

Statement of Kaiwá Grammar from Clause to Morpheme Level

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Anápolis – GO
2010***

* The original version of this paper was made available in 1966 as No. 044 of the Arquivo Linguístico (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Brasília, DF). This version has been slightly revised by one of the authors, Audrey Helen Taylor, and it has been updated to reflect the current orthography.

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A NOTE OF EXPLANATION

The 'model' used here is a mild form of 'structure function'. You will find little if any characteristic tagmemic terminology. Clauses consist of elements (which are phrases) and particles. The particles cannot be conveniently considered as belonging to phrases or as being phrases themselves. The term phrase also includes clauses functioning as phrases as well as the more conventional meaning of the term phrase. The diagrams look more or less like tagmemic formulae, I think. However they are not described for example, as a Nominal phrase filling a Subject slot but as a Nominal phrase functioning as subject. Structure function diagrams this NP_s . However, I have chosen to diagram it S_{NP} . Clauses have been described in terms of a Nucleus and a Periphery, though I am still a little hazy about obligatoriness. Command and Question clauses have been described as sub-types of the three main types.

Phrase is described in terms of Head, Modifier and Margins after the primary division into nucleus and satellite. Though affixes should strictly be handled at Word level, it has seemed much easier to handle all non-person inflectional affixes as phrase margins. Only person prefixes are described at Word level. At Stem level I have wondered whether it would be advisable to call the simple stems 'bases' in view of the Compound and Causative stems. At Morpheme level I have used the term Neutral Root for those roots that must prefix a stem-former before functioning as transitive or intransitive stems.

0 INTRODUCTION

This sketch of the Grammar of Kaiwá attempts to describe clause level in its entirety, the Verbal Phrase at Phrase Level (the VP is the most complicated and interesting structure at this level), and verbs, verb stems and roots at Word, Stem and Morpheme levels respectively.

1 CLAUSE LEVEL

1.1 Introduction

a) In the analysis of the Kaiwá clause, it is convenient to assign the elements to two main groupings:

- 1) NUCLEUS
- 2) PERIPHERY

The elements of the nucleus are obligatory or at least may be considered obligatory in their occurrence in certain constructions. The elements of the Periphery are always optional.

b) The primary division into clause types is a threefold one:

- 1) DECLARATIVE
- 2) STATIVE
- 3) EQUATIONAL

c) These types are most clearly distinguished by the obligatory occurrence of contrastive sets of person prefixes and the relationships of these prefixes with other elements within the nuclei. These prefixes occur with the Head of the Verbal Phrase and there are three sets, only two of which will be described here. For a full description of these sets, see Word Level 3.

<u>Verbal Set of Person Prefixes (PS₁)</u>			<u>Nominal Set of Person Prefixes (PS₃)</u>				
Person	Sing./Non-Coll.	Plur./Coll.	Person	Sing./Non-Coll.	Plur./Coll.		
1	a-	ja- oro-	incl. excl.	1	xe-	nhande- ore-	incl. excl.
2	ere-	pe-	2	nde-	pende-		
3	o-		3	i- o-	subj. rel.		

d) Contrasting Relationships


i) The Verbal Set of Person Prefixes (PS₁) referring to the Subject of the clause are obligatory in their occurrence (except when the Object is 1st or 2nd person) with verbs functioning as Head of the Verb Phrase in Declarative Clauses (VP). They never occur with verbs functioning as Head of the VP in Stative Clauses or with either of the two nuclear elements of Equational clauses.


ii) The Nominal Set of person prefixes (PS₃) occurs with clause level elements of all three types, though with significant restrictions and contrasting relationships:


- a) PS₃, with the exception of the Subject-related 3rd person pronoun occur prefixed to verb stems of Transitive sub-types. Invariably they refer to the OBJECT of the clause.
- b) PS₃ occur obligatorily with the Head of the VP in Stative clauses (though there are certain stems with which it is obligatorily absent). Invariably they refer to the SUBJECT of the clause.
- c) PS₃ may optionally occur prefixed to noun stems occurring as Head of Nominal Phrases in the Equational Type, but they invariably refer to persons not specified or otherwise referred to within the clause. Furthermore the Subject-related pronoun cannot occur with the Equational Type.

iii) Examples:


1) Declarative

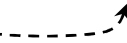
xe aha jevy ta ma 'I'm on the point of leaving.'

 (Subj.) (Pred.)


haimete xejuka ro'y 'The cold almost killed me.'
 (Pred.) (Subj.)

 xe- is the Object of the clause.

ndesu'u mbutúvy 'A horsefly bit you.'
 (Pred.) (Subj.)

 nde- is the Object of the clause.

2) Stative

xe katu naxerāiry 'I don't have any teeth.'

 (Subj.) (Pred.)

hasy xerumby 'My back aches.'

 (Pred.) (Subj.) (h- is allomorph of i-)

orekwéry oretuja ma 'All of us have got old.'

 (Subj.) (Pred.)

- 3) **Equational**
 anháy kyha ysyπο 'Vines are the hammocks of demons.'
 (Comment) (Topic)
- kóá xepěkwéry meme 'These are all my nieces, one after the other.'
 (T) (Comment)
 -----> person not elsewhere referred to in the clause.

- 4) **Comparison of Stative and Equational**
- ha'e ime (Stative) 'She has a husband.'
 (S) (P)
- ha'e ime (Equational) 'He is her husband.'
 (T) (C)
 -----> person not elsewhere referred to in the clause.

There may be this kind of ambiguity when a noun functions as verb stem in a stative clause though the ambiguity is usually relieved by context or the occurrence of unambiguous elements of a verb phrase other than the Head, or by non-pronoun Subject/Topic.

e) Contrasting Elements

- 1) The Nucleus of the Equational Type (ET) is characterised by absence of a Predicate. The Predicates of the Declarative Types (DT) contrast with the Predicate of the Stative Type (ST) in terms of phrase, word and stem structure and in terms of class membership at Morpheme level.
 - 2) A Relational Phrase is a nuclear element of the ST but a peripheral element of the periphery of Declarative Transitive sub-types.
 - 3) The Periphery of the D. Intransitive sub-type seems to contrast with that of the ST.
 - 4) The ET has a Nucleus of two elements without a periphery (but see further discussion under description of this type 1.4).
- 5) Examples:
 (The nuclear elements of these clauses are enclosed in brackets ().)

ET (enterove ypekū) 'All are woodpeckers.'
 (T) (C)

ST ndija'úi tupā anhay rehe 'The sky spirits dislike demons.'
 (Pred.) (S) (Relational)

- DT₁ ojuka-ma isy jagwarete 'The jaguar killed their mother.'
 (Pred.) (O) (Subj.)
- DT₂ (ome'ẽ arã xe-vy gwyrapa pa'i Xikinho) agwahu-hagwã
 (Pred.) (Goal) (Obj.) (Subj.)
 'P.S. would give me a bow that I might chant.'
- DT₄ omenda jagwarete-rehe karumbe 'A turtle married a jaguar.'
 (P) (Relational) (S)

Two examples to contrast Periphery of ST and DT₄ (Intransitive)

- ST okaipa-ramo (imandu'a João-rehe) 'When they all got burnt,
 (Time) he remembered J.'
- DT₄ ko'ẽ-ramo (aha-ta Panambi-py) oro'u-hagwã kagwĩ
 (Time) (Relational)
 agwahu-hagwã
 (Relational)
 'Tomorrow I'll go to Panambi to drink chicha (corn liquor), to chant.'

1.2 Declarative types

- 1) There are two Sub-types: a) Transitive
 b) Intransitive (DT₄)

The Transitive Sub-type is further subdivided into:

- i) Simple Transitive (DT₁)
 ii) Di-Transitive (DT₂)
 iii) Causative (DT₃)

2) Contrastive Criteria

- i) The nucleus of each sub-type contrasts with that of the other sub-types.
 The contrasting Nuclei are as follows:

- DT₁ Pred. Subj. Obj.
 DT₂ Pred. Goal Obj. Subj.
 DT₃ Pred. Agentive Obj. Subj.
 DT₄ Pred. Subj. Relational

- ii) PS₃ (prefixes) occur only with transitive verb stems.

- iii) A special class of Transitive Verb prefixes (PS₂) can never occur with Intransitive verb stems. (See 3. Word Level)
- iv) Transitive and Intransitive verb stems also have structural contrasts - to be described in section 4.

1.2.1. Transitive Clause Types

1.2.1.1. Simple Transitive Type

Elements: Verb Phrase (VP), Nominal Phrase (NP), Time Phrase (TP), Relational Phrase (RP)

Particles: Class 1 (Emphatics), Class 2 (Tense Words), Class 3 (Aspectuals)
(for description of particles, see 1.8)

Diagram for the elements and their structural relationships:

±T (+P ±S ±/-O) ±R ±R
 TP VP1-5 NP NP RP RP

T = Time, P = Predicate, S = Subject, O = Object, R = Relational

- a) Nucleus: S at clause level is not obligatory. *
 Clause level O is obligatorily absent when the Object of the clause is 1st or 2nd person.
 S/O may precede or follow P in either order. However the orders SOP and OSP are rare.
 Non-pronoun S and O have more emphatic placement preceding P.
 Pronoun S has more emphatic placement following P.
 Animate objects may take the suffix *-pe* 'object marker'.

* Might be diagramed +/-/±: + in isolation (?)
 - in sequence
 ± when pronoun or in certain other contexts

- b) Periphery: R or T may occur within nucleus following initial P.
 T may occur initial or final in clause.
 R may occur clause initial. This is probably always an instance of Chiastic Paragraph Structure.

c) Relationals: This is a 'wide spectrum' label to cover more precise structural labels such as:

Location	Benefactive
Source, cause	Relational-object
Manner	Purpose
Comparison	Subordinate clauses (that function as RPs)
Modal	

For description of Relationals, see 1.5. Though these elements are quite distinct, it is useful in the description to refer to them all as Relationals. Time has not been classified with this group, because of its preferred order of occurrence, clause initial.

d) Examples:

(oipete hovajáry Avaete) opoxíto-py
 (P) (O) (S) (R-Manner)
 'Avaete swiped at his brother-in-law with his tunic.'

(mokōi ojapo gweindyryrā) tanimbu-gwi
 (P) (O) (R-Source)
 'He made two to be his sisters out of wax.'

iro'y-ramo kyha-py oke-ramo (ojara) igwy-py (tata)
 (T) (T) (P) (R-Loc.) (O)
 ro'y-ramo
 (T)

'When it was cold, when he slept in his hammock, he scraped up fire beneath it, when it was cold.'

(onhonha) oapegwy-py (oakã) íxugwi
 (F) (R- Loc.) (O) (R-Source)
 'He put his head under his shell away from him.'

(ho'u-ta pohã) okwera-hagwã
 (P) (O) (R-Purpose)
 'He will take medicine to get well.'

1.2.1.2 Di-Transitive Type

Elements: Verb Phrase (VP), Nominal Phrase (NP), Time Phrase (TP), Relational Phrase (RP).

Particles: Same as for Simple Transitive Type 1.2.1.1.

Diagram for the elements and their structural relationships:

±T	(+P	±Goal	±/-O	±S)	±R
TP	VP1-5	NP	NP	NP		RP

a) Contrastive Features

In contrast with the nucleus of the Simple Transitive, three NPs function within the nucleus of the Di-transitive. Also the two element periphery contrasts with the three element periphery of the S. Transitive.

One of the reasons for considering the NP functioning as Goal as a nuclear element is the occurrence of the post-positional *-pe* with animate nouns and third person pronoun (post-positional *-vy* marks 1st and 2nd person pronouns). This same post-positional marks animate objects in the S. Transitive. Thus the pronoun *ixupe* '3rd person' functions as Object in the S. Transitive and Goal in the Di-transitive.

The Verb class that functions as Head of the VP is restricted.

b) Nucleus

It is unusual for more than three elements to occur in any one clause. Order seems to be quite free, though the order of the diagram could be considered basic. O is obligatorily absent when the object of the clause is 1st or 2nd person.

c) Periphery

R may also occur following T.

Data examined have not revealed a clause with two different Rs or an R within the nucleus.

d) Examples:

(ome'ẽ arã xe-vy gwyrapa pa'i Xikito) agwahu-hagwã
 (P) (G) (O) (S) (R-Purpose)

'P.S. would give me a bow to chant, to'

(ava remireko e'ỹkwéry ome'ẽ orerembi'u kagwĩ) hy'a-py
 (S) (P) (O) (R-Manner)

'The bachelors provide our drink, chicha (corn liquor), with a gourd.'

(ore-vy ome'ẽ) oro'u-hagwã 'They provide for us to drink.'
 (Goal) (P) (R-Purpose)

(isy-pe oheja) 'She left her to her mother.'
 (Goal) (P)

ereru-ramo nememby (ame'ẽ-ta íxupe nememby-upe kurunduva)
 (Time) (P) (Goal) (O)

ou meme-hagwã nderupive
 (R-Purpose)

'If you bring your child, I will give her a Kaiwá name so that she will always come with you.'

1.2.1.3 Causative Type

This Transitive sub-type can best be described in terms of the Di-Transitive:

a) Instead of describing the third NP as functioning as Goal, we propose to describe its relationships in terms of Agentive. Thus like the nucleus of DT₂ there are four elements, but with the modification of an Agentive instead of a Goal. The post-positionals involved are the same in both types.

b) The formal difference is the occurrence of verb stem-final *-uka* which indicates that the action is achieved through the agency of another person:

e.g.: *ojukauka* 'He caused someone to kill them,
or gave orders to kill them.'

Thus theoretically this type could be called tri-transitive, but no examples have been found (he made him give it him).

c) Examples:

(*ohexauka xe-vy gwyrapape*) 'He made me see a little bow.'
(P) (Ag.) (O) (showed me)

(*ndoro'uukái opamba'e íxupe*) 'We don't cause them to eat
(P) (O) (Ag.) everything.'

(*túvy ombotyryryuka gwa'ýry-pe jagwa*)
(S) (P) (Agentive) (O)
'Father made his son drag the dog.' (elicited)

1.2.2 Intransitive Type

Elements: Verb Phrase (VP), Nominal Phrase (NP), Time Phrase (TP),
Relational Phrase (RP)

Particles: See DT₁ 1.2.1.1

Diagram for the elements and their structural relationships:

±T	(+P	±S	+/ \pm R)	±R
TP		VP1-5	NP	RP		RP

N.B. S might be better diagrammed $+/-/\pm$.

- a) + S might be considered obligatory in 3rd person isolated utterances.
- b) – S can be considered obligatorily absent in clauses in sequence.
- c) \pm Pronoun subjects can always be considered optional and other subjects in certain contexts.

a) Contrastive Features:

This type contrasts with the Transitive types in terms of the nucleus. All three Transitive sub-types have nuclear elements occurring with post-positional *-pe/-vy*, indicating Object, Goal and Agentive respectively. These same post-positionals may occur in the nucleus of the Intransitive type indicating Benefactive. However contrastively, all types of Relational phrase may occur within the nucleus of the Intransitive type but never within the nuclei of the Transitive types.

b) Nucleus:

S may also occur nucleus initial or final.

R is so characteristic of this type that it seems best to consider it + except in certain contexts.

R-Purpose, if it occurs with another Relational, it is non-nuclear.

R may occur clause initial in chiasmic paragraph style.

c) Periphery:

T may also occur clause final.

d) Examples:

(omenda jagwarete-rehe karumbe) 'The turtle married a jaguar.'
(P) (R- Rel. Obj.) (S)

ijygwéi verei-ramo (ikypy'ýry oho y-rehe)
(Time) (S) (P) (R-Obj.)
'When she was thirsty her younger sister went for water.'

(y-py ho'a karumbe) 'The turtle fell into the water.'
(R-Loc.) (P) (S)

(omembýry ndive oho) ho'u kagwĩ
(R-Manner) (P) (R-Sub. Clause)
'She went with her child to drink chicha (corn liquor).'

(ogwahẽ osy-pe) 'He arrived to/for his mother.'
(P) (R- Ben.)

(akirirĩ-ma aiko) 'I'm silent as I live.'
(P) (R-Sub. Cl.)

(ynambu onhehenduuka jagwarete-pe)
(S) (P) (Ben./Agent.)
'The quail caused himself to be heard for/by the jaguar.'

1.3 Stative Type

Elements: Verb Phrase (VP), Nominal Phrase (NP), Time Phrase (TP),
Relational Phrase (RP)

Particles: See DT₁ 1.2.1.1

Diagram of the elements and their structural relationships:

±T	(+P	±/-S	±/+R)	±R
TP	VP _{1,3-5}	NP	RP		RP

a) Contrastive Features:

Most criteria for separating this type from other types has already been discussed. See 1.1. Note that VP type 2 cannot occur with this type. S is obligatorily absent when certain stative verbs occur.

b) Nucleus:

The S may occur initial or final in the Nucleus and R may also occur clause initial in chiasmic paragraph style.

c) Periphery:

T is usually the only element of the P. and may also occur clause final or within the nucleus.

d) Examples:

(hasy eterei xe-vy pe mbói) 'That snake was very painful for me.'
(P) (R-Ben.) (S)

okaipa-ramo (imandu'a João-rehe)
(T) (P) (R-Obj.)
'When it was all burnt, he remembered J.'

(ikyhyje íxugwi tupãkwéry) 'The gods were afraid of him.'
(P) (R-Source) (S)

(ipoxy oho-vy) 'He was angry as he went.'
(P) (R-Modal)

(ndaipóri xekente aha-hagwã xekente ha-py)
(P) (S) (R-Purpose)
There are none of my people for me to go to their place.'

ogwahẽ-ramo (ipiru-ma ndokarúi-gwi)
(T) (P) (R-Sub. Cl.)
'When he arrived, he was thin because he hadn't eaten.'

(vyvtu-ma) 'It has started blowing.'
 (P)

(tajykwéry kunhataĩ mba tama)
 (S) (P)
 'His daughters will very soon be grown girls.'

e) Comparison of Statives and Declaratives:

A comparison of Declarative and Stative types was made using recorded texts and it was noted that out of 117 Stative clauses, only 45 occurred with Time or Relational elements. The frequency of occurrence of both these elements with Declaratives is much higher. By way of compensation, perhaps, Stative verbs were more frequently expanded to 'the right' i.e. with verb phrase modifiers, margins or tense/aspect particles.

	No. of clauses examined	No. expanded
Stative	57	43
Intransitive	73	45
Transitive	92	35

1.4 Equational Type

Element: Nominal Phrase (NP)

Diagram for the elements and their structural relationships:

(+/- Topic + Comment)
 NP NP/Complex Unit

a) Contrastive Features:

See discussion under section 1.1.

Note further that this type manifests only one element and has no Periphery (see however discussion on this point).

b) Nucleus;

The NP functioning as Topic is of course obligatory when it is necessary to specify the Topic. It is also obligatory in negative equations. Only pronouns can be negativised and these of course must occur. In such negative equations, when the Topic must be further specified, this NP might be considered to be functioning as Focus or Specifier, above clause level.

e.g.: that-woman (Focus) not-she-not (Topic) my-mother (Comment)

Alternatively, we could propose a different diagram for negative equations:

(+/- Topic +Neg. + Comment)
 NP Pronoun + Neg. NP

Examples:

	xe túvy		'I am their father.'
	(T) (C)		
	ndaxéi túvy		'I am not their father.'
either	(T) (C)		
or	(Neg.) (C)		
	xe ndaha'úi túvy		'I am not their father.'
either	(F) (T) (C)		
or	(T) (Neg.) (C)		

c) Periphery:

It is possible to state that this Type has no Periphery. Some of the ambiguity stems from the fact that a certain particle class has a dual function: i) they function as clause nominalisers; ii) they function as tense particles.

Further va'erā 'indefinite future' and va'ekwe 'indef. past' clearly both function also as clause nominalisers. With -va'e the situation is more complex. -va'e is usually a clause nominaliser, but there are contexts where it could be interpreted as a 'habitual' functioning in non-Equational clause types. The following clause could be interpreted in at least three ways:

	nhandetaita ituja-ramo (jaju-va'e)	
either i)	(Time)	(Comment)
or ii)	(Time)	(P)
or iii)	(Comment)	

'When granddad is old, we are the ones who come/always come (to help him).'

In this clause there is no free Topic or Subject (ii) but it is unambiguously marked by the prefix of the verb of the nominalised clause functioning as Comment (i, iii). Interpretation (ii) regards -va'e as an habitual particle and the clause an Intransitive one with two Clause level elements, Time and Predicate. Interpretation (i) regards the nominalised clause functioning as Time to be a Clause level element, whereas interpretation (iii) considers this Time element to be an element of the clause nominalised by -va'e, i.e. (we) (are) the-ones-who-come-when-g.-is-old. I prefer interpretation (iii) though (ii) is quite feasible. In the example that follows (ii) is undoubtedly the best solution:

	ko'ánga (nhandejakaira namarávéi va'erā mo'ã nhande-vy)	
<u>Elements:</u>	(Time) (Subject) (P)	(R-Benefactive)
<u>Particles:</u>		(Tense) (Aspect)

If this clause were interpreted as Equational, one would be almost compelled to consider ko'ánga as a peripheral element of Time (since the Time element

is separated by the Topic from the nominalised clause functioning as Comment) i.e.:

Now-our corn-isn't-going-to-be-the-lot-that-withers-for-us.

It seems preferable therefore to consider this clause a Stative one with one peripheral and three nuclear elements:

'Now our corn isn't going to wither for us.'

d) Examples:

(yrutáu anháy rymba) 'Owls are pets of demons.'
(T) (C)

(anháy angwéry tahyrě imberu ave)
(Comment) (Topic)
'Ants and flies are the ghosts of demons.'

(kóa oporahéi-va'e) 'This one is a singer.'
(T) (Comment)

(hory-va'e) '(He) (clear from context) is a contented one.'

N.B. In some instances it is difficult to decide which NP is functioning as Topic and which as Comment.

Complex Unit:

In addition to: y Kaja'a roka 'Water is the mermaids' place.'
(Topic) (Comment)

It is possible to say: y Kaja'a-pe (h)oka 'Water is the-place-for-the-mermaids.'
(Topic) (Comment)

in which a Benefactive forms part of a Complex Comment.

1.5 Relationals

In 1.2.1.1, it was noted that 'Relational' is a wide spectrum label to describe nine related but different elements; different phrases with differing structural relationships. The more precise structural labels of the phrases, listed with their characteristic post-positionals, are as follows:

- a) Location -py, -rupi, -koty (to, by, through)
- b) Source/Cause -gwi (from, because of)
- c) Manner -py, -ndive, -rupive, -reheve (by, with)
- d) Comparison -rami, -rupi, -ixa (like)
- e) Benefactive -pe/-vy (to, for)
(only in non-transitive types since in transitive types
-pe marks Goal or Agentive)

oipyhy gwyrapa hu'y ave 'He grabbed bow and arrows.'

(P) (Object)

The NP functioning as O consists of Head Head Conjunction.

Repeated elements are usually contiguous and the second element may be considered a further specification of the first, and in fact the function might be considered that of Specifier rather than as repetition of some clause level element.

Examples of one Specifier

iporā he'i ke'y pa'i kwara ou-vy
 (Obj.-Cl.) (P) (S) (Specifier) (R-Mod.)
 'That's fine,' said Older Brother, the sun, as he came.'

ore tee kaiwā tee kyharā nome'ēi R.
 (Goal) (Spec.) (Object) (P) (S)
 'To the real us, the real K., R. doesn't give material for hammocks.'

oipyhy hy'akwa y ryru
 (P) (O) (Specifier)
 'They picked up the gourds, the water containers.'

orogweraha-ta amoete y mbyte-py
 (P) (R-Loc.) (Specifier)
 'I will carry you far to the middle of the water.'

Example of more than one Specifier:

opamba'e ja'u nhande-ruvixa-hagwā nhandepopapa-hagwā
 (O) (P) (R-Purpose) (Specifier)
 javeve-hagwā jahexa-hagwā nhanderupi'a rupagwa
 (Specifier) (Specifier)
 'Let's eat everything, to grow big, to develop our wings, to fly, to see the future place of our eggs.'

1.7 Dependent Clauses

Non-independent clauses may be considered either as Nominalised clauses or as Subordinate clauses.

1.7.1 Nominalised Clauses

These are modified clauses functioning like phrases as elements of the clause, marked by various nominalising post-positionals. In addition to the occurrence of the negative ambifix, the negative suffix -e'ŷ may occur with the verbs of negative nominalised clauses. This 'nominal' suffix never occurs with the verb in independent clauses:

e.g. either: nomondavéi-hagwã } omomboi íxugwi (ambifix)
 or: omondavee'ÿ-hagwã } (e'ÿ)
 'He made him let it go so that he wouldn't steal anymore.'

1.7.1.1 Nominalised clauses that function as NPs

These modified clauses are marked by the following post-positionals:

	-va'e,	-ha
Future:	va'erã,	harã
Past:	va'ekwe,	hare, hagwe

Examples:

ho'useve-va'e tembi'u hasẽ-ma
 (Subject) (P)
 (P)-va'e (O)
 'The ones who wanted to eat more food cried.'

isái omondoro va'ekwe-py omoĩ ijajúry
 (R-Manner) (P) (O)
 (Nom. Phrase -py)
 ((O)/Specifier (P) va'ekwe)
 'With the skirt she tore, she tied her neck.'

omombe'u-ma nhande-vy oiko-ma hagwe
 (P) (Goal) (O)
 (P hagwe)
 'They told us about his birth.'

oikwaa-ramo ou-taha onhemondyipa
 (Time) (P)
 (P) (O)
 (P -ha)
 'When they knew he would come, they were scared.'

1.7.1.2. Nominalised clauses that function as Relationals

These modified clauses are marked by the following post-positionals: *hagwã* or *hagwã-rehe*, *-vy*, *-gwi* and sometimes *hagwe*.

Examples:

amo-ngoty ndaipóri ao ome'ě-va'e xe-vygwi, aju jevy a-py
 (R-Cause) (P) (R-Loc.)
 (R-Loc.) (P) (Subject -gwi)
 (O) (P -va'e) (Goal)

'Because there is no one to give me clothes there, I came here again.'

aha kuri kagwĩ 'u-vy 'I went a little while ago to drink chicha (corn liquor).'
 (P) (R-Modal)
 (O) (P-vy)

(The predicate here is modified.)

1.7.1.3. Nominalised clauses that function as Time Phrases

These modified clauses are marked by the following post-positionals: *-ramo* 'when, if', *'jave* 'while', *-rire* 'after', *ymboyve* 'before', *aja* 'while'.

Examples:

iro'y-ramo kyha-py oke-ramo ojara igwy-py tata ...
 (Time) (Time) (P) (R-Loc.) (O)
 (P-ramo) (R-Loc.) (P-ramo)

'When it was cold, when he slept in his hammock, he scraped up fire beneath him.'

kwarahy osē jave, iko'ě-ma 'While the sun comes out, it is dawn.'
 (Time) (P)
 (S) (P jave)

1.7.1.4. Modifications of Nominalised Clauses

Nominalised clauses differ from independent clauses in the following ways:

- a) It seems that peripheral elements do not occur.
- b) The Subject of 'Modal' clauses is the same as that of the main clause and so is obligatorily absent.
- c) In clauses nominalised by the *-va'e* and *-ha* classes of post-positionals, either Subject or Object is obligatorily absent if the verb is transitive. If the verb is intransitive or Stative, the Subject cannot occur.

d) In clauses nominalised by *-ramo*, if the subject is the same as that of the main clause and the verb stative, the verb may prefix the 'subject-related' pronoun, which can never occur with a verb in an independent clause.

e) Transitive clauses nominalised by *-vy* and *-hagwã* may be modified as follows: the obligatory person prefixes (PS₁) may be dropped:

i) When Object occurs, stem initial 'h' verbs occur with initial 'r' following the Object and other transitive stems lose their stem-formatives, occurring only as roots. This notification is particularly common with clauses nominalised by *-vy*.

ii) When no Object occurs, Concomitative stems may occur with stem initial *h-*, and transitive stems, other than those with initial 'h' may prefix *i-* in third person.

f) Examples:

i) *nimbaraetevéi ohupi-hagwã gwóy kyta* (Unmodified)
 (P) (R-Purpose)

ii) *nimbaraetevéi gwóy kyta rupi-hagwã* (Modified)
 (P) (R-Purpose)
 (Object (P) hagwã)

'He has no more strength to set up the supports of his house.'

In the first example, the verb *ohupi* is unmodified and the Object follows *-hagwã*. In the second the Object precedes the verb, which occurs without prefix and with stem form *-rupi* instead of *-hupi*. Thus *-hagwã* occurs 'phrase' final.

iii) *ivera ohexa-vy oporahéi* 'He sings to see the lightning.'
 (R-Modal) (P)
 (O) (P-vy) (Unmodified)

iv) *anohẽ Ke'y rexa-vy xembaraka* 'I take out my rattle to see Ke'y.'
 (P) (R-Modal) (O)
 (O) (P-vy) (Modified)

In both Modal Phrases, the Object precedes the verb. In the first example (iii) the verb is unmodified, in (iv) it is modified in the same way as example (ii).

v) *ipepo-rehe oipyhy ogweraha-vy* (Unmodified)
 (R-Object) (P) (R-Modal)
 (P-vy)

vi) ipepo-rehe oipyhy heraha-vy (Modified)
 (as above)

'He took it by the wing, carrying it away.'

Note that the Concomitative stem of the modified example (vi) occurs with stem-initial 'h'.

vii) ombogwejy jevy imbou-vy ko'yvy-py te'ýi remypyrã (Modified)
 (P) (R-Modal) (Object)
 (P-vy) (R-Loc.)

'He made them descend again, sending them to this earth to be the ancestors of the Kaiwá.'

The unmodified form would be ombou-vy. Note that the Object can be considered as the Object of the main verb or of the Modal verb, i.e. both at clause and at phrase level.

viii) hasẽmba rei ho'aypa-ramo 'They howl in vain when they are hungry.'
 (P) (Time)
 (P-ramo)

The unmodified form would be hi'aypa-ramo. ho- is an example of the 'subject-related' pronoun which otherwise only occurs prefixed to noun stems. It occurs here with a Stative verb in a Nominalised clause, the Subject being the same as that of the main clause.

1.7.2 Subordinate Clauses

These clauses show restrictions but none of the modifications mentioned in 1.7.1.4, d) and e). The negative suffix e'ÿ also probably cannot occur. Subordinate clauses are further sub-divided into those that occur with introducers and those that have no introducers.

1.7.2.1. Subordinate Clauses with Introducers

These clauses also function as Relational Phrases and are introduced by:

ikatu hagwã-ixa 'in order that, to see if it is possible that'
 pono and ani-hagwã 'lest, so as not to'

Also the combination: ikatu hagwã-ixa pono 'lest'

No significant restrictions have been noted, except that the Subject does not occur if it is the same as the S of the main clause.

The negative cannot occur in these clauses.

Examples:

nhaikytī-ta ndepo ikatu hagwā-ixa jaipe'a pe mbói veneno pe ndepo-gwi
 (P) (O) (R-Subordinate Clause)
 (Introducer) (P) (Object) (R-Source)

'We will lance your hand in order to take out the snake poison from your hand.'

xe anhembo'e pono-ike hasy eterei xe-vy pe mbói
 (S) (P) (R-Subordinate Clause)
 (Introd.) (P) (R-Ben.) (S)

'I prayed so that the snake wouldn't be very painful for me.'

oporahéi ani-hagwā nhanderasy 'He sang lest we all be ill.'
 (P) (R-Subordinate Cl.)
 (Introd.) (P)

1.7.2.2 Subordinate clauses without Introducers

These clauses function as Relational Phrases or as Nominal Phrases (functioning as Object).

a) as RPs:

Examples:

nhamói oho onhembo'e C.-rehe 'N. went to sing for C.'
 (S) (P) (R-Subordinate Cl.) (P) (R-Object)

ojapo-hagwā óga pyahu ni ta'ýrykwéry ndouí oipytygwõ íxupe
 (R-Purpose) (Subj.) (P) (R-Sub. Clause)
 (P) (O)

'In order to make the new house, not even his sons came to help him.'

In these clauses, the negative cannot occur; neither does the subject since it must be the same as the S of the main clause.

b) as NP functioning as Object:

Examples:

ndaipotavéi-ma xeremiarirõ omano
 (P) (Object)
 (S) (P)

'I don't want my g'children to die anymore.'

ndoipotái ojagara tajýry kwatia

(P) (Object)
(P) (S) (O)

'He didn't want his daughters to take hold of paper.'

mba'e-gwipa ndoúi C. oporandu N.-pe mba'éxapa xerajy ogwereco

(Question) (P) (S) (R-Sub. Clause)
(P) (Goal) (Object)
(Question) (O) (P)

'Why didn't C. come to ask N., "How does he treat my daughters?"'

It is probable that Peripheral elements, if they occur at all, occur but rarely with this type of Subordinate clause.

1.7.3 Nesting

Since Nominalised and Subordinate clauses function as elements of the clause, most frequently as Relational phrases, the occurrence of nesting is by no means uncommon (clauses within clauses within clauses etc.). This phenomenon has been noted to date with up to four levels of structure. See examples:

- i) Jaavisa J. ogwereco-ramo pohã ogweru-hagwã xe-vy ha'u-hagwã
(P) (O) (*R-Purpose)
(*Time) (P-hagwã) (Goal) (*R-Purpose)
(P-ramo) (O) (P-hagwã)

'Let's tell J., if he has medicine, to bring it for me to take.'

* = one or more included clauses.

In this example the clause is basically P, O,*R.

*R consists of *Time, P, Goal, *R.

Then *T consists of P, O, and *R consists of P.

- ii) amopotĩ-ta hóga ome'ẽ-ramo xe-vy pirapire aha-hagwã ajegwa ao
(P) (O) (*R-Purpose)

(*Time) (P-hagwã) (*R-Sub. Cl.)

(P-ramo) (Goal) (O) (P) (O)

'I will clean his house to go to buy clothing if he gives me money.'

This structure is very similar to i)

- iii) ou oavisa-vy Meliana nhamói-pe oho-hagwã onhembo'e hese
 (P) (*R-Modal (S) *R-Modal)

 (P-vy) (O) (*R-Purpose)

 (P-hagwã) (*R-Sub-cl.)

 (P) (R-Object)

'M. came telling Granddad to go to sing for him.'

In this example the clause is basically, P,*R-Modal, S, with the Subject occurring within the included clause.

*R-Modal consists of P, O, *R-Purpose.

*R-Purpose consists of P, *R-Sub. Clause.

*R-Sub. Clause consists of P, R-Object.

1.8 PARTICLES

There are three main classes of Particles: Emphatics, Tense words and Aspectuals.

1.8.1 Class 1. (Emphatics)

This class occurs most frequently following the first element of the clause:

katu	'but, indeed'	ae	'but (corrective)'
mante	'only'	niko	'emphasiser'
ko	'emphasiser - probably a shortening of niko'		

magatũ 'yes indeed' This combination of -ma and *katu* probably belongs in this class though it is more limited in distribution. It follows P and Time and may also follow Relationals occurring clause initial.

Examples:

- i) ha ndokwerái-ramo katu ndoporahéi joty arã oky-hagwã
 (Time) (Emp.) (P) (Tense) (R-Purpose)
 'But if he doesn't get better, he still won't sing for it to rain.'
- ii) mandi'o mante ndorojatýi 'It's only manioc we haven't planted.'
 (O) (P)
 (Emp.)
- iii) ndahavéi. "tou," he'i jevy-ramo ae aha jevy
 (P) (Time) (P)
 (Emp.)
 'I don't go anymore. But if he says again, "Let it come," I'll go again.'

1.8.2 Class 2. (Tense Words)

This class occurs most frequently following the VP, though not necessarily immediately. The particles referring to past time are more mobile and *va'ekwe* may occur following first element or clause connective. It may also occur more than once in one clause. The class consists of:

<i>arā</i>	'conditional future'	<i>va'erā</i>	'indefinite future'
<i>araka'e</i>	'neither immediate past nor ancient history'	<i>va'ekwe</i>	'past time'
<i>va'e</i>	'habitual' (may belong here)		

Examples:

See ex. i) of 1.8.1

ko'ánga nhandejakaira namarāvéi va'erā mo'ā nhande-vy
 (Time) (S) (P) (R-Ben.)
 (Tense) (Asp.)

'Now the chief Corn-planting Spirit doesn't show us anymore.'

ndarekovéi-ma itymbyre arā xe '...that I won't have young plants
 anymore.'
 (P) (Object) (S)
 (Tense)

upe xetuty mirī ojuka araka'e moháy-my joty
 (S) (P) (R-Manner)
 (Tense)

'A while ago my younger maternal uncle still killed with witchcraft.'

upéi va'ekwe ogwahě tata va'ekwe 'Then came the fire.'
 (Conn.) (P) (S)
 (Tense) (Tense)

1.8.3 Class 3. (Aspectuals)

This class (like the other two particle classes) never occurs within the VP with the exception of *mo'ā*, see below. Sub-class a) occurs only following (though not necessarily immediately following) the VP.

Sub-class b) may also occur preceding the VP.

Sub-class a):

<i>hikwái</i>	'indicates that S is collective'
<i>ra'e (1)</i>	'flashback' indicates an action previous to tense sequence
<i>ra'e (2)</i>	'confirming doubt'

teĩ	'frustrative' 'to no advantage'
verami)	} 'personal opinion'
vá'exa)	
hagwãixa)	

Sub-class b):

jeko	'as it was said' (by someone else)
kuri	'a little while from now'
nipo	'unverified' (usually with questions)
mo'ã	'unrealised or frustrated intention'
ramo	'right now'

Since as many as two particles may occur together, those that collocate may be put into three orders. (This statement does not refer to Tense words which normally precede Aspectuals.)

1	2	3
jeko	hikwái	ra'e 1/2
mo'ã	kuri	
teĩ	nipo	
verami		

mo'ã may also occur within the VP (preceding the Verb margin 3) when -se does not occur in a negative phrase.

Examples:

ha	ipo	oisu'u	<u>ra'e</u>	mbói	'But a snake <u>had</u> bitten his hand.'
(O)	(P)	(S)	(Asp.)		

oikytĩ-ta	<u>mo'ã</u>	<u>kuri</u>	'He intends to cut it soon.'
(P)	(Asp.)	(Asp.)	

ogwahẽ	xe-vy	<u>kuri</u>	ete	'He came to me just a little while ago.'
(P)	(Ben.)	(Asp.)		

N.B. The Intensifier *ete* has been found occurring with *kuri* and *ramo*.

iporã	<u>nipo</u>	<u>ra'e</u>	Nhandejáry	nhe'ẽ	'How was I to know if God's words were good?'
(P)	(Asp.)	(Asp.)	(S)		

ovy'a joa-ma hikwái
 (P)
 (Asp.)

'They were all happy.'

1.9 Sub-types of the Clause Types

Clauses expressing Commands and Questions may be described as sub-types of the main types:

1.9.1 Command Sub-type

Command VPs are significantly different from non-command VPs and there are further contrasts at Word Level. There is a distinctive set of command prefixes and the negative ambifix cannot occur with this sub-type.

Depending on the prefix, command verbs may be either Imperative or Hortatory. An imperative is very frequently followed by a hortatory verb functioning as Modal or Subordinate clause.

In negative commands, command prefixes do not occur (though there is one elicited example of the negative suffix e'ÿ occurring with a hortatory verb). Ordinary prefixes occur preceded by the Command negative particle *ani*. The Command particle *tove* 'would that' may also occur with Hortatory verbs. The particle *ani* may also occur with the suffixes *-ve* and *-ke*.

Hortatory verbs are frequent in response to statements, e.g. *aha jevy-tama* 'I'm about to go off again'. Response: *tereho jevy* 'you may go off again'. In isolation it seems to be at times more polite and at others, depending on the tone of voice, more brusque than the imperative form.

i) Modification of Declarative Clauses

- a) A free subject is rare with this sub-type, but it may occur.
- b) The Vocative (to be handled perhaps at a higher level) is more frequent with this type than with others.
- c) Command prefixes also occur with verbs functioning as RPs.
- d) The particle (Class 3) *teĩ* is very characteristic of Negative commands.
- e) Tense particles do not occur with this sub-type.

Examples:

tojaty petÿ jari oiko-vy 'Let g'ma go and plant tobacco.'
 (P) (O) (S) (R-Modal)

(Free subject is of course more frequent with third person (Hortatory) than with first or second.)

eru xe tamonge (P) (R-Sub. Cl.)	'Bring him for me to put to sleep.' (Imperative followed by Hortatory.)
egwata eho-vy (P) (R-Modal)	'Walk away!' (Both verbs have imperative prefixes.)
eju a-py torogwero'yta (P) (R-Loc.) (R-Sub. Cl.)	'Come here, let me make you swim.' (Imperative followed by Hortatory)
pekwa-mani kuri .. taperu ... (P) (R-Sub. Cl.) (Asp.)	'Run quickly now to bring...'
ani tuty-pe ojehu teĩ mba'e (R-Ben.) (P) (S) (Asp.)	'Let nothing happen to uncle.'
ani okaru teĩ (P) (Asp.)	'Let him not eat.'
ani erejavyky	'Don't meddle!'
eru xerembeta xe-vy ha'i (P) (O) (Goal) (Voc.)	'Bring me my lip-plug, mother!'

ii) Modification of Stative Clauses

There are no special prefixes for Statives and only one example of a Stative Command has been found in text.

ani-ke penerembi'u-rehe penerakate'ỹ teĩ gwĩ mitāygwe-upe (R-Object) (P) (R-Ben.) (Part.) (Asp.)	'Don't be stingy to the children about food.'
--	---

iii) Equational clauses do not function as commands.

1.9.2 Question Sub-type

Interrogative clauses may be described in terms of the three main types: Declarative, Stative and Equational. This sub-type may be further sub-divided into questions that occur with a question word and those that don't:

1.9.2.1 The obligatory occurrence of a Question word replaces one of the following phrases: NP, RP or Time Phrase.

+ Question Word + Modified clause

The Question word usually occurs clause initial and may be optionally followed by the junction clitic class.

Examples:

i) of QW that replaces NP functioning as Subject:

mba'e hasy íxupe 'What is painful for him?'
(QW) (P) (R-Ben.)

mbava'e-tipo nanemongéi 'What didn't let you sleep?'
(QW) (P)
(Clitic)

máva ojohu-ta arroz xerajy-pe 'Who will find rice for my daughters?'
(QW) (P) (O) (Goal)

ii) of QW that replaces NP functioning as Object:

mbava'e orojuka vovo 'What have we killed, grandma?'
(QW) (P) (Voc.)

iii) of QW that replaces NP functioning as Comment:

ki-va'e katu kóa 'Who is this?'
(QW) (Topic)
(Emph.)

iv) of QW that replaces RP:

a) R-Object: mbava'e-rehe tipo ereme'ě-ta xe-vy
(QW) (P) (Goal)
(Clitic)

'For what will you give it me?'

b) Location: amoõ oho inhe'ěgwe 'Where does the soul go?'
(QW) (P) (S)

c) Source: mba'e-gwi pa ndouí C. 'Why (from what) didn't C. come?'
 (QW) (P) (S)
 (Clitic)

d) Sub. Cl.: oporandu N.-pe mba'éxa pa xerajy ogwereco
 (P) (Goal) (Object)
 (QW) (O) (P)
 (Clitic)
 'He asks N., "How does he treat my daughters?".'

v) **of QW that replaces TP:**

araka'e-pa oiko-ta arete 'When will the big day (Christmas) be?'
 (QW) (P) (S)
 (Clitic)

vi) **of QW that replaces the Numeral functioning as element of VP or NP**

mbovy ro'y ogwereco 'How old is he?'
 (QW) (O) (P)

ogwereco mokōi (common reply) 'He has two.' (VP)
 (VP)

ogwereco mokōi ro'y (full form) 'He has two winters.' (NP)
 (NP)

1.9.2.2 The second type of the Question sub-type is distinguished by the non-occurrence of a QW. It seems that any statement can function as a question with or without the occurrence of a Question clitic. When the clitic occurs it usually follows the first element of the clause. Though questions do not have the same distribution as statements in higher levels of structure, there is also a distinctive intonation pattern which signals questions in conversation, in which questions to second persons usually occur without the question clitic.

Examples:

aju jevy-ramo nde ereju ave Responses: aju-ta xe
 (Time) (S) (P) (P) (S)
 (Part.)

'If I return, are you also coming?' 'I'll come.'

yvytu-ma tipo 'Is it the wind?'
 (P)
 (Clitic)

mborahéi-pa oipota ra'e 'Was it singing he required?'
 (O) (P)
 (Clitic) (Asp.)

ere'u-ma kuri 'Have you just eaten?'
 (P)
 (Asp.)

1.9.2.3 Question Clitic Class

-pa (most used)
 -tipo (used by older Kaiwá)
 -piko (occurs especially with QWs)
 -po (answer unknown or unknowable, the speaker questions himself)
 ndai kwaa porāi mba'e-gwi po xe renói
 'I don't really know why he called me.'
 nipo occurs both with questions and responses

moõ nipo oho 'Where has he gone?' Response: moõ nipo oho 'Who knows where he has gone.'

Possibly the response is also in the form of a question. However *nipo* has been considered both an Aspectual and a Q clitic, though the example above could be construed as a question to oneself and so not an ordinary question.

2 PHRASE LEVEL

2.1 Introduction:

The only phrase to be treated in this section is the VP, an obligatory element of the Nucleus of Declarative and Stative clauses.

There are two main types of VP, Simple and Non-simple. Non-simple VPs are further subdivided into:

Complex VP (VP₂)
 Auxiliary VP (VP₃)
 Relational VP (VP₄)
 Numeral VP (VP₅)

There is also a further type, the Command VP (VP₆).

2.2 Simple Verb Phrase (VP₁)

This VP is described in terms of a Nucleus and a Satellite:
 + Nucleus ± Satellite

2.2.1 Nucleus

Elements:

- a) Words: Verb, Qualifier, Intensifier
- b) Affixes: Negative prefix; Suffixes class 1 (Totality), class 2 (Desiderative), class 3 (Additive), class 4 (Negative).

The Nucleus is the unit of the VP which is bounded by the negative ambifix (Negative prefix and Negative suffix).

Beneath the diagram of the Nucleus of the VP, see also Word and Stem level for easy comparisons. Structurally the Nucleus consists of Head, Modifier and three Margins:

Phrase:	±Mgn.1	+Head	±Mgn.2	±Mod.1	±Mgn.3
	Neg.	Verb	Cl.1	Qual./Int.	C1.2-4

Word: +/- Pers. Pfx. + Vb. Stem

Stem: +Trans./Intrans./Concom./Stative Vb st. ±Mod.Vb. ±Stem Mod.
±/- Causative

Briefly, then, at Stem level are described the four types of simple stem (or perhaps better Verb base) plus three other optional elements: Modifying Verb, Stem Modifier and Causative. At Word level are described the various person prefixes. The Verb stem plus prefix is the minimum verb. It is simpler to describe the remaining inflectional affixes at Phrase level together with Qualifiers, Intensifiers (and the Modals of the Satellite).

Derivational affixes function at Stem level, most of them being formatives of the Base or Simple stem.

The Nucleus then consists of a negative prefix immediately preceding the Verb, occurring obligatorily in negative phrases when the last element, suffix 4, of margin 3 occurs. The Verb is optionally followed by suffix 1 of margin 2. If a qualifier is not functioning as Modifier 1, an intensifier may occur. Following Modifier 1, suffixes 2, 3 and 4 may occur as Margin 3.

2.2.1.1 Negative Prefix and Suffix 4 (Ambifix)

The negative ambifix functions simultaneously as an element of margin 1 and the third element of margin 3. It occurs obligatorily in non-command independent negative clauses:

n(d) (a) - -i

(a) does not occur preceding prefix vowel

(d) does not occur preceding nasal stems

Example: nd-ahexa-i 'I didn't see him.'

The negative may be further intensified by the addition of *-ri*, *-ry* or *-xéne* following the second element of the ambifix.

2.2.1.2 Class 1 Suffixes (Totality)

This class which functions as margin 2 may modify either the Verb or the Qualifier. If it modifies the Q, it follows it. This class has two members:

-pa and *-jōa* 'all, completely'

When *-pa* occurs with transitive verbs, the reference is to the Object.

-pa has an alternate form *-mba* following nasal stems.

Examples:	ho'u-pa	'He/they ate everything.'
	oho-pa	'They all went off.'
	aiko porā-mba	'I live well in every way.'
	(Q)	

2.2.1.3 Qualifiers

This class functions as Modifier of the Nucleus and may be divided into two sub-classes on the basis of their function as Stative verbs.

Members of Sub-class A also function as Stative verbs and include:

(h)asy	'with pain, difficulty'	porā	'well'
hatā	'fast, hard'	pohýi	'heavy, serious'
heta	'many'	puku	'tall, long'
marangatu	'holy, spiritual'	tuja	'old'
mixī	'small, few'	tuvixa	'big'
mbegwe	'slowly, quietly'	vai	'badly'

Members of Sub-class B do not function as Stative Verbs and include:

aiai	'badly'	reirei	'unpredictably'
a'ā(a'ā)	} 'with pretence'	tee	'truly, in reality'
ra'angaanga		vaivai	'more or less'
ku'aku'a	'half or almost'		

Two Qs may occur in VPs of Declarative clauses but this seems to be rare:

oke porā marangatu	'He slept well in a religious frame of mind.'
(Q) (Q)	

Examples:

ndaikove puku mo'ãi 'I don't expect to survive long.'
 Mgn.1 (Q) (Mgn.3)

hasy hatã/pohýi 'He's seriously ill.'
 (Q) (Q)

oporahéi ra'anga anga rei 'They pretended to be singing.'
 (Q)

2.2.1.4. Intensifier Class

This class may also function as Modifier of the Nucleus when a Qualifier does not occur. It will be described more fully under 2.2.2 as an element of the Satellite. Enough here to show examples of this class preceding margin 3.

naxemandu'a etéi 'I didn't really remember.'
 (I) Mgn.3

ndoky voi mo'ãi 'It won't really rain.'
 (I) (Mgn.3)

2.2.1.5 Suffix classes 2-4: Desiderative, Additive, Negative

These three classes function as the margin 3 of the VP nucleus:

± Desiderative ± Additive ± Negative
 -se -ve -i (ri/ry/xéne)
 (mo'ã)

Ordering is quite rigid and all combinations are possible.

i) mo'ã only occurs in negative phrases when -se does not occur. Apart from this occurrence mo'ã is considered an Aspectual particle. Perhaps it is best to consider that there are two distinct mo'ã's.

ii) -ve can only precede -se or follow the negative when these two suffixes are functioning as part of the Verb stem.

Examples:

- i) nd-avy'a-se-ve-i 'I didn't care to be happy anymore.'
- ii) aiko-se-ve 'I want to live longer.'
- iii) aikove puku-se 'I want to survive longer.'

(In this example *-ve* is part of the Intrans. stem.)

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| iv) | ndahasy- <u>vé-i</u> | 'He isn't sick anymore.' |
| v) | ndahasy- <u>i-ve</u> | 'It is easier.' |
| vi) | ndavy'a- <u>i-ve</u> -nte mo'ã | 'I really expected to be sadder.' |
| vii) | ndaikove <u>puku</u> mo' <u>ã-i</u> | 'I don't expect to survive a long time.' |

In examples **v)** and **vi)** it seems that the relative ordering of the Additive and the Negative can be reversed, but this is not the case. In both examples the Negative is functioning at stem not Phrase level. In **iv)** the stem is 'sick' to which suffixes are added at Phrase level. In **v)** the stem is sick plus Neg, not-sick, i.e. 'easy' to which *-ve* is added at Phrase level. In **vi)** the stem is not-happy, i.e. 'sad'. In this example mo'ã is functioning as a Clause level particle. In **vii)** *-ve* is part of the stem live-more = 'survive' and thus precedes the Qualifier and Desiderative.

2.2.1.6 Intensifier Suffix Class

Not enough is known about the function of this class to describe it in terms of phrase structure, but it may function as a fourth element of the Margin 3 together with the Negative Intensifiers mentioned under 2.2.1.1. This class seems to have two possible members in addition to the Negative Intensifiers:

- nte has been found following the first two elements of margin 3, Stative verb and Intensifier.
- mi has been found following Verbs, the Qualifier *mixĩ*, Intensives and Numerals.

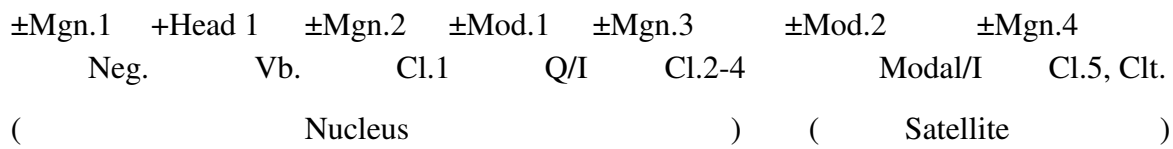
Examples:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| ahexa-se- <u>nte</u> voi | 'I very much wanted to see them!' |
| ovy'a eterei- <u>mi</u> | 'He was very pleased indeed.' |
| (Int.) | |
| ombouuka <i>mixĩ</i> - <u>mi</u> | 'He ordered <u>just</u> a little to come.' |
| (Q) | |

2.2.2 Satellite

- Elements:**
- a) Words: Modal, Intensifier
 - b) Suffix: Intentional
 - c) Clitic: Punctiliar

The Satellite is the unit of the VP that occurs 'outside' the Negative ambifix which marks the boundaries of the Nucleus. For easy comparisons a second diagram of the Nucleus is introduced here with the diagram of the Satellite:



Satellite in more detail:

± Mod.2	± Mgn.4
Modal/Int./Modal + Int.	Cl.5, Clitic

The Satellite consists of VP Modifier 2 and Margin 4. Functioning as Mod.2 occur either a Modal, an Intensifier or a Modal and an Intensifier. Functioning as Margin 4 occur the Intentional suffix and the Punctiliar clitic.

The relative ordering of the margin is quite rigid. If the intensifier is modifying the Modal, it must follow the M.

2.2.2.1 Modals

This class comprises the following members:

are	'for a longish time'	py'ĩ	'daily'
jevy	Iterative	meme	Repetitive
jepe	} Continuatives	ranhe	Initiator
joty		sapy'a	'for a little time'
vyteri		rei	'frustrative' also 'purposelessness'

When two modals occur contiguously in the same phrase, they fall into the following orders:

1	2	3
jepe	joty	ranhe
jevy	sapy'a	
rei		

- i) rei may precede or follow jevy.
- ii) rei, are and jepe may also function as Modifier 1 of the Nucleus. When rei modifies a Qualifier it may also follow the Q preceding Margin 3.
- iii) jevy may occur in the same phrase as the second element of Margin 3 of the nucleus -ve, but this is rare.
- iv) Examples:

ohopa <u>jevy</u> <u>rei</u>	'They all went off again to no purpose.'
apyta porã <u>jevy</u> -ta	'I plan to have a good home again.'
ndosoró-i <u>vyteri</u>	'It still isn't torn.'
ndou a'ã'ã <u>rei</u> -ry	'He didn't just pretend to come.'

(In this example rei precedes Margin 3 because it is modifying the Q, a'ã'ã.)

2.2.2.2 Intensifiers (See also 2.2.1.4)

This class comprises the following members:

ete		'very much'
eterei)	}	'excessively'
verei		
voi		'really, in actual fact'

When two intensifiers occur in the same phrase, the second intensifier is always *voi*.

Examples:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| i) | kekangy <u>eterei</u> -ma | 'I'm excessively tired.' |
| ii) | xe avy'a <u>eterei</u> <u>voi</u> | 'I'm ever so happy!' |
| iii) | ndogweru-i <u>ete</u> -ma | 'He didn't bring them at all.' |
| iv) | ndahexa-i <u>ete</u> <u>voi</u> | 'I didn't see them at all!' |
| v) | hasy joty <u>verei</u> | 'She's still very sick.' |

In examples **i)** and **iii)** the Int. precedes Margin 4. In **iii)** and **iv)** they follow Margin 3. In **v)** the Int. follows a Modal.

2.2.2.3 Suffix class 5 and Clitic

These two classes function as Margin 4 of the Satellite of the VP. The Clitic *-ma* 'punctiliar' marks the boundary of the Satellite and the VP.

±/- Intentional	± Punctiliar
-ta	-ma
-pota	

The order is quite rigid. *-pota* seems to be a variant of *-ta* used occasionally by older speakers. Intentionals cannot co-occur with the Desiderative, element 2 of Margin 3.

Examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| aha jevy- <u>ta</u> - <u>ma</u> | 'I'm just off on my way again (intend to go right now).' |
| oho- <u>ma</u> | 'He's gone!' |

Further examples to show Nucleus and Satellite:

In positive VPs there are six main structural units: the Verb, Head, two Modifiers and three Margins. It is quite possible to elicit all six in one utterance without any apparent unnaturalness. However it is apparent, that it is not usual for more than three to occur in addition to the obligatory Head, the Verb:

	Nucleus				Satellite		
	Verb	Mgn.2	Mod.1	(Mgn.2)	Mgn.3	Mod.2	Mgn.4
i)	ho'u	-pa	ete		-se		
ii)	apyta		porã			jevy	-ta
iii)	ahexa				-se	jevy	-ma
iv)	okwera		vaivai			jevy	-ma
v)	nd-ou				-ve-i	are	-ma
vi)	aju		pya'e		-ve	jevy	
vii)	ahexa				-se	eterei	-ma (voi)
viii)	(elicited)						
	aiko		porã	-mba	-se	jevy	-ma

Meanings are as follows:

- i) He wanted to eat it all!
- ii) I intend to have a good home again.
- iii) I want to see them again!
- iv) He got better again more or less.
- v) For a long time (now) he hasn't come anymore.
- vi) I came again more quickly.
- vii) I very much want to see them!
- viii) I want a good life again in every way.

2.2.2.4 Mobility of Modals and Intensives

In contrast with the classes that function as margins, the classes that function as Modifier 2 of the Satellite show considerable mobility, since they both precede Margin 1 and follow Margin 4:

a) Modals

This class frequently occurs preceding the Verb, though never clause initial. If the VP occurs with two modals, both cannot precede the Verb. No examples have been found of this class preceding Stative verbs. Modals may also follow the VP and be separated from the VP by at least one clause level element.

Examples:

- i) oho-pa jevy rei 'They all went off again to no purpose.'
- ii) rei aju jevy 'I came again to no purpose.'
- iii) meme oho 'He goes repeatedly.'
- iv) ijagwyje-ma (kumanda) ranhe '(The beans) ripened first.'

The first two examples show two Modals occurring as Mod.2 of the VP, and in **ii)** one Modal precedes the Verb. In **iv)** the Modal is separated from the Head and Margin 4 of the VP,

giving a discontinuous VP. If this phenomenon were more frequent, it would probably be desirable to describe this occurrence of the Modal as an Adverbial Phrase.

b) Intensifiers

This class may also (though rarely) occur immediately preceding the Verb, alone or modifying a Modal. This class may also occur following Margin 4 of the VP, separated from the VP by other clause level elements, modifying Modals and Aspectuals. If an Intensifier is modifying a Locational it functions as an element of the Locational Phrase.

Examples:

- i) eterei ho'u 'They eat enormously.'
- ii) meme eterei aity 'I keep knocking them down again and again and again.'
- iii) apesa-ma eterei 'I'm very preoccupied.'
- iv) oho mombyry eterei 'He went very far away.'
- v) ogwahẽ xe-vy kuri ete 'He came to me a very little while ago.'
- vi) omoĩ xe-rehe injesão meme ete 'They kept giving me injections continuously.'
- vii) ahexa-se-ma voi 'I really wanted to see them.'

Intensifiers cannot occur clause initial. When *voi* precedes the Verb it functions as a Time Phrase, in the sense of 'early'.

In **ii)** and **vi)** Intensifiers modify Modals, and an Aspectual in **v)**. In **iv)** *eterei* is an element of the Loc. Phrase.

It is clear then that the classes that function as Mod.2 of the Satellite show great mobility. By contrast the classes that function as Nucleus are relatively rigid in ordering.

2.3 Non-Simple Verb Phrases

2.3.1 Complex VP (VP₂)

This VP does not occur with Stative clauses.

- Elements:** Stative Vb, Declarative Vb, Modal, Intensifier
 Negative Ambifix, Additive (Affixes)
 Punctiliar (clitic)

VP₂ may be described structurally as two obligatory Heads and an optional Modifier:

+Head 1	±Modifier	+Head 2
St.Vb./mo'ã/Pr./opa	Modal/Int./Mgn./Modal +Neg.	D.Vb.

A Stative verb, *-mo'ã*, a pronoun or the Intransitive verb *opa* may function as the first Head of VP₂. A Declarative verb functions as the second Head and they always occur in this relative ordering. Functioning as the optional Modifier which always follows the first Head, are a Modal or an Intensifier or a Margin consisting of Additive, Negative and Punctiliar, (*-ve-i-ma*), or a Modal plus Negative.

Examples:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| i) heta jepe omboao | 'It's a lot still that she gives clothes
(she still gives a lot).' |
| ii) heta-ve-ma orogweru | 'It was much more that we brought.' |
| iii) naxe meme-i aha | 'It wasn't me that went (keeps going).' |
| iv) ndaxe-iry-ma aha | 'It wasn't me that went!' |
| v) ndaxe-iry jepe aha | 'It wasn't me that still went.' |
| vi) nemo'ã ereike xekoty-py | 'It was alleged you entered the inside of my house.' |

A Modal functions as Mod. in **i)**, a Modal plus Neg. (either order) in **iii)** and **v)** and a Margin in **ii)** and **iv)**. In **iii)-v)** a pronoun *xe* functions as Head 1, Stative verb *heta* in **i)** and **ii)** and *-mo'ã* in **vi)**.

2.3.2 Auxiliary VP (VP₃)

Elements: Auxiliary, Verb, Modal, Intensifier
Totality, Additive, Negative, (affixes) Punctiliar (clitic)

The VP₃ may be described structurally as Head 1 followed by optional Modifier followed by Head 2 and optional Modifier 2.

+Head 1	±Mod. 1	+Head 2	± Mod.2
Aux.	Modal/Int./Punct.	Verb	Modal/Add./Neg.Tot.

The Auxiliary class functions as Head 1 and Mod 1 and 2 have not been found to occur unless the Aux. is *haimete*. A Modal, Intensifier or Punctiliar may function as Mod.1. A Stative or Declarative verb may function as Head 2. A Modal, Additive and Negative or Totality have been found functioning as Mod.2.

This phrase contrasts with VP₂ in which the Negative modifies Head 1, in that the Negative can only modify Head 2.

The Auxiliary class comprises:

<i>haimete</i>	'almost'	<i>oimene</i>	'perhaps'
<i>ne'irã (vyteri)</i>	'not yet'	<i>tekotevẽ</i>	'necessity'

When *ne'irã* occurs the negative ambifix cannot occur with the phrase.

Examples:

<i>haimete <u>rei</u> orekytĩ</i>	'It almost cut us to no purpose.'
<i>haimete-<u>ma</u> oromanomba</i>	'We almost all died.'
<i>tekotevẽ jahexa</i>	'It is necessary that we see.'

Modifiers have been underlined.

2.3.3 Relational Verb Phrase (VP₄)

Elements: RP, TP, Modal, Intensifier
 Totality, Additive (Affixes)
 Punctiliar (clitic)

VP₄ may be described in terms of the same structural labels as VP₃:

+Head 1	±Mod.1	+Head 2	±Mod.2
RP/TP	Modal/Int./Tot./Add. +Punct.	Vb	Add +Neg./Intl.

An RP or a TP functions as Head 1, a Declarative or Stative verb as Head 2. Functioning as optional Mod.1, occur either a Modal and Intensifier, the Totality or the Additive class followed by the Punctiliar clitic. Found functioning as Mod.2 are either the Additive plus Negative or the Intentional.

Other Clause level elements may occur between Mod.1 and Head 2.

Examples: (Modifying elements are underlined)

are-ma ndahexa-ve-i 'For a long time I haven't seen him.'
 (Tp)
 Punct. Add. Neg.

upe-pe jevy-ma aiko 'It was there again that I lived.'
 (R-Loc.P)
 Modal Punct.

voi-ve aju-ta 'I will come earlier.'
 (TP)
 Add. Intl.

oromboembeta-pa rire-ma orocho-vy-ma orocho va'erã
 (TP) (R-Modal)
 Punct. Punct.
 'As soon as we had finished all the lip-piercing, we would be ready to go.'

In this last example there are three Heads, or more strictly, a repeat of Head 1.

VP₄ only occurs when TP or RP occur clause initial and seems to be a feature of chiasmic paragraph style.

2.3.4 Numeral VP (VP₅)

This is probably the least viable of the VP types, but it is striking how often a verb plus a Numeral constitutes an entire VP. Further, if Numeral plus -ve be interpreted as a type of NP, it

can be stated from texts examined that when a numeral occurs, the only other element of the VP to occur is the verb; apart from two modifications of the N, suffix *-mi* or an Intensifier.

+ Head	+ Modifier
Verb	Numeral

The Numeral may precede or follow the verb. Usually they are contiguous, but this is not obligatory.

When Numerals occur with Transitive verbs they have reference to the Object; with Intransitives and Statives, they refer to the Subject, or if preceding the verb, may also refer to Time. The Numeral may also function as Modifier 2 in VP₃.

When Numerals occur with *-ve* (see above) the verb may also occur with Margins 2 or 4 of VP₁.

The class consists of:

peteĩ	'one, singly'	jopara	'some but not others'
mokõi	'two'	entéro	'all, everyone'
mbohapy	'three'		

N.B. Numerals suffixed with *-kwe/ngwe* have the meaning of 'once, twice etc.'

e.g.	peteĩngwe oho D.-py	ndohovéi-ma
	'He went once to D.'	He didn't go again.'

Examples:

peteĩ ete opyta xe-vy	'Just one remained for me.'
ogweru mandi'o ha'u peteĩ	'He brought manioc and I ate one.'
orovy'a-pa enterove	'We were all very happy.'
ipoxy jopara	'Some are fierce and some aren't.'

N.B. Numerals also occur as elements of the NP.

2.4 Modifications of VPs

2.4.1 The Command VP (VP₆)

This VP is very restricted. Qualifiers and Modals may occur but not Intensifiers, except *voi*. Since the ambifix does not occur with the Command sub-type, Margin 1 does not occur and the Additive *-ve* is the only element of Margin 3 to occur. Margin 2 does occur, but Margin 4 is replaced by a different margin consisting of distinctive Command affixes which are as follows:

-mani	'a strong imperative that must not be disobeyed'
-ke	} 'a milder imperative'
-na	

All those suffixes, which are optional, may be followed by the Emphatic particle *katu*.
-ke and *-na* may also co-occur as *-kena*.

Examples:

pekwa-mani kuri taperu ...	'Come all of you quickly and bring ..!'
ehexa porā rei	'Look at it carefully.'
(Q) (N)	
ehexa <u>rei</u> -ke	'Look at it nicely.'
(N)	
ehundi-pa	'Destroy them all.'

2.4.2 VPs in Dependent Clauses

a) Nominalised Clauses:

There seem to be no significant restrictions for clauses nominalised by *-va'e* and the temporal post-positionals, *ramo*, etc. VPs in clauses nominalised by *-ha* seem to be restricted mainly to Verbs plus Margin 4. Those nominalised by *-vy* seem to be limited to verb only; by *-hagwā* to ambifix and Modals. There are probably no restrictions for clauses nominalised by *-gwi*.

b) Subordinate Clauses:

VPs in these clauses are also much restricted, usually occurring only as verbs. Intensifiers may also occur.

In all types of Dependent clauses, it would probably be easy to elicit further expansions, but natural VPs seem to be very much restricted with the exception of those occurring in NPs nominalised by *-va'e* and TPs.

3 WORD LEVEL

The Verb in its minimum and maximum form consists of a Verb stem plus obligatory person prefixes. There are some Stative stems that do not occur with prefixes:

$$\text{Verb} = \text{+/- Modifier} \quad \text{+ Head}$$

$$\text{PS}_{1/2/3/1,2,3} \quad \text{Verb Stem}$$

When an Intransitive stem functions as Head, prefix set 1 (PS₁) functions as the obligatory modifier. When a Stative stem functions as Head, PS₃ either must or must not occur depending on the stem. When a Transitive stem functions as Head, all three sets may occur and one of them must occur. These statements can only be modified when verbs occur in Nominalised clauses (see 1.7.1.4).

3.1 Person Prefixes 1 (PS₁)

PS₁ occur with Intransitive and Transitive stems but never with Statives.

Person	Sing./Non-Coll.	Plur./Coll.	
1.	a-	ja-/nha-	incl.
		oro-	excl.
2.	ere-	pe-	
3.	o-		

3.2 Person Prefixes 2 (PS₂)

There are three members of this set which signal first and second person involvement, first subject and second object:

oro-	1st subj and non-collective Object
apo-	1st sing subj and collective Object
oropo-	1st plur subj and collective Object

3.3 Person Prefixes 3 (PS₃)

Person	Sing.	Non-coll.	Plural	Collective
1.	xe-		nhande-/nhane-	incl.
			ore-	excl.
2.		nde-/ne-		pende-/pene-
3.			i-/hi-/ij-/inh-/h-	
			o-/ho-/gw-/gw-(nasalized V)	'subject related'

This set occurs with Stative and Transitive stems. The subject-related person prefix only occurs with Stative verbs functioning in Nominalised clauses (1.7.1.4).

It should be noted in charts of PS₁ and PS₃ that the categories for first person are singular versus plural, but for second person, collective versus non-collective. This second category overlaps with Sing./Plur. but is also quite distinct.

3.4 Prefix Variants

3.4.1 Phonological Changes

- i) Prefix voiced plosives disappear preceding nasal stems; j [dʏ] is replaced by nh [ñ] and gw by gw̃ and nd sequence reduces to n.
- ii) PS₁ and PS₃ single vowel prefixes (o- and a-) (i- and o- 'subj. rel.') are preceded by h- when occurring with glottal initial stems.
- iii) PS₃ third person form is ij- preceding vowel initial oral stems and inh- preceding vowel initial nasal stems (inh- [iñ-]).

Examples:	i) <u>ja</u> -gwata	'We walk.'	<u>nha</u> -nheno	'We lie down.'
	ii) <u>o</u> -karu	'He has a meal.'	<u>ho</u> - 'u	'He eats something.'
	iii) <u>i</u> -poxy	'He's angry.'	<u>ij</u> -agwyje	'It's ripe.'

3.4.2 Morphological Changes

PS₃ third person form is h- and 'subject related' form is gw- when prefixed to R class Stative verbs.

Examples:	i-potī	'It is clean.'	h-asy	'He is ill.'
			(R class -rasy)	

3.5 R Class Prefixes

R Class Stative Roots occur with PS₃ prefixes in first and second person and the morphological variants, h- and gw- in third person. There is also a third prefix t- indicating non-possession. When these three prefixes occur with the R Class root, two CCs reduce to one and root initial 'r' drops.

Examples:	<u>xe</u> -ry'ái	'I'm sweating.'	<u>h</u> -y'ái	'He sweats.'
------------------	------------------	-----------------	----------------	--------------

3.6 Transitive Prefixes (Two person involvement)

In each of the four simple matrices, the vertical axis represents the Subject and the horizontal axis the Object. Singular also indicates Non-Collective and Plural Collective. When two third persons are involved, the Object is really 4th person, but it did not seem necessary to further complicate the matrices:

		<u>M. 1.</u>								
		1	2	3	Sing.	1 in.	1 ex.	2	3	Plur.
Sing.	1	<u>oro- a-</u>			Sing.	<u>apo- a-</u>				
	2	xe-	ere-			<u>ore- ere-</u>				
	3	xe- nde-	o-			<u>nhande- ore- pende- o-</u>				
		<u>M. 3.</u>								
		1	2	3/4	Sing.	1 in.	1 ex.	2	3/4	Plur.
Plur.	1 in.	*	*	ja-	Plur.	*	*	*	ja-	
	1 ex.	*	oro-	oro-		*	*	oropo-	oro-	
	2	xe-	*	pe-		*	ore-	*	pe-	
	3	xe-	nde-	o-		nhande-	ore-	pende-	o-	

Blanks are readily explicable: two first persons cannot be involved, nor two second persons, nor second person and first person inclusive (which includes second person).

3.7 Command Prefixes

There are two series of Command prefixes:

Imperative (PS₄)

Hortatory (PS₅)

3.7.1 Imperative Prefixes (PS₄)

There are four forms only, two second person forms, one for non-collective and one for collective and two alternate forms for first person inclusive:

e- '2nd person non-collective'
(he- preceding glottal initial stem)

pe- '2nd person collective'

ja- or xa- '1st person inclusive'
(xa- is used by some older speakers)
(ja- has the nasal alternant nha- like its PS₁ counterpart)

Examples: e-kwa 'Move!' ja-ha 'Let's go'

3.7.2 Hortatory Prefixes (PS₅)

This set comprises the PS₁ set preceded by t- in the case of vowels, ta- in the case of consonants. There seems no theoretical reason why t-/ta- should not also occur with all forms of PS₂ and PS₃, but to date, only the forms tanhande- 3rd plus 1st incl. and toro- 1st plus 2nd person have been encountered.

4 STEM LEVEL

Verb stems are divided into three main classes on the basis of their distribution within the verb with different sets of prefixes. These divisions coincide with types set up on the basis of different internal structure. The classes/types are as follows:

- a) Transitive Stems
- b) Intransitive Stems
- c) Stative Stems

These stems are further subdivided on the basis of internal structure.

4.1 Transitive Stems

4.1.1 Transitive Stem Type 1 (TST₁)

This type consists solely of Trans. roots, classes 1 and 2 (TR₁, TR₂)

When TR₂ occurs with PS₃ stem initial 'h' is replaced by 'r'.

+ TR_{1/2}

Examples: o-juka 'He killed him.'
(TR₁)

a-hupi 'I picked him up.'
(TR₂)

xe-rupi 'He picked me up.'
(TR₂)

4.1.2 Transitive Stem Type 2 (TST₂)

This type consists of Transitive stem-former 1 (TSF₁) followed by either neutral root 1 (NR₁) and optional Body-part (BP) or by obligatory BP and TR₁ or TST_{3/4/5}.

TSF₁ is obligatory except when it co-occurs with PS₃ in which case it is obligatorily absent. It seems to be optional when preceding BP and TST₄.

+/- TSF₁ + (±BP + NR₁) or (+BP + TR₁/TST_{3/4/5})

Examples: o-i-po-kyty 'He/she scrubbed him.'
(PS₁-TSF₁-BP-NR₁)

o-j-apo 'He made it.'
(PS₁-TSF₁-NR₁)

a-i-kwaa 'I know him.'
(PS₁-TSF₁-NR₁)

xe-nupã 'He hit me.'
(PS₃-NR₁)

o-i-po-juka 'It froze his hand.'
(PS₁-TSF₁-BP-TR₁)

o-i-py'a-ra'ã 'He made trial of his innermost (tempted).'
(PS₁-TSF₁-BP-TR₂)

o-h-embe-joka 'It lip-cracked him.'
(PS₁-TSF₁-BP-TST₃)

TSF₁ -i- has variant forms: -j- preceding V initial oral root, -nh- preceding V initial nasal root, zero preceding glottal and -h- before R class BP.

4.1.3 Transitive Stem Type 3 (TST₃)

This type consists of Transitive stem-former 2 (TSF₂) -jo-/-nho- (-nho- precedes nasal roots) followed by neutral root 2 (NR₂):

+ TSF₂ +NR₂

Examples: o-nho-mi 'He hid it.'
(PS₁-TSF₂-NR₂)

xe-jo-ko 'He kept me away.'
(PS₃-TSF₂-NR₂)

a-jo-gwa 'I bought it.'
(PS₁-TSF₂-NR₂)

4.1.4 Transitive Stem Type 4 (TST₄)

This type consists of Transitive stem-former 3 (TSF₃) followed by Intransitive, Stative or Noun stems, (IST), (SST), (NST), or Numeral. TSF₃ has two variant forms: -mbo- preceding oral stems and -mo- preceding nasal stems (see section 5.3):

+ TSF₃ +IST/SST/NST/Numeral

4.1.4.1 TST 4, Sub-type 1

This sub-type consists of the stem-former and Intransitive stem; of which there are three main types:

- Intransitive Root (IR)
- Noun plus TR
- Intransitive stem-former plus TST/NR

Examples:	o-mbo-gwapɣ (IR)	'He made sit down, soothed.'
	o-mo-ngaru (IR)	'He fed him.'
	o-mbo-y-'u (N) (TR)	'He caused him to drink water.'
	o-mo-nhe-mbo-asy (ISF) (TST)	'caused him to feel sorry for himself'

In this example the TST consists of TSF₃ plus Stative root. Probably no more than two TSF₃s can occur in any one stem.

o-mbo-je-javy (TST)	'caused him to sin'
o-mbo-je-pota (NR)	'caused to be joined'

4.1.4.2 TST 4, Sub-type 2

This sub-type consists of the stem-former and a Stative stem of which there are three main types:

- Stative root (SR)
- Body-part (BP) plus IR/SR
- Noun (N) plus TR

Examples:	o-mbo-poxy (SR)	'made him angry'
	o-mbo-esa-ka'u (BP) (IR)	'made his eye swim, made him dizzy'
	o-mbo-py'a-ryrýi (BP) (SR)	'made his innermost shake, tremble'
	o-mbo-so'o-'u (N) (TR)	'made him an eater of meat'

4.1.4.3 TST 4, Sub-type 3

This sub-type consists of the stem-former and a Noun stem which may consist of a simple noun, or noun plus affix:

Examples:	o-mbo-yvy	'make it earth, dirty'
	o-mbo-h-ape	'make it their track' (noun plus prefix)
	o-mo-mba'e-gwasu	'made him an important person' (noun plus suffix)

4.1.4.4 TST 4, Sub-type 4

This sub-type consists of the stem-former and a Numeral:

Example:	xe-mo-mokōi	'He made me two, by accompanying me.'
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4.1.5 TST 5 or Concomitative Stem (TST₅)

This type consists of the Concomitative or TSF₄ followed by an Intransitive or Stative root. The variant forms of the Concomitative are rather complex and will be described below:

+ TSF₄ + IR/SR

Examples:	o-gwero-porahéi (IR)	'He leads the singing.'
	o-gweno-hasē (SR)	'causes (internally) to cry'

The Concomitative TSF₄ occurs with at least 14 alternate forms and the possibility of two further forms:

-ro-/-ra-/-r-/-no-/-gwero-/-gwera-/-gwer-/-gweno-/
-rero-/-rera-/-rer-/-reno-/-er-/-era-

Treating -rero- as the basic member the variant forms may be described as follows:

- i) The second 'r' is replaced by 'n' preceding nasal stems.
- ii) The first C drops when 'h' is prefixed.
- iii) The first C is replaced by -gw- (or -gw̃- in the case of nasal stems) when following the V 'o' of ISF or PS₁.

- iv) The first syllable drops following all other members of PS₁.
- v) Final V drops before V initial stems and is replaced by 'a' preceding the intransitive verb (IR) -ha/-ho 'to go'.

4.1.6 Other Transitive Stems

Three other types have been noted:

- a) TR plus Modal
- b) TST plus Emphatic or affix
- c) Stem-former -nho- plus Emphatic/Stative

Examples:	o-me'ë-rei (TR) (Modal)	'He gave as a present.'
	o-mo-ĩ-gatu (TST) (Emp)	'He put it away.'
	o-nho-gatu (TSF) (EMP/SR)	'He preserved it.'
	ndoro-gwer-u-gwasu-i (TST) (Affix)	'We didn't bring a lot.'

4.2 Intransitive Stems (IST)

4.2.1 Intransitive Stem Type 1 (IST₁)

This type consists solely of an intransitive root (IR):

Examples:	o-karu (IR)	'He has a meal.'	o-menda (IR)	'They marry.'
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4.2.2 Intransitive Stem Type 2 (IST₂)

This type consists of either Intransitive stem-former 1 (ISF₁) followed by IST₁ or of ISF₂ followed by IST₁ or IST₅. ISF₁ consists of -je-/-nhe- (before nasal stems) meaning 'indefinite subject'.

ISF₂ consists of -je-/-nhe- (before nasal stems) meaning 'reflexive' or 'passive' and -jo-/-nho- (before nasal stems) meaning 'reciprocal'.

- i) + ISF₁ + IST₁
- ii) + ISF₂ + IST_{1/5}

Examples:	i) o-je-ike (ISF ₁)(IST ₁)	'Someone entered.'
	o-je-porahéi haty-py (ISF ₁) (IST ₁)	'place where people habitually sing'
	ii) o-nho-nhe 'ë (ISF ₂) (IST ₁)	'They speak to each other.'
	o-nhe-embí 'u-eka (ISF ₂) (IST ₅)	'He seeks food for himself.'

4.2.3 Intransitive Stem Type 3 (IST₃)

This type consists of ISF₂ -je-/-jo-/-poro- meaning 'indefinite object' followed optionally by BP, followed by NR₁:

+ISF₂ ±BP +NR₁

Examples:	o-je-po-pete (ISF ₂) (BP) (NR ₁)	'They applaud (slap hands for themselves).'
	o-nhe-kwã-pyte (as above)	'She sucks her thumb.'
	o-nhe-tĩ-mbiro (as above)	'He skins his own nose.'
	o-poro-nupã (ISF ₂) (NR ₁)	'He strikes people.'
	o-jo-su 'u (as above)	'They bite each other.'

4.2.4 Intransitive Stem type 4 (IST₄)

This type consists of ISF₂, NR₂ and optional BP. NR₂ may prefix either -je- or -mba 'e (ma 'e before nasal stems) meaning 'non-personal indefinite object'. Both prefixes cannot occur

with the same root. Roots seem to occur always with either one or the other. When *-je-* occurs, a BP may also occur:

+ (+ISF₂ -je- ±BP)/ ISF₂ -mba'e- + NR₂

Examples:	o-je-ova-mi (ISF ₂) (BP) (NR ₂)	'He hid his face.'
	o-ma'e-tÿ (ISF ₂) (NR ₂)	'He plants something.'
	o-je-ka (ISF ₂) (NR ₂)	'It got cracked.'

4.2.5 Intransitive Stem Type 5 (IST₅)

This type consists of Noun plus TR or IR:

+ Noun + TR/IR

Examples:	o-kay-'u (N) (TR)	'drinks mate tea'
	o-yvay-rasa (N) (TR)	'It crosses the sky.'
	o-mboka-pu (N) (IR)	'He fires a gun.'

4.2.6 Intransitive Stem Type 6 (IST₆)

This type consists of Transitive stems 1, 3-5 intransitivized by the occurrence of one or all four members of TSF₂; *-je-*, *-jo-*, *-poro-*, *-mba'e-*. Theoretically two members of TSF₂ could occur in one complex stem, that is, included within the TST as well as intransitivizing it. See 4.1.4.1 for the occurrence of two TSF₃.

+ ISF₂ +TST_{1/3/4/5} or CST

Examples:	o-je-juka (TST ₁)(TR ₁)	'He got himself killed.'
	o-nhe-hundi (TST ₁)(TR ₂)	'They were destroyed.'

o-mba'e-reka 'He was looking for something.'
(TST₁)(TR₂)

N.B. TR₂ class above occurs with root initial 'r' following a 'noun':

o-je-jo-ko 'He was kept off.'
(TST₃)

o-nhe-mbo-hory 'He amused himself.'
(TST₄)

o-je-rero-va 'He was moved to another place.'
(TST₅)

4.2.7 Other Intransitive Stems

The IR *-iko* 'live' may also form stems with *-ve* 'additive', IR *-vy'a*, and some qualifiers such as *porã*. The IR *-ky* 'rain' also forms stems with suffix *-rusu* and qualifier *kakwaa*. IR *-nhe'ẽ* also forms stem with suffix *-gwasu*.

Examples: o-ky-rusu 'It rained heavily.'
(IST)
(IR) (Suffix)

a-iko-vy'a jevy magatu 'I lived happily again.'
(IST)
(IR) (IR)

4.3 Stative Stems (SST)

4.3.1 Stative Stem Type 1, (SST₁)

This type consists of a Stative Root (SR)

+ SR

Examples: i-potĩ 'It's clean.' h-atã 'It's hard.'

4.3.2 Stative Stem Type 2, (SST₂)

This type consists of a Noun stem (NST)

+ NST

Examples:	na-xe-roga-véi (NST)	'I don't have a house anymore.'
	i-me (NST)	'She has a husband.'
	i-py'a-gwasu (NST)	'He has a large inside, he's brave.'
	kunhataĩ-mba-ta-ma (NST)	'They are all about to become (girls) of age.'

4.3.3 Stative Stem Type 3, (SST₃)

This type consists of a BP followed by IST or SR:

+ BP + IST/SR

Examples:	i-py'a-je-juka (BP) (IST ₆)	'He was disappointed.'
	i-py'a-gwapy (BP) (IST ₁)	'His liver sat, was calm.'
	i-po-jei (BP)(IST ₁)	'His hand slipped.'
	h-esa-ka'u (BP) (IST ₁)	'His eye swam, was dizzy.'
	inh-akã-hatã (BP)(SR)	'His head is hard, he's active.'

4.4 Compound Stems

4.4.1 Compound Verb Stem

This type consists of a simple verb stem followed by a Modifying Verb (MVB) and/or a Stem-modifier (STM):

+ VST + MVB/STM/MVB + STM

The MVB is either -kwaá 'know how to' or -ka'u 'long to'. The STM is also a very small class consisting of:

-pavě 'sharingly'

-vy 'roughly, more or less'

Examples:	i-kyhyje-kwaa (SR) (MVB)	'He knows how to be frightened.'
	a-pyta-nga'u (IST ₁) (MVB)	'I long to settle down.'
	ho-'u-pavě-mba (TST ₁) (STM)	'They shared eating it all.'
	o-hexa-kwaa-vy avy rei (TST ₁) (MVB) (STM)	'He keeps showing a little favour to no purpose.'

4.4.2 Causative Verb Stem (CST)

This type consists of a Transitive Stem and suffix -uka 'causative, indicates that the action is achieved through another person'. MVB and STM may optionally occur:

+TST ±MVB ±STM +CA -uka

Examples:	a-hexa-uka íxupe (TST ₁)(CA)	'I caused him to see it, showed him.'
	o-hendu-vy-uka rei (TST ₁)(STM)(CA)	'He caused him to hear it after a fashion.'

4.5 Negative Stems

This type consists of Verb stem plus negative ambifix. The effect of the ambifix functioning at Stem level instead of at phrase is rather like that of an antonym; i.e. not-happy = sad, etc.

+VST + Neg

For examples and discussion, see 2.2.1.5

4.6 Intensified Stems

It seems better to describe this feature as not one more type than as an addendum to the various stem classes. This type may be described as a Verb stem plus Emphatic particle, intensifying suffixes or qualifier:

+VST + Intensifier

Examples:	hasě-gwasu (SR) (Int.)	'He screamed.'
	inhe'ě-gatu	'He can really talk.'

o-ky-rusu 'It poured.'
(IR₁) (Int.)

no-me 'ě-gwasú-i 'He didn't give a lot.'
(TR₁) (Int.)

4.7 Reduplication

The sense of 'continuousness' can be expressed by reduplication of the last two syllables of the stem, of the numeral, of the qualifier, or of the modals *meme* and *jevy*. The effect of this reduplication is very similar to that of the use of the modal *meme* (both *-pa* and *-ve* can function as part of the stem in reduplication).

Examples: o-i-pete pete 'kept mobbing the bird'
(stem)

o-porahei tee tee 'kept up genuine singing'
(qual)

o-ho jevy jevy 'kept on returning'
(Modal)

Also a-iko porã porã **or** a-iko porã *meme* 'I keep on living well.'

N.B. ho 'u-pa upa 'He kept eating it all.'
i-puku-ve ku-ve-ta 'He will keep growing taller.'

5 MORPHEME LEVEL

There follow examples of the main verb root classes:

5.1 Transitive Verb Roots (TR)

5.1.1 TR Class 1 (TR₁)

Examples:

-juka	'kill'	-me 'ě	'give'
-johéi	'wash'	-monda	'steal'
-jopy	'crush'	- 'u	'eat (something)'

5.1.2 TR Class 2 (TR₂)

Examples:

-ha'ã	'make trial of'	-hendu	'hear'	
-ha'arõ	'wait for'	-henóí	'call'	
-hayhu	'love'	-hexa	'see'	etc.

This 'h' class has an alternate form with stem initial 'r' when following PS₃ or noun that is part of the stem structure.

Examples:

a-hupi	'I picked him up.'	xe-rupi	'He picked me up.'
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5.2 Neutral Verb Roots (NR)

5.2.1 NR Class 1 (NR₁)

Examples of Sub-class A:

-kyty	'clean'	-poru	'use'	
-kwaa	'know'	-pytygwõ	'help'	
-pyhy	'grasp'	-su'u	'bite'	
-pota	'want'			etc.

Sub-class B is made up of V initial roots which may also occur with an ISF₂ preceding TSF₁

-aho'i	'cover'	-ape	'do, make'	
-a'o	'chide'	-ygwõ	'shoot at'	
-api	'shoot at'	-ugwã	'wrap up'	etc.

5.2.2 NR Class 2 (NR₂)

Examples:

-gwa	'buy'	-mi	'hide'	
-hu	'find, happen'	-'o	'dig'	
-ka	'crack'	-so	'pound'	
-ko	'fence, support'	-tÿ	'plant'	

Seems to be a closed class of monosyllabic roots.

5.3 Intransitive Verb Roots (IR)

Examples:

-gwapý	'sit'	-veve	'fly'
-soro	'get torn'	-karu	'eat/have a meal'
-páy	'wake up'	-porahéi	'sing'

Certain verb roots with initial consonants p-, s-, k- change when preceded by the transitive stem-former (TSF), arbitrarily choosing the nasalized form -mo- .

When this occurs, p- changes to -mb-
 k- " to -ng-
 s- " to -nd-

Examples:

o-páy	'he wakes up'	o-mo- <u>mb</u> áy	'he wakes him up'
o- <u>k</u> aru	'he eats, has a meal'	o-mo- <u>ng</u> aru	'he feeds him' (causes him to eat)
o- <u>s</u> oro	'it tears, is torn'	o-mo- <u>nd</u> oro	'he tears it, causes to be torn'

NB The verb -ho- 'to go' is irregular, as its root is -ho- in the 2nd & 3rd persons (singular & plural) and 1st person plural exclusive, and -ha- in the 1st persons singular and plural-inclusive:- aha, ereho, oho, jaha, oroho, oho

Just as(above) p- changes to -mb- , k- to -ng- and s- to -nd-, with the nasal transitive stem formative -mo-, in the same way the root initial h- in -ho- (go) changes to -nd-, as seen in the following example:

o- <u>h</u> o	'he goes'	o-mo- <u>nd</u> o	'he sent him' (made him go)
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5.4 Stative Verb Roots (SR)

5.4.1 SR Class 1 (SR₁)

Examples of Sub-class A:

-'arandu	'be wise'	-potĩ	'be clean'	
-pohýi	'be heavy'	-poxy	'be angry'	etc.

Examples of Sub-class B which occur only with 3rd person forms of PS₃:

-'a	'have fruit'	-poty	'have tassels or plumes'	etc.
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5.4.2 SR Class 2 (SR₂)

Examples of Sub-class A:

-rapehýi	'be sleepy'	-rory	'be content'	
-rasē	'scream'	-ru'ũ	'be soaked'	etc.

Examples of Sub-class B which occur only with 3rd person forms of PS₃:

-roky	'sprout'	-renhói	'grow of plants'
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Root initial 'r' is dropped when 'h' is prefixed in 3rd person.

5.5 Roots that are both Intransitive and Stative

Examples:

-jegwa	'be painted'	-mbyaju	'be tired of something'	
-karu	'eat'	-pu	'make a noise'	
-kyhyje	'be frightened'			etc.