets differ only in the singular forms, as the distinction is leveled when stress shifts in the plural persons. There are two verbs with irregular conditional base forms. [étərə] 'to be' adds the Group 1 verb endings to the base [s] and [stá] 'to be' adds them to the base [st]. The forms are from a series of verbs conjugated by F29C P 14.

Table (44)   Group 1 verbs   Other verbs

	Group 1 verbs	Other verbs
1-3s	-árə	-írə
1p	-əránnə	-əránnə
2p	-ərá	-ərá
3p	-ərándə	-əránd

Speakers indicate confusion between subjunctive and conditional, both in form and usage. Examples are given below of sentences that do use the conditional in the host clause of an 'if-then' statement, as well as sentences using the present, future, imperfect, and subjunctive in that position. In a paradigm elicitation focusing on the conditional, several provided the conjugations containing at least partly subjunctive forms. The interplay between subjunctive and conditional is further discussed in the § *Subjunctive.*

Sentences with conditional

sə   dʒ   avíssə   a   rakontá   a   n   anfán
if   I   have-SBJ   to   tell-INF   to   a   child
      forsə mə saréj   faʃ   un   be   me   kreatív
      maybe REFL be-CND   do-INF   a   bit   more creative
(40) *If I had to tell a child, maybe I'd be a bit more creative.*   F26A C 88

sə   ti   tə tənissə   u   miliardə   də   lir   tokə tə fəʃirə
if   you you had-SBJ   a   million   of   lira   what you do-CND
(41) *If you had a million lira, what would you do?*   M56 T 72

subədə   mə   fəʃirə   sotʃ   də   bɪl   get
right-away REFL make-CND   partner of   Bill Gates
(42) *Right away, I'd become partners with Bill Gates.*   M56 C 72

sə kə   dʒə fe u   jan dʒə feʃir   purə u   jan   kə   vin
that COMP I   do at-the year I   do-CND   also at-the year that comes
(43) *What I do this year, I'll also do next year.*   F32 C 79

Sentences with other tenses/moods in the conditional context

Table (45)   Present

sə   t   afis   a pa fa   ren   dəmán tu   wu vəni   do   mi
if   you have-SBJ to NEG do-INF nothing tomorrow you want come-INF with me
(44) *If you don't have anything to do tomorrow, do you want to come with me?* M28C S 84

sul   sə   dʒə fatíj dʒə púlə   part pə   l   amérəkə
only if   I   work I   am-able   go-INF for the America
(45) *Only if I work I can go to America.*   M28C S 84

zbrívə	tə	t	alá	a	la	ʃkol	sə	no	tə	fa	tard
hurry-IMP	you		you	go-INFto	the	school	if	no	you	make	late

(46)　*Hurry up! You have to go to school. If not, you will be late.*　F5 C 72

Table (46)　Future

m	a	t	assəgurá	ke	sa	məλi	torná
me	have	?	assured-PST	COMP	his	wife	return-FUT

(47)　*He assured me that his wife would return.*　M74 T 77

Table (47)　Imperfect

si	dʒ	tənívə	da	sold	dʒə	putívə	atʃetá	na	mákkənə
if	I	have-IMPF	of-the	money	I	be able-IMPF	buy-INF	a	car

(48)　*If I had some money, I could buy a car.*　M28C S 84

i	diʃit	ke	i	vənív
he	say-PST	COMP	he	come-IMPF

(49)　*He said he would come.*　M74 T 77

Table (48)　Subjunctive

si	dʒə	tənívə	lo	sold	o	mə	fis	atʃətá	na	mákkənə
if	I	have-IMPF	the	money	PL	REFL	do-SBJ	buy-INF	a	car

(50)　*If I had money, I would buy a car.*　M28C S 84

4.9.　Subjunctive

Speakers were able to provide present subjunctive forms for a number of verbs (though they often provided conditional forms when asked for subjunctive and vice versa). It is not evident that these forms are regularly used in daily speech, although they sometimes appear in translations and sentences constructed in response to a specific request to use the subjunctive.

　　　The subjunctive is constructed by adding suffixes to the infinitival base. These suffixes are distinguished from other moods by the presence of –ss-. There are two sets of suffixes, one with /a/ as the theme vowel, used for Group 1 verbs, [avájrə] 'to have' and [mʌndʒíə] 'to eat'. The other set of suffixes has an /i/ theme vowel and is used for most verbs. The endings are:

Table (49)

	/a/	/i/
1s-3s	-assə	-issə/-essə
1p	-assián	-əssian
2p	-əssiá	-əssiá(və)[9]
3p	-assiand	-əssiand

Here are two regular subjunctive verbs.

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[9] The syllable in parentheses was included in the subjunctive conjugation of the verb [avájrə] 'to have' by speaker M28C S 84, but does not appear elsewhere.

Table (50)　dəná to give　　　　　　　təría to have

1s	dənás	təníssə
2s	dənás	təníssə
3s	dənás	təníssə
1p	dənəsián	tənəssjánə
2p	dənəsiá	tənəssjá
3p	dənəsiánd	tənəssjándə
	F32 T 79F　　F29C T 14	

[étərə] 'to be' and [sta] 'to be' are irregular in the subjunctive. [sta] uses [st] as the base (as it does in the conditional). [étərə] is suppletive:

Table (51)

1s	fiss(ə)	F29C P,T 14, M56 T 72, M44A T 85
2s	fiss(ə)	F29C P 14
3s	fiss(ə)	F29C P 14
	sarə	M74 T 77
	sa	M74 T 77
	síə	F77 T 80
1p	fəssiánnə	F29C P 14
2p	fəssiá	F29C P 14
3p	fəssiándə	F29C P 14

The singular persons of [avájrə] 'to have' have been elicited in both regular and irregular forms: [avíssə] (M28C S 84, F26A C 88, M56 T 72), [aváj] (F77 T 80), and [árə] (M28C S 84). The subjunctive was very rarely heard in conversation. Here is one instance.

sə	dʒ	avissə	a	rakontá	a	n	anfán
if	I	have-SBJ	to	tell-INF	to	a	child

forsə	mə	saréj	faʃ	un	be	me	kreatív
maybe	REFL	be-CND	do-INF	a	bit	more	creative

(51)　*If I had to tell a child, maybe I'd be a bit more creative.*　F26A C 88

When asked to construct sentences with a verb preceded by [sə] 'if', speakers sometimes use the subjunctive.

si	dʒə	tənívə	lo	sold	o	mə	fis	atʃətá	na	mákkənə
if	I	have-IMPF	the	money	PL	REFL	do-SBJ	buy-INF	a	car

(52)　*If I had money, I would buy a car.*　M28C S 84

sə	t	afis	a	pa	fa	ren	dəmán	tu	wu	vəní	do	mi
if	you	have-SBJ	to	NEG	do-INF	nothing	tomorrow	you	want	come-INF	with	me

(53)　*If you don't have anything to do tomorrow, do you want to come with me?*　M28C S 84

sə	ti	tə	tənissə	u	miliardə	də	lir	tokə	tə	fəʃirə
if	you	you	had-SBJ	a	million	of	lira	what	you	do-CND

(54)　*If you had a million lira, what would you do?*　M56 T 72

In translation from Italian subjunctive sentences, the subjunctive is sometimes used.[10] It is not clear if the contexts requiring the subjunctive differ between Italian and Faetar or if the subjunctive and indicative are homophonous for some verbs in Faetar. (I have labeled as subjunctive only verb forms with the distinctive -s- in the suffix.) In many cases, conditional forms are used where the subjunctive is prescribed in Italian.

<u>Indirect questions with main verb in the past</u>: *Some speakers use subjunctive, others use conditional or indicative present.*
Prompt: *domandai se il ragazzo fosse (SBJ) uscito*

Faetar (SBJ):	dʒ	a	dumaná	sə	lu	kwattrá	i	fessə/fissə	saλi
Gloss:		I	go ask-INF	if	the	boy	he	is-SBJ	go-out-PP

(55)   *Trans: I should ask if the boy had gone out.   F29C T 86, M44A T 85*

Faetar (IND):	dʒə	uliərə	dəmaná	s	i	λɛtə	saλi	lu	ragátss
Gloss:	I	want-CND	ask-INF	if	he	is	go-out-PP	the	boy

(56)   *Trans: I should ask if the boy had gone out.   F77 T 80, M74 T 77*

[sə] 'if' + an unlikely condition : *These usually take subjunctive, but sometimes conditional.*
Prompt: *Se fosse (SBJ) vero, quanto saremmo contenti!*

Faetar (SBJ):	s	o	sa	luá	kantə	no	sərán	kuntennə
Gloss:	if	PL	be-SBJ	true	how	we	be-CND	happy

(57)   *Trans: If it were true, how happy we should be!   M74 T 77*

Faetar (IND):	sə	o	ɛtə	luái	ka	nə	sarań	kuntéŋ
Gloss:	if	PL	is	true	how	we	be-CND	happy

(58)   *Trans: If it were true, how happy we should be!   F77 T 80*

<u>To express a wish in a principle clause</u> : *This sometimes takes subjunctive, sometimes [a] 'go' + infinitive = 'should'.*
Prompt: *Così sia (SBJ)!*

Faetar (SBJ):	akussí	o	fis
Gloss:	thus	PL	is-SBJ

(59)   *Trans: So be it!   F29C T 86 F77 T 80*

Faetar (IND):	akussí	o	a	étr
Gloss:	thus	PL	go	be-INF

(60)   *Trans: So be it!   M44A T 85, F77 T 80*

<u>In a subordinate clause that restricts or expresses supposition, doubt, fear, etc.</u>: *Few translations use subjunctive.*
Prompt: *L'unica cosa che mi piaccia (SBJ) è il colore.*

Faetar (IND):	l	unəkə	tʃoz/kund	kə	mə	piá	e	la	kuláw
Gloss:		the	only thing	COMP	REFL	please	is	the	color

(61)   *Trans: The only thing I like is the color.   F77 T 80, F20A, F27A T 87, F29C T 86, M44A T 85*

Prompt: *Non credo che sia (SBJ) vero.*

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[10] These sentences are taken from (Reynolds 1975:xlvii-xlviii).

Faetar:	dʒə	kre/pɛnsə	pa	k	e	luáj
Gloss:	I	think	NEG	COMP	is	true

(62)   *Trans: I do not think it is true.   F77 T 80, F29C T 86, M44A T 85*

<u>In a subordinate clause that expresses purpose</u>: *The subjunctive is usually used.*
Prompt: *Lo feci perchè venisse.*

Faetar (SBJ):	dʒə	e	fej	pəkké/pətok ijə	i	vəníssə
Gloss:	I	have	did	so	he	he	come-SBJ

(63)   *Trans: I did it so that he would come.   F20A T 87, F29C T 86*

Faetar (IND):	dʒ	o	fəʃi	pə	lu	fa	vəníə
Gloss:	I	it	do-PST	for	him	make	come-INF

(64)   *Trans: I did it so that he would come.   M44A T 85*

<u>Counterfactual statement</u>: *Most speakers use subjunctive.*

se	dʒ	avissə	pa	fatiá	dʒ	vinn	do	ti
if	I	have-SBJ	NEG	work-INF	I	come	with	you

(65)   *If I didn't have to work, I would come with you.   M28C S 84*

dʒə	rıspár	kakə	tʃuoz	də	mej	pə	ti
I	save	some	thing	of	more	for	you

	sə	dʒə	tənís	la	possəbltá	də	lu	fa
	if	I	have-SBJ	the	possibility	of	it	do-INF

(66)   *I would save something more for you if I could.   F32 S 79*

The subjunctive is also sometimes found in the main clause of 'if-then' statements, where the conditional is prescribed in Italian (and other speakers use the conditional in Faetar).

dʒə	fəʃis	kakə	tʃuoz	də	me	pə	ti
I	do-SBJ	some	thing	of	more	for	you

	sə	dʒ	avíssə	la	possəbltá	də	te	o	fa
	if	I	have-SBJ	the	possibility	of	you	PL	do-INF

(67)   *I would do more for you if I could.   F32 S 79*

si	dʒə	tənívə	lo	sold	o	mə	fis	atʃətá	na	mákkənə
if	I	have-IMPF	the	money	PL	REFL	be-SBJ	buy-INF	a	car

(68)   *If I had money, I would buy a car.   M28C S 84*

4.10. Future

Actions taking place in the future may be expressed in a number of ways. There is no clear distinction of meaning across the first three ways, but the last two are used in more limited contexts.
<u>present tense of the main verb</u> (The future sense is clear from the context.)

tə	vinnə	dəmmánə	a	la	fé:tə
you	come	tomorrow	to	the	party

(69)   *Are you coming to the party tomorrow?   F23 T 93*

dəmannə   nu   tʃantúnn
tomorrow   we   sing
(70)   *Tomorrow we sing.*   F23 T 93

dəmmán   dʒə   ppwóλλε   alá   u   bó:wə
tomorrow   I   am-able   go-INF   to-the   wood
(71)   *Tomorrow, I can go to the woods.*   F23 T 93, M32 T 93

present tense of the verb [alá] 'to go' + infinitive (proximate future)

dʒə   ve:jə   a   kkjəmmá   lu   mmjédəkə
I   go   to   call-INF   the   doctor
(72)   *I am going to call the doctor.* F23 T 93

i   va   sɛntí
they   go   hear-INF
(73)   *They will hear.*   F56B C 153

i   sə   vandə   ʃpuzá
they   REFL   go   marry-INF
(74)   *They are going to get married.*   M70 C 156

Simple future tense
This form consists of the infinitival base plus the endings [-á, -á, -á(t), -ánə, -á, -ándə].

Table (52)   étərə   ´to bé (future)*

           mə   sará
           tə   sará
           i   sarát
           nə   saránə
           və   sará
           i   sarándə

F29C P 14, the speaker who conjugated this verb, does not think that future tense forms exist for other verbs. However, some other future forms have been observed.

i   dirá   sɛt   e   lu   kampəsánt
they   say-FUT   this   is   the   cemetery
(75)   *They will say, "This is the cemetery."* F56B C 153

i   avrá   ən   namuorə   l   amík
he   have-FUT   a   lot   the   friend
(76)   *He probably has a lot of friends.*   M74 T 77

[avájrə]+ [a] + infinitive of the main verb.
This construction may also be used to express obligation, as in "I have to X" or "I should X". The particle [a] is often not heard because it is elided with the preceding verb form.

sə   dʒ   avissə a   rakontá   a   n   anfán
if   I   had   to   tell-INF   to   a   child

     forsə   mə   saréj   faí   un   be   me   kreatív

     maybe   REFL   be-CND   do-INFa   bit   more   creative
(77)   *If I had to tell a child, maybe I would be a bit more creative.*   F26A C 88

nus   n   annə   vəni:jə
we   we   have   come-INF
(78)   *We will come.* M23B T 93

t   a   fe   la   kulatsiún
you   have   make-INF   the   breakfast
(79)   *You have to/will make breakfast.*   F12B G 76

t   a   lavá   la   dənn   e   la   fatʃə
you   have   wash-INF   the   tooth   and   the   face
(80)   *You have to/will wash your teeth and your face.*   F12B G 76

Immediate future
This future form is used to express the notion of being "about to" do something. It is formed from the conjugated verb [étərə] 'to be' + [pə] 'for' + infinitive of the main verb.

m   ɛstə   pə   pártə
REFL   am   for   leave-INF
(81)   *I am ready to/ about to leave.* M32 T 93

m   ɛstə   pə   alá   kəʒíjə
REFL   am   for   go-INFsleep-INF
(82)   *I am ready to/ about to go to sleep.*   M32 T 93

4.11.   Past

There are several perfect past tense forms. The simple tenses include the preterite (also referred to as the remote past) and historical present (present tense forms for past events). The composed tenses include the proximate past and the pluperfect.

4.11.1.   Preterite

The preterite is a simple past tense used for remote events. Group 1 verbs have the /a/ vowel in the singular and 2p endings and all other verbs have /i/. This contrast is leveled in the 1p and 3p forms where both vowels reduce to schwa as the stress shifts to the second syllable of the ending. The 2p form is variously realized as -i, -istə, or -istəvə (or -a, -astə, -astəvə). The following endings are added to the infinitival base:

Table (53)

	Group 1 verbs	All other verbs
1s	-á	-í
2s	-á	-í
3s	-át	-ít
1p	-ərún	-ərún
2p	-á(stəvə)	-í(stəvə)
3p	-ərúnd	-ərúnd

M23C 87 and F22 87 proposed that the proximate past could be used for events that occurred as long ago as one week ago, but the remote past would be needed for something that occurred a year ago.

Recent

dʒ	e	di	ajérə
I	have	say-PP	yesterday

(83) *I said it yesterday.*   M23C, F22 T 87

Remote

dʒə	dəʃi	u	jan	passá
I	say-PST	at-the	year	past

(84) *I said it last year.*   M23C, F22 T 87

o	riʃpuní	maŋgū
PL	answer-PST	no-one

(85) *No one answered.*   F56B C 153

nu	portərún	a	faît	san	proʃp
we	bring-PST	to	Faeto	Saint	Prospero

(86) *We brought St. Prospero to Faeto.*   F56B C 153

i	fɛʃərundə	la	ghisə
they	make-PST	the	church

(87) *They made the church.*   F68 C 128

iz	i	sɛntərúnd	əna	kampaná	swoná
they	they	hear-PST	a	bell	ring-INF

(88) *They heard a bell ring.*   M23C, F22 T 87

4.11.2. Historical present

In narratives, the present tense form is sometimes used to report events that occurred in the past. The first example is an extract from a story of something that happened to the narrator. The second is the beginning of a joke.

dʒ	arriv	a	la	funtán
I	arrive	at	the	fountain

(89) *I get/got to the fountain.*   F56B C 153

anjat	vun	i	véŋgə	na	ʃkeðin	pəro	s	i	avisə	pa
EXIS	one	he	wins	a	lottery	but	REFL	he	find-out	NEG

	o	pas	na	tsig	də	ten
	PL	passes	a	bit	of	time

(90) *There's this guy who won a lottery, but he didn't find out. A bit of time goes/went by...*
M20A G 8

4.11.3. Proximate past

The proximate past tense is used to report events that occurred in the recent past. It is formed by the auxiliary verb ([avájrə] 'to have' or [étərə] 'to be') conjugated in the present followed by the past participle of the main verb. The § *Composed Tenses* discusses auxiliary selection. Participle formation is discussed in § *Participles*.

dʒ	ε	pəntsá	də	fa	búnnə
I	have	think-PP	of	do-INF	good

(91) *I thought I would do well.*   F23 T 93

i	sund	vəní	a	faéto	a	s	əmbará	lu	fajtárə
they	are	come-PP	to	Faeto	to	REFL	learn-INF	the	Faetar

(92) *They came to Faeto to learn Faetar.*   M32 T 93

i	sund	nəʃi
they	are	born-PP

(93) *They were born.*   F23 T 93, M32 T 93

4.11.4. Pluperfect

The pluperfect is formed by the imperfect of the auxiliary followed by the past participle of the main verb and is used to describe past events that preceded other past events.

dʒ	avə	di	ke	t	e	o	pa	bun
I	had	say-PP	COMP	you	are	PL	NEG	good

(94) *I had said that you are bad.*   M23C, F22 T 87

s	avandə	dʒa	fe	lə	dəwáj	láwə
they	had	already	do-PP	the	duty	their

(95) *They had already done their duty.*   F77 T 80

4.11.5. Other past constructions

The probable past is constructed with the future of [étərə] 'to be' plus the past participle of the main verb. One speaker offered the latter two sentences, with different constructions.

i	sará	partí
he	is-FUT	leave-PP

(96) *He must have left.*   M23C, F22 T 87

i	sarát	arrəvá
they	is-FUT	arrive-PP

(97) *They must have arrived.*   M23C, F22 T 87

i	avə	part
he	have-IMPF	leave-PP

(98) *He must have left.*   F77 T 80

madónn	i	a	arəvá
Madonna	they	have	arrive-PP

(99) *Geez, they must have arrived.*   F77 T 80

4.12. Composed tenses

4.12.1. Auxiliary verbs

Composed tense forms are constructed with four different auxiliaries: [avájrə] 'to have' for the obligational future and the past (most verbs), [étərə] for the past (some verbs), [sta] for the immediate future and the extended present, and [ala•] for the present continuous. The auxiliary verbs have suppletive forms, except for [avájrə]. The forms are often very short. (See full conjugations in the verb charts.) All auxiliary verbs are also used as main verbs.

Table (54)   As auxiliary verbs

étərə

nu	sun	fəʃán		
we	are	do-PrP		
(100) *We are doing it.*   M23C G 71

sta

nə	stun	rɛdʒɪstrán	ikké	
we	are	record-PrP	here	
(101) *We are recording here.*   F29C G 14

alórrə	iké	várɪəs	ɪnfańńə	i	stúndə	fəʃánnə	na	fétə
so	here	various	children	they	are	do-PrP	a	party
(102) *OK, here various children are having a party.*   F11B F 139

alá

dʒə	vej	dəʃán		
I	go	say-PrP		
(103) *I am saying it gradually.*   M74 T 77

i	sə	vandə	ʃpuzá	
they	REFL	go	marry-INF	
(104) *They are going to get married.*   M70 C 156

avájrə

dəkír	iz	unt	kumintʃá	a	parlá	italián	a	kaz
when	they	have	start-PP	to	talk-INF	Italian	at	house
(105) *When did they start to talk Italian at home?* F56B C 153

Table (55)   As main verbs

avájrə

kə	a	vénta	siŋk	an
COMP	has	twenty	five	year
(106) *... that she is 25 years old.*   F29C C 14

dʒɪ	dʒ	e	kákə	tʃwoz
I	I	have	some	thing
(107) *I have something.*   F32 S 79

sta

mɛntre	lu	tʃin	i	ʎɛst	ɪŋgjók	lu	diván
while	the	dog	he	is	on	the	sofa
(108) *... while the dog is on the sofa.*   F11B F 139

e	lə	pɛrsamén	sto	ikké
and	the	personnel	stay	here
(109) *And the personnel stay here.* F29C C 14

étərə

ʎ	et	áwta	u	métra	sɛssántə	kat
she	is	tall	one	meter	sixty	four
(110) *She is tall: one meter and sixty four centimeters.*F29C C 14

pəkké	i	súndə	la	stéssa	stanz
because	they	are	the	same	room
(111) *because they are the same room.*   F29C C 14

alá

t	alá	a	ʃkol	e	t	ɪmbarán
you	go	to	school	and	you	learn
(112) *You go to school and you learn.*   F56B C 153

4.12.2.   Selection of auxiliary for composed past tenses

Generally, the auxiliary verb for the composed past tense verbs is [avájrə] 'to have'. The verbs listed below take [étərə]. From these examples, it can be assumed that verbs of motion that take 'to be' in French and Italian also take 'to be' in Faetar.

Table (56)

Verbs of motion	Gloss	Other verbs	Gloss
deʃénnə	*to go down*	étərə	*to be*
vəníə	*to come*	nétərə	*to be born*
alá	*to go*	moríə	*to die*
tʃérə	*to fall*	pérdərə	*to lose*
partí	*to leave*	krájə	*to grow*

arrəvá   *to arrive*   kuŋɟi   *to finish*
ngjaná   *to go out*   sátərə   *to know*

i   ɛt   alá   súbɪtə
she   is   go-PP right-away
(113) *She went right away. F29C C 14*

a   la   vínə   nə   sun   saλi   də   la   ʃkúlə
at   the   one   we   are   go-out-PP   of   the   school
(114) *At 1:00, we left school.   M13C C 75*

e   dapój e   kuŋɟi a   la   dʒurná
and   after is   finish-PP   at   the   day
(115) *And then the day is finished. M7C C 75*

i   súndə krəʃi   fin   a   dəvéntə rówə
they   are   grow-PP   until to   become-INF big
(116) *They grew until they got big. M23C T 87, F22 T 87*

nu   sum   pɛrdi   túttə lo   sold
we   are   lose-PP   all   the   money
(117) *We lost all our money.   M23C T 87, F22 T 87*

o   sund tʃáj də   lɔ   kartollé
PL   are   fall-PP   of   the   plate
(118) *Some plates fell.*

Reflexive verbs also take [étərə].

dʒi   m   e   tʃáj
I   REFL am   fall-PP
(119) *I fell down. F23 T 93*

ti   t   ɛ   ngjaná
you   REFL are   go-out-PP
(120) *You went out. F23 T 93*

s   i   ɛt   alá   kəʒi
REFL   he   is   gone   sleep-INF
(121) *He went to bed. M7C C 75*

4.13. Present participle

The present participle has two uses. The first is to express the extended present tense, in which it follows the present tense form of [sta] 'to be'. The second is to express the continuous present tense, in which it follows the present tense form of [alá] 'to go'.

All present participles consist of the stressed –[án] ending added to the infinitival base. When stress is shifted to the suffix, front root vowel(s) may reduce to schwa. Examples:

Table (57)   *Infinitive*   *Present part. Gloss*   *Group*

tʃantá	tʃantán	*to sing*	1
dumaná	dumanán	*to ask*	1
tʃérə	tʃəsán	*to fall*	3
met(ərə)	mətán	*to put*	3

No present participle form for [étərə] TO BE has been elicited. F29C 14 reported that it does not exist as it would not make sense to talk about "being" anything that requires the "permanent" TO BE verb.

4.13.1. Extended present tense

nə   stun rɛdʒɪstrán ikke
we   are   record-PrP here
(122) *We are recording here.   F29C G 14*

kwas ɪngjók a   la   att   ki   ɛstə biánnə   lu   lɛɣ
almost on   at   the   cat   who   is   drink-PrP   the   milk
(123) *... almost on the cat who is drinking the milk.   M10 C 73*

sa   məλîjə i   ɛstə mətánn   sto   kartoléh   a   ppostə
his   wife   she is   put-PrP   these plates   at   place
(124) *His wife is putting these plates away. F29C F 39*

i   stund dɪʃkután tra   də   is   pəké s   e   fərmá
they   are   discuss-PrP between of   them why it   is   stopped
(125) *They are discussing between themselves why it stopped.   F29C F 39*

4.13.2. Continuous present tense

dʒə   vej   dəʃán
I   go   say-PrP
(126) *I am saying it gradually.   M74 T 77*

4.14. Past participle

Past participles follow an auxiliary verb in the proximate past and pluperfect tenses. These forms are not marked for gender and number, even when the auxiliary is TO BE. They have one of the following three endings: -[i] (the most frequent), -[aw], or -[a]. These endings are added to the infinitival base. All Group 1 verbs take the –[a] suffix in the preterite, as do a few other verbs. –[i] is used in all of the other verb groups. –[aw] is used by only a few verbs in groups 4, 5, and 6. Unpredictable past participles are shown here:

Table (58)

Ending	Infinitive	Past part.	Gloss	Group
-a	məndʒíə	mʌndʒá	to eat	4
	pájə	pajá	to pay	6
-i	sat(ə)rə	saλ(λ)ǐi/ sáλə	to go out	2
	kut(ə)rə	kuzí	to sew	2
	ri(t/d)(ə)rə	rəʃí	to laugh	2
	nét(ə)rə	nəʃí	to be born	2
	bát(ər)ə	batí	to hit	3
	pérdərə	pɛrdí	to lose	3
	met(ərə)	máj	to put	3
	tʃérə	tʃáj	to fall	3
	(ʃ)muovərə	ʒmuí	to move	3
	kwanáj(r)ə	kwanəʃí	to know	3
	serviə	sɛrví	to serve	4
	təníə	təni	to have	5
	vəníə	vəni	to come	5
	ulírə	vulí	to want	5
	avájrə	aví	to have	5
	sa(vajrə)	saví	to know	5
	putáirə	putí	to be able	5
	kwɔrrə	kurí	to run	6
	riʃpun(də)	rəʃpuní	to respond	6
	kundʒí	kunjí	to finish	4
	prennə	práj	to take	6
	krájə	kri / kre	to believe	6
	diʃ	di	to say	6
	rəs(i/e)və	rəsəví	to receive	6
	krájə	krəʃí	to grow	6
-aw	védaj(rə)	viáw	to see	5
	bájə	biáw	to drink	6
suppletive	étərə	sta	to be	6
	fa	féjə	to do	6
	krəvíə	krəvérə	to cover	4
	moríə	mórrə	to die	4

e	dʒ	e	barrá	d	indjok u	kampəsánt
and	I	have	lock-PP	of	in at-the	cemetery

(127) *And I locked the cemetery.* *F56B C 153*

m	e	nəʃí	a	lə	sɛz	də	ma

REFL	am	born-PP	at	the	sixteenth	of	May

(128) *I was born May 16th.* *F56B C 153*

dʒ	u	lɛʃi	un	bu	fretta	fretta
I	it	read-PST	a	bit	fast	fast

(129) *I read it rather quickly.* *F56 C 124*

pəkke	t	a	di	akussí
why	you	have	say-PP	thus

(130) *Why did you say it like that?* *F29C C 14*

te	e	ʃpuzá
you	are	marry-PP

(131) *Are you married?* *F56B C 153*

kumə	t	a	fe
how	you	have	do-PP

(132) *How did you do it?* *M70 C 156*

4.15. Verb charts

Conjugations are provided for six verbs, representing the six verb groups. The verb with the most complete conjugation available has been selected. The irregular verbs follow. In each conjugation, the infinitive and gloss are given on the first line. The present and past participles are on the second line. The following lines contain the present, imperfect, preterite, future, conditional, subjunctive, and imperative, respectively. To the right of each tense are the speaker codes of several speakers who produced the form. When different forms were elicited for one item, they appear on consecutive lines in these charts.

Group 1 (Infinitive ends in –[a]) dəná *to give* M28C P 84, M74 T 77

PrP dənán M28C P 84, M23C P 71

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	dɪn	dənún	dəná	dənúnd	F32A P 79
IMPF	dənávə	dənaván	dənavá	dənavánd	F32A P 79
CND	dənárə				F29C T 86
	"				M44A T 85
	dənáj				M74 T 77
SBJ	dənás	dənəsián	dənəsiá	dənəsiánd	F32A P 79
	"				M56 T 72
IMP	dén(nə)				M28C S 84
					M23C S 81
	"				M44A 85

Group 2 (Infinitive ends in –[trə]) satərə *to go out* F29C P 86, M32, F23 T 93,

	sátrə	F32A P 79, M23C P 81, M28C P 84
	sáλə	M28C P 84, M32, F23 T 93
	saλîr	M74 T 77

PrP	saλán	M28C P 84	PP	saλî		F29C P86, M23C P 81, M28C P 84, M32, F23 T 93

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	sáλə	saλún	saλi	saλúnd	M23C P 81, M32, F23 T 93
	"				M28C P 84, F12A C 76•
	saj				F12B C 76, F12A C 76
					F5 C 72
IMPF	saλîvə	saλiván	saλivá	saλivánd	F32A P 79, M23C P 81
	"				M32, F23 T 93
	saλévə				M28C P 84
PST	saλî(t)	saλərún	saλi	saλərúnd	F29C P 86, F20A T 87, M56 T 72,
	saλît				M44A T 85
				"/sajurúndə	M70 C 156
CND	saλîrə	saλərán	saλərá	saλəránd	F32A P 79
SBJ		saλəsián			F32A P 79
IMP	sáλə		saλî:jə		M32 T 93

Group 3 (Infinitive ends in –[rə])   tʃérə *to fall*   F26A P 88, M28C P 84

PrP	tʃəsán	M28C P 84	PP	tʃáj	F26A P 88, M23C P 81, M28C P 84

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	tʃéjə	tʃəsún	tʃəsiə	tʃəsúnd	F26A P 88
IMPF	tʃəsívə	tʃəsəván	tʃəsəvá	tʃəsəvánd	F26A P 88
	ʒəsívə				M28C P 84
PST	tʃəsí(t)	tʃəsərún	tʃəsistə	tʃəsərúnd	F26A P 88
	(ʒ/tʃ)áj				M23C P 81, M27A S 87
CND	tʃəsirə	tʃəsəránd	tʃəsərá	tʃəs(ər)ánd	F26A P 88
SBJ	tʃəsissə	tʃəsəssián	tʃəsəssiá	tʃəsəssiánd	F26A P 88

Group 4 (Infinitive ends in –[iə])   tənîə *to have, hold*   F29C P 86, M28C P 84, M74 T 77

PrP	tɛnán	M28C P 84, F29C P 14	PP	təní	F29C P 86

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	tin(də)	tənún(n)ə	tənîə	tənúnd	F29C P 14
	ten				F56B C 124
				"	M70C P 156
IMPF	tənívə	tənəván(n)ə	tɛnəvá	tɛnəvándə	F29C P 14
PST	təní(t)	tənərún	təní	tənərúnd	F29C P 86
FUT	*(does not exist)*				F29C P 14
CND	tənîrə	tənəranə	tənərá	tənərándə	F29C P 14, M56 T 72
SBJ	tənissə	tənəssiánə	tənəssiá	tənəssiándə	F29C P 14
	tənís				F29C T 86

IMP	tenn		tənîja		F29C P 14

Group 5 (Infinitive ends in –[ajrə])   vədájrə *to see*   F29C P 86, M28C P 84, M74 T 77, F22B 71, M44A T 85, M23B T 37

				vədáj		M28C P 84
PrP	vián	M28C P 84, F29C 14	PP	viáwə		F29C P,T 86, M23C P 81, M23C 71, M56 T 72

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	váj	vəjún	vəi	vəjúnd	M23C P 81, M23B T 37,
					F29C P 14, F12B C 76
	"				F12A C 76
	va (3s)				F56B C 124
	viáw				M23C P 81
IMPF	vəjivə	vəjəvánnə	vəjəvá	vəjəvándə	F29C P 14
	vi:və	viəvánnə	viəvá	viəvándə	M23B T 37
		vivəván	vivəva	vivəvánd	M23C P 81
PST	vii(t)	viərún	vii	viərúnd	F29C P 86
	"				F29C T 86
CND	vəirə	vəjəránə	vəjərá	vəjərándə	F29C P 14
SBJ	vəjisə	vəjəsiánə	vəjəsiá	vəjəsiándə	F29C P 14
	viis				M27A T 87

Group 6 (Irregular verbs)

INF	alá *to go*						F29C P 14
PrP	alánə F29C P 14		PP	alá			F29C P 14

	1	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	vejə	va	vatə	alúnnə	alá	vandə	M27A T 87
	"	"	"	alúnə	"	alúndə	F29C P 14
	"						F29C T 86, M44A T 85
	"		"				F5 C 72, F12A C 76
			"				F23B C 76
			va				F29C C 14
	vaj						F56B C 124
			vad				F11B F 139, M70 C 156
IMPF	alávə	alávə	alávə	aləváno	aləvá	aləvándə	F29C P 14
PST	alá	alá	alá(tə)	alún	alá	alərúnd	M27A T 87, F29C P 14
	"						M56 T 72, F29C T 86, M44A T 85
CND	alárə	alárə	alárə	alaránnə	aləra	alarándə	F29C P 14
SBJ	alásə	alásə	alásə	aləsjánə	aləsjá	aləsjándə	F29C P 14
IMP		va			alá		F29C P 14
		"					F23, M32 T 93, F77 T 80
		"	allénn				F29C G 14

INF étərə *to be* — F26A P 88, F29C P 14
PrP DNE F29C P 14 PP sta — F29C P 14

	1-2s	3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	ejə	(a)e(tə)[11]	sun	sijə	sundə	F29C P,C 14, F29C T 86
						M56 T 72, M74 T 77, F77 T 80
IMPF	évə	évə	səvan(nə)	səvá	səvándə	F29C P 14
"						M44A T 85
		"				M70 C 156
					"	F56B C 124
FUT	sará	sarát	saránə	sərá	sarándə	F29C P 14
CND	sár(ə)	sár(ə)	sərán(n)ə	sərá	sarándə	F29C P 86, 14
"						M56 T 72, M74 T 77
			"			M56 T 72, M44A T 85, F77 T 80
	sánnə					M44A T 85
	saréj					F26A P 88
SBJ	fiss(ə)	fiss(ə)	fəssiánnə	fəssiá	fəssiándə	F29C P 14
"						M56 T 72, M44A T 85
"						M28C S 84
			"			M44A T 85
			"			F29C T 86
		sarə				M74 T 77
		sa				M74 T 77
		síə				F77 T 80
IMP	(does not exist)					F29C 14

INF sta *to be* — F29C P 14
PrP PP sta — F29C P 14

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	estə	stun	st(i/a)	stund	F29C P 14
"					F26A P 88
"					M74 T 77
					F29C F 39
		"			F29C G 14
				"	F11B F 139
			sto		F29C C 14
			stan		M70 C 156
IMPF	stáva		stəvá	stəvándə	F29C P 14
	stəván				M70 C 156
PST					
FUT	DNE				F29C P 14
CND	stárə	staránnə	stará	starándə	F29C P 14

[11] In the 3s form, the [tə] is not pronounced when the next word starts with a consonant.

SBJ	stas	stasíann	stəsijá	stəsiándə	F29C P 14
IMP	státə		staz(a)		F29C P 14
"			stívəs, sta:sə		M32 P 93
"					M44A S 85

INF bájə *to drink* — F26A P 88, F29C P 88, F32A P 79, M28C P 84, F12B P 76
     bajr — M74 77
PrP bián M28C P 84 PP biáw — F26A P 88, F29C P 88, F32A P 79

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	bájə	biún	bii	biúnd	F26A P 88
"	"	bíə	"		F32A P 79, M23C P 81
"		bəvún	bəví	"	F12B P 76
			bəvé	bəvúnd	F12B P 76
	baîj (3s)				F11B F 139
IMPF	bivə	biəván	biəvátə	biəvánd	F26A P 88
"	"		biəvá	"	F32A P 79
"	"		bivá	bivánd	M23C P 81
PST	biï(t)	biərún	biər (?)	biərúnd	F26A P 88
"	"		biitəvə		F29C P 86
FUT	birá	birán			F32A P 79
CND	birrə	biərán	biərá	biəránd	F26A P 88, F32A P 79
SBJ	biisə	biəsián	biəsiá	bivəsiánd	F26A P 88
IMP	baî	bián	biiə		F26A P 88

INF kwórrə *to run* — F26A P 88
     kwór — M28C P 84
PrP kurán M28C P 84 PP kurí — F26A P 88, M27A S 87, M28C P 84

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	kwɔr	kwɔrrún	kwɔríə	kwɔrrúnd	F26A P 88, M23C P 81
	kúr				M28C P 84
				kurundə	F11B F 139
IMPF	kɔrtívə	kɔrəván	kɔrəvá	kɔrəvánd	F26A P 88
	kuɔrívə				M23C P 81
	kurívə				M28C P 84
PST	kɔrrí(t)	kɔrrərún	kɔrristə	kɔrrərúnd	F26A P 88
CND	kurírə	kurrərán	kurrərá	kurrəránd	F26A P 88
SBJ	kuríssə	kurəssián	kərəssiá	kərəssiánd	F26A P 88

INF kráj *to believe* — F26A P 88
PrP PP kri(i) — F26A P 88
     kre — M27A S 87

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	kráj	kriún	krii	kriúnd	F26A P 88
	"				M56 T 72
	kre				F29C T 86, F77 T 80
IMPF	krívə	krəiván	krəivá	krəivánd	F26A P 88
PST	krəji(t)	krəjərún	krəjastə	kriərúndə	F26A P 88
FUT					
CND	kriírə	kriərán	kriərá	kriəránd	F26A P 88
SBJ					
IMP	kredi	krían	kríə		F26A P 88

INF	kráj *to grow*				F26A P 88, M28C P 84
PrP	kreʃán	M28C P 84	PP	krəʃi	F26A P 88
				krəʒi	M23C P 81, M27A S 87

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	kraj	krəʃún	krəʃiə	krəʃúnd	F26A P 88, M23C P 81
	"				M28C P 84
IMPF	krəʃivə	krəʃəván	krəʃəvá	krəʃəvánd	F26A P 88, M28C P 84
PST	krəʃi(t)	krəʃərún	krəʃistə	irəʃərúnd	F26A P 88
CND	krəʃirə	krəʃərán	krəʃərátə	krəʃərándə	F26A P 88
SBJ	krəʃissə	krəʃəssián	krəʃəssiá	krəʃəssiánd	F26A P 88

INF	diʃ *to say*				F26A P 88, M28C P 84, M56 C 73
	dirr				F29C P 86
	dir				M74 T 77
PrP	dəʃán	M28C P 84	PP	di	F26A P 88, F29C P 86, M23C P 81, M27A S 87

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	diʃ	dəʃún	dəʃi	dəʃúnd	F26A P 88
	"	dəʒún	dəʒi	dəʒúnd	M23C P 81
		duʃun			F56B C 124
IMPF	dəʃivə	dəʃəván	dəʃəvá	dəʃəvánd	F26A P 88, M23C P 81
				"	F56B C 124
PST	dəʃi(t)	dəʃərún	dəʃistə	dəʃərúnd	F26A P 88
	dəʒi(t)	dəʒərún	dəʒistəvə	dəʒərúnd	F29C P 86
SBJ	diʃirə	dəʃərán	dəʃərá(stə)	dəʃəránd	F26A P 88
	ditʃéssə (3s)				M56 T 72
IMP	diʃə	dəʃún	dəʃirə		F26A P 88
	"				M23C S 81
	di				M70 C 156

INF	fa *to do, make*		F29C P 86, M28C P 84, F11B F 139,

					M70 C 156, M74 T 77, M44A T 85
PrP	fəʃán	M28C P 84	PP	fejə	F26A P 88, F29C P 86, M23C P 81, M27A S 87

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	féj(ə)	fa	fatə	fəʃún	fəʃi	fəʃúnd	F26A P 88
	"	"	"	"	"	fantə	F23, M32 T 93
							F29C C 14
	"	>	"	"	"	fándə	F32A P 79
					"		F12A C 76
		fa(ʃ)	fe				F56B C 124
						"	F68 C 124
	"						F12A C 76, M74 T 77
			"				F12B C 76
		fa					F77 T 80
IMPF	fəʃivə	fəʃivə	fəʃivə	fəʃəván	fəʃəvá	fəʃəvánd	F26A P 88, M23C P 81, F23, M32 T 93
		"	"		"		F56B C 124
PST	fəʃi	fəʃi	fəʃit	fəʃərún	fəʃistə	fəʃərúnd	F26A P 88
	"	"	fəʃistə	"	fəʃistəvə	"	F29C P 86
					"		M27A T 87
	"	"	"	fəʃətúnnə	fəʃistə	"	F23, M32 T 93
	"						M56 T 72, M44A T 85
CND	fəʃirə	fəʃirə	fəʃirə	fəʃəránnə	fəʃərá	fəʃəránd	F26A P 88
	"	"	"				F32 P 79
	"	"					M56 C 72
SBJ	fəʃissə	fəʃissə	fəʃissə	fəʃəssián	fəʃəssiá	fəʃəssiánd	F26A P 88
	fəʃis						F32 C 79
IMP		fa		fəʃún	fəʃiə		F26A P 88
		"		fəʃánnə	"		F23, M32 T 93

INF	pájə *to pay*			F29C P 86, F32A P 79, M28C P 84
PrP	paján	M28C P 84	PP	pája	F29C P 86, M23C P 81

	1-3s	1p	2p	3p	
PRES	paíə	pajún	paíə	pajúnd	F32A P 79
	páj				M23C P 81
	paír				M74 T 77
IMPF	pajáva	pajván	pajvá	pajvánd	F32A P 79, M23C P 81
PST	pajá(t)	pajərún	pajá	pajərúnd	F29C P 86
CND	pájárə				F32 S 79

INF	prennə *to take*		F29C P 86, M28C P 84, M74 T 77

PrP	prenján	M28C P 84	PP	práj		F29C P 86
	1-2s	**3s**	**1p**	**2p**	**3p**	
PRES	prɛn	prɛnd	prənjún	prənji	prɛnjúnd	F32A P 79
	"					M74 T 77
IMPF	prɛnívə	prɛnívə	preniəván	prɛniəvá	prɛniəvánd	F32A P 79
PST	prenji	prɛnjit	prənjərún	prənji	prənjərúnd	F29C P 86
CND	prenírə	prenírə				F32A P 79
IMP	pre, prɛnd					M70 C 156

4.16. Nouns

Nouns are unmarked for number and gender, which is indicated only by the form of the determiner (see § *Determiners*). There is no case marking on nouns. Suffixes that may be added to nouns are discussed in § *Derivational Morphology*.

4.16.1. Gender

Faetar has two genders, masculine (m.) and feminine (f.). Here are a few nouns with different (unrelated) forms for the biological sexes.

Table (59) masculine			feminine		
lu	kumpanjún		la	kumpanjés	
the	*friend*	M23C T 71, F32 T 79	*the*	*friend*	M23C T 71, F32 T 79
lu	mwen		la	fen	
the	*man*	M23C T 71	*the*	*woman*	M23C T 71
lu	paj		la	(maj/mar)	
the	*father*	F29C F 39	*the*	*mother*	M23C T 71
tatun			mamá		
Papa		M23C T 71	*Mama*		M23C T 71
tatá			mamín		
Grandpa		M23C T 71	*Grandma*		M23C T 71
tatíl			mamówə		
(great) grandfather		M23C T 71	*(great) grandmother*		M23C T 71
fiáw			fiλa		
son		F21 F 19	*daughter*		F29C F 39
frar			səráw		
brother		F56B F 153	*sister*		M23C T 81, M81 T 80
lu	tzúro		la	tʃiévrə	
the	*goat*	M23C T 71	*the*	*goat*	M23C T 71
lu	kavál		la	dʒumént	
the	*horse*	M23C T 71	*the*	*mare*	M23C T 71
lu	walutʃ		la	dʒəlin	
the	*rooster*	F83 F 55	*the*	*hen*	F83 F 55

Sometimes biological sex differences are not represented on the noun. [lu tʃutʃ] can refer to a male or female donkey. [l ɪnfán] refers to male and female children without any distinction. [lu / la diáwolə] 'the devil' and [lu/ la védəvə] 'the widow' distinguish biological sex only in the determiner.

4.16.2. Number marking on nouns

There is no number marking on regular nouns, though there are a few irregular plural forms.

Table (60) Nouns unmarked for number

singular		plural	
na parolə		di parolə	
a word	M56 S 72	*some words*	M56 S 72
lu kampəsantə		lo kampəsantə	
the cemetery	M56 S 72	*the cemeteries*	M56 S 72

Table (61) Some nouns with irregular plurals

singular		plural	
lu ja, l ijá		loz îjə	
the egg	F26A P 88	*the eggs*	M23C P 71
l îλə		los îjə	
the eye	M23C T 71	*the eyes*	M23C T 71
lu pja		lo pij, pié	
the foot	(Hoffman 1968:21)	*the feet*	M77 F 57

A morphological irregularity occurs with the word meaning 'man'. Its singular and plural forms differ. Presumably, the source of this is the homophony between [l#umwen] and [lu#mwen], two possible parses of the string [lumwen] 'the man'. Maria Castielli (pers. comm., 3/30/2000), for example, explains the words as [lu mwɛnn] 'the man' and [los umwɛ'nn] 'the men'. Hoffman (1968:22) also discusses the re-analysis of [l umwen] as [lu mwen].

4.17. Adjectives

Adjectives may modify a noun or be used in a copular construction.

4.17.1. Gender

Adjectives are not marked for gender, in general.

Table (62) masculine
feminine

lu	kafe	i	λet	amár		la	púmbələ	i	ɛt	amár
the	coffee	it	is	bitter		the	apple	it	is	bitter
(133)	*The coffee is bitter.*		M56 P 72					*The apple is bitter.*		M56 P 72

l ənfánnə me pıtʃəríllə
the child most little
(134) *the littlest child* F11C F 144

la filét un bu me pıtʃəríllə
the girl-DIM a bit more little
the girl that is a bit littler F11C F 144

λi e abbastánza biatsá
she is pretty plump
(135) *She is pretty plump.* F29C C 14

i ɛst biatsá
he is plump.
He is plump. F29C C 14

i λɛta namuor awtə namuor fin
he is very tall very thin
(136) *He is very tall, very thin.* F29C C 14

i e namuorə fin
She is very thin
She is very thin. F29C C 14

Several common adjectives have distinct masculine and feminine forms. The distinctions are not the same for all speakers, as the last three sentences, using the word 'white', show.

Table (63) masculine feminine

rowə	rozə	*big*
bej	bélla	*pretty*
bra	brav	*good, smart*

Table (64) masculine feminine

lu limón i e row
the lemon it is big
(137) *The lemon is big.* M56 S 72

la púmbələ i λe rozə
the apple it is big
The apple is big. M56 S 72

lo limón i sundə rowə
the lemons they are big
(138) *The lemons are big.* M56 S 72

lə púmbələ i sund rozə
the apples they are big
The apples are big. M56 S 72

faît i λe namwór bej
Faeto it is very pretty.
(139) *Faeto is very pretty.* F5 C 72

i tındə na gíssə bélla
it has a church pretty
It has a pretty church. F5 C 72

et u bra kwattrá
is a good boy
(140) *He is a good boy.* F29C C 14

e brav s ımpár súbitə
is good REFL learn quickly
She is good. She learns quickly. F62 G 9

lu kafé i e daw
the coffee it is sweet
(141) *The coffee is sweet.* M56 S 72

la pitsá daws
the pizza sweet
'type of cake' F56B F 153

lo limón i suntə biáŋk
the lemon they are white
(142) *The lemons are white.* M56 S 72

alor la púmbələ i λe biándʒ
so the apple it is white
So, the apple is white. M56 S 72

ajándə una ʃkalinádə biáŋkə
EXIS a staircase white
There is a white staircase. F20A F 19

(143)

Variation in the forms of the adjective 'big' is nicely illustrated in this extract from *Little Red Riding Hood*.

pɛró i vivə kə i tənívə al ɛzɛmpiə la butʃa roz
but she see-IMPF that he have-IMPF to-the example the mouth big

lu na rovə la wája rozə
the nose big the voice big

i diʃivə no ma dʒə ti los ij ro
he say-IMPF no but I have the-pl eye big

pə tə rəmí-INF me bun
for you see more good

e dʒə tin lu na ro pə tə sənti me bun
and I have the nose big for you smell-INF more good

dʒə tin la bútʃə ros pə tə mundʒi me bun
I have the mouth big for you eat-INF more good.

(144) *But she saw that he had, for example, a big mouth, a big nose, a big voice. He said, "No, I have big eyes to see you better. And I have a big nose to smell you better. And I have a big mouth to eat you better."* F26A C 88

(Hoffman 1968:23) provides lists of adjectives whose masculine and feminine forms are the same, a set where the feminine form has a final pronounced consonant which the m. form lacks, and a set with irregular differences between masculine and feminine. (All Hoffman's informants lived in the United States (Hoffman 1968:2-3) and may have spoken a different variety of Faetar.) (Kattenbusch 1982:186) also provides such a list.

4.17.2. Number marking on adjectives

There is no plural marking for adjectives, unless the following word starts with a vowel, in which case a final [s] is added.

Table (65) *No difference*

singular

lu sɛmáforə jor i λɛstə verdə
the traffic-light now it is green
(145) *The traffic light is green now.* F11B F 139

plural

i tındə loz ijə verdə
she has the-pl. eyes green
She has green eyes. F29C C 14

lu kafé i λɛt amár
the coffee it is bitter
(146) *The coffee is bitter.* M56 P 72

lo kafe i sunt amár
the coffee they are
The coffees are bitter. M56 P 72

la púmbələ i ɛt amár
the apple it is bitter
(147) *The apple is bitter.* M56 P 72

sə púmbələ i sunt amár
these apple they are bitter
These apples are bitter. M56 P 72

Table (66)   Difference

singular   *plural*

vária mákkənə ki   tʃemɪnúnd   variəs ɪnfánnə i   stundə fəʃánnə
variouscars   that drive   various children they are   do-PP
(148) *various cars that drive   F11B F 139*   *various children are doing   F11B F 139*

4.17.3.   Nominalization

Adjectives may also be used as nouns, generally by preceding them with a determiner.

lu   pɪtʃəríllə   i   dʒókə də   la   brákkələ
the   little   he   plays with   the   fork
(149) *The little one plays with the fork.   F11B F 139*

sto   viájə ristúnd   sto   ikke
these   old   stay   are   here
(150) *These old people stay here.   F29C C 14*

una   viéλa un   anfán
a   old   a   child
(151) *an old woman, a child.   F20A F 19*

kə   be   vɛrt
what   pretty   green
(152) *What a pretty green (color)!   F29C C 14*

4.17.4.   Participles as adjectives

Verb participles may be used as adjectives.

aját   un   kalɛndáriə   pənní
EXIS   a   calendar   hang-PP
(153) *There is a calendar hanging.   F20A F 19*

lə prəmijə parolə redʒistrá
the   first   word   recorded
(154) *the first word record-PP   M70 C 156*

u   jan   passá
at-the   year   pass-PP
(155) *last year   M56 C 72*

4.18.   Adverbs

Adverbs are used to modify adjectives, verbs, and other adverbs. (Negative adverbs are in the § *Negation*.) There is no agreement marking on adverbs. The position of sentential adverbs is variable, as the following examples show.

jor   nussə nə   parlúnnə
now   we   we   talk

(156) *Now we talk.   F24B T 71*

nussə jor   nu   parlún   də   si   kunt
we   now   we   talk   of   these   thing
(157) *Now we talk about these things.   M23 T 71*

nussə nə   parlún   jor
we   we   talk   now
(158) *We talk now.   M23 T 71*

4.18.1.   Some common adverbs

4.18.1.1.   Temporal adjuncts

aví	*today*	
ajér	*yesterday*	
dəmán	*tomorrow*	
la sumán k o vintə	*next week*	('the week that comes')
anagallá	*last night*	('the night that went')
anəmatén	*this morning*	
jɔr	*now*	
prestə	*early*	
tard	*late*	
a prəmíjə	*in the past*	('at first')
dapɔj	*afterwards*	
dʒa	*already*	
pa aŋkor	*not yet*	
tutə waj	*always*	
ʃpis, namuorrə də vaj	*often*	('a lot of times')
pə nej	*nighttime*	
súbətə	*right away*	
kju	*no more, more*	

aná   parlá tuttə waj   fajdar o   pur   italián
have   talk-PP all   time   Faetar or   also   Italian
(159) *Did we talk the whole time in Faetar or also in Italian?   F32A S 79*

m   awtsə prestə lu   matinə
REFL   wake   early   the   morning
(160) *I get up early in the morning.   M56 T 72*

dʒ   o   fej   ʃpis
I   it   do   often
(161) *I do it often.   M56 T 72*

dʒə   vej   kju
I   go   no-more

(162) *I do not go anymore. M23 T 71*

dʒə	l	e	pa	fe	aŋkór
I	it	have	NEG	done	yet

(163) *I have not done it yet. M23 T 71*

4.18.1.2.   Spatial adjuncts

ikké	*here*
ille	*there*
lundán	*far*

traj	anfan	illé	djok
three	children	there	play

(164) *Three children are playing there.   F29C F 39*

4.18.1.3.   Manner adjuncts

akussí	*thus*
n atə ri, n atə vaj	*again*
kjánə kjánə	*slowly*
vɛlútʃ	*quickly*
bɛne	*well*
pɔj	*then*

dʒɪ	ʃtudjá	tanə	akkussí	namwórrə
I	study	a-lot	thus	a-lot

(165) *I study so much like this.   F23 T 93*

Some other manner adverbs are listed below in the § *Derivational morphology.*

4.18.1.4.   Quantity adverbials

un bu	*a bit*
tri	*quite*
namwórrə	*a lot*
tri namwórrə	*quite a bit*
parékj	*some, quite a few*
tánə	*so much*
me, də méjə	*more*
abastánza	*pretty, fairly*
próprjə	*really*

dʒ	u	lɛʃi	un	bu	frétta	frétta
I	it	read-PP	a	bit	fast	fast

(166) *I read it a bit quickly. F68 C 128*

For 'very' or 'quite', there are several options: [tri], [mej], or [namwórə]. It is unclear if the last one should be parsed [ən amwórə] 'a love' or is monomorphemic.

un	paîjə	k	iʎ	e	tri	bej

a	town	COMP	it	is	very	pretty

(167) *a town that is very nice   F56B C 153*

si	vin	i	e	tri	bun
this	wine	it	is	very	good

(168) *This wine is very good.   F32 S 79*

si	salottə	i	ʎɛtə	i	ʎɛt	ə	namórrə	lardʒ
this	room-AUG	it	is	it	is	a	lot	wide

(169) *This dining room is very wide.   M10 C 73*

tʃə	di	kakə	tʃuoz	kə	dʒə	prɛfəráj	me	namwórrə
I	say	some	thing	that	I	prefer	very	a-lot

(170) *I'll tell you something that I prefer a lot.   F32A S 79*

4.18.1.5.   Reduplication

Another means of indicating 'very X' is reduplication, or repetition of an adjective or adverb for emphasis.

i	ʎɛstə	na	viə	strɪnə	strɛn
it	EXIS	a	street	narrow	narrow

(171) *There is a very narrow street. F5 F 72*

i	ʎɛt	pa	namwór	namwórə	awt
he	is	NEG	very	very	tall

(172) *He is not very tall.   F29C C 14*

u	mej	də	luʎə	ke	temp	bjɪn	bjɪn	bjɪn
at-the	month	of	July	what	time	full	full	full

(173) *The month of July, what a busy time. M81 C 80*

i	tɪndə	lo	pájə	luŋgə	lundʒə
she	has	the	hair	long	long

(174) *She has very long hair.   F5 F 72*

la papərə	tʃə	l	e	májə	dəsó	pɛró	pu	pu	mej	a	la	draj
the duck	I	it	have	put	under	but	a-bit	a-bit	more	to	the	right

(175) *I put the duck just a bit more to the right.   M7 G 75*

e	t	a	mʊndʒi	súbətə	súbətə
and	you	go	eat-INF	right-away	right-away

(176) *And you have to eat right away.   M7 G 75*

abrə	kjanə	kjanə	la	porta	aprí
so	slowly	slowly	the	door	opens

(177) *So, the door slowly opens.   F32B T 80*

próprjə	dəsó	dəsó
right	under	under

(178) *Right under? F12B G 76*

i	disénjə	propriə	pa	bun	pa	bun	pa	bun
she	draws	really	NEG	good	NEG	good	NEG	good

(179) *She draws really badly.*   M56 T 72

4.18.1.6.   Focus adverbials

avój, pur, aŋkə	*also*
na tʃəgîl	*a little bit*

dʒ	ulîs	atʃətá	pur	si	dʒa
I	want	buy-INF	also	this	toy

(180) *I want to buy this toy, too.*   M56 T 72

dʒ	ulîs	alá	avój	dʒi
I	want	go-INF	also	I

(181) *I want to go, too.*   M56 T 72

dʒ	ulîs	mɛndʒi	e	baj	avój
I	want	eat-INF	and	drink-INF	also

(182) *I want to eat, and drink too.*   M56 T 72

4.18.1.7.   Sentence adverbials

λo	*yes*
nu	*no*

nu	sɛt	ike	etə	l	attə
no	this	here	is	the	cat

(183) *No, this one here is the cat.*   M70 F 112

no	tutə	waj	fajtár	u	parlá
No	all	time	Faetar	we	speak-PST

(184) *No, we always spoke Faetar.*   F56B C 153

na	dzaket	λo
a	jacket	yes

(185) *a jacket, yes*   M70 F 112

4.18.1.8.   Temporal generalizations

To specify that something happens regularly at a certain time or on a certain day, the temporal adverb is used with a definite determiner. If the event only occurred on a specific day or time, the adverb is used without the determiner.

m	awtsə	prɛstə	lu	matînə
REFL	wake	early	the	morning

(186) *I (generally) get up early in the morning.*   M56 T 72

marî	dəmán	e	dəvéndrə
Maria	tomorrow	is	Friday

(187) *Maria, tomorrow is Friday.*   F56A C 7

4.19.   Comparatives and superlatives

Comparatives are constructed in the same manner for adjectives and adverbs. The surface structure is [me] + ADJ/ADV ([də] 'of' NP) 'more X (than Y)'. This may occur in an adjective phrase that is part of a noun phrase or in a copular construction.

4.19.1.   Comparative adjectives

ijə	e	me	fɛrmə	də	me
he	is	more	strong	of	me

(188) *He is stronger than me.*   F28 T 80

un	kwadrəkiót	me	rowə
a	boy	more	big

(189) *a bigger boy*   F20A F 19

pəkke	lu	sud	i	et	me	purîl	də	lu	nord	itália
because	the	south	it	is	more	poor	of	the	north	Italy

(190) *... because the south is poorer than northern Italy.*   F5 C 72

4.19.2.   Negative comparative adjectives

There is no single word meaning 'less'. Instead, the construction [mej bu] 'more little' is used for negative comparisons.

iz	i	sundə	me	bu	sımpátəkə	də	vus
They	they	are	more	less	nice	of	you

(191) *They are less nice than you.*   F28 T 80

stos	ənfánnə	i	tənúndə	me	bu	dəs	annə	də	sos	atə
those	children other	they	have	more	less	of	years	of	those	

(192) *Those children are younger than those others.*   F32 S 79

iə	i	etə	me	pu	kuradʒáwə
he	he	is	more	less	courageous

(193) *He is less courageous.* F32 S 79

4.19.3.   Comparisons of equality

dʒi	me	awtə	kan	a	mun	frar
I	more	tall	as	to	my	brother

(194) *I am as tall as my brother.*   F28 T 80, M23C T 71

səs	anfán	i	sundə	rowə	kum	a	sos	atə
these	children	they	are	big	like	to	those	other

(195) *These children are as big as those others.*   F32 T 79

4.19.4.   Superlative adjectives

There is a superlative construction: DET + [mej] 'more' + adjective ([də] 'of' + NP, or DET + irregular comparative adjective ([də] 'of' + NP), 'the most X (of NP)'.

t	e	la	mej	bɛllə
you	are	the	most	pretty

(196) *You are the prettiest.   F32 T 79, M23C T 71*

nə	λi	ɛst	n	ipótɛsə	kə	i	λɛt	la	méjə	tɛníbələ
?	it	is	a	hypothesis	COMP	it	is	the	most	likely

(197) *There is one hypothesis that is the most likely.   F5 C 72*

lə	me	áwtə	kə	o	ezíst
the	more	tall	COMP	PL	exist

(198) *... the highest that exists.   M81 C 80*

lu	dərri:jə	a	savájrə	o	fit	su	marí
the	last	to	know-INF	PL	is-PST	her	husband

(199) *The last to know was her husband.   F23 T 93*

When the superlative modifies a noun, the form is: DET + N + [mej] 'more' + ADJ 'the N more ADJ'.

e	la	fiλa	me	róza	də	túttə
and	the	girl	more	big	of	all

(200) *... and the biggest girl of all...   F11B F 139*

Sometimes the comparative form is used with superlative meaning.

alorrə	ajátə	la	fénnə	me	rózə
so	EXIS	the	woman	more	big

(201) *So, there is the biggest woman.   F11C F 144*

4.19.5.   Suppletive comparative and superlative adjectives

The very common adjective [bun] 'good' has an irregular comparative form [məλáw] (F32 T 79, M23C T 71) that appears in alternation with the regular comparative [me bun] (M23C T 71). There is no morpheme meaning 'bad', so the construction [pa bun] 'NEG good' is used with a regular comparative construction.

sɛl	i	λe	me	miλaw	də	set
that	it	is	more	better	than	this

(202) *That is better than this.   M81 T 80*

e	pa	bun
is	NEG	good

(203) *He is bad.   F32 T 79*

i	etə	propriə	pa	bun
he	is	really	NEG	good

(204) *He is really very bad.   F32 T 79*

eta	la	me	pa	bun	də	tutəkwand
is	the	more	NEG	good	of	everyone

(205) *He is the worst of everyone.   M23C T 71*

4.19.6.   Comparative adverbs

dʒ	e	mɛndʒá	namwór
I	have	eat-PP	a-lot

(206) *I ate a lot.   M56 T 72*

dʒ	e	mɛndʒá	me	də	ti
I	have	eat-PP	more	of	you

(207) *I have eaten more than you.   M56 T 72*

dʒ	e	mɛndʒá	me	də	tuttəkwant
I	have	eat-PP	more	of	everyone

(208) *I ate more than everyone (= the most).   M56 T 72*

dʒə	mɪndʒá	də	mejə
I	eat-PST	of	more

(209) *I ate more / a lot.   M56 T 72*

4.19.7.   Negative comparative adverbs

i	disɛnjə	pa	bunnə
she	draws	NEG	good

(210) *She draws badly.   M56 T 72*

me	pa	bunn
more	NEG	good

(211) *worse   M56 T 72*

i	disénjə	propriə	pa	bun	pa	bun	pa	bun
she	draws	really	NEG	good	NEG	good	NEG	good

(212) *She draws really badly.   M56 T 72*

4.19.8.   Suppletive comparative and superlative adverbs

There are some common irregular comparative and superlative adverbs that resemble the corresponding adjectives.

i	disɛnjə	bun	bej
she	draws	good	nice

(213) *She draws well, nicely.   M56 T 72*

i	disénjə	miλáw	də	me
she	draws	better	of	me

(214) *She draws better than me.   M56 T 72*

i	disénja	miʎáw	də	tuttokwánt
she	draws	better	of	everyone

(215) *She draws better than everyone (= best).*   M56 T 72

pəró	i	e	mej	dəzɛnʤi	sɛl	illé
but	it	is	more	drawn	this	there

(216) *But it is better drawn, this one here.*   F5 C 72

e	mej	bun	a	dəná	ke	a	rəsévə
is	more	good	to	give-INF	COMP	to	receive-INF

(217) *It is better to give than to receive.*   F32 S 79

dʒə	li	puə
I	read	little

(218) *I do not read very much.*   M23C T 71

dʒi	dʒə	liə	me	pu	di	iʎə
I	I	read	more	little	of	her

(219) *I read less than her.*   M23C T 71

dʒi	dʒə	liə	me	pu	də	təttokwand
I	I	read	more	little	of	everyone

(220) *I read less than everyone (= least).*   M23C T 71

4.20. Numbers

Numbers have cardinal, ordinal, and collective forms. Dates, times, and ages are also treated in this section.

4.20.1. Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers are not marked for gender except for the number 'two'. The number 'one' has a different form than the indefinite determiner 'one' or 'a'. The bare numbers, used for counting, are given first, followed by some conversational examples.

1	vun	F5 S 72, F9A S 6, F12A P 76
2 (m.)	do	F5 S 72, M32 C 93, F29C F 39, F12A P 76
2 (f.)	di	M32 C 93, F62 9, M56 72
3	traj	F5 S 72, , F12A P 76
	draj	F9A S 6
	tre	F29C F 39
4	kat(tə)	F5 S 72, F9A 6, F12A P 76, F29C F 39
5	siŋk	F5 S 72, F9A 6, F12A P 76
6	ʃi	F5 S 72, F9A 6, F12A P 76
7	sɛt	F5 S 72, F9A 6, F12A P 76
8	vit	F9A 6, M10 C 73, F12A P 76
	witə	F5 S 72
	wɪt	M10 C 73

9	nuə	F5 S 72, F12A P 76
	nun	F9A 6
10	dis	F5 S 72, F9A 6, F12A P 76
11	junz	M23C P 71
12	duz	M23C P 71
13	trez	M20B 8, M23C P 71
14	katorzə	M23C P 71
15	kɪnzə	M23C P 71
16	sezə	M23C P 71
17	ditʃə sɛt	M23C P 71
18	diʃə wit	M23C P 71
19	diʃə nu	M23C P 71
20	vintə	M23C P 71
	vɛnta	F77 C 80
21	vɪnt e un	M23C P 71
22	vɪnta do	M23C P 71
23	vinta traj	M23C P 71
24	vinta kat	M23C P 71
25	vinta sɪŋk	M23C P 71
30	trɛntə	M23C P 71
31	trent i un	M23C P 71
32 (f.)	trénta di	M23C P 71
40	karantə	M23C P 71
50	siŋkantə	M23C P 71
60	sɪsandə	M23C P 71
70	sɪtandə	M23C P 71
80	utandə	M23C P 71
90	nuwandə	M23C P 71
100	sentə	M23C P 71
120	sentə wində	M23C P 71
200	do sɪndə	M23C P 71
500	siŋkə sɪndə	M23C P 71
	sɛŋga se	M20B C 8
1000	millə	M23C P 71
2000	do millə	M23C P 71

Table (67)   *Examples from conversation*

1	anját	un	bájə	e	un	tʃinnə
	EXIS	a	father	and	a	dog

(221) *There is a father and a dog.*   F29C F 39

vunnə <u>do</u> e <u>traj</u> anfán pɪtʃəríl
one two and three child little
(222) *One, two, and three little children (counting)* F29C F 39

2   sə   rəmariúnnə tut   lo   <u>do</u>
   REFL look-3p   all   the   two
(223) *They look at each other.*   F29C F 39

na   parólə   <u>di</u>   parólə
a   word   two   words
(224) *a word, some/two words*   M56 S 72

3   e   <u>tre</u>   fijáw
   and   three   children
(225) *and three children*   F29C F 39

4   e   <u>kattə</u> fiánn
   and   four   children
(226) *and four children*   F29C F 39

8   a   lə   <u>vɪt</u>   a   la   <u>wɪt</u>
   at   the   eight   at   the   eight
(227) *at 8:00, at 8:00*   M10 C 73

200 i   átə   kiamá   a   <u>do</u>   <u>síndə</u>   soldá
    he   has   call-PP   to   two   hundred   soldiers
(228) *He called 200 soldiers.*   F5 C 72

4.20.2. Number marking on numbers

Numbers bear a plural marking which is optionally produced when the following word begins with a vowel, but not if it begins with a consonant (or *h-aspiré*). A number before a vowel-initial word may be bare (∅) or have a surface plural morpheme [s] or [əs] or [i]. Neither the choice of noun nor of number allows full predictability, as the following table shows. A series of vowel-initial nouns that were elicited are listed across the top. The various numbers with which they were combined are listed in the first column. Each cell shows the plural morpheme(s) produced for that combination of number and noun. (Examples are from M23C P 71 unless marked otherwise.)

	l anəmá *animal*	l an *Year*	l áorə *hour*	l ijə *eye*	l ijə *egg*	l orə *garden*
2			s			
3	s		s M23C P 71, F22B P 71 ∅	s	s	∅
4	∅			əs F22B P 71		∅
5		∅ F22B P 71, M23C P 71	∅	əs		

6		s M23C P 71, F22B P 71				
7	s	∅ M23C P 71, F22B P 71, M10 73	∅		əs	∅
8		∅	∅ M23C P 71, F22B P 71		əs	∅
9	∅	s əs M10 73			s əs	
10	s	i M23C P 71, M10 C 73	i		is	s i F22B P 71

4.20.3. Ordinal numbers

Faetar uses either Italian forms for the ordinals or cardinal numbers. Only 'first' has masculine and feminine forms. Pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal forms differ, but as discussed in the § *Final Deletion*, this is not a pattern particular to these morphemes.

1st (f.) prəmírə F32 79   la prəmírə tʃuozə   *the first thing*   F32 P 79
                    la prəmíərə parólə   *the first word*   M56 P 72
                    la prímə sumán   *the first week*   F77 P 80

1st (m.) prəmíə F32 79   lu prəmíə an   *the first year*   F77 P 80
     premír M74 P 77
                    lu prəmíə dʒurə   *the first day*   F77 P 80

2nd   sɛkónd M74 P 77   lu sɛgond an   *the second year*   F77 P 80
     sɛgónda F32 79   lu sɛgónda dʒur   *the second day*   F77 P 80

3rd   tértsa F32 79   lu tɛrts an   *the third year*   F77 P 80
                    lu tɛrtsə dʒur   *the third day*   F77 P 80
                    la tɛrtsa sumán   *the third week*   F77 P 80

4th   kwárta F32 P 79   lu kwart an   *the fourth year*   F77 P 80
5th   kwɪnda F32 P 79, M74 P 77
6th   sɛsta F32 P 79, M74 P 77
7th   sɛttəmə F32 P 79, M74 P 77
8th, 9th, 10th   Cardinal numbers, preceded by the determiner [lu] are used.   M74 P 77

4.20.4. Collective numerals

Collective numerals are feminine nouns used to indicate a group of an approximate size, such as 'a dozen'. Several speakers reported that Faetar does not have such forms. Phrases meaning 'about X men' are given here, translated from Italian prompts.

dek   M74 T 77, F22B T 71   na dékə də s umwén   *about 10 (men)*   F77 T 80
díkə   M23C C 71
ventáir   M74 T 77   *about 20*
trentájn   M74 T 77   na trentánə də s umwén   *about 30 (men)*   F77 T 80
karantaj̃rn M74 T 77   na karantáj də s umwén   *about 40 (men)*   F77 T 80

sɛntəná	M74 T 77	un sɛnta s umwén	*about 100 (men)*	F77 T 80
sɛnt	M74 T 77	do sɛnta s umwén	*about 200 (men)*	F77 T 80
miλájə	F77 T 80	nə miλájə də s umwén	*about 1000 (men)*	F77 T 80
məλará	M74 T 77		*about 1000*	

4.20.5. Dates

Dates are named using the structure ([lu]'the' +) number + [də] 'of' + month.

lu prəmí də luλ	M74 T 77, F77 T 80	*July 1*
lu sɛz də mars	M74 T 77	*March 16*
sezə də mars	F77 T 80	*March 16*
sɪnkə də madʒ	F77 T 80	*May 5*
sɪnkə marts	M74 T 77	*May 5*

e	la	me	rosə	kə	nəʃi	ɪn	lu	ʃi	martsə
is	the	most	big	COMP	born-PST	on	the	six	March

(229) *She is the oldest, that was born March 6. F5 C 72*

4.20.6. Time

The construction DET + NUMBER is used for time, without a word for 'hour'.

i	s	awts	tutə	waj	a	la	kat	də	la	matín
he	REFL	wake	all	times	at	the	four	of	the	morning

(230) *He always gets up at 4:00 in the morning. F5 C 72*

lu	kat	e	miétʃ
the	four	and	half

(231) *4:30 F5 C 72*

4.20.7. Age

The construction for age is [təníə] 'to have' (+ ART) + NUMBER + 'year'.

i	tɪndə	katórzi	an
she	has	fourteen	year

(232) *She is 14 years old. M10 C 73*

i	tɪndə	lə	ditʃa	nuaz	an
she	has	the	ten	nine	year

(233) *She is 19 years old. M10 C 73*

4.21. Discourse markers

4.21.1. Interjections

A number of markers, generally used at the beginning of a sentence or narrative, have been observed. These include [alɔr, jor, bʊ, bun, duŋk, ɪn som].

alnr	ikke	anjáttəla	ʃénnə
so	here	EXIS	the scene

(234) *So, here is the scene. F29C F 39*

jor	tok	i	sutʃədə	ike
now	what	it	happens	here

(235) *Now, what is happening here? M76 F 30*

bʊ	dʒə	se	pa
hmm	I	know	NEG

(236) *Hmm, I don't know. F5 C 72*

bun	t	alá	a	la	ʃkul
good	you	go	to	the	school

(237) *Good, you go to school. F56B C 153*

duŋk	sta	tʃantsjún	i	vind	i	kiamá
so	this	song	it	comes	it	call-PP

(238) *So, this song is called... F56B C 153*

in	som	anjandə	do	kə	sə	ʃpuzúnd
In	sum	EXIS	two	COMP	REFL	marry

(239) *So, there are these two people who get married. M20A 8*

4.21.2. Vocatives

The word [waljó] is used to called out to a person to get their attention. [fiλó] is used to call a woman. According to M23C 71, these are not considered particularly polite, but may be used to call anyone if there is a sense of urgency. [əo:] is also used in the same manner.

i	fandə	waljó	sej	mattə
he	goes	man	are	crazy

(240) *He goes, "Man, you are crazy!" M20A G 8*

4.21.3. Fillers

Fillers are used phrase-internally to emphasize, de-emphasize, check for audience agreement, or hold the floor. They include [ɪn fátti], [nu], and [addúŋk].

dɛn	a	sun	baj	ɪn	fatti	sun	baj
give	to	her	father	in	fact	her	father

(241) *She gives to her father, in fact, her father. F29C F 39*

sɛt	e	lu	paíjə	nu
this	is	the	town	no

(242) *This is the town, isn't it? F5 F 72*

vu	diʃəvándə	próprlə	addúŋk
you	say-IMPF	really	then

(243) *You were saying, then? F56B C 153*

4.21.4.   Other

[ɛɛ]   agreement with the speaker
[ǁ]   negative response (See § *Negation*)
[we]   to answer the phone at a business

5. Grammatical Morphology

5.1.   Determiners

There are two types of articles: definite and indefinite. For most speakers, there is no partitive.

5.1.1.   Definite articles

The definite article is similar to that of most Romance languages; it has four basic forms: masculine singular, masculine plural, feminine singular, and feminine plural. There is no variation in the form preceding different consonants, as there is in Italian *il* vs. *lo*.

Table (68)   *Definite simple article*

		masculine	feminine
sg.	before consonant	lu(lo, lə)	la
	before vowel	l	l
pl.	before consonant	lo	lə
	before vowel	los	las

lu piát	the plate	F80 F 27, F29C F 39		la sɛdʒ	the chair	F29C F 39
lu tʃin	the dog	F9A F 6, F29C F 39		la attə	the cat	
lo lawwə	the wolf	F9A F 6				
lo kartoleh	the dishes	F29C F 39		lə piat	the plates	F88 F 44
				lə kəλij	the spoons	F29C F 39

In the singular, there is elision of the article's vowel before a vowel-initial word. In the plural, there is liaison: the /s/ is pronounced if the following word begins with a vowel.

l ijá	the egg	~	los ijə	the eggs	M23C T 71
l îλə	the eye	~	los ijə	the eyes	M23C T 71

i   rəmírə   a   <u>l</u>   ɛnfánnə
he   look   at   the   child
(244)   *He is looking at the child.*   F29C F 39

<u>las</u>   atə   kard
the   other   cards
(245)   *the   other   cards   M7 C 75*

See Hoffman (1968:21-2) for discussion of the article-final [s], which is sometimes analyzed (by speakers) as belonging to the noun rather than the article.

5.1.1.1.   Contracted definite article

There is variable contraction of the masculine singular definite article before the prepositions [a] and [də]. There is no contraction with other forms of the article or with other prepositions.

Table (69)   *[a] 'to' + article*   *[də] 'of' + article*

	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
sg.	a lu, u, o	a la	du	də la
	a l		də l	
pl.	a lo, e	a lə	də lo, də	də lə
	a los, a loz		də los	

masculine singular

dʒə   parl   <u>u</u>   kwattrá
I   talk   to+the   boy
(246)   *I talk to the boy.*   M28C P 84

dʒə   parl   <u>a   lu</u>   kwattrá
I   talk   to   the   boy
(247)   *I talk to the boy.*   F26A P 88

<u>u</u>   jan   passá
in+the   year   past
(248)   *last year   M56 C 72*

lu   ləbráj   sta   pa   <u>o</u>   fajdár
the   library   is   NEG   in+the   Faetar
(249)   *The word 'bookstore' is not in Faetar.*   M44A C 85

dʒə   parl   <u>du</u>   kwattrá
I   talk   of+the   boy
I talk about the boy.   M28C P 84

dʒə   parlə   <u>də   l</u>   ənfán
I   talk   of   the   child
I talk about the child.   F26A P 88

feminine singular

dʒə   parlə   <u>a   la</u>   fiλə
I   talk   to   the   girl
(250)   *I talk to the girl.*   F26A P 88, M28C P 84

dʒə   parlə   <u>a   la</u>   at
I   talk   to   the   cat
(251)   *I talk to the cat.*   F26A P 88, M28C P 84

dʒə   parlə   <u>də   la</u>   fiλə
I   talk   of   the   girl
I talk about the girl.   F26A P 88, M28C P 84

dʒə   parlə   <u>də   la</u>   at
I   talk   of   the   cat
I talk about the cat.   F26A P 88, M28 P 84

masculine plural

dʒə   parl   <u>a   lo</u>   kwattrá
I   talk   to   the   boys
(252)   *I talk to the boys.*   F26A P 88, M28C P 84

dʒə   parlə   <u>a   los</u>   umwén
I   talk   to   the   men
(253)   *I talk to the men.*   F26A P 88

dʒə   parlə   <u>də   lo</u>   kwattrá
I   talk   of   the   boys
I talk about the boys.   F26A P 88, M28C P 84

dʒə   parlə   <u>də   los</u>   umwén
I   talk   of   the   men
I talk about the men.   F26A P 88, M28C P 84

dʒə   véjə u   bówə
I   go   to+the woods
(254) *I go to The Woods (a part of Faeto).* F26A S 88

dʒə   vej   a   lo   katə kantún
I   go   to the   four corner
(255) *I go to The Four Corners (a square in Faeto).*   F26A S 88

feminine plural

dʒə   parlə a   lə   fiλ   dʒə   parlə də lə   fiλə
I   talk   to the   girls   I   talk   of the   girls
(256) *I talk to the girls.*   F26A P 88, M28C P 84   *I talk about the girls.* F26A P 88, M28C P 84

dʒə   parlə a   lə   at   dʒə   parlə də lə   attə
I   talk   to the   cats   I   talk   of the   cats
(257) *I talk to the cats.* F26A P 88, M28C P 84   *I talk about the cats.* F26A P 88, M28C P 84

5.1.2.   Indefinite article
Table (70)   *masculine*   *feminine*
   sg.   before consonant   un   vuna, əna, na, un
            before vowel   n   n

masculine singular   *feminine singular*

anját un bájə e   un   tʃínnə   la   ʃénnə də na   famíλə
EXIS   a   father and a   dog   the   scene of a   family
(258) *There is a father and a dog.* F29C F 39   *the scene of a family* F29C F 39

viénə da n   atə kartíɤə   éttə na   kutʃin
come   from a   other area   EXIS a   kitchen
(259) *You come from another area.* F29C F 39   *There is a kitchen.*   F29C F 39

Efforts to elicit plural indefinites by translation from Italian produced forms such as the plural partitives shown in the next section.

5.1.3.   Partitive
Faetar does not have a partitive construction (for most speakers). Efforts were made to elicit it several times, both in context (at the dinner table) and by translation from Italian or French. The following alternatives were offered:

dʒə   wúlja na   tsíkə də pan/vɪn
I   want   a   bit   of bread/wine
(260) *I want some (a bit of) bread/wine.*   M23C S 71, F50E S 91

dʒ   ulí   lu   pan/vɪn
I   want-CND the bread/wine
(261) *I would like some bread/wine.*   M23C S 71, F50E S 91

F50 E also offered the following alternative and explicitly rejected the two starred forms.

dʒ   ulírə   un   buə   d   ej
I   want-CND   a   little of water
(262) *I would like a bit of water.*   F50E S 91

*dʒ   ulírə   Ø   d   ej
I   want-CND   of   water
(263) *I would like a bit of water.*   F50E S 91

*da   mmi   de   l   ej
give-IMP me   of   the water
(264) *Give me some water.* F50E S 91

Other speakers produced particle constructions:

kakún də   lo   kwattrá
some   of   the   boy
(265) *some of the boys*   F32B S 80, M81 S 80

e   po   də   l   ombréll
and   then of   the umbrella
(266) *and then some umbrellas*   F20A F 19

o   sund tʃáj də   lɔ   kartollé
PL   are   fall-PP of   the plate
(267) *Some plates fell.*   F23 T 93, M32 T 93

Translating from Italian partitive *degli studenti* and *delle donne*, speakers produced:

lo   studén   parékkjə   studén
the   student   several   student
(268) *some students, some students* F32B S 80

tʃértə fenn
certain woman
(269) *certain women*   M56 S 72

5.1.4.   Lack of article
An article is not required in certain noun phrases. For example, F9A C 6 says [past e fasúl] 'pasta and beans' in explaining what she is cooking that day. Right afterwards, however, she adds [la tʃej] 'the meat' to the menu. Here are a few other examples of article-less nouns.

alɔr   ikke anjattə   la   ʃénnə də   na   famíλə
so   here EXIS   the   scene of   a   family

       pájə   anjat un   bájə   e   káttə fiáw na   mar e   məλí

father EXIS a father and four children a mother and wife
(270) *So, here is the scene of a family: father, there is a father and four children, a mother and wife. F29C F 39*

e ike i sundə karamɛllə
and here they are candy
(271) *And here are candies. F12A C 76*

The festivals of the saints may be referred to without an article, but some holidays are preceded by an article, as the following description by M13C C 75 shows.

la sɛkóndə dəmíntʃ də lúljə anjátə sant antónjə
the second Sunday of July EXIS Saint Anthony
(272) *The second Sunday of July, there is St. Anthony ['s Day].*

e dapój vɛrs la mətá d aóstə anjátə san próʃpə
and after toward the middle of August EXIS Saint Prosper
(273) *And then, toward the middle of August, there is St. Prosper ['s Day].*

... a dapój un andə lə fetə kum lu tʃalénn
and after a (?) EXIS the-f. pl. holiday like the Christmas
(274) *And then there is the holidays like Christmas.*

kapo d ann la befán e avríl o vıntə pákkə
head of year the ephiphany and April PL come Easter
(275) *New Year's, Epiphany, and in April comes Easter.*

5.1.5. Possessive determiners

These forms agree in gender with the noun they modify for the singular persons, but there is only one form for the plurals. There is no agreement with the number of the possessed noun. Possessives are marked for the person of the possessor, with differences for the six persons, but not for gender. There are prenominal forms only for the singular persons and postnominal forms for all persons.[12]

Table (71)   *Prenominal possessive determiners*

Person		masculine possessed item			
1st sg.	mun	mum biarán	*my grandfather*	M32 T 93
		mun frar	*my brothers*	M74 T 77
2nd sg.	tun	tum biarán	*your grandfather*	M32 T 93
3rd sg.	sun	sum biarán	*her/his grandfather*	M32 T 93
		sun profəssáw	*his teacher*	M56 T 72
Person		feminine possessed item			
1st sg.	ma	ma nónnə	*my grandmother*	M32 T 93
		ma səráw	*my sister*	M74 T 77

[12] (Hoffman 1968:37) reports that he found prenominal possessive adjectives only for the singular persons. I found only one exception: a translation of *la loro madre* 'their mother' as [sa mar] by M74 T 77. This form is homonymous with 'his/her mother.'

2nd sg.	ta	ta nonnə	*your grandmother*	M32 T 93
3rd sg.	sa	sa nonnə	*her/his grandmother*	F26A C 88
		sa məʎijə	*his wife*	F29C F 39

Table (72)   *Postnominal possessive determiners*

Person		masculine possessed item			
1st sg.	min	lu ʃappéj min	*my hat*	M74 T 77
		lə kumpanjúnə mın	*my friends*	M74 T 77
		lu professaw min	*my teacher*	F5 C 72
2nd sg.	tin	lu ʃappéj tin	*your hat*	M53C T 162
3rd sg.	sin	kundə sinnə	*his own reasons*	F29C F 39
		lu piétzə sınnə	*his piece (of cake)*	F11B F 139
	jon	jon kúndə	*his things*	M10 F 73
1st pl.	nótə	lu biaran nútə	*our grandfather*	M32 T 93
		lu paj nótə	*our country*	M32 T 93
2nd pl.	vótə	lu paj vótə	*your country*	M32 T 93
	jóʎə	lu biarán jóʎə	*your grandfather*	M32 T 93
3rd pl.	láwə	lu biaránnə láwə	*their grandfather*	F11B F 139
Person		feminine possessed item			
1st sg.	miɾ	le manə miɾ	*my hands*	M74 T 77
2nd sg.	tiá	la pjumbá tiá	*your pen*	M74 T 77
	tiɾ	le manə tiɾ	*your hands*	M74 T 77
3rd sg.	siá	la pjumbəlá siá	*his pen*	M74 T 77
	siɾ	le manə siɾ	*his hands*	M74 T 77

dʒə sáʎa do lə kumpanjúnə min
I go-out with the friend my
(276) *I go out with my friends. M10 C 73*

tut tʃakon i dʒokə də jon kundə
all each they play with his thing
(277) *Each one plays with his own things. M10 F 73*

a tʃa nu
at home our
(278) *at our place M74 T 77*

le mánə vótə
the hand your
(279) *your hands M74 T 77*

Possessives are not (necessarily) used for inalienable possessions, such as body parts.

sun baj i tind un tʃindʒ a lə mannə
her father he holds a washrag at the hand
(280) *Her father is holding a washrag in his hand. F29C F 39*

i   tində lə   kəʎíj a   lə   mann
he   holds the   spoon in   the   hand
(281) *He holds the spoons in his hand.*   F29C F 39

Possessives are generally, but not always, used for kinship terms.

sa   məɣí də   dʒován
his   wife of   John
(282) *John's wife*   M74 T 77

e   sa   fiʎə di   prófpə
is   his   daughter of   Prospero
(283) *She is Prospero's daughter.*   F5 C 72

la[13]   papa ke   fátə
the   father what does
(284) *Your father, what does he do?*   M56 G 73

5.1.6.   Demonstrative determiners

There are demonstrative determiners and pronouns, which have the same form (see §
Demonstrative pronouns). Both gender and number are marked, and a distinction between
proximal and distal is made. The proximal/distal distinction may be amplified by adding the
words [ike'] 'here' and [illé] 'there' after the noun. There is a lot of variation and overlap in the
forms elicited for the demonstratives. Some of the variation may be due to semantic
differences—different speakers have different ideas about what is proximal vs. distal, for
example, or masculine vs. feminine. In general, the proximal forms contain the consonants
[st], while the distals have [sl].

Table (73)   Proximal   Distal

	masculine		feminine		masculine		feminine	
sg.	si	M23C S 71, F26A T 88, F32 S 79	sta	F29C F 39, M74 T 77, F26A C 88	sélə	F26A T 88, M74 T 77, M81 T 80	sɛlá	F26A T 88, M74 T 77, F22B S 71
	sti	M23C S 71, F22B P 71, M74 T 77	sét(a)	M23C S 71, M81 T 80, F22B P 71	sto	M23C P 71, M30 C 78	səlé	F26A C 88
	sɛt	M23C S 71, M81 T 80	sa	F26A T 88, M23C P 71	səló	F26A C 88		
	sto	M23C S 71						
pl.	sto	F29C F 39, M23C P 71, M74 T 77	sta	M23C S 71, M81 T 80	selú	F26A T 88, M81 T 80, M74 T 77	sɛlé	F26A T 88, M23C P 71
	sti	F29C F 39	sta	F22B S 71	sti	M23C P 71	séla	M81 T 80
	so	F26A T 88, M81 T 80	sto	M23C P 71	soló	M23C P 71		
					sɛl	M81 T 80		
					səló	M23C S 71		

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[13] [sic] I have no idea why this is feminine.

sta   fiʎét   i   tənívə sa   nonnə
this   girl-dim.   she   have-PST her   grandmother
(285) *This girl had a grandmother.*   F26A C 88

u   mietʃ a   səló kart
at-the middle to   that side
(286) *in the middle of that side*   M10 G 73

sto   provɛnzal ki   stavandə a   san wit   u   kastɛlliún
these Provençals that   stay-IMPF at   St.   Vito or   Castiglione
(287) *these Provençals who were staying in St. Vito or Castiglione*   M30 C 78

There are s-final plural forms that appear only before vowel-initial words.
sus at   those (m.) other   M74 T 77
səs at   those (f.) other   M74 T 77
sos umwén   those men   F?13 P 83

5.1.7.   Interrogative determiners

There are two interrogative determiners, [kála] 'which' and [kánt] 'how many'. They are not
marked for gender or number.

kalə   kwattrá   i   e   vəní
which boy   he   is   come-PP
(288) *Which boy came?*   F22B S 71

kalə   fiʎ   i   sundə vəní
which girl   she   are   come-PP
(289) *Which girl came?*   M23C S 71

te   kant   an   tə   tin
you   how-many years you   have
(290) *You, how old are you?*   M56 C 73

5.1.8.   Quantifiers

Quantifiers precede the noun they modify. There is gender agreement only for 'all'.
tʃakə   *each*
ə namwor də   *such*
kakə   *some*
tutto (m.) , tuttə (f.) *all*

tʃakə tʃuozə
each   thing
(291) *each thing*   F24B T 71

i   pruát   ə   namwor   də   páw
he   feel-PST   a   lot   of   fright

(292)   *He felt such a fright. M28C S 84*

anjatə	kakə	tʃuoz	kə	dʒə	kwanáj	pa
EXIS	some	thing	that	I	know	NEG

(293)   *There are some things that I do not know.   M23C S 71*

dʒə	viaw	tútto	lu	paíjə
I	see	all	the	town

(294)   *I see the whole town. M23C S 71*

dʒi	viáw	tuttə	lə	fiλ	tutto	lo	kwattrá
I	see	all	the	girl	all	the	boy

(295)   *I see all the girls, all the boys.   M23C S 71*

5.2.   Prepositions

Prepositions precede the NP that is their complement. As noted in § *Articles*, the prepositions [a] and [də] are contracted before the masculine singular definite article.

a   'to', 'at'

un	tʃindʒ	a	lə	mannə
a	washrag	at	the	hand

(296)   *a washrag in his hands   F29C F 39*

i	tin	sti	kartolɛh	a	sa	məλi
he	gives	these	plate	to	his	wife

(297)   *He gives these plates to his wife.   F29C F 39*

sa	məλijə	i	ɛstə	mətánn	sto	kartolɛh	a	ppostə
his	wife	she	is	put-PrP	these	plates	at	place

(298)   *His wife is putting these plates away. F29C F 39*

[a] is used before city names as destinations. [in] (*not* the preposition used to mean 'in'—see below) is used before country names as destinations.

dʒə	vej	a	fodʒʒə
I	go	to	Foggia

I go to Foggia. M28C S 84

t	e	alá	a	la	fodʒə
you	are	go-PP	to	the	Foggia

(299)   *You went to Foggia? F56A G 6*

dʒə	vej	ɪn	frantʃə
I	go	in	France

(300)   *I go to France.   M28C S 84*

dʒə	vej	in	ʃvítzɛrə
I	go	in	Switzerland

(301)   *I go to Switzerland.   M28C S 84*

dɪngjɛn   'in'

alɛtʃán	lu	lej	dɪngjɛ́n	un	piatʃíl
lick-PrP	the	milk	in	a	plate-DIM

(302)   *licking milk on a little plate. F29C F 39*

lu	makatúra	i	λɛst	dənjɛ́nlu	bukíjə
the	kerchief	it	is	in the	book

(303)   *The kerchief is in the book.   F29C S 65*

də   'of'

[də] 'of' has a variety of prepositional uses including partitives and possessives.

la	ʃɛnnə	də	na	famîλə
the	scene	of	a	family

(304)   *the scene of a family F29C F 39*

dʒə	parl	du	kwattrá
I	talk	of-the	boy

(305)   *I talk about the boy. M28C T 84*

dʒə	wúlja	n	atzíkə	də	pan
I	like	a	bit	of	bread

(306)   *I want a bit of bread. M23C S 71, F50E 91*

e	sa	fiλə	di	próʃpə
is	his	daughter	of	Prospero

(307)   *She is Prospero's daughter.   F5 C 72*

da   'from'

ti	tə	vín	da	lu	martʃá
you	you	come	from	the	market

(308)   *You come from the market.   M28C T 84*

tʃa   'at the home of'

n	alún	a	tʃa	nu
we	go	to	house	we

(309)   *We go to our house.   F5 C 72*

poj	dʒə	vej	tʃe	ma	nonnə
then	I	go	house	my	grandma

(310)   *Then I go to my grandma's house.   F5 C 72*

kaputʃɛ́	va	dʒi	ta	nonn
hood		go	house	your	grandma

(311)   *Little Red Riding Hood, go to your grandma's house.   M44A C 85*

aprí   'by'

lu	law	dit	λo	va	aprí	ki

the   wolf   said   yes   go   by   here
(312) *The wolf said, "Yeah, come here."*   M44A C 85

pə   'in order to, for'

dʒə   tin   la   bútʃə ros   pə   tə   mʊndʒi   me   bun
I   have   the   mouth big   for   you   eat-INF more   better
(313) *I have a big mouth to eat you better.*   F26A C 88

pə   'through'

i   volə   pə   l   aria
it   flies through   the   air
(314) *It flies through the air.*   F29C C 14

sɛnzə 'without'

sa   fiʎə   e   sɛnzə   orəkín
that   girl   is   without   earring
(315) *That girl is without earrings.*   M23C S 71

ɪndjok 'on'

lu   tʃinn i   ʎɛst   asɛttá ɪndjók la   sɛdʒ
the   dog   he   is   sit-PP on   the   chair
(316) *The dog is seated on the chair.*   F29C F 39

kontra 'against'
l   eletsión   e   kontra tut
the   election   is   against everything
(317) *The election is against everything.*   F22B C 71

durant   'during'

durant   lo   sodʒórn
during   the   visit
(318) *during the visit*   M74 IV 77

apé   'after'

apé   anjatə vuna   me   ros
after EXIS   one   more   big
(319) *Then there is a bigger one.*   M13A F 34

da, də 'since'

dʒ   a   la   vaj   pa   də   dɪmɪntʃə   passá
I   have   her   see-PP NEG   since Sunday   passed
(320) *I have not seen her since last Sunday.*   M74 T 77

da   ke   ʒ   a   kwanáiɼ
since COMP   I   have   know-PP
(321) *since when I met them* M74 T 77

dəfwor 'outside'

e   zaljá   dəfwór
and   goes-out   outside
(322) *And he goes outside.* M20A G 8

dəɼi   'behind'

la   attə   i   ɛstə   dəɼi   lu   la   pultron
the   cat   it   is   behind the   the   armchair
(323) *The cat is behind the armchair.*   F5 F 72

do, də 'with'

i   dʒokə do   lu   puzátə
he   play   with   the   silverware
(324) *He plays with the silverware.* F5 F 72

tə   vej   (inzɛn)   do   me
you   go   (together)   with   me
(325) *You go with me.*   M23C S 71

na   fennə də   lu   passədʒin
a   woman with   the   carriage
(326) *a woman with a carriage*   M10 F 73

ʒ   e   viaw   na   fɪnnə do   un   kwattrá
I   have   saw   a   woman with   a   boy
(327) *I saw a woman with a boy.*   M74 S 77

fra   'between'

fra   di   wɛr
between   two   war
(328) *between the two wars* M74 T 77

fra   nussə do
between   us   two
(329) *between the two of us* M74 T 77

5.2.1.   Multiple prepositions

Some spatial prepositions are followed by the preposition [a] 'to, at' or [da] 'from'.
ingjɔkkə, ndjok   'above'

la   páparə i   ʎɛst   un   po   ingjɔkkə   a   la   foʎə
the   duck   it   is   a   bit   above   to   the   leaf
(330) *The duck is a bit above the leaf?*   M10 G 73

dəso   'under, beneath'

i   dʒokə dəsó   u   tawulĭn
she   play   under to-the table
(331) *She plays under the table.*   F5 F 72

poj i λɛstə la attə dəsó a sun baj
then it EXIS the cat under to his father
(332) *Then there is the cat under his father.*   F5 F 72

dəkannə   'λlose to'

lu makatúra i λɛst dəkánn a lu bukijə
the kerchierf it is close-to to the glass
(333) *The kerchief is close to the glass.*   F29C P 14

atúrn   'around'

i stund atúrn a tawulín
they are around at table-DIM
(334) *They are around the little table.*   F29C F 39

atúrn a la kisə də santə wit
around at the church of Saint Vito
(335) *near the church of St. Vito*   M30 C 78

atúrn a la mil e tre zɛntə
around at the thousand and three hundred
(336) *near 1300 (the year)*   M30 C 78

ɪnfatʃ   'facing'

atsəká ɪnfatʃ u tawulinn
sit-PP facing to-the table-DIM
(337) *sitting facing the little table*   F29C F 39

u miɛtʃə   'between'

la far i λɛst u miɛtʃə a la papərə e a la jok
the lighthouse it is at-the middle to the duck and to the snow
(338) *The lighthouse is between the duck and the snow.*   F5 G 72

a kartíjə   'next to'

lu makatúra i λɛst a-kartíjə a lu bukijə
the kerchief it is next-to to the glass
(339) *the kerchief is next to the glass*   F29C P 14

tra   'between'

i stund diʃkután tra də is pəké s e fərmá
they are discuss-PrP between of them why it is stopped
(340) *They are discussing between themselves why it stopped.*   F29C F 39

luntannə   'far from'

lu makatura i λɛst luntannə da lu bukijə
the kerchief it is far from the glass
(341) *The kerchief is far from the glass.*   F29C P 14

5.2.2.   Verb + preposition

Some verbs require a preposition when there is an infinitival complement. A verb may require [a], [də], or no preposition.[14]

preposition + [a]

abbjettá 'to begin'   o abbjéttə a jukká
PL begin to snow-INF
(342) *It is beginning to snow.*   M23B T 93

abɪtuá 'to get used to' ti t abɪtuán a fa lu tʃuoz də tuttə bunnə
you you get-used-to to do-INF the thing of all well
(343) *You get used to doing things well.*   F32 S 79

ajutá 'to help'   sə mə tə wa ajutá a fa sta tʃuoz
if me you want help-INF to do-INF these thing
(344) *If you want to help me do these things.*   F32 S 79

dʒɪ dʒ awtáv a mun báj a fa lu bo
I I help-IMP to my father to do-INF the wood
(345) *I was helping my father cut wood.*   M23C S 81

awardá 'to wait for' dʒi dʒ awardá a fa si kunt
I I wait to do-INF these things
(346) *I wait to do these things.*   M23C S 81

ɪmpará 'to learn' ti t ɪmpárə a sʃanta
you you learn to sing-INF
(347) *You learn to sing.* F32 S 79

ɪnsɛnjá 'to teach' dʒ ənsɛnjávə a fa si kunt
I teach-IMPF to do-INF these thing
(348) *I was teaching how to do these things.*   M23C S 81

pɛnsá 'to think' i pɛnzún a fa lúi a vin
he think to make-INF him to come
(349) *I'm thinking of making him come.*   F32 S 79

pruá 'to try' dʒ e pruá a fa si kunt
I have try-PP to do-INF these thing
(350) *I tried to do these things.*   M23C S 81

pruá 'to rehearse' i vandə tutə waj a pruá a tʃandá
they go all time to rehearse-INF to sing
(351) *They are always going to practice singing.*   F32 S 79

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[14] These example sentences are taken from Reynolds (1975:lxxvii).

rəsaλíə 'to succeed' aʒát də ki <u>rəsáλ</u> a fa   un kunt me bunnə də n atə
                   EXIS of who succeed to do-INF a thing more good of an other
(352) *There are some who succeed better at doing something than others.*   F32 S 79

vəní 'to begin' λ et <u>vəní</u>   a   mə truvá
            she is come-PP to me find-INF
(353) *She came to find me.* M23B T 93

Table (74)   preposition + [də]

ajutá 'to help' e lu kwattra l <u>ajutá</u>   d aʃirə
            and the boy her help-PST of dry-INF
(354) *And the boy helped her dry.* F11B F 139

kuŋgjiə 'to finish' dʒ e <u>kuŋgji</u> <u>də</u> fa   lo kuntə
              I have finish-PP of do-INF the thing
(355) *I finished doing the things you told me to do.* F32 S 79

              dʒi dʒ a <u>kuŋgi</u> <u>də</u> fa   sa kas
              I I go finish-INF of do-INF this house
(356) *I should finish this house.* M23C S 81

ʃkuldá 'to forget' m e <u>ʃkuldá</u>   də fa   si kunt
             I have forgot-PP of do-INF these thing
(357) *I forgot to do these things.* M23C S 81

offríə 'to offer' dʒ <u>offri</u> <u>d</u> ajutá   a si krɪstián
            I offer of help-INF to these people
(358) *I offer to help these people.* M23C S 81

ordəná 'to order' dʒ e <u>ordəná</u>   də fa   si kunt
            I have order-PP of do-INF these things
(359) *I ordered that these things be done.* M23C S 81

pɛnzúnə 'to think of' nu <u>penzún</u> də fa   tuttə waj lo   kuntə bun
             we think of do-INF all time the thing good
(360) *We always think of doing good things.*   F32 S 79

tʃɛrká 'to look for' sta famíλ ikké ɛst a <u>tʃɛrkánn</u> <u>də</u> mɛt un bu a post sta tʃámbrə
             this family here is go try-PrP of put a bit to place this room
(361) *This family is trying to tidy up this room a bit.*   F29C F 39

truá 'to try' dʒə <u>truá</u> <u>də</u> fa   si sɛrví
          I try of do-INF these errand
(362) *I try to do these errands.*   M23C S 81

vətá 'to prohibit' dʒ e <u>vətá</u>   də mɛttərə la makkənə dəván tʃa nu
            I have prohibit-PP of put-INF the car   in-fron homeus

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(363) *I prohibited putting the car in front of our house.*   M23C S 81

preposition + ∅

prefəráj 'to prefer' dʒə <u>prefəráj</u> fa   lu bin anzə   ke   lu má
            I prefer do-INF the good as-well-as COMP the bad
(364) *I prefer to do good than evil.* F32 S 79

uli:rə 'to want' dʒ <u>uli:rə</u>   alá   u   mmárə
          I like-CND go-INF to-the sea
(365) *I would like to go to the beach.*   F23 T 93

avájrə 'to have' n <u>annə</u> fatía
           we have work-INF
(366) *We have to work.* F23 T 93

fa 'to make' i <u>fatə</u> funtsioná lu   trɛnnə
          he makes function-INF the train
(367) *He makes the train run.*   F11B F 139

5.3.   Pronouns

There are personal (subject, object, possessive) and impersonal (demonstrative, relative, interrogative, indefinite, and pleonastic) pronouns.

5.3.1.   Personal pronouns

The personal pronoun forms vary according to syntactic role: subject, direct object, indirect object, and isolated or tonic. There are six persons, three singular and three plural. Gender distinctions are made only in the 3rd person singular strong form.

5.3.1.1.   Subject personal pronouns

Subject pronouns have two forms, strong and weak. The weak form always precedes the verb. The strong form may precede the weak form or the verb or may be dislocated. The strong subject pronouns are identical in form to the tonic pronouns. Dislocated or topicalized pronouns may be distinguished from doubled subject pronouns by intonation and breath groups.

Table (75)

	Strong	*Weak*
1st s.	dʒi	dʒə
2nd s.	ti	tə
3rd s. m.	ijə	i
3rd s. f.	jéλə, iλa	i
1st p.	nus(sə)	nu
2nd p.	vus(sə)	vu
3rd p.	is(ə)	i

Subject constituents may be constructed from various combinations of nominal and pronominal elements.

Form of subject	Example

none

Ø	e	sa	fiʎə	di	próʃpə
	is	his	daughter	of	Prospero

(368)   *She is Prospero's daughter. F5 C 72*

weak only

un	bu	l	európa	n	anə	dʒirián
a	bit	the	Europe	we	have	travel-PrP

(369)   *We've traveled around a bit of Europe.   F5 G 72*

strong only

iʎə	e	me	fɛrmə	də	me
she	is	more	strong	than	me

(370)   *She is stronger than I am.   M23C S 71*

noun + weak

sun	baj	i	tind	un	tʃindʒ	a	lə	mannə
her	father	he	holds	a	washrag	at	the	hand

(371)   *Her father is holding a washrag in his hand. F29C F 39*

strong + weak

dʒi	dʒə	lə	se	pa	maŋkə	dʒi
I	I	it	know	NEG	even	I

(372)   *I do not even know, even me. F26A C 88*

noun only

sa	nónnə	pənsán	k	evə	kapputʃéttə	rússə	s	uvriát
her	grandma	think-PrP	COMP	was	hood-DIM	red	it	open-PP

Her grandmother, thinking it was Little Red Riding Hood, opened it for him.
F26A C 88

Many sentences produced in Faetar have no surface subject. Alternatively, there may be one subject pronoun present, which may be either the strong or the weak form. The weak form may follow a nominal subject or the strong form, or appear alone. The strong and the weak form may appear adjacent to one another, without emphatic effect. See (Nagy and Heap 1998), summarized here, for a quantitative analysis of the relative frequency of the different forms.

Table (76)   *Distribution of types of subject pronouns in contemporary Faetar*

no subject pronoun	50%	[ki] as main clause subject	1-2%
weak form of pronoun only	41%	strong + weak pronoun	1-2%
generic or existential [o]	5%	strong pronoun only	1-2%

There is a strong effect on the presence/absence of a subject pronoun of subject person, with more null subjects in the third person.

Table (77)   *Effect of person on subject pronoun presence*

Grammatical Person	Percent null-subject
1st person	13%
2nd person	18%
3rd person	33%

The presence of other preverbal material, i.e., other arguments in the subject's surface position, also affects the likelihood of a surface subject pronoun. Subject pronouns are less likely to surface when other material (e.g., nominal subject, object clitic) fills the same part of the linear surface order.

5.3.1.2.   Alternative subject pronouns

Hoffman (1968:31) reports that the existential verbs <etr> 'to be' and <sta> 'to be (in a condition)' require different subject pronouns than other verbs. He gives forms that I have labeled above as weak subject pronouns, except for the 1st sg. [mi], which resembles the 1st sg. reflexive pronoun (see § *Reflexives* below). In fact, the existentials are used with both types of subject pronoun. [mi] is an alternative 1st sg. weak subject pronoun that is used with many different verbs.

<u>Existentials with "reflexive/weak" pronouns</u>

pəro	m	e	pa	própriə	si
but	I	am	NEG	really	sure

(373)   *But I am not really sure.   F26A C 88*

m	ɛstə	ʃkrəʃán	əna	léttər
REFL	am	write-PrP	a	letter

(374)   *I am writing a letter. M74 T 77*

<u>Existentials with strong pronouns</u>

nus	stəván	tut	ikké
we	are-PST	all	here

(375)   *We were all here.   M70 C 112*

<u>Alternative 1st sg. pronoun [mi]</u>

e	mi	sa	ke	ɪn	fajtar	sə	diʃ	kaməsól
and	I	know	that	in	Faetar	REFL	say	undershirt

(376)   *But I know that in Faetar one says, "undershirt."   F26A C 88*

mi	véjə	si	ij	i	víndə	pa
I	go	if	he	he	comes	NEG

(377)   *I will go unless he comes.   M27A T 87*

mə	dəskuldá
I	forget-PST

(378)   *I forgot.   M27A C 87*

mə	awardávə	də	lu	truwá	kandʒá
I	expect-IMPF	of	him	find	changed

(379)   *I expected to find him changed.   F23 T 93*

to	mi	a	fa	du	miliárd
what	I	go	do-INF	of-the	million

(380)   *What should I do with a million lira? F5 G 72*

### 5.3.1.3.		Tonic pronouns

Table (78)	singularplural

1st	me, dʒi		nus
2nd	te, ti		vus
3rd m.	ijə		is
3rd f.	ɪʎə		is

Tonic or isolated pronouns are identical to the strong subject pronouns. These forms are used in two contexts. The first is for the subject and is generally right-dislocated. It may also be left-dislocated, as in the last example.

ando	tə	vi	<u>ti</u>
where	you	live	you

Where do you live, you?	F5 C 72

dʒi	dʒ	abjə	tuttə	lo	kundə	kumə	tu	wʊt	<u>ti</u>
I-strong	I-weak	start	all	the	thing	as	you	want	you

(381)	*I start everything as you like, you.*	F32A S 79

sə	o	fissə	luáj	kanə	sarán		kuntén		<u>nus</u>
if	PL	were	true	how	be-CND		happy		us

(382)	*If it were true, how happy we would be!*	M44A T 85

te	kant	an	tə	tin
you	how-many	years	you	have

(383)	*You, how old are you?*	M56 C 73

The second use of tonic pronouns is after a preposition.

iʎə	e	me	fɛrmə	də	<u>me</u>
she	is	more	strong	than	me

(384)	*She is stronger than me.*	M23C S 71

indjok	də	<u>ti</u>	tə	tin	la	kaséttə
above	of	you	you	have	the	house-DIM

(385)	*Above you, you have the little house.* M56 G 72

i	dɛn	fastɪdjə	a	parlá	do	<u>dʒi</u>	e	<u>te</u>
it	gives	annoyance	to	talk-INF	with	I	and	you

(386)	*It is annoying if we both talk.* M81 G 80

iz	i	sundə	me	bu	sɪmpátəkə	də	<u>nus</u>
they	they	are	more	less	nice	of	us

(387)	*They are not as nice as us.*	M23C S 71

dʒi	dʒə	lə	se	pa	maŋkə	<u>dʒi</u>
I	I	it	know	not	even	I

(388)	*I do not know, even me.*	F26A C 88

### 5.3.1.4.		Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns precede the finite verb. They may appear with or without a subject pronoun. (Singular) reflexive pronouns are contracted before a vowel.

Table (79)	singularplural

1st	mə		nə, sə
2nd	tə		və, sə
3rd	sə		sə

i	<u>sə</u>	lávə	lə	man
he	REFL	wash	the	hand

(389)	*He washes his hands.*	F22B P 71

lu	kwattrá	<u>s</u>	e	di	la	bartsəlét
the	boy	REFL	has	say-PP	the	joke

(390)	*The boy told himself the joke.* M28C T 84

nussə	<u>sə</u>	lavúnnə
we	REFL	wash

(391)	*We wash ourselves.*	F22B P 71

nussə	<u>nə</u>	lavúnnə
we	REFL	wash

(392)	*We wash ourselves.*	F22B P 71, M32 T 93

vussə	<u>sə</u>	lavá
you	REFL	wash

(393)	*You wash yourselves.*	F22B P 71

isə	<u>sə</u>	lavundə
They	REFL	wash

(394)	*They wash themselves.*	F22B P 71

These pronouns may indicate reciprocal actions as well.

sə	rəmariunnə	tut	lo	do
REFL	looka-t-PrP	all	the	two

(395)	*They are looking at each other.*	F29C F 39

lo	kwattrá	sə	suntə	di		lu	kundə
the	boys	REFL	are	say-PP		the	story

(396)	*They boys told each other stories.* F26A T 88

In the imperative, the reflexive pronoun follows the verb.

aséttə	<u>tə</u>
sit	REFL

(397)	*Sit down!*	M56 C 72

asetá	<u>s</u>
sit	REFL

(398) *Sit down!*   M56 T 72

Reflexive pronouns may appear with or without a subject pronoun, and the subject pronoun may appear without the reflexive pronoun (while retaining the reflexive meaning).

me	divertə	pa
REFL	have-fun	NEG

(399) *I do not have fun.*   M74 T 77

dʒi	mə	divért
I	REFL	have-fun

(400) *I have fun.*   F77 80

dʒə	dəvért
I	have-fun

(401) *I have fun.*   M74 T 77

mə	lávə	lə	mann
REFL	wash	the	hand

(402) *I wash my hands.*   M23C P 71, M74 P 77

dʒi	mə	láv	lə	mannə
I	REFL	wash	the	hand

(403) *I wash my hands.*   M32 T 93

The 3rd singular reflexive pronoun may also be used to indicate a generic subject (passive construction).

lu	livərə	sə	vend
the	book	REFL	sell

(404) *The book is sold.*   M74 T 77

na	rəmáw	sə	sɪnt
a	noise	REFL	hear

(405) *A noise is heard.*   M74 T 77, F77 T 80

sə	fat	akussí
REFL	do	like-this

(406) *One does it like this.*   M74 T 77, F77 T 80

sə	lavə	lə	man
REFL	wash	the	hand

(407) *One washes one's hands.*   F22B P 71

5.3.1.5. Object pronouns

Object pronouns[15] appear before the verb of which they are an argument and represent direct or indirect objects. They precede the auxiliary in composed tenses. They may have human or non-human referents. In the third person, gender distinctions are made. The vowel-final forms are contracted when the following word begins with a vowel.

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[15] These may be better called clitics than pronouns, but I use the more common 'pronoun.'

5.3.1.5.1. Direct object pronouns

Table (8o)   singularplural

		singular	plural
1st		mə	nə
2nd		ta, tə	və
3rd m.		lu, u	lo
3rd f.		la, lə	le

la fiλə mə vájə	The girl saw me.	F26A T 88
la fiλə tə vájə	you (sg.)	F26A T 88
la fiλə lu vájə	him	F26A T 88
la fiλə lə vájə	her	F26A T 88
la fiλə nə vájə	us	F26A T 88
la fiλə və vájə	you (pl.)	F26A T 88
la fiλə lo vájə	them (m.)	F26A T 88
la fiλə lə vájə	them (f.)	F26A T 88

dʒi	dʒə	l	ɛ	féjə
I	I	it	have	do-PP

(408) *I did it.* M23B T 93

dʒi	dʒə	l	ɛ	pa	féjə
I	I	it	have	NEG	do-PP

(409) *I did not do it.* M23B T 93, M23C T 71

dʒə	tə	prəmméttə	də	vəníjə
I	you	promise	of	come-INF

(410) *I promise to come.* F23 T 93

dʒɛ	ʃpərá	də	lu	truwá
I	hope-PST	of	it	find-INF

(411) *I hoped to find it.*   F23 T 93

pə	ta	mʊndʒî	e	sə	la	mʊndʒát
for	you	eat -INF	and	this-one	her	eat-PST

(412) *... to eat you, and this one ate her.*   M44A C 85

sɛtə	dʒ	u	se	pa
this	I	it	know	NEG

(413) *This, I do not know.*   F26A C 88

5.3.1.5.2. Indirect object pronouns

Indirect object pronouns may precede the verb or they may follow it. In postverbal position, they follow the preposition [a]. The first singular form may also be used alone.

Table (81)   Preverbal   Postverbal

	Preverbal		Postverbal	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st	mə	nə	m(e/ə)	nus

2nd	tə	və	t(i/ə)	vus

3rd m.	lɛ	ijə	is
3rd f.	lə	jiλa	is

dénə   mə
give-IMP me
(414) *Give it to me.* M28C S 84

den   a   <u>is</u>
give-IMP to   them
(415) *Give it to them.*   M28C S 84

viáw   a   <u>isə</u>
see-IMP   to   them
(416) *see them*   F22B S 71

tʃə   <u>lɛ</u>   awardá   fin   a   tardə
I   for-him   wait-PST   until to   late
(417) *I waited for him until late.*   F23 T 93

Occasionally, the object may have multiple representations in the sentence. The following sentence could be produced with either one of the first person object pronouns, according to the speaker and others present, but it was produced with both.

<u>m</u>   i   sunt   vəni   a   <u>mə</u>   truwá
me   they are   come-PP to   me   find
(418) *They came to find me.* F23 T 93

Direct and indirect objects may also be represented by tonic pronouns following the verb.

j   atə   viáw   <u>nus</u>
he   has   see-PP us
(419) *He saw us.*   M23C C 71

dʒ   ulĭ   dəná   a   <u>iɤ</u>
I   want-PST give-INF to   him
(420) *I wanted to give it to him.*   M74 T 77

Object pronouns may also be entirely omitted.[16]

dʒə   ulĭvə   tradúrr
I   want-PST translate-INF
(421) *I wanted to translate it.*   M74 T 77

dʒə   ulĭvə   dəná
I   want-PST give-INF
(422) *I wanted to give it to him.* M74 T 77

dʒ   e   dəʃi   la   notíts
I   have say-PP the   news

---
[16] The speaker's intent is known because the phrases were translated from Italian.

(423) *I told her/you the news.*   M74 T 77

i   feʃərúnd   la   dománd
he   make-PST   the   question.
(424) *He asked them/you the question.*   M74 T 77

5.3.1.5.3.   *Direct and indirect object pronouns combined*

When there is both a direct and indirect object pronoun, the direct object follows the indirect object, in preverbal position. However, in postverbal position, the direct object precedes the indirect object. (This structure is found primarily in imperatives.)

me   l   atə   dəná
me   it   have   give-PP
(425) *He gave it to me.*   M74 T 77

dennə   lu   a   me
give-IMP it   to   me
(426) *Give it to me.* M28C C 84

5.3.1.6.   Possessive pronouns

Possessives may be pre-or post nominal modifiers (see § *Possessive determiners*) or may stand alone as pronouns. Possessives are marked for the person of the possessor, with differences for the six persons, but not for gender. There is no agreement with the number of the possessed noun. The possessive pronoun is constructed with an article preceding the possessive morpheme (forms produced by M32 T 93).

Table (82)   Person masculine   feminine

Person	masculine		feminine	
1st sg.	lu mɯnn	*mine*	la miá	*mine*
2nd sg.	lu tɯnn	*yours*	la tiá	*yours*
3rd sg.	lu sɯnn	*his, hers*	la siá	*his, hers*
1st pl.	lu nó:tə	*ours*	la nó:tə	*ours*
2nd pl.	lu wó:tə	*yours*	la wó:tə	*yours*
3rd pl.	lu la:w	*theirs*	la la:w	*theirs*

sɛt   λ   et   <u>lu   mɯnn</u>
this it   is   the   my
(427) *This is mine.* M32 T 93

tʃakún   i   diʃ   <u>la   siá</u>
eachone s/he say   the   his/her
(428) *Each one says his/her own thing.*   M28C S 84

5.3.2.   Non-personal pronouns

5.3.2.1.   Demonstrative pronouns

There are demonstrative determiners and pronouns, which have the same form (see § *Demonstrative determiners*), but form a complete noun phrase rather than modifying a noun. Both gender and number are marked, and a distinction between proximal and distal is made.

Table (83)

	Proximal				Distal			
	masculine		feminine		masculine		feminine	
sg.	sɛt	M23C P 71, M81 T 80, M74 T 77	set(a) sta	M23C P,S 71, M74 T 77 M23C S 71	sɛl(lə)	M23C T 71, M74 T 77, M81 T 80	sɛl(lə)	F22B S 71, M74 T 77, M81 T 80
	sut	F56B C 153			set(ə)	F26A S 88	set(ə)	F26A S 88
pl.	sto	M23C P 71, M74 T 77	stejə	M23C S 71, M74 T 77	sto	F26A T 88	ste	F26A T 88
			səló	M23C P 71	səlo	M81 T 80	səlé	F26A T 88
					səlú	F26A T 88		

sɛt	a	etə	sɛl	kə	dʒə	viáw		ajer
this	has	been	that	that	I	see-PST		yesterday

(429)   *This is the one that I saw yesterday.*   F22B C 71

a	tə	wutə	saváj		pur	sut
Ah	you	want	know-INF		also	that

(430)   *Ah, you want to know that, too.*   F56B C 153

sɛl	i	λe	me	miλáw	də	sɛt
that	it	is	more	better	than	this

(431)   *That is better than this.*   M81 T 80

a	no	səlé	sə	diʃ	la	kaməsól
Ah	no	that	REFL	say	the	undershirt

(432)   *Ah, no. That is said, "the undershirt."*   F26A C 88

In the singular, both vowel-final and consonant-final forms may precede vowel-initial words.

do	sɛt	o	do	si	atə
of	this	or	of	this	other

(433)   *(Choose between) this one or that other one.*   M23C S 71

5.3.2.2.   Relative and interrogative pronouns

Interrogatives and relatives share the same forms. The interrogative and relative pronouns are as follows. (See also § *Questions*.)

Table (84)

	Interrogative	Relative	
	ki	ki	*who*
	tokə, kə, ke	ke, ki[17]	*what, that*
	andó	andó	*where*

---

[17] See § *Relative pronouns*.

<u>Interrogative</u>

<u>ki</u>	étə	vəní
who	is	come-PP

(434)   *Who came?*   F22B S 71, M23C S 71

<u>to</u>	mi	a	fa	du	miliárd
what	I		should	do-INF	of-the million

(435)   *What should I do with a million lira?* F5 G 72

<u>tókkə</u>	tə	fa	mʌndʒí	a	ne
what	you	make	eat-INF	at	night

(436)   *What do you make to eat at night?*   F29C C 14

e	<u>kə</u>	dʒə	se	dʒi
and	what	I	know	I

(437)   *And what do I know?* F5 G 72

la	papa	<u>ke</u>	fátə
the	father	what	does

(438)   *Your father, what does he do?*   M56 G 73

<u>andó</u>	vus	ti	allá
where	you	you	go

(439)   *Where are you going?* F23 G 93

<u>Relative</u>

dʒə	kwanáj	kakunnə	<u>ki</u>	parlə	fajtar
I	know	someone	who	speaks	Faetar

(440)   *I know someone who speaks Faetar.* M23C S 71

dʒ	u	kwanaj	<u>kakə</u>	tʃuoze	ke	te	tə	kwanáj	pa
I	PL	know	some	thing	COMP	you	you	know	NEG

(441)   *I know something that you do not know.*   F24B S 71

ike	su	truwúnd	ɱgɛ̀n	la	vi	<u>k</u>	i	e	una	vi	<u>andó</u>	anɟátə	parékiə	trafikə
here	REFL	find	in	the	street	COMP	it	is	a	street	where	EXIS	some	traffic

(442)   *Here we find ourselves in the street that is a street with quite a bit of traffic.*   F11B F 139

5.3.2.3.   Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns have a fixed form, with no gender or number marking. They may be used as subjects or objects.

kakún	*someone*
kakə tʃuoz	*something*
kakə vái	*sometimes*
kakə bán	*somewhere*
tʃakún	*each one*

tut   *everything*
tut, tuttə kwand   *everyone*
ren   *nothing*
mankún   *no one*

dʒə	kwanáj	<u>kakunnə</u>	ki	parlə	fajtar
I	know	someone	who	speaks	Faetar

(443) *I know someone who speaks Faetar. M23C S 71*

<u>kakún</u>	i	diʃə	nə	sakkə	də	buʒi
someone	s/he	says	a	pile	of	lie

(444) *Someone tells a pack of lies. M74 S 77*

dʒ	u	<u>kwanaj</u>	kakə	tʃuoze	ke	te	tə	kwanáj	pa
I	PL	know	some	thing	COMP	you	you	know	NEG

(445) *I know something that you do not know. F24B S 71*

<u>tʃakún</u>	i	diʃ	la	siá
eachone	s/he	say	the	his/her

(446) *Each one says his/her own thing. M28C S 84*

<u>tuttəkwand</u>	i	parlundə	fajdar
everyone	s/he	talk	Faetar

(447) *Everyone talks Faetar. M28C S 84*

<u>tut</u>	i	dəʃún	la	vɛrtá
all	they	say	the	truth

(448) *Everyone tells the truth. M74 S 77*

dʒ	e	fej	<u>tuttə</u>	<u>tut</u>
I	have	do-PP	all	all

(449) *I did it all. M28C S 84*

dʒə	di	<u>ren</u>	dʒə	fe	<u>ren</u>
I	say	nothing	I	do	nothing

(450) *I say nothing, I do nothing. M74 S 77*

<u>mankún</u>	l	atə	di
no one	it	has	say-PP

(451) *No one said it. M28C S 84*

5.3.2.4. Pleonastic subject pronoun

The pleonastic subject pronoun is /o/. It may be pronounced [u] or [o] (a common allophonic alternation, as seen in the verb 'to snow' in the first two examples). It is used in impersonal constructions, such as weather verbs.

<u>o</u>	jókkə
PL	snows

(452) *It is snowing. M23B T 93*

<u>o</u>	abbjéttə a	jukká
It	begins to	snow-INF

(453) *It is beginning to snow. M23B T 93*

The same pronoun is used in a variety of other constructions.

<u>u</u>	maŋkə	sun	baj
PL	misses his	father	

(454) *His father is missing F29C F 39*

<u>o</u>	sundə kunt	k	e	pa	luá
PL	are tales	COMP	is	NEG	true

(455) *There are tales that are not true. M30 C 78*

la	sumán	k	<u>o</u>	vintə[18]
the	week	COMP	PL	comes

(456) *Next week M23C 81*

dʒ	a	dumaná	ke	awr	<u>o</u>	sund
I	have	ask-INF	what	hour	PL	are

(457) *I have to ask what time it is. F12A C 76*

lə	me	awtə	kə	<u>o</u>	ezíst
the	most	high	COMP	PL	exist

(458) *the higest that exists M81C 80*

e	jor	<u>o</u>	suntə	lo	dʒur	me	pa	bun	kə	sə	stund
and	now	PL	are	the	day	most	NEG	good	COMP	REFL	are

(459) *And now are the worst days that there are. F77 C 80*

akussí	<u>o</u>	aétr
Like-this	PL	be-INF

(460) *So be it. M44A T 85*

fa	mmi	<u>o</u>	savájrə
make-IMP	me	PL	know-INF

(461) *Tell me. F23 T 93*

sə	vus	v	avəssiávə	pa	fa	ren	<u>o</u>	vəní
If	you	you	have-CND	NEG	do	nothing	PL	come-IMP

(462) *If you have nothing to do, come. M28C S 84*

The pleonastic pronoun sometimes appears when there is both a direct and an indirect object following an imperative.

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[18] This may also be said as [la sumán k i vint]. Salvatore Carosielli (pers. com 3/24/00) believes that the form with the [o] pronoun is older and that younger speakers generally use [i] instead in this particular construction.

diʃ(ə)   mi   <u>ówə</u>
say-IMP   me   it
(463) *Say it to me!*   *F23 T 93*

diʃi   <u>jo(wə)</u>
say-IMP   it
(464) *Say it to him!*   *F23 T 93*

5.4. Conjunctions

Conjunctions serve to conjoin two phrases of like types. The more frequent ones are listed here with examples.

e	*and*	o	*or*
et pu, apé	*and then*	poj	*then*
sə	*if*	nɛ	*neither*
ma, me	*but*	dəkír	*when, while*
sə	*while, as*	méntrə	*while*

The following types of phrases have been observed to be conjoined: sentences (with many conjunctions possible), verb phrases (with [e], [o], [sə]), noun phrases (with [e], [o], [nɛ], [pur]), and prepositional phrases (with [e]).

e   *'and'*

[PP dəla   brakkələ]   <u>e</u>   [PP dolə   kəʎijə]
with   the   fork   and   with   the   knife
(465) *with the fork and knife.*   *F11B F 139*

dʒ   uli   [VP baj]   <u>e</u>   [VP mundʒí]
I   want   drink-INF   and   eat-INF
(466) *I want to eat and drink.*   *M23C S 71*

[S n atə fiʎə i   lavə   lo kartələ] <u>e</u> [S lu kwattrá l   ajuta d   aʃirə]
an other girl she washes the dish   and the boy   her helps of dry-INF
(467) *Another girl washes the dishes and the boy helps her dry them.*   *F11B F 139*

<u>e</u>   [S ike anjat ɪnfan i   dʒokə də   lu   tre]
and   here EXIS child he   play with the   train
(468) *And here there is a child playing with the train.*   *M13A F 34*

o   *'or'*

dʒ   [VP e   uvərí]   <u>o</u>   [VP pa   uvərí]
I   have open-INF   or   NEG open-INF
(469) *I should open it or not open it?*   *F56B C 153*

dʒ   uliə   [VP pa   baj]   <u>o</u>   [VP pa   mundʒí]
I   want   NEG drink-INF   or   NEG eat-INF
(470) *I do not want to eat or drink.*   *M23C S 71*

e pu, apé, poj   *'and then, next'*

<u>e</u>   <u>pu</u>   [S anjatə l   anfannə]
and   then   EXIS the   child
(471) *And then there is the child.*   *F11B F 139*

<u>apé</u>   [S anjatə vuna me   ros]
Then   EXIS one   more   big
(472) *Then there is a bigger one.*   *M13A F 34*

<u>e</u>   [PP po   də   l   ombrɛll]
and   then   of   the   umbrella
(473) *and then some umbrellas*   *F20A F 19*

<u>e</u>   <u>po</u>   [S anja n   anfá   pɪtʃəril]
and   then   EXIS a   child small
(474) *And then there is a small child.*   *M70 F 112*

Especially among younger speakers, the Italian conjunction *poi* 'then' is often used.

<u>poj</u>   [S anjatə əna fɛnn]
then   EXIS a   woman
(475) *Then, there is a woman.*   *F14A F 140*

<u>e</u>   <u>poj</u>   [S jat un   tawolínnə]
and   then   EXIS a   table-DIM
(476) *And then there is a table.*   *F20A F 19*

nɛ ... e maŋkə   *'nor'*

mə   pía pa   <u>nɛ</u>   [NP lu kaffé] <u>e</u>   <u>maŋkə</u> [NP la   tʃukolát]
REFL like NEG neither   the coffee and not   the   chocolate
(477) *I do not like either coffee or chocolate.*   *M56 T 72*

ma, me   *'but'*

<u>ma</u>   [S sɛt ike   i   ʎɛst u   kutʃinán]
but   this here   he   is   PL   cook-PrP
(478) *... but this one here is cooking.*   *M70 F 112*

<u>me</u>   [S dʒə se   pa   jor]
but   I   know NEG now
(479) *... but I do not know now.*   *F68 C 128*

dəkír, mɛntrə *'when, while'*

<u>dəkɛr</u> [S tə   faʃ   lu   pumbadór]
when   you   make the   tomato
(480) *When you make tomatoes...*   *F56B C 153*

dəkirə kə   [ς   dʒə   mʌndʒávə]   [ς   i   éntr   mun   frar]

When COMP   I   eat-IMPF   he enter-PST my   brother
(481) *While I was eating, my brother came in.*   M23C S 71

mεntrə   [ς   mə   stav   a   fodʒʒ]

while   REFL be-IMPF at   Foggia
(482) *While I was in Foggia...*   M74 S 77

sə   'as'

[ς   e   vəní   lu   saporí]   sə   [ς   səla   rust]

    and come-PST the smell   as   that   roast
(483) *And the smell came as it roasted.*   F56B C 153

Clauses may also be combined without a conjunction.

[ς na fεn   i   vεsti   a   najr]   Ø   [ς na fεn   vεstiv   a   biaŋk]

  a woman she dress-PST at black   a   woman dress-IMPF at white
(484) *One was dressed in white [while] the other was dressed in black.*   M74 T 77

6. Derivational morphology

The meaning of words may be modified by adding derivational suffixes. The most common are diminutives, augmentatives, and pejoratives.

6.1.   Evaluatives

6.1.1.   Diminutive nouns

There are several suffixes which give a sense of cuteness or smallness to a noun. The most common are –[iɪl], -[in], and –[ɛt]. In some cases, there are also lexicalized unpredicatable meanings. The following table shows a set of diminutives that were all used to describe a picture of a little girl's dress in the Storybook Task (described in the Appendix). The first column gives the different forms produced. The second column list speakers that produced those forms. In asking two speakers (F32 C 79, F26A C 88) for explanation of the differences in nuance, several lexicalized forms were uncovered. These are listed in the third column along with the productive interpretations of the diminutives.

Table (85)

Noun	Speaker	Lexicalized meaning
vést(ə)	F83 F 69	dress
la v(ε/ə)st+ît(ə)	F9B, F26A, F27B, F40, M25A, M27B, M28A, M34A	man's suit
la vεst+ín(ə)	F6, F27A, F32, F56B, F65A, F80, M32, M78A	little dress
lo vεst+ətín(o)	F30	little dress for girl
	F88	little suit for boy
la vεst+arεl	F65A	cute dress
la vεst+iʃuól(ə)	M72A, M12, M44A, M76, M77	cute suit for little boy
vεst+ətíəl	M47C	suit for little boy

Table (86)   Other diminutives

Noun[19]	Gloss	Diminutive	Gloss	Speaker
frar	brother, friar/priest	frarəlin	little brother	M74 T 77
kampá(n)	bell	kampaníil	little bell	M74 T 77, M81 T 80
kamp	field	kampəʃiəl	little field	M74 T 77
pjátə	plate	pjatíil	little plate	F29C F 39
fiλa	daughter	fiλét	dear/young daughter	M74 T 77
fiáw	son	fiλiól	little/young son	M81 T 80
lu kajún	pig	kajuníil	piglet	M23C T 71
lu kavál	horse	kavalútʃ, kavalót	colt	M23C T 71

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[19] Most of this list of diminutives, augmentatives, and pejoratives is taken from Reynolds (1975:xxxiv).

at	cat	watún	kitten	M81 T 80
man	hand	manún, maninə	little hand	M81 T 80
kaz	house	kazɛttə	little house	M56 G 72
livərə	book	ləbrét	libretto (mus.)	M81 T 80
livərə	book	lıbrətʃin	libretto (mus.)	M74 T 77, M81 T 80

6.1.2. Diminutive adjectives

Some adjectives may take the same diminutive suffixes. These change the meaning from 'X' to 'very X' or 'rather X'.

Table (87)   Dimunitive adjectives

Adjective	Gloss	Diminutive	Gloss	Speaker
bun	good, well	bunaɾıl	very nicely	M74 T 77
beɣ	nice	benún	rather niʎe	M81 T 80

6.1.3. Hypochoristics

antón(iə)	Tony	tonín	young/little Tony	M74 T 77, M81 T 80
antóniə	Tony	totón	young/little Tony	M81 T 80
marî	Mary	marutsél	young/little Mary	M74 T 77
migél	Michael	mikəlin	young/little Michael	F77 T 80
amáliə	Amalia	maliét	young/little Amalia	M81 T 80

6.1.4. Augmentative nouns and adjectives

Augmentatives are used to indicate a larger than usual exemplar of some item. The most common suffix is -un.

Table (88)   Augmentatives

Noun	Gloss	Augmentative	Gloss	Speaker
skarpa	shoe	skarpún	boot	M23C T 71
livr	book	livərón	the large book	M74 T 77, M81 T 80
fɛnnə	the woman	fɛmənún	the large woman	M74 T 77
kas	the house	lu kasún	the large house	M74 T 77, M81 T 80
pigr	lazy	pigrón	lazy person	M74 T 77, M81 T 80

Adjective	Gloss	Augmentative	Gloss	Speaker
sémplıtʃə	simple	sɛmplıtʃót	simple-minded	M81 T 80

6.1.5. Pejorative nouns and adjectives

Pejorative suffixes are used to add a negative or imperfect connotation to the noun.

Noun	Gloss	Pejorative	Gloss	Speaker
kwattrá	boy	kwattrakjún	naughty boy	M74 T 77

6.1.6. Approximative adjectives

Adjective	Gloss	Approximative	Gloss	Speaker
bri	ugly	brutónnɛ	rather ugly	M74 T 77
najr	black	nɛrást	blackish	M74 T 77

6.2. Adverbs derived from adjectives

To determine whether adverbs may be formed by adding an ending like French –ment or Italian –mente to an adjective, Italian sentences containing –mente words were created to be translated. The –ment(e) form was not used, except by two speakers for the first word listed below. Instead adjectival or prepositional forms were used.

Table (89)

Italian prompt	Gloss	Faetar response	Literal trans.	Speaker
commodamente	comfortably	kumudamén	comfortably	F29C T 86, M44A T 85
		do kómmodə	with comfort	M44A T 85
clandestinamente	clandestinely	diʃkunúnnə	undiscovered	F29C T 86, M44A T 85
		diʃkunnî	undiscovered	M27A T 87
certamente	certainly	də sîə	of sure	F29C T 86
mentalemente	mentally	də la tétə	of the head	F29C T 86
		ingje la kotʃ	in the head	M27A T 87
		ın tét	in head	M44A T 85
rapidamente	rapidly	ʒvɛltə ʒvɛlt	fast fast	M44A T 85
silenciosamente	quietly	tʃitə tʃit	quiet quiet	M44A T 85

6.3. Deverbal nouns

The suffix –[aw] or –[awr] indicates an actor. It is apparently added to a verb to create an actor of that verb (e.g., 'to hunt' + -aw = 'hunter'). However, none of the forms I elicited are productive—I did not ever hear the implicated verbs.

katʃatáwə	hunter	F26A C 88
katʃatáwr	hunter	M44A C 85
prufɛssáwə	teacher	M7 G 75
frusɛtáw	outsiders	M13C C 75

One other way of making an actor from another morpheme is illustrated by the following pair:

la buʃijə	the lie	F22B 71
buʃát	liar	M23C 71
butʃiát	liar (m. or f.)	F22B 71

6.4. Lexical negation

Words may be negated in two ways. First, the negator [pa] may precede the adjective or adverb.

sə   mındʒ   <u>pa   bun</u>   ın   frantʃ

REFL eat   NEG   good   in   France
(485)   *They eat badly in France.*   M56 G 72

sə   s   abitə pa   bun   sə   kuŋgjəpa   bun
if   REFL start NEG   good REFL finish   NEG   good
(486)   *If it starts badly, it ends badly.*   F32 S 79

Second, the prefix /s/ (usually [ʃ]) may be added. This may be only in words borrowed from Italian.

ʃ____kunten
NEG   happy
(487)   *Sad*   M23C C 71

et   ənamuorrə ʃ____fatijá
is   very   NEG   worker

Table (90)   He is very lazy.   M23C C 71

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7. Syntax

7.1.   Basic word order

The basic word order in Faetar, when all arguments are represented by noun phrases, rather than pronouns, is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) with direct objects (DO) preceding indirect objects (IO).

S + DO

los   umwén   i   fand lə   dəwái láwə
the   men   they   make the   duty   their
(488)   *The men do their duty.*   F77 T 80

s   avandə dʒa   fe   lə   dəwáj láwə
REFL   have   already make-PP   the   duty their
(489)   *They already did their duty.*   F77 T 80

dʒə   diʃ   la   vertá
I   say   the   truth
(490)   *I tell the truth.* M23C S 81

S + DO + IO

t   ána   dəná   lu   livərə a   mammá
you   have give-PP   the   book   to   Mama
(491)   *You gave the book to Mama.* M23C T 81

7.1.1.   Direct objects

When objects are represented by pronouns, they precede the finite verb.

sun   báj   la   tınd   ım   brassə
her   father her   holds in   arms
(492)   *Her father holds her in his arms.*   F5 F 72

dʒə   l   a   studiá
I   it   have   study-PP
(493)   *I studied it.*   F5 C 72

7.1.2.   Indirect objects

Pronominal indirect objects may precede the verb.

e   nus   e·   a   l   amɛrikánə nə   parlún
and   we   are   to   the   American   we   talk
(494)   *And we are talking to the American.* F56B G 124

Indirect objects (pronominal and nominal) may follow the verb and are introduced by a preposition. (In this case the indirect object may precede the direct object.)

ijə	i	atə	fe	a	jiλa	u	riálə
he	he	has	make-PP	to	her	the	gift

(495) *He gave her a gift. F24B S 71*

i	rəmîrəa	l	ɛnfannə	ki	rəmir	a	ijə
he	looks at	the	child	COMP	looks	at	him

(496) *He looks at the child who looks at him.   F29C F 39*

7.2. Other word orders

Other word orders are possible. These include topicalization, where a constituent is moved without leaving a phonetic trace, and left- and right-dislocation, where a constituent is moved and leaves a pronoun marking its place.

7.2.1. Topicalization

Objects may be topicalized to appear before the (weak form of the) subject pronoun. In the first example, this would seem, from the context, to be in order to provide greater emphasis to the moved argument. In the second example, however, this does not seem to be the case.

kázzino	dʒ	avə	diʃ
Cassino	I	have-IMPF	said

(497) *Cassino, I should have said.   F72B 3/29/00 (not on tape)*

e	nus	e	a	l	amɛrikánə	nə	parlun
and	we	are	to	the	American	we	talk

(498) *And we are talking to the American. F56B G 124*

Constituents may move either left or right in topicalization.

e	dapój	vɪndə	mammá	a	lə	di	e	miétʃ
and	after	comes	Mama	at	the	two	and	half

(499) *And then comes Mama at 2:30   F5 C 72*

ɯ	tan	i	passátə	d	illé	un	katʃatáwə
in	time	he	pass-PST	from	there	a	hunter

(500) *In time, a hunter passed by there.   F26A C 88*

un	bu	l	európa	n	anə	dʒirián
a	bit	the	Europe	we	have	travel-PP/PrP?

(501) *A bit of Europe we have traveled.   F5 G 72*

7.2.2. Right dislocation

ando	i	λɛstə	la	foλə
where	it	is	the	leaf

(502) *Where is it, the leaf? F12A G 76*

dʒə	uliərə	dəmaná	s	i	λɛtə	saλî	lu	ragátss
I	want-CND	ask-INF	if	he	is	go-out-PP	the	boy

(503) *I wanted to ask if the boy had gone out.   F77 T 80*

7.2.3. Left dislocation

la	pápərə	ando	i	λɛst
the	duck	where	it	is

(504) *The duck, where is it? F12A G 76*

7.3. Null constituents

The subject may be omitted altogether in main or subordinate clauses.
Main clause

∅	s	avandə	dʒa	fe	lə	dəwái láwə
	REFL	have-IMPF	already	make-PST	the	duty their

(505) *They already did their duty. F77 T 80*

∅	aná	parlá	tuttə	waj	fajdár	o	pur	italián
	have	spoke-PP	all	times	Faetar	or	also	Italian

(506) *We always talked Faetar or else Italian.   F32A C 79*

al	initz	∅	dənundə	tre	kardə	a	tʃakə krəstián
at	beginning		give	three	card	to	each person

(507) *At the beginning, they give three cards to each person.   M7 C 75*

Subordinate clause

anjándə	tand	atə	lɔkkə	kə	∅	diʃund	andik
EXIS	many	other	place	COMP		say	old

(508) *There are many other places that they say are old.   M30 C 78*

∅	me	l	atə	dəná
	to-me	it	has	give-PP

(509) *He gave it to me.   M74 T 77*

Indirect objects may be null, as in the following examples, which were elicited by translation from the given Italian sentences by M23C T 81.

Table (91)   Null indirect objects

Prompt	Response	Gloss
Mi dici la verita?	tə diʃ la vɛrtá	*You tell (me) the truth?*
Mi chiedi qualcosa?	t a dumaná kakə tʃuoz	*You asked (me) something?*
Non mi chidi niente!	t a dəmánə ren	*Do not ask (me) anything!*

7.4. Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are embedded in the matrix clause (recursively). They are introduced by a complementizer or relative pronoun (see below and § *Relative and Interrogative Pronouns*) and may precede or follow the rest of the matrix clause.

pəkké	tə	sa	dʒa	kə	a	vénta siŋk	an
because	you	know	already	COMP	has	twenty five	year

(510) *Because you already know that she is 25 years old.* F29C C 14

sə	vajɣ	<u>kə</u>	sa	məλìjə	i	ɛstə	mətán	sto	kartoléh	a	ppostə
one	sees	COMP	his	wife	she	is	put-PrP	these	plates	to	place

(511) *One sees that his wife is putting these plates away.* F29C F 39

<u>dəkír</u>	u	pázə	lu	trun	i	bárrə	i	ʃbárrə
when	PL	pass	the	train	he	blocks	he	unblocks

(512) *When the train passes, he blocks [the road], he unblocks [it].* M77 F 57

pə	freʃká	lo	pie	<u>dəkír</u>	i	arriv
for	warm-INF	the	feet	when	one	arrive

(513) *... in order to warm the feet when one arrives.* M77 F 57

u	tʃin	i	awardá	dəván	də	la	portə	do	də	lə	papuʃ	a	la	man
the dog	he	waits		in-front-of	of	the	door	with	of	the	slipper	at	the	hand

<u>pətok</u>	i	wutə	dʒoká
because	he	wants	play-INF

(514) *The dog waits in front of the door with the slipper in his hand [mouth, actually]*
because he wants to play. F11B F 139

dʒə	n	se	pa	<u>se</u>	ti	sta
I	NEG	know	NEG	if	you	stay

(515) *I do not know if you were there.* M70 C 156

7.4.1.　Relative clauses

Relative clauses are embedded in the matrix clause, following their head noun. A clause may modify any NP of the matrix clause, although examples are far more abundant at the high end of the relativization hierarchy (subjects, objects) than the low end (obliques) (Finegan & Besnier 1989:265).

Subject

sa	fiλa	ki	ʃantávə	evə	ma	səráw
this	girl	COMP	sing-IMPF	be-IMPF	my	sister

(516) *The girl that was singing was my sister.* M23C T 81, M81 T 80

la	fiλa	kə	dʒə	kwanáj	i	λe	biónd
the	girl	COMP	I	know	she	is	blond

(517) *The girl that I know is blond.* M23C T 81, M81 T 80

Direct object

dʒ	e	viáw	sa	fiλ	ki	ʃantávə
I	have	see-PP	this	girl	COMP	sing-IMPF

(518) *I saw the girl who was singing.* M23C T 81, M81 T 80

sta	fiλet	i	tənívə	sa	nonnə	kə	i	stavə	inɲe	u	bovə
this	girl-DIM	she	has-IMPF	her	grandma	COMP	she	be-IMPF	was	in-the	woods

(519) *This little girl had a grandma who lived in the woods.* F26A C 88

Indirect object

la	fiλa	kə	ti	tə	parlávə	evə	ma	səráw
the	girl	COMP	you	you	talk-IMPF	be-IMPF	my	sister

(520) *The girl that you were talking to was my sister.* M81 T 80

Object of a preposition (oblique)

i	rəmirəa	l	ɛnfannə	ki	rəmir	a	ijə
he	looks at	the	child	COMP	looks	at	him

(521) *He looks at the child who looks at him.* F29C F 39

Within the relative clause, the relativized noun phrase may function as the subject, direct object, indirect object, or oblique of the embedded clause.

Subject

i	rəmîrəa	l	ɛnfannə	ki	rəmír	a	ijə
he	looks at	the	child	COMP	looks	at	him

(522) *He looks at the child who looks at him.* F29C F 39

dʒ	e	viáw	sa	fiλ	ki	ʃantávə
I	have	see-PP	this	girl	COMP	sing-IMPF

(523) *I saw the girl who was singing.* M23C T 81, M81 T 80

dʒ	e	viáw	lu	livrə	ki	ɛs	ŋgjok	lu	tawuλin
I	have	see-PP	the	book	COMP	is	on	the	table-DIM

(524) *I saw the book that is on the little table.* M23C T 81

Direct object

dʒ	e	viáw	a	la	fiλə	ki	tu	kwanáj
I	have	see-PP	to	the	girl	COMP	you	know

(525) *I saw the girl that you know.* M23C IV81, F32B IV80, M81 IV80

dʒ	e	viáw	lu	livrə	kə	ti	tə	ləʃiv
I	have	see-PP	the	book	COMP	you	you	read-IMPF

(526) *I saw the book that you were reading.* M81 T 80

Indirect object

dʒ	e	viáw	lu	livr	ke	ti	tə	riferív
I	have	see-PP	the	book	COMP	you	you	refer-IMPF

(527) *I saw the book that you were referring to.* M23C T 81

dʒ	e	viáw	a	la	fiλə	(ke/kə)	te	t	anə	dəná	lu	livr
I	have	see-PP	to	the	girl	COMP	you	you	have	give-PP	the	book

(528) *I saw the girl that you gave the book to.* M23C IV81, M81 IV80

la	fiλa	(kə/a ki)	dʒidʒə	fe	lu	riál	i	λɛ	bɛl
the	girl	COMP	I I	make-PST	the	gift	she	is	pretty

(529) *The girl that I gave the gift to is pretty.*   M23C IV81, M81 IV80

<u>Object of a preposition (oblique)</u>

dʒ	e	viáw	lu	livr	(də	ki/kə) tə	parlávə
I	have	see-PP	the	book	COMP you	you	talk-IMPF

(530) *I saw the book that you were referring to.*   M81 T 80 (both)

7.4.2.   Complementizers

The complementizer or relative pronoun most frequently used is /kV/ 'that'. (For other complementizers, see § *Relative and Interrogative Pronoun*.) /kV/ surfaces as [ki] when the head noun is the subject of the relative clause. It surfaces as [ki] or [kə] when the head noun has some other role in the relative clause, and occasionally as [ke] for indirect objects. The form [ki] may be an elided form of /kə/ 'that' + /i/ 'he, she' or may be a complementizer similar to French *qui* 'who' with the high front vowel underlying. There is evidence pointing in both directions (perhaps there is both an elided [ki] for non-subjects and an underlying /ki/ for subjects). (A) suggests that /ki/ is the underlying form, since the subject of the embedded clause is second singular, which does not use the pronoun [i], and yet the complementizer has the form [ki]. The sentences in (B), however, suggest that the underlying form is /kə/ since there is no subject pronoun present at all and the form [kə] appears. Finally, (C) shows one instance where the speaker did not make the expected elision, again suggesting /kə/ as the underlying form.

(A)	dʒ	e	viáw	a	la	fiλə	[ki	tu	kwanáj]
	I	have	see-PP	to	the	girl	[COMP	you	know]

(531) *I saw the girl that you know.* M23C IV81, F32B IV80, M81 IV80

(B)	tok	i	fəʃisti	sti	law	[k	evə	furbə]
	what	he	do-PST	this	wolf	[COMP	was	clever]

(532) *What did he do, this wolf that was so clever?*   M44A C 85

	e	poj	at	un	kwattrá	[kə	l	ajuta]
	and	then	EXIS	a	boy	[COMP	her	help]

(533) *And then there is a boy who helps her.*   M10 F 73

	poj	atə	mótorinə	do	vunə	[kə	la	gwídə]
	then	EXIS	motorcylce	with	one	[COMP	it	drive]

(534) *And then there is a motorcycle with someone who drives.* M10 F 73

(C)	sta	fiλét	i	tənívə	sa nonnə	[kə	i	stavə	inɲe	u	bóvə]
	this	girl-DIM	she	have-IMPF	her grandma	COMP	she	be-IMPF	in	the	woods

(535) *This little girl had a grandma who lived in the woods.*   F26A C 88

The relativized noun may also appear within the relative clause as a resumptive pronoun.

maríə	i	atə	viáw	a sa	fiλa	[kə	piɛro	l	atə	dəná	lu	livr]
Maria	she has	give-PP	to this	girl	COMP	Piero	her has	give-PP	the	book

(536) *Maria saw the girl that Peter gave the book to.*   M23C T 81

Relative clauses may, of course, be embedded recursively.

poj	i	λɛstə	lu	tʃin	[kə	i	vaj	a	sɛl	ille
then	it	is	the	dog	[COMP	he	sees	to	this	there

[k	i	ɛst	dəsó	u	tawulĩnə]]
[COMP	it	is	under	to-the	table-DIM]]

(537) *Then there is the dog who sees this one here that is under the little table.*   F5 F 72

7.5.   Infinitival clauses

Sentences may contain more than one verb. The first verb is finite and the second (and any others) are infinite. Various infinitival complementizers are used, which resemble the prepositions [a] 'to, at', [də] 'of' , [pə] 'for' or ∅. See § *Prepositions*. One other type of infinitival clause, indicating future or obligation by using [alá] 'to go' as the highest verb, is described in § *Future*.

Shown here are purpose clauses. The infinitive is introduced by [pə] following the finite verb to indicate that the finite verb's action is done in order to accomplish the infinitive's action.

dʒə	lli:ə	pə	passá	lu	tem
I	read-PST	for	pass-INF	the	time

(538) *I read in order to pass the time.*   F23 T 93

e	dʒə	tin	lu	na	ro	pə	tə	səntí	me	bun
and	I	have	the	nose	big	for	you	smell-INF	more	good

(539) *And I have a big nose to smell you better*   F26A N 88

In infinitival clauses, object pronouns precede the infinitive if they are the object of that verb.

mə	tə	wut	la	dəná
me	you	want	it	give-INF

(540) *You want to give it to me?*   M28C S 84

7.6.   Passive construction

The structure of the passive is: object (recipient of action) + verb [étərə] 'to be' + past participle of the main verb + pronoun [da] 'from' + subject (actor).[20]

<u>Active</u>

lu	maéstrə	i	punáj	lu	dəʃibolə
the	master	he	punishes	the	apprentice.

(541) *The master punishes the apprentice.*   F29C T 86

lu	mɛrkát	i	vénnə	lu	livrə
the	market	it	sells	the	book.

(542) *The market sells the book.*   F29C T 86

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[20] Sentences were translated from Italian examples in Reynolds (1975:xlvi-xlvii).

Passive

lu	dəʃibolə	ʎétə	puní	da	lu	maéstrə
The	apprentice	is	punish-PP	from	the	master

(543) *The apprentice is punished by the master.* F29C T 86

lu	lívərə	i	ʎétə	vəní	da	lu	mɛrkát
The	book	it	is	sell-PP	from	the	market

(544) *The book is sold by the market.* F29C T 86

Changing the tense of the verb changes the implication of the sentence.

Denotative

la	paról	i	e	di	akussí
the	word	it	is	say-PP	thus

(545) *The word is pronounced like this.* M44A T 85

Habitual

la	paról	i	ʎetə	pronunzá	akussí
the	word	it	is	pronounce-PP	thus

(546) *The word is usually pronounced like this.* M44A T 85

la	paról	i	víntə	di	akussí
the	word	it	comes	say-PP	thus

(547) *The word is usually pronounced like this.* M44A T 85

Obligational

la	paról	i	vátə	pronuntʃá	akussí
the	word	it	goes	pronounce-PP	thus

(548) *The word should be pronounced like this.* M44A T 85

la	paról	i	a	étərə	di	akussí
the	word	it	have	be-INF	say-PP	thus

(549) *The word should be pronounced like this.* M44A T 85

The third singular reflexive pronoun may also be used to indicate a generic subject (represented in English by the passive construction).

lu	lívərə	sə	vend
The	book	REFL	sells

(550) *The book is sold.* M74 T 77

la	kjá	sə	trúə	pa
The	key	REFL	finds	NEG

(551) *The key is not found.* M74 T 77

na	rəmáw	sə	sɪnt
A	noise	REFL	hears

(552) *A noise is heard.* F77 T 80

7.7. Existential construction

This construction occurs with a right-dislocated subject, for focus. Hoffman (1968:34-5) gives the following analysis: [a] is an indefinite pronoun, and [j] is an expletive pronoun meaning 'there' "in the sense of an unspecified location." Maria Castielli (*pers. comm.* 3/30/1999) provides the morphological structure shown below for the phrase. While the source of the first two morphemes in the construction is unclear, the (singular or plural) forms of the verb [avájrə] 'to have' are clearly the final element and may appear in the present or imperfect. The [j] may be the third singular prounoun [i]. I have transcribed this construction as monomorphemic and glossed it as EXIS.

Table (93)

IPA	Gloss	Castielli orthography	Castielli translation
[a(n)ját]	there is	a-y-at	c'è
[a(n)jántə]	there are	a-y-ant	ci sono

alɔr	ikke	anjátə	la	ʃénnə
So	here	EXIS	the	scene

(553) *So, here is the scene.* F29C F 39

e	po	dəvant	anjatə	la	kaséttə
and	then	in-front	EXIS	the	house-DIM

(554) *And then in front there is the little house.* M56 G 72

anját	un	bajə	e	kattə	fiáw	e	na	mar
EXIS	a	father	and	four	children	and	a	mother

(555) *There is a father and four children and a mother.* F29C F 39

pəkke	anjávə	lu	láw
because	EXIS-IMPF	the	wolf

(556) *Because there was the wolf.* F26A C 88

ajánd	di	ffɪʎʎə	k	i	sund	vəní	a	faeto
EXIS	two	girl	COMP	they	are	come-PP	to	Faeto

		a	s	əmbará	lu	fajtárə
		to	REFL	learn-INF	the	Faetar

(557) *There are two girls who came to Faeto to learn Faetar.* M32 T 93

Another form of existential construction also exists. This may be a phonologically simplified version of the above form or may be from Latin forms like EST PUER 'There is a boy,' which uses the third singular (or plural) person form of ESSE 'to be' (*pers. comm.* Piero Garofalo, June 2000).

ɛttə	na	kutʃín
EXIS	a	kitchen.

(558) *There is a kitchen.* F29C F 39

i	ʎɛst	l	ənfan	k	i	port	a	ʃpas	a	sa	fiʎ
EXIS		the	child	COMP	she	carries	on	lead	to	his	daughter

(559) *There is the child who leads his daughter.* F5 F 72

i stundə   na   mar   lu   fiáwə   nonnə
EXPL   a   mother the   daughter grandma
(560) *There are the mother, the daughter, grandma.*   F5 F 72

7.8.   Negation

7.8.1.   Sentential negation

The basic negative operator is [pa]. It follows the highest verb. There is no preverbal negator.

mə   rıkórdə   pa
REFL   remember   NEG
(561) *I do not remember.*   F56B C 153

dʒ   e   pa   ten   d   alá   u   martʃá
I   have   NEG   time   of   go-INF to-the market
(562) *I do not have time to go to the market.*   F23 T 93

dʒə   púʎa   pa   tʃantá
I   am-able   NEG   sing-INF
(563) *I cannot sing.* M56 T 72

Two other structures were observed, but only once each.

pɛro   pa   k   anját   propría   na   differɛnzə
but   NEG   COMP   EXIS   really   a   difference
(564) *But there is really no difference.*   F26A C 88

də   nun   sə   fɛrmá   dıŋgje u   bowə
of   NEG   REFL   stop-INF   in   to-the woods
(565) *not to stop in the woods*   F26A C 88

The negator may precede an infinitive.

dʒ   e   uvərí   o   pa   uvərí
I   have   open-INF   or   NEG   open-INF
(566) *I should open it or not open it?*   F56B C 153

dʒ   ulíə   [VP   pa   baj]   o   [VP   pa   mundʒí]
I   want   NEG   drink-INF   or   NEG   eat-INF
(567) *I do not want to eat or drink.* M23C S 71

For other forms of negation, a negative adverb is added and the negator [pa] (almost always) appears.

dʒə   ttin   pa   rénnə   da   fa
I   have   NEG   nothing   from   do-INF
(568) *I have nothing to do.* F23 T 93

mə   tə   píkjó   pa   ren
me   you   ask-IMP   NEG   nothing

(569) *Do not ask me anything.*   M81 C 80

ajá   pa   maŋkún
EXIS   NEG   no-one
(570) *There is no one.*   M56 T 72, M23 T 71

anjátə ren
EXIS   nothing
(571) *There is nothing.*   M23 T 71

dʒ   ulíə   pa   baj   o   pa   mundʒí
I   want   NEG   drink-INF   or   NEG   eat-INF
(572) *I do not want to eat or drink.* M23 T 71

mə   pía   pa   nɛ   lu   kaffé e   maŋkəla tʃukolat
REFL   like   NEG   neither the   coffee and   not the chocolate
(573) *I do not lilke either coffee or chocolate.*   M56 T 72

mi   mwe   alá
REFL   never go-PST
(574) *I never went.* M23 T 71

7.8.2.   Strong negation

To emphasize the negative content of a statement, the phrase [pə ren] 'for nothing' is added.

dʒə   o   fəʃis   pa   pə   ren
I   PL   do-SBJ   NEG   for   nothing
(575) *I would not do it for anything.*   M56 T 72

e   o   pió   u   jaŋ   se   kə   sɛnz   aré   pə   ren
and   PL   rains the   year   as   COMP   without stop-INF for   nothing
(576) *And it has been raining this year without stopping at all.*   M81 C 80

7.8.3.   Negative imperatives

The negator [pa] follows the verb in imperatives. The phoneme [a] is added between the verb and the negator. It is not clear whether this is a normally unrealized syllable of the verb or some other morpheme (examples from M32 T 93).

Affirmative imperative   *Negative imperative*
tenn   tenn a   pa
take (2nd sg.)   take (2nd sg.) NEG
(577) *Take it!*   *Do not take it!*

təníja   təníja   pa
take (2nd pl.)   take (2nd pl.) NEG
(578) *Take it!*   *Do not take it! (2nd pl.)*

stát			státət	a	pa
stay (2nd sg.)			stay (2nd sg.)		NEG

(579) *Stay!*   *Don't stay!*

staz			staz	a	pa
stay (2nd pl.)			stay (2nd pl.)		NEG

(580) *Stay!*   *Don't stay!*

A negative response to a question may be indicated by an alveolar click.

NN:	e	tə	sa	dəker	i	suntə	vəní	a	faît
	and	you	know	when	they	are	come-PP	to	Faeto

(581) *And do you know when they came to Faeto?*

F5: ‖

(582) *No.*   *F5 G 72*

M56:	kumə	tə	vaj	pa	la	lin
	what	you	see	NEG	the	moon

(583) *What, you cannot see the moon?*

M10: ‖

(584) *No.*   *M10 G 73*

M56:	mamma	msɛ	i	λɛt	a	la	ʃkol
	Mama	teaches	she	is	at	the	school

(585) *Mama teaches?*   *She is at the school?*

M10: ‖

(586) *No.*   *M10 G 73*

7.9.   Questions

7.9.1.   Yes/No questions

The interrogative is indicated by rising intonation, rather than by syntactic structure. "Yes/No" questions are syntactically identical to the related indicative statements, as the first pair of examples illustrates.

i	λɛst	dəkan	a	la	foλa
it	is	next-to	to	the	leaf

(587) *Is it next to the leaf?*   *F5 G 72*

no	i	λɛst	dəkant	a	kartír	u	far
no	it	is	next-to	at	side	to-the	lighthouse

(588) *No, it is next to—on the side of the lighthouse.*   *M56 G 72*

tə	vinnə	dəmmánə	a	la	fé:tə
you	come	tomorrow	to	the	party

(589) *Are you coming to the party tomorrow?*   *F23 T 93*

te	e	ʃpuzá
you	are	marry-PP

(590) *Are you married?*   *F56B C 153*

dʒə	puλi	parlá	akussí
I	am-able	talk-INF	like-this

(591) *Can I talk like this?*   *M70 C 112*

la	papavərə	i	tind	loʃ	ij	avɛr	u	barrá
the	duck	it	has	the	eyes	open	or	close-PP

(592) *Are the duck's eyes open or closed?*   *M56 G 72*

7.9.2.   WH- questions

The interrogative pronoun (or interrogative adjective + noun) is placed at the beginning of the sentence, followed by a typical SVO structure. There is no inversion (or *do*-support). (See also § *Interrogative and relative pronouns* and § *Interrogative determiners*.)

ki	*who*		pətók, pəkké	*why*
(tok)kə	*what*		kumə	*how*
dəkír	*when*		kantə	*how many*
andó	*where*			

ki	étə	vəni
who	is	come-PP

(593) *Who came?*   *F22B S 71, M23C S 71*

tókkə	tə	fa	mʌndʒí	a	ne
what	you	make	eat-INF	at	night

(594) *What do you make to eat at night?*   *F29C C 14*

e	kə	dʒə	se	dʒi
and	what	I	know	I

(595) *And what do I know?*   *F5 G 72*

la	paparél	andó	i	λɛst
the	duck	where	it	is

(596) *The duck, where is it?*   *M56 G 72*

(pəkke/pətok)[21]		t	a	di	akussí
why		you	have	say-PP	thus

(597) *Why did you say it like this?*   *F29C S 14*

kummdʒ	a	ffa
How	I	go	do-INF

---

[21] F29C reports that she can use either of these forms to mean 'because,' and that she usually uses [pəkké], and that [pətók] is an older form.

(598) How should I do it?   F23 C 93

e	dəsó	kom	aet	dəʃkrí
and	under	how	is	written

(599) And below, what is written?   M56 G 72

kántə	fir	tə	tin
how	figures	you	have

(600) How many figures do you have?   M56 G 72

7.9.3.   Embedded questions

A question may be embedded in a statement without any change in surface structure.

i	a	tə	dəmaná	i	ɛtə	ro	lu	paízə
you	go	you	ask-INF	it	is	big	the	town

(601) You should ask if the town is big.   M56 G 72

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8. Texts

8.1.   Little Red Riding Hood, by F26A

Tape 46a (303:354), Interview 88, recorded 3/31/00, transcribed 4/2/00, edited 9/4/00

F26A: anjávə	əna	fiʎettə	pətʃərillə
EXIS-IMPF	a	girl-DIM	little

(602) There was a little girl

kə	sə	kiamávə	*kaputʃétta*	*rósso*
COMP	REFL	call-IMPF	hood-DIM	red

(603) who was named Little Red Riding Hood

pəkke	sa	marə	l	avə	fej	əna	mandəʎinə	russə
because	her	mother	her	have-IMPF	make-PP	a	cape	red

(604) because her mother had made her a red cape

to	lu	kaputʃ	*rósso*
with	the	hood	red

(605) with a red hood.

sta	fiʎet	i	tənívə	sa	nonnə
this	girl-DIM	she	have-IMPF	her	grandma

(606) This girl had a grandmother

kə	i	stavə	iɲɲe	u	bovə
COMP	she	is-IMPF	in	to-the	wood

(607) who lived in the woods.

s	kómə	sa	non	i	stávə	maládə	alórrə
as	like	her	grandma	she	is-IMPF	sick	so

(608) Since her grandmother was sick, so

sa	marə	i	manáttə	a	l	ənfán	a	la
her	mother	she	send-PST	to	the	child	to	the

(609) her mother sent the child to the--

a	purt	a	mundʒá	a	sa	non
to	bring	to	eat-INF	to	her	grandma

(610) to bring her grandma something to eat.

pəro	sa	marə	la	rakomanátə	tánnə
but	her	mother	her	tell-PST	so-much

(611) but her mother told her strongly

də	nun	sə	fermá	dınjé	u	bowə
of	NEG	REFL	stop-INF	in	at-the	wood

(612)   *not to stop in the woods*

pəkke	anjávə	lu	láw	l	ənfánnə	i	alát
because	EXIS-IMPF	the	wolf	the	child		she	go-PST

(613)   *because there was the wolf. The child went.*

mɛntre	aláv	də	sa	non
while	go-IMPF	of	her	grandma

(614)   *While she was going to her grandma's*

i	stávə	ınɲe	u	bovə
she	is-IMPF	in	to-the	wood

(615)   *she stopped in the woods.*

s	abiát	a	fərmá a	kitrə	lo	fjúrə
REFL	start-PST	to	? to	gather-INF	the	flower

(616)   *She started to gather flowers.*

e	a	ən	tʃɛrtə pwɛn	saλí
and	at	a	certain point	go-out-PST

(617)   *and at a certain point, out came--*

no	no	mi	rikordə	pa
no	no	REFL	remember	NEG

(618)   *No, no I don't remember.*

NN:	*e*	*arrivato*	*il*	*lupo*
	is	came	the	wolf

(619)   *The wolf came*

quand	*lei*	*stava*	*coi*	*fior*	*le*	*fiori*
when	she	was	with-the	flowers	the	flowers

(620)   *when she was with the flowers.*

F26A: e	λo	λo
	ah	yes	yes

(621)   *Ah, yeah, yeah.*

non	la	savə	rikordaν	ın	ordine
NEG	it	know-IMPF	remember-IMPF	in	order

(622)   *I don't remember it in order.*

ki	se	ke	da	pareλλhio	non	la	leggo
who	knows	COMP		several	NEG	it	read-PST

(623)   *Who knows how long it's been since I read it?*

e	la	dumanát	andó	i	alávə

and	her	ask-PST	where	she	go-IMPF

(624)   *And asked her where she was going.*

la	fiλéttə	i	statə	pa	səntí	a	sa	mar
the	girl-DIM	she	is-PST	NEG	listen-PP	to	her	mother

(625)   *The girl didn't listen to her mother.*

i	sə	mətít	a	parlá	də	lu	láw
she	REFL	put	to	talk-INF	with	the	wolf

(626)   *She started to talk with the wolf.*

e	i	diʃit	k	i	alávə	a	truwá	a	sa	non
and	she	say-PST	COMP	she	go-IMPF	to	find-INF	to	her	grandma

(627)   *And she said she was going to visit her grandma.*

alor	tok	i	diʃit	lu	law
so	what	he	say-PST	the	wolf

(628)   *So, what did the wolf say?*

jor	i	arurdán	i	alát
now	he	?-PrP	he	go-PST

(629)   *Now, he ?. He went--*

i	korrítə	dəván	a	*kapputʃéttə*	*rosso*
he	run-PST	before	to	hood-DIM	red

(630)   *He ran ahead of Little Red Riding Hood.*

e	i	arrəvátə	prəmíjdə	jiλə	da	sa	nonnə
and	he	arrive-PST	before	of	her	of	her	grandma

(631)   *And he arrived before her at her grandma's.*

e	i	tutsəlát	a	la	pɔrdə
and	he	ring-PST	at	the	door

(632)   *And he rang at the door.*

fəʃán	vədáj	k	evə	sa	níə
make-PrP	see-INF	COMP	is-IMPF	her	granddaughter

(633)   *He pretended to be her granddaughter.*

e	sa	non	fəʃán	la	wájə	pıtʃəríl
and	her	grandma	make-PrP	the	voice	little

(634)   *And her grandma--   Making his voice little--*

sa	nonnə	pənsán	k	evə	*kapputʃéttə*	*ross*	sə	avriát
her	grandma	think-PrP	COMP	is-IMPF	hood-DIM	red	for-him	open-PST

(635)   *Her grandma, thinking it was Little Red Riding Hood, opened (the door) for him.*

e	s	a	mundʒát	poj	i	arrəvát	l	ənfán
and	this-one	her	eat-PST	then	she	come-PST	the	child

(636) *And this one ate her. Then the child arrived.*

e	ɲei	fratɛmpo
and	in-the	meantime

(637) *And in the meantime,*

lu	láw	s	évə	maj	lu	vɛstítə	də	sa	non
the	wolf	REFL	be-IMPF	put-PP	the	clothing	of	her	grandma

(638) *the wolf put on the grandma's clothes*

e	s	u	majn	ɪnjé	u	li
and	REFL	have	throw	in	to-the	bed

(639) *and threw himself in the bed.*

e	orəvát	l	ənfán
and	arrive-PST	the	child

(640) *And the child arrived*

e	i	tutsəlát	a	la	port	intrát
and	she	rang	at	the	door	enter-PST

(641) *and rang at the doorbell. She came in.*

e	i	konəʃit	pa	lu	láw
And	she	know-PST	NEG	the	wolf

(642) *And she didn't recognize the wolf.*

e	i	abiát	a	dumaná
And	she	start-PST	to	ask-INF

(643) *And she started to ask--*

pɛró	i	vivə	kə	i	tənívə	al	ɛzɛmpiə
but	she	see-IMPF	COMP	he	have-IMPF	to-the	example

(644) *But she saw that he had, for example*

la	butʃa	roz	lu	na	rovə	la	wája	rozə
the	mouth	big	the	nose	big	the	voice	big

(645) *a big mouth, a big nose, a big voice.*

e	i	abiát	a	dumaná	e	lu	law	i	diʃívə
And	she	start-PST	to	ask-INF	and	the	wolf	he	say-IMPF

(646) *And she started to ask— And the wolf said,*

no	ma	dʒə	ti	los	i	ro	pə	tə	rəmí	me	bun
no	but	I	have	the	eye	big	for	you	see-INF	more	good

(647) *No, but— "I have big eyes to see you better*

e	dʒə	tin	lu	na	ro	pə	tə	səntí	me	bun
and	I	have	the	nose	big	for	you	smell-INF	more	good

(648) *And I have a big nose to smell you better*

dʒə	tin	la	bútʃə	ros	pə	tə	mʊndʒí	me	bun
I	have	the	mouth	big	for	you	eat-INF	more	better

(649) *I have a big mouth to eat you better."*

e	st	a	mʊndʒát
and	this-one	her	eat-PST

(650) *and he ate her.*

ɪn	tan	o	passátə	d	ille	un	katʃatáwə
in	time	PL	pass-PST	of	there	a	hunter

(651) *After a while, a hunter passed by.*

e	ɪntrátə	e	i	vit	a	lu	law	alor	lu	ʃparátə
and	enter-PST	and	he	see-PST	the	wolf	so	him	shoot-PST

(652) *And he came in. And he saw the wolf. So, he shot him.*

e	i	atə	dəfór	a	kappu̵ttə róssə	e	la	non
and	they	have-PST	in-front	to	hood-DIM red	and	the	grandma

(653) *And out came Little Red Riding Hood and her grandma.*

aj	vis
have	see-PP

(654) *You see?*

o	di	sə	dʒ	avissə	a	rakuntá	a	n	anfán
oh	God	if	I	have-SBJ	to	tell-PP	to	a	child

(655) *Oh God, If I had to tell a child,*

forsə	mə	saréj	faj	un	be	me	kreatív
maybe	REFL	be-CND	do-PP	a	little	more	creative

(656) *maybe I'd be a bit more creative.*

8.2. Little Red Riding Hood, by M44A

Tape 44B:502-554, Interview 85, Recorded 3/31/00, Transcribed 4/1/00, Edited 9/4/00

anjá	na	fiʎéttə	no	ki	tənívə
EXIS	a	girl-DIM	no	who	have-IMPF

(657) *There's a girl, no, that had,*

i	ʎut	lu	kapútʃ	ɪn	tet	rus	e	la	mantalínə	rus
she	?	the	hood-DIM	in	head	red	and	the	cape	red

(658) *she wore a little red hood on her head and a red cape.*

se	kumə	sə	vəstí	tutəwáj	akussí
as	like	REFL	dress-PP	always	thus

(659) *Since she was always dressed like this,*

la	jamərúnd	la	jamánd	kaputʃétto	róss
her	call-PST	her	call	hood-DIM	red

(660) *they called her Little Red Riding Hood.*

un	dʒur	sa	marə	i	diʃit	a	sta	kaputʃétto	rosso
one	day	her	mother	she	say-PST	to	this	hood-DIM	red

(661) *One day her mother said to this Little Red Riding Hood,*

i	dit	kaputʃé	va	dʒi	ta	nonn
she	say-PST	hood	go	home-of	your	grandma

(662) *she said, Little Red Riding Hood, go to your grandma's house*

e	pórdə	la	pîtssə	e	un	bu	də	vínə	dɪŋgjé	sti	tʃestĭil
and	bring	the	pizza	and	a	bit	of	wine	in	this	basket

(663) *and bring some pizza and a bit of wine in this basket."*

la	fiʎet	kapputʃéttə	róssə	sə	miét	u	tʃestĭil	dəso	u	bra
the	girl-DIM	hood-DIM	red	REFL	put-PST	at-the	basket	under	to-the	arm

(664) *The girl, Little Red Riding Hood, put the basket under her arm.*

sə	miét	tuttə	tʃwoz
REFL	put-PST	all	thing

(665) *She put in everything*

e	s	abiátə	pə	ɪŋje	u	bo	pəkké	la	kasə	də	sa	non
and	REFL	start-PST	for	in	at-the	wood	because	the	house	of	her	grandma

(666) *and started into the woods. Because her grandma's house*

i	stat	dapój	lu	bowə	ɪŋje	kwási	u	bo	dapój
it	is	after	the	wood	in	almost	at-the	wood	next

(667) *was past the woods in, almost in the next woods.*

sa	fiʎét	sə	kúmə	lə	piaʃəvándə	lo	fjur
this	girl-DIM	as	like	to-her	please-IMPF	the	flower

(668) *This girl, since she liked flowers,*

mɛntrə	si	aláv	i	vi	tántə	fjur
while	REFL	go-IMPF	she	see-PST	so-many	flower

(669) *whe she saw so many flowers.*

e	səlo	takki	də	lo	fjúrə
and	this-one	pick-PST	of	the	flower

(670) *And she picked some flowers.*

o	fəʃi	parékkjə	tard	tan	passátə	mej	o	fi	parékkjə	tard
PL	do-PST	pretty	late	time	pass-PST	more	PL	do-PST	pretty	late

(671) *It got pretty late. Time passed. It got pretty late.*

mɛntrə	i	stav	illé	passát	lu	law
while	she	be-IMPF	there	pass-PST	the	wolf

(672) *While she was there, the wolf came by.*

i	diʃitə	bɛlla	fiʎe	do	tə	faj	iké
he	say-PST	pretty	girl	what	you	do	here

(673) *He said, "Pretty girl, what are you doing here?"*

e	i	diʃit	m	ɛstə	faʃán	lu	fjúrə
and	she	say-PST	I	am	do-PrP	the	flower

(674) *And she said, "I am doing flowers.*

e	po	dʒ	alá	dʒi	ma	non
and	then	I	go-INF	home-of	my	grandma

(675) *And then I have to go to my grandma's house."*

e	dʒi	ma	dʒi	ta	non	ma	andó	tə	vaj
and	home-of	but	home-of	your	grandma	but	where	you	go

(676) *"And, your grandma's house? Where are you going?"*

a	tʃa	law	diʒit	a	law	ma	tə	sa	la	vi
to	home-of	their	say-PST	to	wolf	but	you	know	the	way

(677) *"To their house." She said to the wolf, "But do you know the way?"*

lu	law	dit	ʎo	va	ápri	ki	l	ansɛnját	na	vía	lundʒ
the	wolf	say-PST	yes	go	by	here	her	taught	a	way	long

(678) *The wolf said, "Yes, go by here." He taught her the long way.*

tok	i	fəʃist	sti	law	k	e	o	fúrbə	kju
what	he	do-PST	this	wolf	COMP	is	PL	clever	?

(679) *What did he do, this clever wolf?*

no	no	i	alát	pə	la	vía	kiərt
no	no	he	go-PST	for	the	way	short

(680) *No, no. He went the short way.*

i	arəvát	illé	tusulát	o	alá	sa	non	ki	et
he	arrive-PST	there	ring-PST	PL	go-PST	her	grandma	who	is

(681) *He arrived. He rang. Went her grandma, "Who is it?"*

m	e	kapputʃéttə	nonn	e	avriátə	sa	non
I	am	hood-DIM	grandma	and	open-PST	her	grandma

(682) *"I am Little Red Riding Hood, Grandma." And her grandma opened the door.*

kum	avriát	səlá	mandʒát	a	sa	non
as	open-PST	this-one	eat-PST	to	her	grandma

(683) *As she opened, he ate her, her grandma.*

po	sə	vəstítə	də	lo	dra	də	sa	non

then REFL dress-PST of the clothes of her grandma
(684) *Then he put on her grandma's clothes.*

sə mətítə də la tuttə lo kunt ɪn tétə
REFL put-PST of the all the stuff on head
(685) *He put on all the stuff on his head,*

lu kuppəlin ɪn tet sə mətít tan dəsu
the cap-DIM on head REFL put-PST thus under
(686) *the cap on his head. He put on the same way underneath.*

e sə mətít ɪŋgjé u li pəkke la non sa non jo viéλə
and REFL put-PST in at-the bed because the grandma her grandma yes old
(687) *and he got into bed because the grandma, her grandma, yes, old,*

e sta parékkjə ten ɪŋgjé u li
and is pretty-much time in at-the bed
(688) *and spent a lot of time in bed.*

pəkke tə sa lə viáj sə pətúnd pa ʒmuóer amuórrə
because you know the old REFL able NEG move-INF a lot
(689) *Because, you know, old people can't move around much.*

dapój parékkjə ten kaputʃét kaputʃét i arrəvát illé e tutsəlát
since some time hood-DIM hood-DIM she arrive-PST there and ring-PST
(690) *After some time, Little Red Riding Hood got there and rang.*

e lu law dɪŋgjé u li i dit ki et
and the wolf in at-the bed he say-PST who is
(691) *And the wolf said from the bed, "Who is it?"*

m e kaputʃét i ɛntr i dat kaputʃét i dəʃit
I am hood-DIM she enter-PST he ? hood-DIM she say-PST
(692) *"I am Little Red Riding Hood." "Enter!" ... Little Red Riding Hood said,*

non dʒə tə purtá a lu tʃəstíəl də la pits
grandma I you bring to the basket with the pizza
(693) *"Grandma, I brought you a basket with pizza*

e l un bu də vin iḱi
and the a bit of wine here
(694) *and a bit of wine here."*

pəró kúmə s a fəʃənát
but while REFL has do-PST
(695) *But while she was doing that,*

i vit də sa non loz ijə ro loz awréλə roz
she see-PST of her grandma the eye big the ear big

(696) *she saw her grandma's big eyes and ears.*

i diʃ non kom ɛst loz ij akussí roz kə lo din
she say-PST grandma how is the eye thus big COMP you? have
(697) *She said, "Grandma, What big eyes you have!"*

o l at lu law k ee pə tə vədáw miλáw
PL he ? the wolf COMP eh for you see better
(698) *Went the wolf, "Eh, the better to see you with!"*

po i vitə s awre non tok et s awreλə rozə e pəlóz
then she see-PST his ear grandma what is these ear big and furry
(699) *Then she saw his ears. "Grandma, what big furry ears!"*

pə sə vi me bun
for REFL see more good
(700) *"To see you better."*

e sta butʃə roz kum i λɛt akussí rozə la buʃ
and this mouth big how it is thus big the mouth
(701) *"And this big mouth. Why is it so big, the mouth?"*

pə ta mundʒi e sə la mundʒát
for you eat and this-one her eat-PST
(702) *"To eat you." And this one ate her.*

bu dapój passát un katʃatáwr illé
bit after pass-PST a hunter there
(703) *A bit later, a hunter went by.*

i vit ɪŋgjé la kaz un kundə kuriáw nu
he see-PST in the house a thing curious no
(704) *He saw inside the house, a curious thing, no?*

e i l atə ʃpí e vit lu law
and he him have look-PP and see-PST the wolf
(705) *And he looked and saw the wolf*

s e u mandʒá kapputʃéttə russə e sa mar e sa non
this-one has PL eat-PST hood-DIM red and her mother and her grandma
(706) *that had eaten Little Red Riding Hood and her mother—and her grandma.*

alor lu ʃparát
so him shoot-PST
(707) *So he shot him.*

avriátə la trip o ʃkwatəllát taλiátə la trip
open-PST the stomach PL cut-up-PST cut-PST the stomach
(708) *Opened the stomach, cut up the stomach.*

o   saλít   kapputʃéttə   róssə   e   sa   non
PL   come-out-PST hood-DIM   red   and   her   grandma
(709)   *Out came Little Red Riding Hood and her grandma.*

e   finí   iké   la   favolétk   e   adéss   u   din
is   finish-PP   here   the   fable-DIM   and   now   we   say
(710)   *The tale is finished and now we say,*

e   finí   kə   dʒə   la   díʃə   dʒi
is   finish-PP   COMP I   it   say   I
(711)   *It is finished as I tell it.*

8.3.   Festivals in Faeto, by F56A

Tape 6a (291-347), Interview 7, recorded 7/9/92, transcribed 5/22/95, edited 9/1/00

F56A: marí   dəmán   e   dəvendrə   e   lu   dəvéndrə   də   sand   antóni
       Maria   tomorrow   is   Friday   is   the   Friday   of   Saint   Anthony
(712)   *Maria, tomorrow is Friday. It's the Friday of St. Anthony.*

F?6:   dəmént   e   fet   a   faít
      tomorrow   is   festival   in   Faeto
(713)   *Tomorrow is a festival in Faeto.*

F56A: o   sáλə   la   prosɛsiúnnə
       PL   go-out   the   procession
(714)   *The procession will come out.*

e   e   ki   o   sa   se   la   ne   ajátə   purə   lo
and   and   who   PL   know   if   the   night   EXIS   also   the
(715)   *And who knows if there will also be the--*

F?6:   l   orkɛstrín
      the   band
(716)   *The band.*

F56A: l   orkɛstrínnə   kə   on   óntrə   kantándə
       the   band   COMP ?   ?   sing-PrP
(717)   *The band. Others singing.*

sɛlə   kə   kumárə   mari   sə   piaʃavántə   tandə   lo   kantándə
that   COMP goddaughter   Maria   REFL   like-IMPF   so-much   the   sing-PrP
(718)   *that goddaughter Maria liked. Every year, singing*

da   vɛrrə   dəkir   i   a   sta   san   próspero   u   an   passá
of   true   when   it   has   be-PP   Saint   Prosper   the   year   pass-PP
(719)   *Really! ... St. Prospero last year on the Belvedere.*

injok   lu   belvedér   t   a   rakontá
On   the   Belvedere   you   have   told
(720)   *On the Belvedere—Have you been told?*

indjók u   belvedér   i   i   tʃantəvántə   i   dansiəván
On   the   Belvedere   they   they   sing-IMPF   they   dance-IMPF
(721)   *on the Belvedere they were singing and dancing.*

e   anjəvándə   tutə   lo   fajtár
and   EXIS-IMPF   all   the   Faetans
(722)   *And all the Faetans were there.*

di   marí   anjəvándə   tutəkwánd
say   Maria   EXIS-IMPF   everyone
(723)   *Tell Maria everyone was there.*

e   anjəvándə   tut   illé   i   dansivánt   i   sunəvand
and   EXIS   all   there   they   dance-IMPF   they   play-IMPF
(724)   *All of them were there. They were dancing and playing.*

e   a   passávə   la   sɛrát   tut   in   komɛdí   d   lo   krıstián
and   PL   pass-IMPF   the   evening   all   in   comedy   with   the   people
(725)   *And the night passed in fun, lots of people.*

e   a   l   amerík   vu   fəʃivi   pur   akkussí
and   in   the   America   you   do-PST   also   this
(726)   *And in America do they do this too?*

vu   fəʃi   pa   e   luá   vu   fəʃi   pa
you   do   NEG   is   true   you   do   NEG
(727)   *You don't do it there, right? You don't do it.*

iké   etə   d   un   mod   illé   d   ən   atə   akossí ajét
here   is   of   one   way   there   of   an   other   thus   EXIS
(728)   *Here it is one way, there another. That's how it is.*

a   aví   ando   ti   e   alá   marí
and   today   where   you   are   go-PP   Maria
(729)   *And today, where did you go?*

...

t   e   alá   a   la   fodʒə
you   are   go-PP   to   the   Foggia
(730)   *You went to Foggia?*

F?6:   m   e   alá   a   la   fodʒʒə....
      I   am   go-PP   to   the   Foggia
(731)   *I went to Foggia.*

...

F56A: u   janne madʒʒe   sta   matén dʒun i   sta   ma   ten
       at-the year May   bad   time   June it   is   bad time
(732)   *Last year May there was bad weather. June there was bad weather.*

lúʎə pur ma   tɛ   e   ke   stadʒón   i   su   iké
July also bad weather and COMP season   they are here
(733) *July also bad weather. And what season is it now?*

própri də pa bun tok   u   sə   fa   e   tókə də fa   a
really of NEG good what PL REFL do-INFeh what of do-INFeh
(734) *Really bad. What to do? Eh, what to do? Huh?*

...

ɛt   akussi e   i   ja   lu   maj   d   aúst
is   thus is it   has   the month of   August
(735) *It's like this. And in the month of August*

po   i   fand a san   proʃp i   fantə la   fétə də san   proʃp
then they do   at Saint Prospero they do the festival of Saint Prospero
(736) *Then they do St. Prospero. They do the festival of St. Prospero.*

lu   maj   d   aúst   i   fántə
at-the month of   August they make
(737) *In the month of August they make--*

F?6:   i   fántə lə   prəsút
       they make   the   prosciutto
(738) *They make the prosciutto.*

F56A: i   fántə la   fétə də   lu   prəsút
       they do   the   festival of the proscdiutto
(739) *They have the Prosciutto Festival.*

...

la sɛkóndə dəméntʃ étə san proʃp e   o   vənúndə   tandə krɪstián
the second Sunday   is Saint Prospero and PL come   many people
(740) *The second Sunday is St. Prospero. Many people come.*

...

o   vənúnt tutə lo   turístə i   vənúndə   də   torínə
PL   come   all   the tourists they come   from Torino
(741) *The tourists come. They come from Torino,*

də   milánə də   də   prátə də   túttə lə   ban   i   vənúnt
from Milano from from Prato from all   the place they come
(742) *from Milano, from--from Prato, from everywhere, they come.*

e   i   vənúnd a   fa   la   fétə   də san prosp
and they come   to   do-INF the festival of Saint Prospero
(743) *and they come for the festival of Saint Prospero.*

tutə lo   fajtár a   akussi e   pə   la   rəmánjə   lə   su
all   the Faitan ah   thus   is for the remaining the that
(744) *All the Faitans. It's like that for those who remain ...*

pəke   tʃakúnd   si   fatə a lu   paj sin i   fat andó i   fatij
because each one REFL do   at the town his they do where they work
(745) *because they do their things in their own town where they work.*

e   nussə n   a   rəmajún a   fait n   atə   talikwali sutə
and we   we go remain   in   Faeto an other like-that ?
(746) *And we have to remain in Faeto just the same ...*

...

faît   akussi ajétə tókə t   a   fa
Faeto thus   EXIS   what you go   do-INF
(747) *Faeto is like that. What can you do?*

e   purtróppo nussə nu   stun kuntén   a   faît vɛramén
and overall   we   we   are   happy   in   Faeto really
(748) *And overall, we are happy in Faeto. Really.*

9.   Key to Appendix: Speaker information

The interview catalog lists all the interviews conducted with Faetar speakers. Information regarding the speaker, the context, and the tape number is provided.
The following abbreviations are used (listed by column).

9.1.   Speaker Code

F	female
M	male

9.2.   Occupation

elementary	elementary school student
Eng. teacher	English teacher
ret.	retired
sec'y	secretary
student	any other sort of student

9.3.   Language contact indices[22]

S	Indicates the highest level of <u>school</u> attended by the speaker.
	0 = Child currently in elementary school
	1 = Adult who did not attend school past elementary school
	2 = Attended (some) secondary school
	3 = Attended (some) post-secondary institution
W	Indicates the location of <u>work</u> and language used.
	0 = Works in Faeto, usually speaks Faetar at work
	1 = Works in Faeto, usually speaks Italian at work
	2 = Works elsewhere in Italy, speaks Italian at work
F	Indicates whether there have been exogamous marriages in the <u>family</u>.
	0 = All family members are from Faeto
	1 = Parent or spouse is not from Faeto
R	Indicates whether the speaker has ever <u>resided</u> elsewhere in Italy.
	0 = Has never lived for >1 consecutive year outside Faeto
	2 = Lived for >1 consecutive year elsewhere in Italy
T	<u>Total</u> of the values of the four IC indices

9.4.   Tape

a	Side A
b	Side B
NR	not recorded
(FG)	Recording made by Francesca Giuliani and Naomi Nagy

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[22] Much of the data for these four indices was collected by Maria-Antonietta Cocco, who had the relevant people fill out a questionnaire that I sent her in January 1996. I am very grateful for her help.

9.5.   Content of interview

comm	Geminate commutation task. See Nagy (1994) for details.
conv	Conversation (with me or a native speaker)
T	This label is for the eight cassettes of data elicited by translation from Italian with Francesca Giuliani. Speakers were recorded in pairs so that there was some semblance of speaking Faetar to someone who understood, but it was not a communicative task.
F	Storybook Task. All data coded thus were elicited by asking speakers to describe pictures in Amery & Cartwright's *First 100 Words* to me. First, objects in the picture were named in isolation. Then each speaker was asked to tell a story about what was happening in each picture. I introduced this task as a means of teaching me Faetar, but it served to provide a number of different speech styles while limiting the range of vocabulary and topic.
grm	Grammar (elicitation by paradigm and/or translation)
hi	greetings to a Faetan emigré in Philadelphia
Igem	Initial geminate production task. See Nagy (1994) for details.
Mgem	Medial geminate production task. See Nagy (1994) for details.
narr	Narrative (not all narratives have been flagged)

Appendix: Speaker data

Speaker	Home	Occupation	S	W	F	R	T	Date	IV	Tape	Content
Females											
F5	Faeto	elementary						03/28/00	72	40a,b	FW, conv, trans
F6	Faeto/Bern	elementary						08/11/94	149	28b	FW
F8	Faeto	elementary						07/08/92	5	6a	conv
F9A	Faeto	elementary						07/08/92	6	6a	FW, conv
F9B	Faeto	elementary						08/24/93	46	20a	FW, conv
F10A	Faeto	elementary						08/18/93	26	19a	FW
F10B	Faeto	elementary						08/21/93	36	20a	FW
F11A	Faeto	student						08/13/94	142	28a	FW
F11B	Faeto	student						08/11/94	139	27b, 28a	FW
F11B	Faeto	student						04/01/00	85	44b	conv, narr
F11C	Faeto	student			2	2		08/13/94	144	28a	FW
F11D	Faeto	student						08/18/93	32	17a	FW
F11E	Faeto	student			1	2	3	08/13/94	143	28a	FW
F12A	Faeto	student						03/29/00	76	41b	conv, grm
F12B	Faeto	student						03/29/00	76	41b, 42a	conv, grm
F13	Faeto	student	1				1	08/13/94	141	28a	FW
F14A	Faeto	student	1				1	08/13/94	140	28a	FW
F14B	Faeto							08/06/94	121	26a	FW
F15	Faeto							08/06/94	122	26a	FW
F17	Faeto							08/06/94	120	26a	FW
F20A	Faeto	student						08/21/93	19	19b	FW
F20A	Faeto	student						08/29/93	56	21a,b	Mgem, conv
F20A	Faeto	law student						04/01/00	87	45a,b	trans
F21	Faeto	student	2				2	08/16/93	19	16a	FW
F21	Faeto	student	2				2	08/28/93	53	21a	Mgem, conv
F22	Faeto	law student						03/27/00	71	39a,b, 40a	grm
F23	Faeto	student						07/31/94	93	37a,b	conv, trans, FG
F26A	Faeto	student	3				3	07/30/94	98	33a,b, 34a,b	conv, trans, FG
F26A	Faeto	student	3				3	07/30/94	103	24a	FW
F26A	Faeto	law student						04/01/00	88	45b, 46a	grm, narr
F26B	Faeto							08/05/94	114	25b	FW
F27B	Faeto	hairdresser						08/06/94	125	26b	FW
F28	Faeto	waitress						03/30/00	80	43a	grm
F29A	Faeto	instructor						07/30/94	100	36a,b	conv, trans, FG
F29B	Faeto							08/05/94	115	25b	FW
F29C	Faeto	teacher						07/17/92	10	8,9a	conv
F29C	Faeto	teacher	3	2		2	7	07/22/92	14	11b	conv
F29C	Faeto	teacher	3	2		2	7	08/23/93	39	19b	Igem, FW
F29C	Faeto	teacher	3	2		2	7	09/02/93	65	22a	conv
F29C	Faeto	teacher	3	2		2	7	07/31/94	93	38a,b	conv, trans, FG
F29C	Faeto	teacher						04/01/00	86	45a	grm
F30	Faeto		2			1	3	08/11/94	136	27a,b	FW, conv
F31	Faeto							08/09/94	129	27a	FW
F32A	Faeto	grocer						07/21/92	12	10a,b	conv
F32A	Faeto	grocer						08/27/93	49	21b	FW
F32A	Faeto	grocer						03/29/00	79	42a, b	grm
F32B	Faeto	waitress						03/30/00	80	43a	grm
F33	Faeto							09/02/93	69	22a, b	conv
F35	Faeto							08/17/94	95	29b	conv
F37	Faeto							08/11/94	138	27b	Mgem, Igem, FW
F38A	Faeto							08/05/94	116	25b	FW
F38B	Faeto	homemaker						08/28/93	54	20b	FW
F40	Faeto		3	2		2	7	08/06/94	124	26a	FW
F43	Faeto	author	3	2		2	7	08/18/94	155	29b	FW, conv
F44A	Philadelphia	tailor						06/16/92	2	2b, 3	conv
F44A	Philadelphia	tailor						06/22/92	4	5a	conv
F44A	Philadelphia	tailor						01/26/93	16	13a	conv
F50A	Faeto	homemaker						09/02/93	69	22a, b	conv
F50D	Faeto							08/05/94	113	25b	conv
F50E	Faeto	sociologist						04/03/00	91	NR	conv
F53	Bern							07/21/92	15	12a,b	conv
F56A	Faeto	tailor	1				1	07/09/92	7	6a	conv
F56A	Faeto	tailor	1				1	08/31/93	64	22a	FW, conv
F56A	Faeto	tailor	1				1	08/31/93	69	22a,b	conv
F56B	Faeto		1	1		2	4	08/18/94	153	29a	FW, conv
F56C	Faeto		3	2	1	2	8	08/31/93	64	21a	FW
F56D	Faeto	innkeeper						04/03/00	90	NR	conv
F57	Faeto							07/30/94	105	24a	FW, conv
F60C	Faeto	homemaker						07/22/92	13	11a,b	conv
F60C	Faeto	homemaker						09/02/93	69	22a, b	conv
F62B	Faeto	barkeep	1	1			2	07/17/92	9	7a,b	conv
F62B	Faeto	barkeep	1	1			2	08/27/93	50	19a	FW
F64	Faeto							07/30/94	104	24a	conv
F65A	Faeto		1	1		2	4	08/16/93	23	20b	FW, conv
F65A	Faeto		1	1		2	4	08/27/93	50	20b	conv
F65B	Faeto		1				1	08/21/93	37	16b	FW
F68	Faeto		1				1	07/30/94	99	35a,b	conv, FG
F68	Faeto		1				1	08/08/94	128	26b	FW, conv
F68	Faeto		1				1	08/17/94	153	29a	FW, conv
F71	Faeto							09/01/93	66	23a	conv
F72A	Faeto							08/05/94	118	25b	FW, conv
F77	Faeto	ret. farmer						03/30/00	80	43a	grm
F78	Faeto	ret. teacher	1	1			2	08/11/94	137	27b	FW, conv
F79	Faeto							09/01/93	67	23a	conv
F80	Faeto	ret. farmer						07/21/92	15	12a,b	conv
F80	Faeto	ret. farmer						08/21/93	27	19b	FW
F83	Faeto	farmer?						08/18/93	27	17a,b	conv
F83	Faeto	farmer?						08/29/93	55	21a	FW
F88	Faeto							08/24/93	44	21a	FW
F?13	Faeto	teacher						03/31/00	83	NR	grm
F?6	Faeto	baker						07/09/92	7	6a	conv

	Home			Con	tact			Date	IV	Tape	Content
F?7	Faeto							9/2-4/93	69	22a, b	conv
F?8	Faeto							9/2-4/93	69	22a, b	conv
F?9	Faeto							9/2-4/93	69	22a, b	conv

Males	Home	Occupation		Con	tact			Date	IV	Tape	Content
M6	Faeto	elementary						9/2-4/93	69	22a, b	conv
M7	Faeto	elementary						08/06/94	123	26a	FW
M7	Faeto	elementary						03/29/00	75	41b	conv
M8A	Faeto	elementary						07/31/94	110	24b	FW
M8B	Faeto	elementary						08/23/93	25	19a	FW, conv
M8C	Faeto	elementary						08/05/94	111	25a	FW
M9	Faeto	elementary	1				1	08/31/93	63	22a	FW, conv
M10	Faeto	elementary						03/28/00	73	41a	FW, conv
M11B	Faeto	elementary	1				1	08/21/93	62	22a	FW
M12	Faeto	elementary						08/31/93	61	22a	FW, conv
M13A	Faeto	elementary	1				1	08/31/93	34	22a	FW
M13B	Faeto	elementary	1	1			4	08/24/93	43	19a	FW
M13C	Faeto	student						03/29/00	75	41b	conv
M14A	Faeto							08/09/94	135	27a	FW
M16A	Faeto		1	1			2	08/11/94	146	28a	FW
M16B	Faeto							07/10/92	8	6b	conv
M16C	Faeto							07/10/92	8	6b	conv
M17	Faeto							08/18/94	147	28a	FW
M17	Faeto							08/18/93	31	17a	FW
M20A	Faeto	construction						07/10/92	8	6b	conv
M20B	Faeto	student						07/21/92	15	12a,b	conv
M23A	Faeto	idle						08/16/93	20	16a	conv
M23A	Faeto	idle						08/16/93		19a	FW
M23B	Faeto	student	3	1		2	6	08/21/93	33	20a	FW
M23B	Faeto	student	3	1		2	6	08/23/93	48	20b	conv
M23B	Faeto	student	3	1		2	6	07/31/94	93	37a,b, 38a,b	conv, trans, FG
M23C	Faeto	factory worker						03/27/00	71	39a,b, 40a	grm
M23C	Faeto	factory worker						03/30/00	81	43b	grm
M25A	Faeto	student	3	2		2	7	08/20/93	20	16a	FW
M27A	Faeto	student						04/01/00	87	45a, 45b	grm
M27B	Faeto		2	1			3	07/30/94	101	24a	FW
M28A	Faeto		2		1	2	5	07/30/94	145	28a	FW
M28C	Faeto	gov't employee						03/31/00	84	44a,b	grm
M28C	Faeto	gov't employee						04/03/00	89	NR	grm
M29	Faeto	student						08/23/93	42	20a	Igem, conv
M29	Faeto	student						07/30/94	98	33a,b, 34a,b	conv, trans, FG
M30	Faeto	soldier						03/29/00	78	42a	conv
M32	Faeto	idle	3	1		2	6	07/17/92	10	8,9a	conv
M32	Faeto	idle						07/31/94	93	37a,b, 38a,b	conv, trans, FG
M32	Faeto	idle						07/31/94	106	24b	FW
M33	Faeto							07/30/94	107	24b	FW
M34A	Faeto	legal sec'y	3	2		2	7	08/20/93	21	18a	FW, conv
M34A	Faeto	legal sec'y	3	2		2	7	08/29/93	56	21a,b	FW, conv

Males	Home	Occupation		Con	tact			Date	IV	Tape	Content
M34A	Faeto	legal sec'y						03/27/00	71	39b	conv
M35A	Faeto	farmer						07/17/92	10	8,9a	conv
M35B	Faeto	hotel mgr.						07/17/92	10	8,9a	conv
M35B	Faeto	hotel mgr.						9/2-4/93	69	22a,b	conv
M44A	Faeto	engineer	3	2		2	7	08/16/93	21	16a	FW
M44A	Faeto	engineer	3	2		2	7	09/04/93	22	16b	conv
M44A	Faeto	engineer						04/01/00	85	44b	grm, narr
M47A	Faeto		1	1			2	08/17/94	151	28b	FW
M47C	Faeto		1	2			3	07/30/94	102	24a	FW
M50	Faeto	teacher						08/24/93	42	20a	Mgem, conv
M53A	Faeto / Bern							07/21/92	15	12a,b	conv
M53B	Foggia	Eng. teacher						08/15/93	18	15a,b	conv
M53B	Foggia	Eng. teacher						03/25/00	70	NR	grm
M53C	Montreal	businessman						08/13/00	162	NR	conv
M56	Faeto	shopkeeper	1	1	1		3	08/17/94	152	29a	FW
M56	Faeto	shopkeeper						03/28/00	72	40a,b	grm, conv
M56	Faeto	shopkeeper						03/28/00	73	41a	grm, conv
M60A	Faeto							08/24/93	22	16a,b	FW
M60B	Faeto	grocer						07/21/92	12	10a,b	conv
M62A	Faeto							08/09/94	133	27a	FW
M65A	Faeto	ret. professor	1	2		2	5	07/31/94	108	24b	FW
M65B	Faeto	ret. car dealer						07/18/92	11	9a	conv
M69	Philadelphia	ret. engineer						06/10/92	1	1a,b	conv
M69	Philadelphia	ret. engineer						06/18/92	3	4a,b	conv
M70	Faeto	shopkeeper	1	1	1	2	5	07/30/94	156	31a,b	conv
M70	Faeto	shopkeeper	1	1	1	2	5	08/05/94	112	25a	FW, conv
M72	Faeto							08/17/93	24	19a	FW
M74	Faeto	merchant, artist						03/29/00	77	42a	grm
M75	Faeto							9/2-4/93	69	22a, b	conv
M76	Faeto	ret. forester	3	2		2	7	08/20/93	30	17a	FW, conv
M77	Faeto	farmer	2	2			4	08/20/93	30	18a,b	conv
M77	Faeto	farmer	2	2			4	08/30/93	57	21b	FW
M77	Faeto	farmer	2	2			4	9/2-4/93	69	22a,b	conv
M78A	Faeto	ret. postmaster	1	2		2	5	08/15/93	18	15a,b	conv
M78A	Faeto	ret. postmaster	1	2		2	5	08/05/94	117	25b	FW
M79A	Faeto							09/01/93	68	23a	conv
M80B	Faeto	ret.						07/17/92	11	9b	conv
M80D	Faeto	ret. farmer						07/21/92	15	12a,b	conv
M80D	Faeto	ret. farmer						08/30/93	58	21b	FW
M81	Faeto	ret. farmer						03/30/00	80	43a	grm
M83	Faeto							07/30/94	97	32a,b	conv

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