

# Apurinã Grammar

Preliminary Version

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## I. External Information

### 1.1. Delimitation of the community

1.1.1. The Apurinã live in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. Settlements of from 3 to 100 persons are scattered along 1,500 kilometers of the Purus River from the mouth of the Jari to the mouth of the Iaco, with the bulk of the tribe between the Sepatini and Acre Rivers.

1.1.2. There may be 1,000 Apurinã speakers, perhaps more.

1.1.3. As Indians, they find themselves in the lowest socioeconomic stratum of the national society. The tribe is disintegrating under this pressure.

1.1.4. There are few overt religious rituals still in evidence although daily life is largely influenced by ancestral tribal beliefs. The Apurinã have adopted syncretistically various facets of Roman Catholicism as practiced by the Portuguese speakers in their area.

### 1.2. Denomination of the Language

1.2.1. The Apurinã refer to themselves as /kākɪtɪ/ [kaŋ'gɪtɪ] 'person, people' or /pɔpõkarɪ/ [pɔpɔŋ'garɪ] 'Apurinã, Indian'. The first term distinguishes a person from an animal and certain spirit beings. The second term in its widest sense distinguishes the Indian, defined by race and culture, from the so-called civilized peoples; in a narrower sense it is how they most frequently refer to themselves as a people since they have specific names for the neighboring tribes.

1.2.2. In the literature this tribe is usually referred to as Ipuriná (Hypuriná, Ipurinan, Ipurinã). It is called Apurinã by everyone in the area where they live and is the name used by the Indians themselves when speaking to outsiders in Portuguese. The term is probably what they were called by a neighboring tribe when the whites first entered the area.

### 1.3. Information on the history of the language

Apurinã (Ipuriná) is generally assigned to the Pre-Andine branch of the Arawak language family. Baure (Bolivia) and Piro-Mantineri (Peru, Brazil) appear to be its closest relatives, sharing between 40 and 50% cognate forms with Apurinã. Canamari (Brazil) may prove to be an even closer relative.

### 1.4. Linguistic diversity within one language

1.4.1. Given the scattered condition of the Apurinã tribe, there must almost certainly be dialect differences. The 3 nuclei, out of 12 or more, that I have contacted so far speak the same dialect.

1.4.2. There is no religious or technical language beside the colloquial one.

1.4.3. The Apurinã language is not used in any mass media. There are no schools in which Apurinã is used. Some Apurinã children have access to public schools where only Portuguese is used.

1.4.4. I am experimenting with a writing system for Apurinã but no literature exists yet. There is no competing script or spelling tradition.

### 1.5. Bilingualism

Significant contact with Portuguese speakers began around the turn of the century. Today the tribe is definitely moving toward the national language and culture. There are few who speak no Portuguese. Most men speak at least enough for trading purposes. Yet few individuals whose mother tongue is Apurinã are really fluent in Portuguese.

### 1.6. The language and other languages

Both facial expression and gesture are important in the communication process. Attitude is usually conveyed by facial expression. There is no whistled or drummed language as such.

## II. Phonic Material

### 2.1. Syllabic types

There are two syllable types, CV and V, and they both occur in any position within a word, as long as no more than two vowels occur in sequence. The CV type is at least three times as frequent as the V type. Words containing nine or ten syllables are not rare and longer words are possible. The average number of syllables per word is 5.

### 2.2. Phonemes

2.2.1. The vowels of Apurinã are  $\underline{i}$  [i, ĩ],  $\underline{ɨ}$  [ɨ, ɨ̃],  $\underline{e}$  [ɛ, ɛ̃, æ],  $\underline{a}$  [ɒ, ɒ̃, ɶ],  $\underline{o}$  [o, u, ũ] and the same set nasalized, except that the nasalized vowels do not have voiceless allophones. Tone is not phonemic.

2.2.2. The consonants of Apurinã are  $\underline{p}$  [p, b],  $\underline{t}$  [t, d, t']],  $\underline{k}$  [k, ɡ, k', ɡ'],  $\underline{ç}$  [tʃ],  $\underline{s}$ ,  $\underline{ʃ}$  [ʃ],  $\underline{r}$  [r̃],  $\underline{m}$ , and  $\underline{n}$  [n, ñ].

2.2.3.  $\underline{w}$  [w, w̃],  $\underline{y}$  [y, ỹ], and  $\underline{h}$  [h̃] pattern as consonants, the nasalized allophones occurring only before nasalized vowels.

2.2.4 The voiceless vocoids occur only when they are both utterance final and immediately preceded by a voiceless stop or affricate. Their voiced counterparts may occur in free variation with them in the same environment.

[ɨ̃], high open central unrounded allophone of /ɨ/ occurs between /p/ or /m/ and /r/.

[æ], low close front unrounded, and [ɛ] fluctuate freely as allophones of /e/ except that [æ] never occurs word finally.

[ɶ], low close central unrounded, and [ɒ], low open central unrounded, allophones of /a/, tend to fluctuate except that [ɒ] does not occur word finally and is preferred in stressed syllables.

[ũ] and [o], allophones of /o/, tend to fluctuate except that [o] does not occur word finally and is preferred word initially.

The remarks above apply to the nasalized counterparts as well. When a nasalized vowel is followed by a stop or affricate, the nasalization becomes a nasal contoid at the same point of articulation. Phonetically long vocoids pattern as double vowels.

The voiced and voiceless allophones of the plosives fluctuate freely in all environments. The voiceless phones are more frequent, and [d] is rare. [tʰ], palatalized stop, occurs only after /i/ or /ɪ/ and before /e/. [kʰ] occurs only before /e/. /č/, /s/, and /š/ may rarely be heard as slightly voiced. The laminoalveolar allophone [ɲ] of /n/ occurs only after /i/ and before /e/, /a/, or /o/.

2.2.5. Because there is no contrast between voicing and voicelessness in Apurinã, speakers experience considerable difficulty in learning Portuguese. For instance, the Portuguese words pode 'he can', pote 'waterpot', bote 'place!' and bode 'male goat' all tend to be interpreted as the same by an Apurinã speaker.

### 2.3. Phonotactics

2.3.1. /r/ does not occur word initially. /ɪ/ does not occur after /š/ or /č/. /i/ does not occur after /s/ or /c/. Word initially, /ɪ/ does not occur before /y/, nor /i/ before /w/.

2.3.2. Whenever an /ɪ/ and an /i/ are juxtaposed, whether by affixation or syntax, the /ɪ/ becomes /i/. Elision, involving possible loss or change of stress, is common at the juncture of words: kona nota [konotə] 'not I', 'n-owa ãõkɪta-rɪ ["nowəõŋgɪ'tarɪ] 'she did not meet him', kiripa iye ['kiribiɛ] 'What is this?' See also 4.4.

### 2.4. Stress

The primary stress in a word usually occurs on the penultimate syllable except that it occurs on the last syllable if its vowel is nasalized. There are exceptions, which appear not to be predictable, and there is some fluctuation. A secondary stress may occur on every second syllable, counting back from the primary stress. Stress seems to carry a very low functional load, with one exception. The negative proclitic /n-~na-/ is always accompanied by strong stress ["] which gives rise to certain minimal stress pairs: [nɪ'nikə] 'I eat', ["nɪnikə] 'he doesn't eat'; [na'yatə] 'I hunt', ["nayatə] 'he doesn't hunt'. Stress is usually accompanied by a slight rise in pitch.

### 2.5. Intonation and pause

There is likely to be a slight pause after dependent clauses and direct address or exclamations, and there is usually a noticeable pause, often accompanied by breath intake, after a sentence.

The basic intonation pattern, associated with statements, is low and level until the last accented syllable in the utterance, when it goes up with the stress and then down again. Incomplete sentences or complete sentences conveying uncertainty, are signaled by a similar intonation pattern except that the pitch does not come down. Interrogations signaled by interrogative pronouns start with a high pitch and glide down to a low pitch at the end of the utterance. If no interrogative pronoun is used, a question is signaled by the statement pattern but with a more pronounced pitch rise on the accented syllable. Exclamations and calling involve a

very high pitch on the last syllable and lengthening of the last vowel by several moras. Sentence stress may also occur on a point that the speaker is emphasizing; it introduces a rise in pitch at that point without obliterating the distinguishing features of the various intonation patterns.

## 2.6. Special features

Several phonological patterns are distinctive on the discourse level. When one person visits another, the initial conversation is carried on in a loud voice with many interjections or exclamations. Each speaker may anticipate the other's closing words and say them with him. The subject matter is usually trivial. If, on the other hand, someone arrives with new or important information, the listener keeps quiet but shows interest by grunting every sentence or two. In social situations where a ritual exchange is called for, two speakers take turns speaking, each signaling to the other to begin by ending his utterance on a high pitch. A tendency that pervades Apurinã discourse is the use of pairs of synonymous clauses. In such cases the second clause is given in fading volume so that often the last syllables are virtually inaudible.

2.7. The orthography is based on my phonemic analysis and is designed to permit both reading and writing without ambiguity.

## III. Structure of Utterances

### 3.1. Obligatory constituents of main structures

The basic structure is the clause. Clauses may be divided into three broad classes: transitive verbal, intransitive verbal, and non-verbal. The obligatory or nuclear constituents of these clause classes may be viewed as follows:

	Object	Subject	Predicate
transitive	+	+	trans. verb
intransitive		+	intr. verb
non-verbal	+		non-verb

Within the transitive class several subclasses may be distinguished by their nuclear constituents:

	Object	Location	Subject	Predicate	Indirect Obj.
transitive	+		+	trans. verb	
location	+	+	+	location verb	
ditrans.	+		+	ditran. verb	+

The transitive subclass includes the causative (see 4.1.1.1).

The intransitive class includes reciprocal and passive (4.1.1.1), but these are not distinguished by nuclear constituents at this level. Within the non-verbal class, several subclasses may be distinguished:

	Object	Predicate
stative	+	adjective
essive	+	noun
adverbial	+	adverb
interrogative		interrog.

Marginal or non-obligatory constituents of clauses will be discussed in 3.2.

Any independent clause may be the one obligatory constituent of a sentence. In dialogue an exclamatory word, a response word, or direct address may precede the independent clause in a sentence. A conjunction may introduce a sentence. When an independent clause is a direct quotation the speaker may be identified, and this constituent is included in the sentence. See also 4.3.

### 3.2. Phrases

There are noun, verb, adverbial, and postpositional phrases. A noun phrase may be a noun or a noun plus a modifier; Subjects, Objects, and Indirect Objects are expressed by noun phrases. A verb phrase may be a verb or a verb plus an auxiliary; the Predicates of verbal clauses are expressed by verb phrases. An adverbial phrase may be an adverb or an adverb plus a modifier; adverbial phrases express the marginal clause constituents Time, Location, and Manner (those constituents may occur with any of the verbal clause classes). A postpositional phrase includes a noun and a postposition. Most postpositional phrases express the Location constituent, but postpositional phrases also express the marginal clause constituents Instrument and Association. The order in which the marginal constituents occur within a clause varies with style and emphasis; they tend to occur before the subject. It is unusual to have more than two marginal constituents in a clause.

### 3.3. Expression devices

3.3.1. Nouns are either masculine or feminine in gender. There is agreement in gender between demonstrative and personal pronouns and the antecedent. There is usually agreement in number also. The order of words may make a difference in meaning: ɫmata ākiti 'the jaguar's skin', ākiti mata 'a jaguar skin'.

3.3.2. Although there is an interrogative clause class, interrogation is more common as a modality occurring with all clause classes. It is usually conveyed by an interrogative word, which is first in the clause. Interrogation may focus on any clause constituent. Similarly, negation may focus on any clause constituent. It is a modality occurring with all clause classes and is conveyed by a proclitic, na. Such aspects of clause modality as imperative, declarative, and subjunctive are expressed within the verb (4.1.1.1).

### 3.4. Complex sentences

The clause classes described in 3.1 may be either dependent or independent and this is determined by the Predicate (see 4.1.1). A dependent clause must be accompanied by an independent one to which it is subordinated. Together they form a complex sentence.

Conditional sentences are the most frequent type. In these the dependent clause is the protasis and usually occurs first. Often an independent clause will be repeated in truncated form, which form may come before or after the main clause. Actions successive to that of the main clause, which contains all the nuclear constituents, can be expressed by successive verbs with little or no inflection, which depend upon the main clause for the nuclear constituents.

Repeated action may be signaled by repeating a clause several times without connectives. There is a type of relative clause: ākīpa-tīkote-kiri nī-makačaka 'the-stuff-near-the-heart I-remove', ākīpa-tīkote-kiri-ra nī-makačaka 'it-is-the-stuff-near-the-heart (that) I-remove'.

Embedding is not unusual: kīro, "īkīwīko hīmīninano, nota nakītīpanīrako, īkīwī nīnakītīrako," kīro nakītī amaanīkinaro 'grandmother (said), "his-head bring-to-me, my possession-it-will-yet-be, his-head my-possession-will-be," (so) grandmother's possession let-us-take-to-her'. The whole quotation from grandmother represents a Reason constituent within the sentence.

### 3.5. Paraphrase and transposition

3.5.1. All the verb themes (4.1.1.1) may be regarded as paraphrases of a basic structure. Thus, a transitive verb may be changed to an intransitive, a causative, a reciprocal, or a passive (the first four are active); some transitive verbs may be changed to ditransitive. These derivations signal changes in the semantic relationships among the participants, which correspond generally to the clause constituents. Any declarative structure may be changed to interrogative and any positive to negative.

3.5.2. Almost any verb may be either adjectivized or nominalized: ī-pīka 'he fears' may become ka-pīka-rīrī 'he is afraid, one who is fearful' or pīka-karī 'a fearer, a fearful one'; the adjective form may be an independent stative clause. There are other syntactic synonyms:

<u>nota-monī ereka-rī</u>	(me-to good-it)	I like it',
<u>n-apoka-ereka-ta-rī</u>	(I-find-good-verbalizer-it)	'I like it';
<u>ī-wako n-aroka</u>	(his-hand I-wash)	'I wash his hand',
<u>n-aroka-wako-ta-rī</u>	(I-wash-hand-verbalizer-him)	'I wash his hand'.

See also 5.1.

### 3.6. Syntactic norms

Most sentences are simple, containing few words, often only one, the Predicate. It is the word that lends itself to complexity. Nevertheless, a sentence may be quite complex, especially if a direct quotation is included within it.

## IV. Classes of Words and Grammatical Categories

### 4.1. Setting up of word classes

4.1.1. The following word classes are distinguished by inflection or internal structure: verb, adjective, noun, adverb, interrogative, and particle.

4.1.1.1. The total verb structure may be described in terms of four included levels: theme, stem, base, and root.

A verb root is the simplest form a verb may take. It is a single morpheme, at least so far as linear division is concerned, and may be a free form in a sentence (in a response situation it may be a complete utterance): ina 'to come', ākiti ina 'a jaguar comes'; sika 'to give', nota pite sika (I you give) 'I give to you'.

A verb base may be:

- a single verb root, taka 'to place';
- two verb roots, taka-napa (to place, to pass by) 'to leave';
- a verb root + a noun root + a verbalizer, sika-kena-ta (to give, food, verb stem formative) 'to feed, give food to';
- a verb root + an adjective root + a verbalizer, apa-yāō-ka (to fetch, correct, verb base formative) 'to learn';
- a noun root + a verbalizer, tika-ta (dung, verb stem formative) 'to defecate';
- two noun roots + a verbalizer, yōka-copa-ta (symbol, leaf, verb stem formative) 'to write';
- an adjective root + a verbalizer, yāō-ta (correct, verb stem formative) 'to count';
- a verb + an adjective + a verbalizer, apoka-ereka-ta (to find, good, verb stem formative) 'to like'.

In the last example cited above, both the verb and the adjective are composed of two morphemes and thus are not roots in the sense used above. The verb base formative ka occurs in a limited number of forms. A verb base may be a free form in a sentence.

A verb stem may be a verb base as described above. Verb stem inflection may be viewed as follows:

+ v.base ± Violence ± Modifier ± Intensity ± Linear + ta

There is an obligatory verb base, and if any of the optional affix orders is represented, the stem is obligatorily closed by ta. No more than three of the optional orders may be represented in a single verb stem, usually not more than two. See 4.2.1. for a description of the morphemes that occur in the various orders.

A verb theme may be a verb stem as described above. A verb theme may be transitive, intransitive, causative, reciprocal, or passive, and each of those may be positive or negative. The inflection at this level may be viewed as follows:

± ka	+ verb stem	± rawa	± kaka
mi			ka
ma			√ka
			kori



The suffixes Ṽka and kori determine a passive theme. The suffix kaka determines a reciprocal theme. These morphemes can only be suffixed to inherently transitive stems, and in some sense they intransitivize them. The suffix ka and the prefixes ka and ml determine causative themes. They usually are affixed to inherently intransitive stems but, except for ml, may also be affixed to inherently transitive stems. The resultant theme is transitive in the sense that the object suffix must occur with it. The suffix rawa is only affixed to inherently transitive stems (between the base and the stem inflection) and the resultant theme is intransitive; the effect of this morpheme is to focus attention on the action as such. The prefix ma determines a negative theme.

A complete verb may be a verb theme as described above. The numerous verb classes, as determined by internal structure and corroborated by meaning, may be conveniently presented by a three dimensional matrix:

**plane 1 - positive**

	independent	dependent	imperative	interrogative
intransitive	x	x	x	x
transitive	x	x	x	x
causative	x	x	x	x
reciprocal	x	x	x	x
passive	x	x		x

**plane 2 - negative**

	independent	dependent	imperative	interrogative
intransitive	x	x	x	x
transitive	x	x	x	x
causative	x	x	x	x
reciprocal	x	x	x	x
passive	x	x		x

Verb inflection varies according to the verb class. The inflection of a positive intransitive independent verb may be viewed as follows:

+ Subj. + Intr. Th. ± Affirm. ± Aspect ± Time ± Manner

The optional tagmemes (à la Pike) are characteristic of the independent column.

The inflection of a positive transitive independent verb may be viewed as follows:

+ Subj. + Tr. Th. ± Affirm. ± Aspect ± Time ± Manner + Obj.

The Subject and Object affix orders (4.2.1) are given as obligatory in order to highlight the essence of this structure. In a given verb one or both may not be represented but in such a case a missing entity will be expressed as a free form in the sentence or be understood from the larger context. The structure of a positive causative independent verb differs from the transitive above only in theme. The structures of positive reciprocal and positive passive independent verbs

also differ from the intransitive above only in theme. However, the various verb classes are further distinguished by differences in the roster of affixes which may represent the various affix orders.

The inflection of a positive intransitive dependent verb may be viewed as follows:

+ Subj. + Intr. Th. + Contingency

The Contingency tagmeme is diagnostic of all dependent verbs. The structure of the various dependent classes differs only in theme except that the transitive and causative classes have an obligatory object. This statement serves also for the imperative and interrogative classes except for intransitive interrogative. Again, there are differences in affix rosters.

The inflection of a positive intransitive imperative verb may be viewed as follows:

± Hortatory + Subj. + Intr. Th. + Imperative

The Hortatory and Imperative tagmemes are diagnostic of all positive imperative verbs. There is no passive imperative.

The inflection of a positive intransitive interrogative verb may be viewed as follows:

+ Subj +Intr. Th. + Interrogative

The inflection of a positive transitive interrogative verb may be viewed as follows:

+ Subj +Tr. Th. ± Asp. + Interr. ± Time ± Manner + Obj.

The Interrogative tagmeme and optional tagmemes are diagnostic of all interrogative verbs except the intransitive noted above.

The inflection of negative verb classes is the same as that of their positive counterparts with the following exceptions. All Negative verbs, except the dependent classes, have an obligatory Negative tagmeme at the beginning. The Manner tagmeme does not occur with negative verbs. In Negative imperative verbs a Negative Imperative tagmeme replaces the Imperative tagmeme of their positive counterparts. Negative dependent verbs have a Negative theme and a Negative Contingency tagmeme, which replace the positive counterparts.

**4.1.1.2.** The total adjective structure may be described in terms of two included levels: stem and root.

An adjective root is the simplest form an adjective may take. It is a single morpheme and may be a free form in a sentence: mina 'heavy', tãõ 'true', nota mina 'I am heavy'.

An adjective stem may be:

- a single adjective root;
- an adjective root + a noun root, mite-sawana 'wide channel';
- an adjectivizer + a noun root, pa-pataka (specific adjective formative, heat) 'to be hot';

- an adjectivizer + a derived noun, ka-minan (non-specific adjective formative, weight) 'to be heavy';
- an adjectivizer + two noun roots, pa-caye-pē (specific adjective formative, cold, liquid) 'to be cold liquid';
- an adjectivizer + a verb root + re (a verb root cannot be placed in an adjective construction without this affix), pa-pīka-re (specific adjective formative, to fear, auxiliary adjectivizer) 'to be fearful';
- an adjectivizer + a derived verb base, ka-manēēta (non-specific adjective formative, to have a swamp) 'to be swampy'; m-in-rāō (negative adjective formative, willingness) 'to be unwilling'.

The three adjectivizing prefixes, ka, pa, ma, are mutually exclusive with each other and an adjective root in the same position.

An adjective may be on adjective stem as described above. Adjective clauses, as determined by internal structure and corroborated by meaning, may be presented by a two dimensional matrix:

	independent	dependent	interrogative
positive	x	x	x
negative	x		

Adjective inflection varies according to the adjective class. The inflection of a positive independent adjective may be viewed as follows:

± Emph. + Adj.St. ± Affirm. ± Aspect ± Time ± Manner + Obj. ± Fut.

The Object tagmeme is obligatory in the same sense as its counterpart in verb structure. The inflection of a negative independent adjective may be viewed as follows:

+ Neg. + Adj. St. ± Affirm. ± Time + Obj. ± Fut.

There is some variation in the affix rosters or paradigms between the classes.

The inflection of a positive dependent adjective may be viewed as follows:

+ Adj. St. + Contingency + Obj.

The inflection of a positive interrogative adjective may be viewed as follows:

+ Adj. St. + Interrogative

**4.1.1.3.** The total noun structure may be described in terms of three included levels: stem, base and root.

A noun root is the simplest form a noun may take. It is a single morpheme. There are free roots and bound roots: -ā 'liquid', klkl 'man'.

A noun base may be:

- a single noun root;
- two noun roots, makl-mlna 'Brazil-nut tree';
- three noun roots, tata-kl-pe (a jungle fruit, nut, mass) 'tata nut-meat dough';
- an adjective stem + a nominalizer, manêê-tl (swampy) 'swamp';
- a verb stem + a nominalizer, sik-iko (to give, agent) 'giver'.

Other nominalizers occurring with adjective stems are rl or ro 'active (sg.)', their counterparts with negative stems, tl or to, and nl 'essence' which occurs with both positive and negative stems.

Other nominalizers that occur with verb stems are karl or karo 'active (sg.)' and their counterparts with negative stems, katl or kato; kitl or kito 'passive possessed' and their counterparts with negative stems, kinl or kino; korl or koro 'passive abstract' and their counterparts with negative stems, kotl or koto. In the sets above, affixes ending in l are masculine and those ending in o are feminine.

A noun stem may be a noun base as described above. Noun stems may be divided into classes on the basis of inflection stating the presence or absence of possession.

Class A includes body parts, kinship terms, and basic possessions; this class of stem must take one of two forms: + Poss + Noun Base or + Noun Base + Absolute.

Class B includes names of animals, birds, and fish, Portuguese loans, and a variety of other terms; this class of stem must take one of two forms: +Poss. + Noun Base + Genitive or + Noun Base.

Class C includes parts of trees and plants plus a few other terms; this class of stem must take one of two forms: + Poss. + Noun Base or + Absolute + Noun Base.

Class D includes bound roots and certain derived nouns; this class of stem may take only one form: + Poss. + Noun Base.

Class E includes pronouns and certain derived nouns; this class of stem may take only one form: + Noun Base.

Class F includes certain derived nouns; this class of stem must take one of two forms: + Poss. + Noun Base or + Noun Base.

The second form for Class B and F stems is the absolute form.

Nouns are either masculine or feminine but this does not appear in the internal structure except in some derived bases. A noun may be a noun stem as described above. A noun may be normal, modified, or interrogative.

The inflection of a normal noun may be viewed as follows:

+ Noun St. ± Pl. ± Affirm. ± Asp. ± Time ± Manner ± Respect ± Fut.

The inflection of a modified noun may be viewed as follows:

+ Noun Stem + Modifier ± Respect

The inflection of an interrogative noun may be viewed as follows:

+ Noun Stem + Interrogative

4.1.1.4. Adverbs may involve time, location, or manner. Their inflection varies according to their function in a sentence: adverbial phrase, independent adverbial clause, dependent adverbial clause, or conjunction. The maximum formula (independent) differs from the adjective equivalent as follows: the optional Emphasis tagmeme does not occur; the stem is different; the optional Manner tagmeme is replaced by an Essive tagmeme, also optional.

4.1.1.5. There are two basic interrogative roots, kipa 'what, who' and napa 'where, how'. A considerable variety of interrogative forms is derived by infixing a morpheme denoting the desired information: ki-šini-pa (šini 'meat') 'what meat'.

4.1.1.6. Particles, or uninflected words, may be free forms, clitics, onomatopoeic words, and exclamations. See 4.1.2. for classes dictated by distribution.

4.1.2. The word classes distinguished by inflection are corroborated by distribution in higher levels. Verbs occupy the head position in verbal phrases and clauses. Adjectives occupy the head position in stative clauses. Adjective roots occupy the modifier position in noun phrases. Nouns occupy the head position of noun phrases, postpositional phrases, and essive clauses. Adverbs occupy the head position in adverbial phrases and clauses. Interrogatives introduce certain interrogative clauses. Onomatopoeic words occur at appropriate spots throughout discourse. Exclamatory words occur at the beginning of utterances. Postpositions identify postpositional phrases.

## 4.2. Study of paradigms

4.2.1. Verb stem inflection is as follows:

ke 'violently' represents the Violence slot;

poko 'much, many', piri 'repeatedly', āpo 'random action', ari 'almost',  
poa 'exaggerated', koena 'heard', mene 'evil intent', and pire 'by speech'  
represent the Modifier slot;

ka 'intensively' represents the Intensity slot;

nā 'linear or progressive action' represents the Linear slot.

Independent verb inflection is as follows:

ni~ni~n '1st sg.', pi~pi~p '2nd sg.', ~i~i~# '3rd masc. sg.', o~ō '3rd fem. sg.',  
a~ā '1st pl.', ~h~h~V~V '2nd pl.', ~i~i~# -na '3rd masc. pl.', and  
o~ō -na '3rd fem. pl.' (-na is the final syllable in the verb) represent the  
Subject slot;

wi~ti 'indeed' represents the Affirmation slot;

po 'completed', pi 'habitual', pl 'derogatory of Object', and ni 'desire' represent the  
Aspect slot;

ke 'actual', ika 'already', panika 'still', and napanoka 'about to' represent the Time slot;

či 'absolute' and ma 'disappointing' represent the Manner slot;

no '1st sg.', i '2nd sg.', ri '3rd masc. sg.', ro '3rd fem. sg.', wa '1st pl.', waka '2nd pl.'

(or i followed by free plural pronoun), wakana∞kana∞na '3rd pl.', and awa 'reflexive' (in causative forms kawa) represent the Object slot.

Inflection distinctive of dependent verbs is as follows:

kasaaki 'when', inia 'if, because', ini 'gerund', āka 'hypothetical',

ākama-ko 'hypothetical but assumed not to occur' (ko is an enclitic), and

ka 'contrary to fact' represent the Contingency slot.

Inflection distinctive of imperative verbs is as follows:

am 'hortatory' represents the Hortatory slot;

peka 'hard command', poka 'polite command, please', and ma 'would' represent the Imperative slot.

Inflection distinctive of interrogative verbs is as follows:

the Interrogation slot is represented by ā in intransitive verbs and ta in the others.

Inflection distinctive of negative verbs is as follows:

a single clitic na~n represents the Negative slot;

the Time slot representatives take on new meanings, ika 'no longer', panika 'not yet' and pōā 'derogatory of stem' is added;

the Negative Contingency slot is represented by nasaaki 'when' and kania 'if, because';

the Negative Imperative slot is represented by pe 'don't', pani 'stop' and pu 'derogatory of Object'.

#### 4.2.2. Independent adjective inflection is as follows:

the Emphasis slot is represented by ā ∞ na 'emphasis' (the negative clitic, which may be homophonous, is distinguished by heavy stress);

the Affirmation slot is represented by wit, poko and poa which have the same meaning as when with verbs;

the Aspect, Time, Manner, Object, and Negative tagmemes are essentially the same as in verb structure;

ko, a clitic, represents the future slot.

In dependent and interrogative adjectives the Contingency tagmeme is essentially the same as in verbs and the Interrogative slot is represented by kani.

#### 4.2.3. Noun inflection is as follows:

the Plural tagmeme takes the form ni ∞ niri ∞ ri;

the Affirmation, Aspect, and Time tagmemes are essentially the same as in verbs;  
 the Respect slot is represented by nɪ 'respect, dead, injured';  
 the Manner slot has an added representative, ra 'to be', and this tagmeme is obligatory to the essive clause;  
 the modifier slot is represented by mane 'private, esteemed', poa 'large',  
poko 'much, many', põã 'derogatory or stem', and piki 'tiny';  
 the Interrogative tagmeme is the same as in adjectives.

4.2.4 ra 'to be' represents the optional Essive slot in adverbs.

### 4.3. Other grammatical categories

A direct quotation has ye affixed to the last word; this suffix is accompanied by a downglide from a high pitch on the preceding syllable. When calling to someone in an excited way, ti is affixed to the last word; this suffix is accompanied by heavy stress and sustained high pitch. The enclitic awako indicates doubt which extends to the whole clause. Similarly, the negative proclitic na and future enclitic ko refer to the whole phrase or clause even though not affixed to the head word.

### 4.4. Phonetic consequences of inflection

When a CV syllable is prefixed to an oral vowel initial stem the V of the prefix drops out. An oral and a nasal vowel may be in sequence only if separated by stress. An ɪ affixed to a y becomes ɪ̃. Among the subject prefixes in verb structure, a and o become nasalized when affixed to a vowel; ɪ becomes nasalized when affixed to a nasal vowel and drops out when affixed to an oral vowel. The verb base formative ka becomes ã when immediately followed by ka 'intense action'. When a plosive is juxtaposed by suffixion to a verb root ending in na the vowel tends to drop out and the nasal contour assimilate to the point of articulation of the stop.

## V. Lexical Material

### 5.1. Structure of lexical units

5.1.1. For derivation see 4.1.1.

5.1.2. For composition see 4.1.1.

5.1.3. There are certain lexicalized sequences that act like a unit: kasaro-mata-kerō (white-skin-daughter) 'a white girl', ākupa-tukoto-kiri (heart-beside-denizen) 'that near the heart', kema-aīte-akorı (tapir-superior-group) 'a group of cows'.

5.1.4. Most lexical units or morphemes are one or two syllables in length. Any form containing four or more syllables may be assumed to include more than one lexical unit.

5.1.5. Most variation in lexical forms involves inflection. The form of certain adjective bases or roots is determined by the nouns they modify.

### 5.2. Abbreviation devices

None.

### 5.3. Permeability to borrowing

The extent to which Portuguese loan words are used varies according to the degree of bilingualism of the speaker. Portuguese nouns are taken over directly but are pronounced according to the Apurinã phonemic system. Portuguese verbs are taken over in their infinitive form. The final r of the Portuguese form is replaced by the Apurinã verb stem formative ta. Names, usually descriptive, are invented for some new items: šamına-ki (fire-rod) 'shotgun'. Other items are compared to similar ones in their culture: carota-aīte (a large clam shell, superior) 'shovel'.

### 5.4. Structure of certain lexical fields

In Apurinã one counts as follows: one, two, two + one, two + two, two + two + one, two + two + two, etc. Theoretically one could go on indefinitely in this way but in practice ten is the limit. Beyond this, the numerical distinctions used to be few or many, enough or not enough. Now the Portuguese numerical system is being increasingly used. The Apurinã used to figure time in terms of days, moons, and two yearly seasons, wet and dry. To distinguish weeks, days of the week, months, and years, Portuguese is used. Four basic colors are used: pomama 'black (and dark colors)', kasaro 'white (and very light colors)', posēteka 'green (including light blue and yellow)', and pōkamara 'red'.



## VI. Text

### 6.1. Apurinã

Morphemes are separated by hyphens. Speakers are A and B.

- A.   ã kɪro, ašãkɪ pɪ-sɪka-poka-wa. na-poyãõ-načine-poko-wa  
      ate-nɪ.  
B.   kone, na-nɪ-sɪka-i.  
A.   ii, kɪro-pačite, pite-nanɪ ni-pɪ-rɪ i-ĩ-pe kema ĩ-pe?  
B.   ari, nota-nanɪ-ra-ko.  
A.   ate, na-kãkɪtɪ ašãkɪ ašãkɪ ašãkɪ pɪ-sɪka-ma-ko. pite-nanɪ  
      ni-pɪ-rɪ ĩ-či?  
B.   ari, nɪ-nika-wɪtɪka-rɪ.

### 6.2. Morpheme by morpheme translation

- A.   hey grandmother, piece you-give-please-us. not-little-hunger-much-we we-unfortunate.  
B.   no, not-I-give-you.  
A.   what?, grandmother-dear, you-only eat-derogatory-it his-fat-mass tapir suet?  
B.   yes, I-only-be-will.  
A.   what!, not-people piece piece piece you-give-would-future. you-only eat-derogatory-it  
      fat-absolute?  
B.   yes, I-eat-indeed-it.

### 6.3. Free translation

- A.   'Hey grandmother, please give us (each) a piece. Poor us, we are very hungry!'  
B.   'No, I will not give you any.'  
A.   'What? Grandmother dear, are you going to eat the tapir suet all by yourself?'  
B.   'Yes, it will be all by myself.'  
A.   'What! Wouldn't you give a piece to each of us folks? Are you (really) going to eat the  
      fat all by yourself?!'  
B.   'Yes, I certainly will eat it.'

## Footnote

1.   The fieldwork of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Brazil has been carried out from 1958 to the present under the auspices of the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro on the basis of a cultural contract between the two entities signed in 1958. The Museum's sponsorship has been an important factor in making possible the research upon which this study is based. In 1969 a similar contract was signed between the Brazilian Ministry of Interior, the Fundação Nacional do Índio, and S.I.L.