PARINTINTIN GRAMMAR

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*** This paper was written in 1968, and was never worked on further, so it is virtually in its original form.**

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

SLOTS

A	Axis
Add	Addition
Asp	Aspect
Aux	Auxiliary
C	Comment
Caus	Causative
Cit	Citation
CM	Construction Marker
Con	Concomitant
H	Head
Iden	Identification
Intro	Introduction
M	Modifier
Nom	Nominalizer
O	Object
P	Predicate
Part	Particle
Per	Permissive
Poss	Possessive
Pr	Possessor
Q	Qualifier
Quov	Quotative
R	Relational
Real	Realizer
Ref	Reflexive
Rr	Relator
Rx	Relafix
S	Subject
To	Topic
Voc	Vocative

FILLERS

a-rr	axis-relator
adv	adverb
asp	aspect
att	attribute
aug	augmentative
aux	auxiliary
b	base
c	complex (verb and noun)
caus	causative
cl	clause
clm	class marker
cm	construction marker
com	command
comp	complex (sentence)
con	concomitant
d	descriptive
decl	declarative
dem	demonstrative
desid	desiderative
dim	diminutive
dv	descriptive verb
exclus	exclusive
exh	exhortative
fem	feminine
frag	fragment
fut	future
i	intransitive
iden	identifier
inclus	inclusive
indef	indefinite
intens	intensive
iv	intransitive verb
m	modal
masc	masculine
n	noun
neg	negative
nom	nominal
ns	noun stem
part	particle
ph	phrase
pl	plural
pm	person marker

pre	prefix
pred	predicative
pro	pronoun
q	qualifier
qs	question
quota	quotation
r	relational
rec	reciprocal
ref	reflexive
rr	relator
s	subject
sen	sentence
sing	singular
sm	simple
suf	suffix
t	transitive
to-c	topic-comment
tv	transitive verb
v	verb
vb	verb base
vc	verb complex
vr	verb root
vs	verb stem

GENERAL NOTES

a. The examples in this study were chosen almost entirely from text printed up in the IBM concordance program. The IBM reference numbers follow each example.

b. All examples are written in the practical orthography.

c. As to the form of the examples, when the item in question is less than a complete word, the complete word is given but the item is set off from the rest of the word by dashes and by underlining. The translation of the item is likewise set off by dashes and underlining. The significant parts within the item or the underlined part, are also set off from one another by dashes. Other morpheme breaks are not shown except in a general way by the ordering of words given in the literal translation. These words are separated by slash lines (/). The most inclusive meaning possible, however, is generally given for the non-significant parts. Spaces indicate word breaks in both Parintintin and the translation but it must be remembered that orthographic words do not correspond to any grammatical division of Parintintin.

d. When referring to verb complexes in general this is taken to include also descriptive verb complexes unless otherwise stated.

e. The formulae listed, particularly in the verbal and nominal stems, represent the combinations of morphemes, stems, clauses, etc., which have been noted to date, but do not, of course, preclude the possibility of other combinations.

f. For a more detailed description of the meanings of morphemes and derived stems, etc., see LaVera Betts' Parintintin Dictionary.

1. The Verb Complex

The concept of the verb complex is the single most important grammatical unit in the Parintintin language. It is the basic unit of predication and fills the head slot of the verb phrase (see 3.1.). In this section will be treated the various verb complexes and each lower level comprising them.

1.1. Roots

Verbal roots are either transitive, intransitive, or descriptive.[1] Cutting across this type of classification is a further division (a morphophonemic classification) into two classes of roots which will be

[1] A few verbal roots have been found which function at times as transitives and other times as intransitives. The roots of this type that have been noted are: *-jyi* 'move', *-pyryg̃wym-* 'swing', *-atiman-* 'turn around', and *-myrõ* 'search for, envy'.

called the *h class* and the *i class*. The division into these two basic classes is determined by two differing sets of class markers (see 1.5.1.) with which the roots may combine to form verb bases (1.2.). A transitive verb root also fills the head slot of transitive verb stem 4 and an intransitive verb root fills the head slot of intransitive verb stem 1. (For verb stems, see 1.3.)

1.1.1. h class

The majority of the *h class* roots are transitive or descriptive.

Ex.	h-enduv-i tvr	GO 1	'heard'
	gw-eagwyryv-amo dvr	AU 53	'was drunk'

There are, however, three *h class* verb roots which are intransitive and all three are irregular. They are *ur-* 'come', *uv-* 'be, live', and *-ko/-eko* 'be'. *-ko* is used after person markers 1 and 3 (1.5.2.) and *-eko* elsewhere. *ur-* and *uv-* only occur in the third person forms *uhu* (or *u*) and *u* in a declarative clause. Their negative forms are *ndurí* and *nduví* with the stress transfering to the modal 2 suffix -i (1.4.1.)

Ex.	ahe r-eko-i	HD 4	'the(now dead)person was'
	ga r-ur-i	HP 1	'he came'

1.1.2. i class

There are transitive, intransitive, and descriptive roots which belong to the *i class.*

Ex.	i-pehir-i tvr	GG 3	'swept'
	ga kwa-i ivr	AH 8	'he passed'

hẽa kwerai-ro		CY 80	'she got bored'
	dvr		

There are several descriptive verb roots which do not occur with a class marker. Some examples of these are: *pyry* 'good', and *tirũa* 'bad'. Three transitive verbs of this type have also been found: *-juka* 'kill', *-jahog-* 'pound', and *-jarar-* 'dip out'.[1]

1.2. Bases

Verb bases fill slots in verb stems as follows: a transitive verb base fills the head slot of transitive verb stem 1 and the auxiliary slot of any verb stem, an intransitive verb base fills the head slot of intransitive verb stem 2 and descriptive verb stem 5, and a descriptive verb base fills the head slot of descriptive verb stems 1 and 4 and the auxiliary slot of any verb stem. Verb bases are composed of verb roots with the obligatory or possible addition of a class marker. They may be either transitive, intransitive, or descriptive, but the intransitive bases are limited to three as was discussed in 1.1.1.

1.2.1. h bases

An *h base* is composed of an obligatory class marker plus an *h class* verb root.

+ h clm + h class verb root

Ex.

h-epiag-i	HN 2	'saw'
clm-tvr		
ore r-uv-i	HG 4	'we were'
clm-ivr		
nda-h-oryv-i	AX 50	'aren't happy'
clm-dvr		

[1] Because each of these roots begins with *j* and the class marker has also an alternate form *j* occuring before vowels, it seems probable that the *j* of these verb roots was originally the class marker which has now become fused with the root.

For a complete listing of the members of the *h class* marker set, see 1.5.1.1.

1.2.2. i bases

An *i base* is composed of an *i class* verb root which at times must occur with and at times without a class marker.

+ i clm + *i class* verb root

Ex.

i-pyhyg-a clm-tvr	IF 3	'grabbing'
o-#-nha ivr	GB 5	'ran'
nh-akỹ clm-dvr	CJ 15	'dampened'

For a description of the *i class* markers and their occurrence, see 1.5.1.2.

1.3. Stems

Verb stems are found filling the core slots of verb complexes, and the head slots of various noun and verb stems. (For verb complexes, see 1.4., and noun stems, see 2.3.) The verb stems will be discussed first with regard to the various nuclei which highlight the differences between each stem, and then with regard to the peripheral tagmemes which may occur in any of the stems.

1.3.1. Nuclei

The various combinations of nuclear tagmemes in the verbal stems mark them as being either transitive, intransitive, or descriptive, and these types of stems may in turn be either simple or derived.

1.3.1.1. Transitive verb stems

Transitive verb stems fill the core slot of verb complexes II, IV, VI, VIII, and X, and the head slot of intransitive verb stems 3, 4, and 5, and the head slot of noun stems 2 and 4.

1.3.1.1.1. Simple

A simple transitive verb stem is composed of either a transitive verb base, or a noun stem.

1.3.1.1.1.1. Transitive verb stem 1 (tvs_1)

+ H:tvb

Ex.

henduv-i tvb	AT 1	'heard'
ahemonhi-notĩ tvb *people/caus/rf-embarass*	AV 101	'it makes people embarrassed'

1.3.1.1.1.2. Transitive verb stem 2 (tvs_2)

+ H:ns_5

Ex.

na-nemombe'uhav-i H:ns_5 *neg-you/tell/nom-neg*	'there is no one to tell about you'

For a description of noun stems, see 2.3.1.3.2. In this position the suffix *-hava* is the only nominalizer that has been found to occur in the noun stem.

1.3.1.1.2. Derived

A derived transitive stem may be one of four different types.

1.3.1.1.2.1. Transitive verb stem 3 (tvs_3)

A transitive verb stem 3 is composed of a concomitant morpheme or base plus an intransitive or descriptive verb stem.

+ Con:con / conb + H:$ivs_{1,4,5}$ / dvs

Ex. hero-kwav-a GT 1 'passing by with'
Con:conb-H:ivs$_1$
with-pass

gwero-hovavu HN 8 'head turned up with'
Con:conb-H:ivs$_5$
with-face/rise

The concomitant morpheme which fills the concomitant slot in transitive verb stems 3 and 5 indicates that the subject of the clause is being accompanied by something or someone in his performance of the action of the intransitive verb stem or in his state of being as expressed by the descriptive verb stem filling the head slot. The morpheme has six different manifestations:

	preceding ur-(see 1.1.1.) uv- -eko	preceding other oral stems	preceding nasal stems
following a consonant (i.e. clmh):	-er-	-ero-	-eno-
following a vowel:	-r-	-ro-	-no-

When the concomitant morpheme is preceded by an *h class* marker it becomes a concomitant base. This base is found only in the concomitant slot of transitive verb stem 3.

For a description of intransitive verb stems 1, 4 and 5, see 1.3.1.2.1.1., 1.3.1.2.2.1., and 1.3.1.2.2.2., and for descriptive verb stems, see 1.3.1.3.

1.3.1.1.2.2. Transitive verb stem 4 (tvs$_4$)

A transitive verb stem 4 is composed of a noun stem plus a transitive verb root.

+ Goal:ns$_{1,3}$ + H:tvr

Ex. hav-ekyi AP 47 'removed the fur'
Goal:ns_1-H
fur-remove

-pytupir-aho-pava CE 39 'socks'
Goal:ns3-H
heel/skin-cover-nom

For a description of noun stems 1 and 3, see 2.3.1.1.1., 2.3.1.2.

No peripheral elements have been found to occur in noun stems in this position.

1.3.1.1.2.3. Transitive verb stem 5 (tvs_5)

A transitive verb stem 5 is composed of a noun base plus a concomitant morpheme plus an intransitive verb stem.

+ Goal:nb + Con:con + H:ivs_1

Ex. aji-po-er-u 'I beckon'
Goal-Con-H
I/rf-hand-with-come

For a description of noun bases, see 2.2.

1.3.1.1.2.4. Transitive verb stem 6 (tvs_6)

A transitive verb stem 6 is composed of an optional noun base plus a causative base plus an intransitive verb stem, a descriptive verb stem, or a noun stem.

± Goal:nb + Caus:causb + H:$ivs_{2,4,5}$ / dvs / ns_1

Ex. o-nhaka-mo-hẽ IK 4 'stuck its head out'
Goal-Caus-H:ivs_2
3rdp-head-caus-leave

o-mbo-hovyovy CE 52 'painting green'
Caus-H:dvs
3rdp-caus-blue,green

o-mo-hatatĩ IJ 7 'is smoking'
Caus-H:ns$_1$
3rdp-caus-fire/white

The causative base here filling the causative slot is composed of the causative morpheme which in certain instances is preceded by an *i class* marker. The causative morpheme indicates that the subject is causing the object of the verb to perform the action of the intransitive verb stem, to be in the state expressed by the descriptive verb stem, or to become the item expressed by the noun stem. The morphene has two forms, *-mo-* before a nasal or prenasalized consonant, and *-mbo-* elsewhere.

Several descriptive verb roots of the *h class* take the class marker *gw* rather than adding the causative morpheme to the stem, to become a special form which functions as a transitive verb root. This form is of the *i class*. These descriptive verb roots are: *-ahy* 'hurt', *-ahem-* 'shout', *-e'yi* 'be many', *-eihãi* 'large', *-y'ai* 'sweat', and *-enhui* 'sprout'. Ex. i-gwahy-i AX 72 'it makes (our stomachs) hurt'.

For a description of intransitive verb stem 2, see 1.3.1.2.1.2.

1.3.1.2. Intransitive verb stems

Intransitive verb stems fill the core slots of verb complexes I, III, V, VII, and IX, the head slots of transitive verb stem 3, 5, and 6, of descriptive verb stem 2, and of noun stem 2, and the auxiliary slot of any verb stem.

1.3.1.2.1. Simple

A simple intransitive verb stem may be either an intransitive verb root, an intransitive verb base, or a noun stem.

1.3.1.2.1.1. Intransitive verb stem 1 (ivs$_1$)

+ H:ivr.

Ex. her-ur-i CC 3 'bring'
ivr
with-come-cm

hero-kwap-a CT 1 'passing by with'
ivr
with-pass-cm

1.3.1.2.1.2. Intransitive verb stem 2 (ivs_2)

+ H:ivb.

Ex. pemo-heko-huni CT 1 'it makes you dark'
ivb
you/caus-be-black/cm

imo-nhi'iĝ-i CW 42 'play (an instrument)'
ivb
caus-talk-cm

1.3.1.2.1.3. Intransitive verb stem 3 (ivs_3)

+ H:ns_5.

Ex. ndo-hohav-i CS 28 'not one that goes'
ns_5
neg/pm-go/nom-neg

As in transitive verb stem 2, -hava is here the only nominalizer that has been found to occur in the noun stem.

1.3.1.2.2. Derived

A derived intransitive verb stem may be composed of a reflexive or reciprocal and a transitive or descriptive verb stem, or a noun base and a transitive verb stem.

1.3.1.2.2.1. Intransitive verb stem 4 (ivs_4)

An intransitive verb stem 4 is composed of a reflexive or reciprocal plus a transitive or descriptive verb stem.

+ Ref:rf / rec + H:$tvs_{1,3,4,5,6}$ / dvs

Ex.

nho-gweronhipymi CZ 31 'they both dived'
Ref:rec-H:tvs$_3$
both-with/rf/sink(cm)

hero-nhi-nhaĝ-a CW 40 'filling itself up with'
Ref:rf-H:tvs$_1$
with-rf-fill-cm

j-ovavur-i KB 20 'turned up his face'
Ref:rf-H:dvs$_5$
rf-face/rise-cm

The reflexive morpheme here filling the reflexive slot refers the action or state of the verbal form back to the subject. The morpheme has four forms, *ji-* and *j-* before oral consonants and vowels respectively, and *nh-* before nasalized vowels and *nhi-* elsewhere. (See note 2.c. on the chart in 1.5.1. for its combination with a following *h class* marker.)

The reciprocal morpheme, another filler of the reflexive slot, indicates that the members of the subject are acting together or upon each other. It has two forms, *nho-* preceding nasal or prenasalized consonants and *jo-* elsewhere.

1.3.1.2.2.2. Intransitive verb stem 5 (ivs$_5$)

An intransitive verb stem 5 is composed of a noun base and a transitive verb stem.

+ Goal:nb + H:tvs$_{1,6}$

Ex.

xa-y-'u 'let's drink water'
Goal-H:tvs$_1$
let's-water-eat

xa-juru-jai 'let's yawn'
Goal-H:tvs$_1$
let's-mouth-open

The base *-poro-* (which form occurs before consonants with *-por-* before vowels, and *-mor(o)-* in similar nasal environments) meaning 'people', although not a regular noun base, is one of the fillers of the goal slot.

Ex. ĝa mo-mor-andup-a GT 7 'advising them'
Goal-H:tvs$_1$
them caus-people-??-cm

It is composed of a morpheme which may or may not be preceded by an *i class* marker.

It may be noted that nominal and transitive verb forms may combine to form either an intransitive or a transitive (1.3.1.1.2.2.) stem, but it has not been found possible to predict when the resultant form will be the one or the other.

1.3.1.3. Descriptive verb stems

Descriptive verb stems fill the core slots of descriptive verb complexes I, II, III, and IV, and the head slots of transitive verb stems 3 and 6, intransitive verb stems 4, and noun stem 2.

1.3.1.3.1. Simple

A simple descriptive verb stem is a descriptive verb base, an intransitive verb stem, or a noun base.

1.3.1.3.1.1. Descriptive verb stem 1 (dvs$_1$)

+ H:dvb.

Ex. hahy dvb ZA 5 'hurts'

ikatu dvb AO 41 'pretty'

1.3.1.3.1.2. Descriptive verb stem 2 (dvs$_2$)

+ H:ivs$_{2,5}$.

In each of the few examples of intransitive verb stem 2 has been found also the transitive verb base *-potar-* 'want' in the auxiliary slot, and each occurrence of intransitive verb stem 5 has been found to have the base *-poro-* in the goal slot, see 1.3.1.2.2.2.

Ex. ndaji-ho-potar-a'javi CN 18 'I don't want to go again.'
H:ivs$_2$-Aux:tvb
neg/I/rf-go-want-again/neg

iporo-juka CK 14 '(they) like to kill people'
H:ivs$_5$
people-kill

1.3.1.3.1.3. Descriptive verb stem 3 (dvs$_3$)

+ H:nb.

Ex. nhi-mbate AH 34 'I have baggage'
nb

nde-py BB 167 'you have feet'
nb

1.3.1.3.2. Derived

A derived descriptive verb stem is a noun stem plus a descriptive verb base, or a noun base plus an intransitive verb base.

1.3.1.3.2.1. Descriptive verb stem 4 (dvs$_4$)

Aa descriptive verb stem 4 is composed of a noun stem and a descriptive verb base.

+ Goal:ns$_{1,3}$ + H:dvb

Ex. ĝa pi-hun-amo CL 'their skins became black'
Goal:ns$_1$-H:dvb
their skin-black-cm

o-poka-ne'õ-ro AU 37 'their hands got tired'
Goal:ns$_3$-H:dvb
their-hand/bone-tired-cm

No peripheral items have been found to occur in the noun stems here.

An alternate analysis to this one would be to consider the descriptive verb base as a peripheral element in the noun stem (2.3.2.), i.e., + H:$ns_{1,3}$ ± Aux:dvb. In this case, in the simple descriptive verb stem 3, the head slot would be filled by a noun stem 1 or 3 rather than a noun base.

1.3.1.3.2.2. Descriptive verb stem 5 (dvs_5)

A descriptive verb stem 5 is composed of a noun base and an intransitive verb base.

+ Goal:nb + H:ivb

Ex. nhaka-ma'ã — IC 12 — 'head got stuck'
Goal-H
head-stuck

ga revi-vyr-amo — GM 11 — 'he had his rear end turned up'
Goal-H
he rear end-arise-cm

1.3.2. Periphery[1]

The periphery of the verb stems[2] always follows the nucleus of the stem and is composed of an optional auxiliary tagmeme and an optional aspect tagmeme in that order.

The fillers of the auxiliary slot are found to occur in that slot in verb and noun stems, and in the modifier slot in verb and relational phrases. The auxiliary slot may be filled by the permitative *-ukar-*, a descriptive verb base, a transitive verb base, or an intransitive verb stem. (Only the nuclear items have been found in this slot.)

[1] Up until this time these peripheral items had been considered to be on complex level, but their treatment on stem level is now thought to simplify the description mainly of the noun complex.

[2] A stem final *-i* preceded by a vowel will become *-j-* before a peripheral item beginning with a vowel.

Ex.

tepekwa-nhimim-i HX 10 'don't pass secretly'
Aux:ivs
neg/you/pass-rf/hide-neg

oyrerupy-te'var-uhu-vo BD 127 'dancing ugly'
Aux:dvb-Asp
party/dance-ugly-aug-cm

The most common verbal fillers of the auxiliary slot are the descriptive verb bases *-katu* 'pretty, well', and *-te'var-* 'ugly, bad' and the transitive verb bases *-kwahav-* 'know', and *-potar-* 'want'.

The morpheme *-ukar-* is often used in a clause in conjunction with an axis-relator phrase with *pe*[1] 'about, for, to' as the relator, where the filler of the head of the axis slot is semantically the subject of the action of the verbal form. The grammatical subject is the one who is allowing or granting the permission for the action.

Ex.

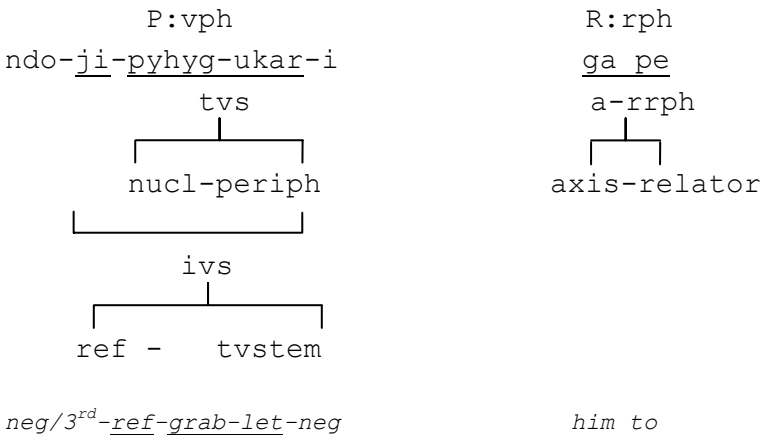
P:vph	S	R:rph	O	
ndere-juka-ukar-i-uhu	nde	ji ve	puruku'ia	AF 7
tvs		a-rrph		
nucleus-periphery		axis-relator		
neg/you-kill-let-neg-aug	*you*	*me to*	*pig*	

'You do not let me kill pig'.

-ukar- is always part of a transitive stem although this stem may in turn be preceded by a reflexive tagmeme to produce an intransitive verb stem which fills the core slot of the verb complex.

[1] For alternate forms see 3.4.1.

Ex.



'It didn't let itself be grabbed by him.'

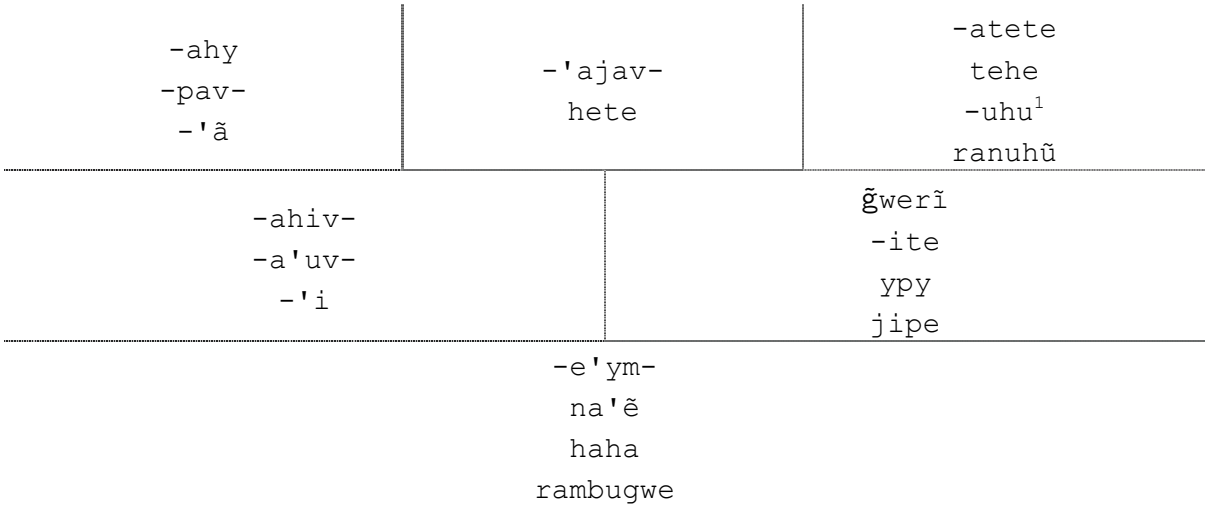
Aspects are found to occur in the aspect slot of verb stems, and in the modifier slot of noun, verb, and relational phrases (3.) The following is the list of aspects found in the aspect slot of the verb stem:

-ahy	'forcefully'
-pav-	(after oral vowels) 'all, finished'
-mbav-	(after or in combination with nasal consonants)
-'aĝ-	(the glottal metathesizes with a preceding stem final consonant) 'temporarily, pretendingly, deceivingly'
-'raĝ-	
-(a)'jav-[1]	'again'
hete	'really, very'
-(a)te[1]	'intensively'
-(a)tete	
tehe	'without reason, in vain, alone'
-(u)hu	'augmentative'
ranunhũ	'a lot'
-ahiv-	'in a big way for a short duration'
-a'uv-	'with strong desire'

[1] The initial *a* drops when the aspect is in the modifier slot on phrase level.

-'i	(glottal metathesizes with a preceding stem final consonant) 'diminutive'
g̃werĩ	'about to'
-ite	'only, just'
ypy	'first'
-e'ym-	'without'
-atyvi	'different from (err, miss)'
jipe	(after vowels) 'right away, already'
-iape	(after consonants)
na'ẽ	'first, yet'
haha	'insistently, determinedly'
rambugwe	'beginning to'

Three orders of aspects have been found to occur as shown in the following chart:



From the nucleus of the stem on out, each succeeding column follows the one directly preceding it in the same row, the first column in the first row also precedes the last column in the second row, and the third column in the first row follows the first column in the second row.

Because only two orders of aspects have been found to occur at one time, it is possible to confine the material to two orders, explaining that *a'jav-* and *hete* may occur either in the first or second order. It

[1] *-uhu* has been found to occur at times in almost any position.

has not been found possible to attribute any common meaning to the various columns or orders.

Ex.

Ou-pa ɠwerĩ Asp:asp asp *eat-all about to*	AM 104	'about to eat it all'
gweroho-katu-'i ranuhũ Aux:dvb-Asp:asp asp *with/go-well-dim a lot*	CE 10	'it took a lot well'
ipoky'a-uhu hete Asp:asp asp *hands/dirty-aug very*	CW 59	'had very dirty hands'

The function of *-ate*, here listed as an aspect, is difficult to explain. (The morpheme *-atete* is thought to be probably a reduplication of this morpheme.) Although the subject slots of the verb complexes in which it occurs may be filled by any of the person marker sets, a construction marker is apparently not obligatory to the construction in which it occurs, as it is to the regular verb complexes when person markers 3 and 5 fill the subject slots (vc III, V, etc.) Moreover, it does not appear to be semantically like a relator 2 which fills the relator slot in a clausal axis-relator phrase (3.4.2.) where the verb complexes found within the axis are also without a construction marker, and in any case, this would not explain the usage of *-ate* with person markers 2 and 4 in the subject slots as such are not found in said phrase.

There have been only two examples found with *-atete* (none with *-ate*) where the construction marker does occur.

Ex.

imonomondo-atete-i Core CM *caus / go - intens-cm$_1$*	AP 56	'really give'
o-jopotar-atete-vo S Core CM *3rdp-rec/like-intens-cm$_2$*	BE 308	'wanting each other'
ga ren-atete S Core [no CM] *he sit-intens*	DA 59	'(let) him stay'

The final consonant of a preceeding morpheme is retained before *-ate(te)*, but when there is a final vowel, at times a *j* is introduced and at times it is not. Compare:

Ex.

epoamondoj-ate *your/hand/caus/go-intens*	CY 46	'put out your hand'

1.3.3. Reduplication

Reduplication refers to intensified action or action involving many things, or repeated many times. It may occur in the nucleus of the stem or in the periphery. It involves the final stressed syllable plus the syllable preceding it, and the preceding syllable need not be a part of the stem.

Ex.

omano-g̃werig̃werĩ nucleus-periphery *die-about to*	DB 109	'was about to die'
ga hogaho-i nucl-cm$_1$ *he go*	PA 9	'he went and went'
nanhananhan-ahyuhui nucl- periphery *neg/I/run -forcefully*	AZ 391	'I'm not going to run and run forcefully'

A vowel which follows the stressed CV syllable to be reduplicated does not enter into the reduplication. This may be represented in the following formula: CV'CV.CV'CVV (' here indicates the following syllable is stressed.)

However, if preceding the stressed syllable there is a CV syllable followed by another vowel, only that vowel will enter into the reduplication. This may be represented: CVV'CV.V'CV When the syllable preceding the stressed one begins with *h*, the *h* is dropped in the reduplication process. This may be represented thus: hV'CV.V'CV. When, during reduplication, two like vowels occur together they unite to form one which is only slightly longer than a single vowel.

A few cases of single syllable reduplication have also been found.

Ex. ombo-'gwy'gwy IB 49 'picking'
3rd/caus-pick

onhimo-pẽpẽ GI 5 'broke (all his bones)'
3rd/ref/caus-break

1.4. Complexes

There are fourteen verb complexes in all: five transitive (vc II, IV, VI, VIII, and X), five intransitive (vc I, III, V, VII, and IX), and four descriptive (dvc I, II, III, and IV). Verb complexes I and II, and descriptive verb complex I fill the head slot of the verb phrase in declarative clauses, verb complexes III and IV and descriptive verb complex II fill the head slot of the verb phrase in demonstrative clauses, verb complexes V and VI and descriptive verb complex III in qualifier 1 clauses, VII and VIII in command clauses, and IX, X, and descriptive verb complex IV in qualifier 2 clauses. Verb complexes I, II, IX, and X, and descriptive verb complexes I and IV also fill the head slot of noun stems.

The complexes are distinguished from one another principally by the presence or absence of five different sets of person marker prefixes (1.5.2.) and of three different construction marker suffixes (1.5.3.).

1.4.1. Verb complex I

Verb complex I fills the head slot of the verb phrase in an intransitive declarative clause and the head slot of a noun stem 5.

± M_1:m_1 + S:pm_1 + Core:ivs ± M_2:m_2

Ex. t-o-ho-yme CW 18 'not going'
M_1-S-Core:ivs_2-M_2
desid-3rd-go-neg

xa-nhomonhi'ĩ KB 24 'let's talk to one another'
S - Core:ivs_4
let's-rec/caus/talk

Modal slots 1 and 2 are found in verb complexes I and II, and descriptive verb complex I. They are filled by modals having reference to the unreal action of the verb stem. A simple negative action is expressed discontinuously with the modal 1 slot filled by the prefixes *n-* or *nd-* before nasalized or oral vowels respectively, and *na-* or *nda-*[1] likewise before consonants, and with the modal 2 slot filled by the suffix *-i*.

A positively desired action is expressed with the modal 1 slot filled by the desiderative prefix *t-* before vowels and *ta-*[1] before consonants. (The only forms occuring in the 1st person plural inclusive, however, are the regular person marker 1 and 2 forms *ti-* and *xa-*.) The modal 2 tagmeme does not here occur.

A negatively desired action which could be called a negative command finds the modal 1 slot filled with the desiderative prefix and the modal 2 slot filled with the suffix *-i* for second person and the suffix *-yme* for the remaining persons.

For a complete listing of the person markers, see 1.5.2.

For the dropping of stem final consonants in the verb complexes, i.e., in the head of the verb phrase, see 2.5.c.i.

1.4.2. Verb complex II

Verb complex II fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a transitive declarative clause and the head slot of noun stem 5. It is formed in either of three ways.

a.	+ O:nc/dem pro + Core:$tvs_{1,3,6}$

[1] The pressure towards vowel harmony at times forces the *nda-* and *ta-* filling the modal 1 slot to become *nde-* and *te-* preceding a syllable with *e* as in the case of the second person plural person marker *pe*.

Ex. jipy'a-kutukutu IY 82 'piercing my liver'
O:nc -Core:tvs_1
my/liver-pierce

For a description of noun complexes, see 2.4., and for demonstrative pronouns, see 3.3.

b. ± M_1:m_1 + S:pm_2 ± O:ns + Core:$tvs_{1,3,4,5,6}$ ± M_2:m_2

Ex. o-pya-rupi'ri IC 30 'holding up his foot'
S- O -Core:tvs_1
3^{rd}-foot-hold up

c. ± M_1:m_1 + O:pm_5 + Core:$tvs_{1,3,6}$ ± M_2:m_2

Ex. ta-nde-juka-i AH 5 'don't let him kill you'
M_1- O- Core:tvs_1-M_2
desid-you-kill-m_2

In comparing types b. and c. of verb complex II it may be seen that a person marker 2 may act as subject in the complex and a person marker 5 may act as object but that both may not occur at the same time. A certain ranking has been noted between the person markers in this complex as follows: 1. First and second persons (subject or object) outrank third person. 2. In the first and second persons, object outranks subject. 3. In third person, either subject or object may be found, but the object is not found if the modal is present.

1.4.3. Descriptive verb complex I

Descriptive verb complex I fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a descriptive declarative clause and the head slot of noun stem 5.

± M_1:m_1 + S:pm_4 + Core:dvs ± M_2:m_2

Ex. ji-rehagwyry BD 112 'I am drunk.'
S-Core:dvs_1
I-drunk

na-ne-mbater-i AH 33 'You don't have baggage.'
M_1-S-Core:dvs_2-M_2
neg-you-baggage-m_2

1.4.4. Verb complex III

Verb complex III fills the head slot of the verb phrase in an intransitive demonstrative clause.

± S:nc/pm_5 + Core:$ivs_{2,4,5}$ + CM:cm_1

Ex. ğa nhonupanupã-i AM 28 'they were hitting each other'
S:pm_5 Core:ivs_4 -CM
they rec/hit -cm_1

tura'jav-i HD 10 'it returned again'
Core:ivs_2-CM
come/again-cm_1

For a complete description of construction markers, see 1.5.3.

1.4.5. Verb complex IV

Verb complex IV fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a transitive demonstrative clause.

± O:nc/pm_5/dem pro + Core:$tvs_{1,2,3,4,6}$ + CM:cm_1

Ex.

herur-i — GC 3 — 'bring'
Core:tvs$_3$-CM
with/come-cm$_1$

yrerua-pypav-i — CL 19 — 'were finishing a party'
O:nc-Core:tvs$_1$-CM
party-dance/all-cm$_1$

1.4.6. Descriptive verb complex II

Descriptive verb complex II fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a descriptive demonstrative clause.

± S:nc/pm$_5$ + Core:dvs$_{1,2,4,5}$ + CM:dcm

Ex.

hopetiğ-amo — AZ 42 — 'shut their eyes'
Core:dvs$_4$-CM
core/white-dcm

hẽa kwerai-ro — CY 80 — 'she got bored'
S:pm$_5$ Core:dvs$_1$-CM
she bored-dcm

1.4.7. Verb complex V

Verb complex V fills the head slot of the verb phrase in an intransitive qualifier 1 clause.

+ S:pm$_3$ + Core:ivs$_{1,4,5}$ + CM:cm$_2$

Ex. o-y'gwo-vo BE 16 'drinking water'
S-Core:ivs$_5$-CM
3rd-water/eat-cm$_2$

pe-jahujahug-a HL 18 'having a bath'
S-Core:ivs$_1$-CM
you-bathe/bathe-cm$_2$

1.4.8. Verb Complex VI

Verb complex VI fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a transitive qualifier 1 clause.

± O:nc/pm$_5$/dem pro + Core:tvs$_{1,3,4,6}$ + CM:cm$_2$

Ex. herokwap-a GT 1 'passing with'
Core:tvs$_3$-CM
with/pass-cm$_2$

g̃a nupati-mo BE 329 'tying up their hammocks'
O:pm$_5$ Core:tvs$_4$-CM
they hammock/tie-cm$_2$

1.4.9. Descriptive verb complex III

Descriptive verb complex III fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a descriptive qualifier 1 clause.

+ S:pm$_3$ + Core:dvs$_{1,4}$ + CM:dcm

Ex.

o-'mbe-ro	BB 12	'telling a lie'
S-Core:dvs_1-CM		
3rd-lie-dcm		
o-pokane'õ-ro	AU 37	'their hands being tired'
S-Core:dvs_4-CM		
3rd-hand/bone/tired-dcm		

1.4.10. Verb complex VII

Verb complex VII fills the head slot of the verb phrase in an intransitive command clause.

+ S:com pm + Core:$ivs_{2,4,5}$

Ex.

pe-apy	AM 38	'sit down (you plural)'
S-Core:ivs_2		
you-sit		
e-y'u	AZ 375	'drink (you singular)'
S-Core:ivs_5		
you-water/eat		

The command person markers found in the subject slot of verb complex VII and VIII, are *e-* second person singular and *pe-* second person plural.

1.4.11. Verb complex VIII

Verb complex VIII fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a transitive command clause. The verb complex may be either of two types.

a. + S:com pm + Core:$tvs_{1,3,4,6}$

Ex. e-roho CE 25 'take it (you singular)'
S-Core:tvs$_3$
you-with/go

pe-mondo DC 119 'send (you plural)'
S-Core:tvs$_6$
you-caus/go

b.	+	O:nc/pm$_5$/dem pro	+	Core:tvs$_{1,3,6}$

Ex. ji jukakatu AH 54 'kill me well'
O:pm$_5$ Core:tvs$_1$
me kill/well

1.4.12. Verb complex IX

Verb complex IX fills the head slot of the verb phrase in an intransitive qualifier 2 clause and the head slot of noun stem 5.

±	S:nc/pm$_{3,5}$	+	Core:ivs$_{2,4}$

Ex. kunhatainangwera mano-rame HT 25 'when the girl dies'
S:nc Core:ivs$_2$
girl / past die - when

ĝa hopav-ame HC 1 'when they all went'
S:pm$_5$ Core:ivs$_2$
they go/all-when

1.4.13. Verb complex X

Verb complex X fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a transitive qualifier 2 clause and the head slot of noun stem 5.

±	O:nc/pm$_{3,5}$	+	Core:tvs$_{1,3,6}$

Ex. o-juka-rame AK 16 'when (they) killed her'
O:pm$_3$-Core:tvs$_1$
3rd-kill-when

ahe reja-rame KC 30 'when (they) left him'
O:pm$_5$ Core:tvs$_1$
dead person leave-when

1.4.14. Descriptive verb complex IV

Descriptive verb complex IV fills the head slot of the verb phrase in a descriptive qualifier 2 clause and the head slot of noun stem 5.

± S:nc/pm$_{3,5}$ + Core:dvs$_{1,3}$

Ex. heihanh-ame PA 62 'when it's big'
Core:dvs$_1$
big-when

g̃a puru'a-rame CQ 21 'when they are pregnant'
S:pm$_5$ Core:dvs$_1$
they pregnant-when

1.5. Markers

A detailed description of the various class markers, person markers, and construction markers will now be given.

1.5.1. Class markers

There are two sets of class markers which combine with certain roots and morphemes in forming bases.

1.5.1.1. h class markers

The *h class* marker combines with noun and verb roots of the *h class* and with the concomitant morpheme to form noun, verb, and concomitant bases. The following chart shows the marker in its various manifestations and occurrences. The first seven rows in the chart show its occurrences in verb stems and the last row its occurrence on a noun root within a noun stem.

h class marker chart

Preceding \ Following		S or O noun, dem pro, $pm_{4,5}$	zero	caus	con	goal	person markers							rec	rf
							1		2			3			
							norm	o-	norm	-o-	o-	norm	o-		
i	uv-	r	t	h	#/j/k		df	#	-	-	-	j[1]/k	#/k	-	-
v	ur-	r	t	h	#		df	#	-	-	-	#	#	-	-
r	ko/eko	r	h	h	#	#	#	#	-	-	-	#	#	-	-
con		r	h	-	-	#	-	-	#	gw	gw	-	-	gw	-
tvr		r	h	-	-	#	-	-	h	h	gw	-	-	gw	j
noun r (or nominalized verb r) in verb stems		r	h	h	h	#			h	h	gw	j	j		j
dvr		r	h/#	h/gw[2]	h	h	-	-	-	-	-	j	gw		
noun r (or nominalized verb r) in noun stem		r	h/t/#	-	-	#	-	-	-	-	-	j	j/gw		

Notes on the chart

1. The class markers listed in each cell occur following the items in the horizontal row of headings, and preceding the items in the vertical column of headings, i.e., the class marker is preceded by the horizontal row of items, and followed by the vertical column of items. The upper left hand cell thus reads: following a subject or object noun, demonstrative pronoun or person markers 4 or 5 and preceding the intransitive verb root *uv-* is the class marker *r*, or, the class marker *r* is preceded by a subject or object noun, demonstrative pronoun, or person markers 4 or 5, and is followed by the intransitive verb root *uv-*.

2. In the horizontal row of headings, (a) the term 'zero' indicates that the class marker is occuring complex initial. With the intransitive verb roots the complexes will then be III and IX. With the transitive verb roots the complexes will be IV, VI and X, and with the descriptive verb roots they will be descriptive verb complexes I, II, and IV. (b) the person marker *o-* refers to an *o* occurring complex initial. In the cases where the class marker is *gw*, it is apparently a combined form of the class marker *h* and the person marker. When the person marker ends in *o* and is thus not complex initial, i.e., *-o-*, the *o* is retained preceding the *gw* when it precedes the concomitant, (c) with regard to the reflexive, the form which is normally *ji* drops the *i* and the remaining *j* serves as the class marker in the cases indicated.

3. 'df' refers to a defective form of the verb, i.e., the verb is not found in this environment.

4. '#' indicates the class marker is dropped in these positions.

5. The cell left blank indicates that, although presumably possible, no examples of that type have yet been found.

---

[1] Some cases have been found of *t* following the first person singular person marker.

[2] *gw* replaces the causative with some roots (1.3.1.1.2.4.)

6. A dash in the cell indicates the horizontal and vertical items could not occur contiguously in this manner.

1.5.1.2. i class markers

An *i* before consonants, a *j* before oral vowels, and an *nh* before nasalized vowels, are the only manifestations of the class marker *i* and they only precede a root or morpheme when it is in complex initial position. The *i class* marker combines with certain noun and verb roots and the causative morpheme in forming noun, verb, or causative bases.

1.5.2. Person markers

The following chart is a list of each of the six sets of person markers. Person marker 1 fills the subject slot in a verb complex I, the second person singular and plural command forms filling the subject slots in verb complexes VII and VIII; person marker 2 fills the subject slot of verb complex II; person marker 3 fills the subject slot of verb complexes V and IX and descriptive verb complexes III and IV, and the object slot of verb complex X, and the possessor slot of a noun complex; person marker 4 fills the subject slot of descriptive verb complex I; person marker 5 fills the subject slots of verb complexes III and IX and descriptive verb complexes II and IV, the object slot of verb complexes II c, IV, VI, VIII, and X, the possessor slot of a noun complex, the axis slot of a nominal axis-relator phrase, and, as also person marker 6, the head slot of a noun phrase.

Person marker chart

		pm_1	pm_2	pm_3	pm_4	pm_5	pm_6
			a-		ji-	ji	jihi
1st	sing	a-	oro-[1]	i-	(nhi- before nasals)		
			opo-[1]				
2nd	sing	ere-	ere-	e-	nde-	nde	ndehe
	command	e-	e-		(ne- before nasals)		
3rd	sing fem	o-	o-	o-		hẽa	hehẽa
	sing masc	o-	o-	o-		ga	gahã
	plural	o-	o-	o-		g̃a	g̃ahã
	general	o-	o-	o-		ahe	ahe
			oro-				
1st	pl exclus	oro-	oro-[1]	oro-	ore-	ore	ore
			opo-[1]				
				nhande-	nhande-	nhande-	
1st	pl inclus	xa-	ti-	(nhane before nasals)			nhande
				(niande/niane in neg)			
2nd	pl	pe-	pe-	pe- or peji-	pe-	pe	pehe
	command	pe-	pe-				

1.5.3. Construction markers

The construction marker slot is obligatory to verb complexes III, IV, V, and VI, and descriptive verb complexes II and III. In verb complexes III and IV the filler of the slot is the construction marker 1 suffix *-i*.

In verb complexes V and VI the fillers of the construction marker slot (cm_2) are as follows:

-a	following a final consonant[2]
-ta	following the vowel *-i* when it is preceded by an oral vowel
-na	following the nasalized vowel *-ĩ* when it is preceded by a nasalized vowel
-pa	following the vowel *-u* when it is preceded by an oral vowel (the final vowel is dropped before the construction marker)
-avo[3]	following a final high oral vowel when it is preceded by a

[1] *Oro-* indicates the subject is first person singular or plural and the object is second person singular, and *opo-* refers to a first person singular or plural subject and a second person plural object.

[2] Final *-r-* drops before the construction marker, and *-v-* becomes *-p-* preceding it.

[3] At first this nonphonemic *-a-* was not written in the orthography but later began to be written.

consonant except for glottal stop as indicated below

-vo following the other final oral vowels, or following a final *-i, -e, -u,* or *-o*, preceded by a glottal stop. The *-i* and *-e* change to *-ja*-following the glottal stop and preceding the construction marker, and the *-u* and *-o* change to *-gwo-*

-amo[1] following a final high nasalized vowel preceded by a consonant except for glottal stop as indicated below

-mo following the other final nasalized vowels, or following a final *-ĩ* or *-ẽ* preceded by a glottal stop. In the latter cases, the vowels change to *-nha-* following the glottal stop and preceding the construction marker.

In descriptive verb complexes II and III, the fillers of the construction marker slot (dcm) are the suffixes *-ro* following vowels and *-amo* following consonants.

2. The Noun Complex

The noun complex is the basic nominal unit and fills the head slot of a noun phrase. It is herewith treated with each of the lowel levels comprising it.

2.1. Roots

Noun roots, like verb roots, are divided into the *h class* and the *i class*, these classes being determined by the set of class markers (1.5.1.) with which they may occur to form noun bases (2.2.). Noun roots are also found to occur in the head 2 slot of noun stem 3. (2.3.1.2.)

2.1.1. h class roots

Various subdivisions may also be found within the *h class* roots. These subdivisions are distinguished by their occurrence with the particular class markers which are used to refer to human and to nonhuman possessors which are not made specific within the noun complex.

The majority of *h class* noun roots occur with the class marker *h* under the above circumstances when referring to a nonhuman possessor but have no special marker indicating a human one as any human possessor must be specified within the noun complex, e.g., *h-atĩa* II 13 'its horns', but *ga-r-*era KB 56 'his name'. The middle *-r-* of

[1] At first this nonphonemic *-a-* was not written in the orthography but later began to be written.

the last word is actually a class marker but not one that may be used as a distinguishing criterion for noun roots.

With five noun roots there is no class marker used when the possessor is human, but an *h* is used when referring to a nonhuman. These roots are as follows: *okara* 'clearing', *okyta* 'house pillar', *onga* 'house', *u'yva* 'arrow', and *inimboa* 'string' (when this root does not occur complex initial, the first vowel becomes *-e-*), e.g., *u'yva* AH 20 '(Indian) arrow', *h-u'yva* HZ 11 'arrow (made by a legendary figure apparently not considered to be human)'.

Another five roots have been found to occur with *t* as the class marker referring to humans and *h* to nonhumans. They are: *-apyja* 'house', *-ata* 'fire', *-okaja* 'hut', *-evira* 'rear end', and *y'ypakwara* 'arrow' (this is probably a combination of morphemes which are no longer separable), e.g., *t-apyja* CU 32 '(person's) house', *h-apyi pe* IE 1 'in (the monkey's) house'.

One root has been found to occur with *t* as either human or nonhuman, e.g., *t-a'yra* HN 4 'baby (anteater)', *t-a'yra-g̃a* EA 14 'the children (human)'. One other root has been found to drop its first vowel when referring to humans, and take *h* when to nonhumans. It is *-apea/pea/pehea* 'path', e.g., *pehea* BB 80 'the path (manmade)', *h-apea* 'animal trail'. With the root *ya/yhya* 'water' *t* is only found when a special type of liquid, e.g., juice, etc., or water of a particular description is being referred to, e.g., *t-y-pojuga* HL 28 'water with a strong current'.

Any of these roots may be specified by a noun or person marker possessor preceding them within the noun complex (2.4.).

2.1.2. i class roots

The *i class* roots are of two types. The first type occurs with only one class marker, *i* (for other manifestations, see 1.5.1.2.) to form a base and this marker will only appear when the noun root is complex initial. These roots may also be preceded by a possessor in the noun complex. Examples are: *i-kag̃a* CZ 7 'its bone', *i-po'yra* IO 6 '(dog's) necklace'.

All of the remaining noun roots are of the second type which never occur with a class marker to form a noun base. Some of these roots may be possessed in the noun complex, e.g., *o-mbatera* GO 11 'his baggage', others may not, e.g., *kwara* QA 6 'sun', *ka'ia IE* 1 'monkey'.

2.2. Bases

Noun bases fill the head slots of descriptive verb stems 3 and noun stem 1, and the goal slots of transitive verb stems 5 and 6, intransitive verb stem 5, and descriptive verb stem 5. They are formed from noun roots which are on certain occasions preceded by class markers.

2.2.1. h class bases

An *h class* noun base is + h clm + nr.

Ex.

h-u'yva	HZ 11	'arrow'
clm-nr		
t-apyja	CU 32	'house'
clm-nr		

2.2.2. i class bases

An *i class* noun base is + *i* clm + nr. The class marker is only present when the root is in complex initial position.

Ex.

i-'ava	IM 2	'its hair'
clm-nr		
ga-'ava	IY 8	'his hair'
nr		
[no class marker]		

2.3. Stems

As with the verb stems, the noun stems are handled first with regard to the differing nuclei and then with regard to the common periphery. Noun stems are found filling the core slot of a noun complex, filling head slots of transitive verb stems 2 and 6, of intransitive verb stem 3, of descriptive verb stem 3, and of noun stem 5, and the head one slot of noun stem 3, the goal slots of transitive verb stem 4 and descriptive verb stem 4, and the object slot of verb complex II b.

2.3.1. Nuclei

There are five types of noun stems the nuclei of which may be categorized as simple, compound, and derived.

2.3.1.1. Simple

A simple noun stem is a noun base, or a transitive, intransitive, or descriptive verb stem.

2.3.1.1.1. Noun stem 1 (ns_1)

+ H:nb.

Ex. ky'ynha AY 39 'pepper'

tata AS 34 'fire'

2.3.1.1.2. Noun stem 2 (ns_2)

+ H:tvs / $ivs_{2,3,4}$ / $dvs_{1,2}$

Ex. ipya AU 2 'the dance'
H:tvs_1

ɠa-ndura AP 25 'their coming'
H:ivs_2

This stem represents a nominalizing of the action of the verb stem and it has not been found to occur in any other noun or verb stem or in a verb complex.

2.3.1.2. Compound

There is only one type of compound stem and it consists of two obligatory heads the first filled by a noun stem and the second by a noun root. It is called noun stem 3 (ns_3).

+ H_1:ns + H_2:nr

Ex.

y-embea — QA 9 — 'the water's edge'

H_1:ns_1-H_2:nr

water-edge

tupa-ha-ğatua — DE 94 — 'good cord'

H_1:ns_5 -H_2:nr

hammock-cord-good

inami-kwa-hama — AY 82 — 'earrings'

H:ns_3 - H_2:nr

H_1:ns_1-H:nr

ear-hole -cord

No examples of noun stem 4 have been noted in the head 1 slot.

2.3.1.3. Derived

The derived stems consist of a head and a nominalizer, in one case preceding the head and in the other following.

2.3.1.3.1. Noun stem 4 (ns_4)

+ Nom_1:nom pre + H:tvs.

There is only one filler of the nominalizer 1 slot, i.e., the nominal prefix *hembi-* which is a base composed of an *h class* marker and the morpheme *-embi-*, and it nominalizes the following verb stem to become the object of the action which is expressed in the verb stem.

Ex.

ga-rembi-'u - agwe'ria — AR 26 — 'the bit of food that he had'

Nom_1 -H

his-nom pre-eat - past/dim

ğwembi-reko-hẽa — CD 3 — 'his wife'

Nom_1-H

nom pre-with/be-she

2.3.1.3.2. Noun stem 5 (ns_5)

Noun stem 5 is made up of a nominalizing suffix which may follow a noun stem, verb complex, or relational phrase.

+ H:ns / vc I, II, IX, X / dvc I, IV / rph + Nom_2[1]:nom suf

Ex.

ndaha'oi-ve'ea H:dvcI - Nom_2 *neg/meat- thing*	AM 58	'a thing without meat'
ka'gwyripe-ve-'g̃a H:rph-Nom_2 *bush/in-nom-they*	CP 5	'those that are in bush'
hendyva-hav-uhu'i-ve-'ga H:ns_5 -Nom_2 H:ns_1 -Nom_2 *chin - nom-aug/dim-nom -he*	HJ 2	'the bearded man'
ga-rembi'u-agwe-'ria H:ns_4-Nom_2 *his- food - past- dim*	AR 26	'the bit of food that he had'

When a noun complex or person marker precedes the verb stem within any of the verb complexes it is considered to be filling a slot within that verb complex. Noun stem 5 will not then in these cases be preceded by a possessor tagmeme within the noun complex. If a possessor is found within the head slot of the relational phrase the possessor tagmeme will then also be absent from the noun complex.

The nominalizer 2 slot has a variety of fillers.

-ve'ea 'the one who, that which'. This is homophonous with an identical form found in the identification slot (2.4.). Both of these forms do not occur together. When the identifier refers to someone living, however, the last syllable of the nominal suffix (-'e-) is dropped preceding it.

-hara 'the one who habitually'. When the preceding morpheme ends in *-g* the suffix sometimes combines with the velar to take the form *-kara*.

-hava 'an instrument with which, or a place where'. The *h-* is sometimes replaced by another consonant depending upon the final consonant of the morpheme immediately preceding it.

[1] The term nominalizer is here used in a loose sense as it may serve as a suffix to forms which are already nominal.

The suffix may thus combine with a *-g* to form *-kava*, with *-g̃* to form *-ngava*, with *-'u* to form *-'gwava*, with *-m* to form *-mbava*, with *-n* to form *-ndava*, with *-v* to form *-pava*, with *-r* the form remains *-hava*, and when there is a vowel plus *-j or -i*, the *-j* appears as *-i*, the *-i* is retained and the form is *-tava*.

-ndyva following nasalized vowels, *-tyva* elsewhere, 'the place of'.

-pora following oral vowels, *-apora* following consonants, and *-mbora* following nasalized vowels, 'the product of that which precedes it'.

Several of the suffixes may be referred to as tense markers.

-pyra following oral vowels, *-apyra* following consonants, and *-mbyra* following nasalized vowels, 'that which has undergone the action of the verb it follows'.

-ag̃wama' that which, or the one who will be'. The nominalizer *-ruama* following vowels and *-aruama* following consonants is somewhat similar in form and meaning. Its occurrence is rare.

-ngwera/-angwera follows nasals and nasalized vowels, and

-gwera/-agwera elsewhere, 'that which or the one who was'. *-agwera* and *-angwera* are the forms most commonly found following nominal forms, e.g., *tokajagwe-'ria* PD 12 hut-past-dim 'an old hut', but the other forms are also found, e.g., *tapyi-gwe-'ria*[1] house-past-dim 'an old house'. *-gwera* and *-ngwera* are most commonly found on verbal forms, e.g., *onhi'i-ngwera* HK 1 talk-past 'message', but the other forms are also found, e.g., *g̃andeko-agwera* DB 180 they/be-past 'their former residence'. *-ruera/-aruera* appear to be separate, though similar, morphemes, however, the distinction between the two in meaning is difficult to ascertain. *-kwera* is another of these past tense markers the occurrence of which is difficult to explain.

2.3.2. Periphery

The periphery of the noun stems is composed of an optional auxiliary slot filled by descriptive verb stems and an optional aspect slot filled with up to two orders of aspects. The periphery always follows the nucleus of the noun stem.

[1] *j* has become *i* before the consonant *gw*.

Ex.

nhaĝwa-ti-'ngia IB 1 'little dog'
nucleus-periphery
H:ns$_1$-Aux-Asp
jagwar-white-dim

hyapehav-uhua IC 5 'lamp'
nucleus-periphery
H:ns$_5$ -Asp
lighting/thing-aug

2.4. Complex

There is only one noun complex and it is found to fill the head slot of a noun phrase, the subject slot in verb complexes III, IX, and X, and descriptive verb complexes III and IV, the object slots in verb complexes II a, IV, VI, VIII, and X, the possessor slot within a noun complex, and the axis slot of a nominal axis-relator phrase (3.4.1.), and the head slot of a relational (3.3.).

The noun complex is composed of possessor, core, and identification tagmemes. The presence or absence of the possessor slot will depend in part on the first noun root within the core. For restrictions on possession of noun roots, see 2.1. When the noun stem in the core refers to a human (living or dead) the identification tagmeme must occur. For combination with the nominal suffix *-ve'e*, see 2.3.1.3.2.

+/+/- Pr:nc/pm$_{3,5}$/proper names + Core:ns/proper names +/- Iden:iden

Ex.

mbarakaja'ia jara-hẽa IC 38 'the ocelot's owner'
Pr:nc Core-Iden
ocelot owner-she

ahe-rembireko-ve'ea DF 21 'the dead one's dead spouse'
Pr:pm$_5$- Core -Iden
dead one-spouse -dead one

Proper names are found to fill the vocative slot on sentence level, as well as the possessor or core slots in a noun complex. When they fill the core slot, the possessor tagmeme will be absent.

The fillers of the identification slot are: -'*ga* 'he', -*hẽa* 'she', -'*ĝa* 'they', and -*ve'ea* 'dead one'.

2.5. Border phenomena

Often occuring final on noun complexes (although not on proper names, and not following an *-a*) and on demonstratives (3.3.) is a final unstressed central vocoid which, historically, appears to represent a grammatical marker which is no longer in full use, and which probably accounts for its uncertain phonological status. It is symbolized by *a*. Although it is impossible to predict every place in which it will or will not occur, it is possible to state the positions where it must and the positions where it may not occur.

a. The marker is found:

i. final following a consonant on a noun complex when it is acting as the head of a noun phrase in any clause level slot;

ii. on a noun complex when it is filling the subject slot within verb complexes III and IX, and descriptive verb complexes II and IV;

iii. on a noun complex when it is filling the object slot within verb complexes II, IV, VI, VIII, and X;

iv. on a noun complex when it is filling the possessor slot within a noun complex;

v. on a noun complex when it is filling the axis slot in a nominal axis-relator phrase (for one exception, see b.i.);

vi. within a noun complex following a morpheme ending in a consonant, and preceding the identification slot.

b. The marker is not found:

i. on a noun complex when it is filling the axis slot of a nominal axis-relator phrase and the relator is filled by *pe* 'to, at';

ii. on a noun complex when it is filling the head slot of a relational;

iii. on a noun stem ending in a vowel and followed by an identifier;

iv. on a noun root in nonfinal position in a noun or verb stem[1];

---

[1] At times an *-r* stem final will also drop preceding an auxiliary or an aspect beginning with a vowel, and a *-v* stem final may also drop before an *-i-* when that is followed by yet another unstressed syllable in the phrase (an axis-relator phrase).

Ex.

```
yreruapyha - i pe          IV 1
  A:ns5    |-  Rr
         [v drops]
 dance     -  to
```

c. Also dropped in the following positions is a consonant occurring finally on;

i. the fillers of the head and modifier slots of a verbal or relational phrase;

ii. a noun or verb root, an auxiliary, an aspect, or a nominalizer, within a noun or verb stem when the following morpheme begins with a consonant. (The consonant is retained, however, if the following morpheme is an identifier, or if it begins with an *h* on an unstressed syllable in which case the *h* usually drops out in preference to the consonant occurring finally in the preceding morpheme.)

Ex. ta'akwa-tiğ̃-uhua (ns_1) OB 2 'big reeds'
H:nb-Aux-Asp
r&a dropped (b.iv. and c.ii)
ğ̃ retained before vowel
reed plant-white-aug

orenhimi - hava (ns_5) EA 43 'our hiding place'
H:vcIX - Nom_2
m dropped (c.ii.)
our/hide - place

3. Phrases

Filling various slots on the clause level are a verb phrase, a noun phrase and a relational phrase. The axis-relator phrase occurs only on phrase level in the relational phrase.

3.1. Verb phrase

The verb phrase may only fill the predicate slot of a clause.

+ H:vc[1] ± M:aux / asp / att ± Real:te[2], reki

[1] *-i* in verb complex final position becomes *-j-* when preceded by a vowel and followed by a modifier beginning with a vowel.

[2] *te* has been found on occasion to precede *reki* and the attribute *tuv•i*.

Ex. okaipa tuvẽi reki BD 134
H M:att Real
burn/all really finally
'In the end it will really burn it all.'

ndohoi pa BD 36
H M:asp
neg/go all
'they're all not going'

Construction markers and the modal 2, when present in a verb complex, are always the final morpheme of that complex. However, in cases where these do not occur the question arises with regard to the aspects and auxiliaries at the end of the verb complex as to whether they are within or without the verb complex (i.e., a part of the verb complex or a part of the verb phrase.) Because there are no nonambiguous cases of more than one aspect or auxiliary outside of the verb complex (in the verb phrase), and because it is necessary to posit at least two orders of aspects plus an auxiliary within the verb complex, the ambiguous cases above mentioned are considered to be a part of the verb complex.

Although aspects may occur either within or without the verb complex they probably do not occur in both places in the same phrase although an auxiliary may be found within and an aspect outside of the verb complex in the verb phrase, e.g.,

Ex. nd-ere-juka-ukar-i - hu AF 7
H - M:asp
M_1 S Core Aux M_2
neg-you -kill- let- m_2 - aug
'you didn't allow me to kill'

An aspect and an attribute have only been found to occur together outside of the verb complex, i.e., in the modifier slot, a few times, both involving the attribute *ve*, e.g.,

Ex. notymi ve hete CQ 10
H M:att asp
neg/plant still really
'they still really don't plant'

The only auxiliaries which have been found to occur within the verb phrase are the descriptive roots *-katu* 'well' and *-nhyrõ* 'tame, gentle', and the permitative *-ukar-*.

The attributes are found in the modifier slot of the verb phrase, the noun phrase and relational phrase. Those found in the verb phrase are the following: *ve* 'still, yet, even'; *jitehe* 'same, again'; *tuvẽi* 'really'; *ranuhũ* 'very much'; *ramenhumi* 'temporarily'; *gwerevi* 'almost'; and *jiji* 'make a quick trip of'.

3.2. Noun phrase

The noun phrase fills the introduction and addition slots in a simple sentence, the subject slot in declarative, demonstrative, qualifier and possessive clauses, the topic or comment slots in a topic-comment clause, and the object slot in the transitive clauses.

+ H:nc / $pm_{5,6}$ / dem pro ± M:att / asp ± Real:te[1],reki

Ex. hẽa rũi reki BF 89
H:pm_5 M:att Real
her not in the end
'not her in the end'

orenhimbiara tuvẽi te BE 98
H:nc M:att Real
our/port really intens
'not really our port'

Once again the question arises as to whether the aspects occurring at the end of the complex are within the complex or in the phrase. If the consonant occurring stem final is dropped, the aspect is within the complex (2.5c.). In the ambiguous cases, they too are considered to be within the complex.

[1] Here also *te* may be found to precede or follow *tuvẽi*.

For a description of the demonstrative pronouns, see 3.3.

Two other attributes may here be added to the list found occurring in the modifier slot of the verb phrase: *meme* 'both', and *rũi* 'negative'.

3.3. Relational phrase

The relational phrase fills the introduction and addition slots of a simple sentence, and the clause level relational or comment slots, and the head slot of noun stem 5.

H:a-rrph / r / adv ± M:att / aux / asp ± Real:te / reki

Ex. ypyteripe katu MA 80
H:a-rrph M:aux
water/middle/in well
'right in the middle of the water'

kwanduhuro tuvẽi reki DA 95
H: M:att Real
hawk really in the end
'really a hawk in the end'

Axis-relator phrases are discussed under 3.4.

A relational is + H:nc / dem pro + Rx:r suf. The identification tagmeme is obligatorily absent from the noun complex and a person or place name from the core of the noun complex when the complex occurs in the head slot of this construction. A relational is distinguished from an axis-relator phrase by the different sets of fillers found in the relafix slot of the former as compared with the relator slot of the latter. Also, the change found in the relators in a nominal axis-relator phrase, as discussed in 3.4.1., is not found in the relational suffixes. Furthermore, the person markers which may fill the axis slot of that phrase may not occur in the head of the relational, and, except for the case of *pe* 'to, at', the marker *a* discussed in 2.5. is present before a relator but absent before a relational suffix.

The fillers of the relafix slot will be dealt with here before the fillers of the head slot in order to discuss them in relation to the noun complexes with which they occur.

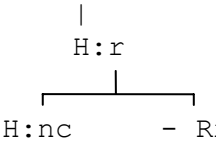
The relational suffixes may be divided into several categories.

a. Complementary, *-ro* after vowels, *-amo* after consonants. (The suffix *-no* has also been found to occur following the word *kunha* 'woman'.) The complementary suffixes (suffixing the noun complexes) seem to fall into three semantic groups:

i. status, in equational types of expressions with or without the verb 'to be', i.e., in an intransitive or a topic-comment clause.

Ex.

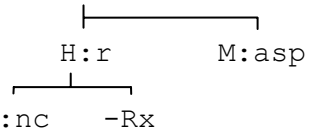
Ahe g̃anduvihav - amo Mboavave'ea. CL 15
To C:rph To



dead one they/chief-rel suf Mboaba

'The deceased one, Mboaba, was their chief.'

Nde mbaragwar-amo ite ereko. PC 43
S R:rph P



you fool (?) -rel suf just you/are

'You are just a fool.'

ii. appositional, expressing apposition to the filler of another clause level slot, i.e., subject, object, or a relational.

Ex.

Ore po ndorohoi avove'e-ro. CM 14
S Part P R (apposition to S)
we indef neg/go here/nom-rel suf
'We, those of us from here, are not going.'

iii. result or purpose.

Ex. Ipiarambyra'ga ombote mbutuguhua juhu-ro. PE 7
S P O R
Ipiarambyra/he change into mutuca thorn-rel suf
'Ipiarambyra caused the mutuca fly to change into a thorn.'

Amandijua hẽa opovã tupav-amo. CI 2
O S P R
cotton she weave hammock-rel suf
'She is weaving cotton for a hammock.'

b. Specifying, *-ro* after oral vowels, *-no* after nasalized vowels, (no examples following a consonant have been found) occurring with demonstrative pronouns.

Ex. Ki-ro ji hoi a'e-ro. BE 164
R P R
this-at(?)I (now) go this-with
'Now with this I'm going.'

c. Instrumental, *-vo* after oral vowels, *-mo* after nasalized vowels, *-imo* after consonants. These occur with nouns or demonstrative pronouns and mean 'with, on, in, at, by, or during'.

Ex. Xave'eve'ea rekoi opo-vo. KC 9
P R
old man be hands-on
'The old man walked on his hands.'

Ndarohoi te ypytun-imo DB 76
P R
neg/take intens darkness-in
'I'm not going to take it in the darkness (at night).'

d. Referential, *-mo* following vowels, and *-amo* following consonants. This suffix follows the demonstrative pronoun *a'e* 'this' and means 'about, with regard to', and the noun *-pyter* in conjunction with which it means 'in the middle of'.

Ex. Ae-mo ore noronhi'iğatui ve ga pe oji'i. AW 39
R S P R Part
this-about we neg/talk /well yet him to other day
'We didn't talk well yet to him about this the other day.'

Ojipyter-amo po ğa ahe reruvi. DC 123
R Part S P
3rd/rf/middle-rel suf indef they dead one with/be
'They were living with the deceased one in their midst.'

It may be this suffix also which is found in *gara-mo* 'why (for what reason)', and *ağwa-mo* 'at this time (about this time)'.

Ex. Gara-mo hẽa houhui herua. EB 20
R P Q
what-rel suf she go bring
'Why is she going to bring it?'

e. Positional, occurring on nouns and in the case of one, also on demonstratives and adverbs.

i. the suffix *-i*, meaning 'at, on, to', combines with nouns as follows: *-'gwyr-i* 'beneath, at the bottom of', and *-revir-i* 'after, at the rear of'.

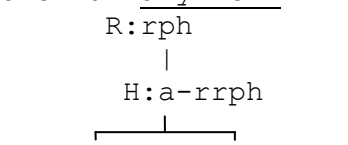
Ex. Aho garevir-i naka. HZ 18
P R:rph Part
H:r
H:nc - Rx
I/go his/rear end-at determination
'I'm definitely going after him.'

In other cases the noun plus positional appear to have fused so that either the noun no longer occurs as a free form, or its original meaning no longer has relevance to the meaning of the combined form. These cases are: *-ahai* 'on the shoulders', *-ambyi* 'on the hips', *-akykweri* 'behind, after', and *-ovai (aherovai)* 'on the (other) side (of the river)'.

nani may also be of this sort, see ii., below.

In the case of *-akykweri*, it may be preceded by a person marker which functions as possessor of the noun, as is the case with the other positionals, or by a clause, forcing *-akykweri* thus to act as a unit filler of the relator slot in a clausal axis-relator phrase (3.4.2.).

Ex. ore rur-akykweri AM 27

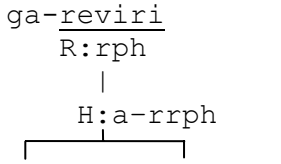


we come -after

'after we came'

The other relationals ending in the positional *-i* might then be interpreted as being relators of set 1 filling the relator slot of a nominal axis-relator phrase, the possessor of the noun then filling the axis slot. The first example in this section would then be analyzed as:

Ex. ga-reviri HZ 18



him -rear end/at

'after him'

ii. the suffix *-ime* seems to mean 'reaching the point (place or time) of' and has been found to occur on a few nouns, demonstrative pronouns, and temporal adverbs, when they end in the aspects *-e'ym-* 'negative' or *-a'jav-* 'again'. The fillers of the head slot of the relational then, if to accomodate this construction, would have to be changed to noun and relational phrases. The suffix also occurs in combination with *nani* (or *nan-* 'thus' ?) which appears to mean 'shortly after' either with or without the suffix.

Ex. ye'y-ime HK 3
H:nph-Rx
water/without-rel suf
'to the place of no water'

ka'aruge'y-ime BG 29
H:rph -Rx
late afternoon/without-rel suf
'when it wasn't late in the afternoon yet'

f. Double[1]

Three suffixes *-mo, -gwe,* and *-g̃we* may in certain instances follow a specifier or instrumental (see following chart of demonstrative pronouns).

The first one, *-mo*, combines with *kiro* and *koro* the resultant forms coming to mean 'here (there) it is - take it', e.g., *kiro-mo jykwa'ri* AZ 283 'Here's the axe - take it'. The morpheme *-gwe* 'just (?)' may follow an instrumental,

e.g. pevo-gwe ti tapotuka CO 7
there-just fut wash
'just there I'll wash them'

The other morpheme *-g̃we* 'right (?)' is commonly used with *kiro* to mean 'right now', e.g., *kiro-g̃we ji ruri* PB 17 'Now I've come'.

Demonstrative pronouns fill the object slot in verb complexes IIa, IV, VI, VIII, and the head slot in a noun phrase, a nominal[2] axis-relator phrase, and a relational. The demonstrative pronouns are: *a'ea* 'this thing or act', *agwa* 'this, here', *kia* 'that', *koa* 'this', *g̃wia* 'that', *pea* 'that', *poa* 'referring to a noise', *akoja* 'that particular one', *ag̃a* 'this, here', and *apoa* 'whachamacallit'.

---

[1] These morphemes might also be considered as filling the modifier slot in the relational phrase.

[2] The morpheme *mo* 'some, any' appears also as though it might be a demonstrative pronoun. Ex. epyhy mo AN 53 'grab some'.

The following chart shows these demonstrative pronouns in the various combinations in which they have been found to occur with relational suffixes. The meanings of many of these forms have been difficult to determine. No free demonstrative pronouns for *pairo, paivo,* and *avo* have been found. The first two of these mean 'a long way off', and the last one, 'here'.

Some of the demonstratives are found in emphatic forms with *h* plus a repetition of the preceding vowel (see first column of chart). Some of the demonstratives plus specifying suffix may also occur in a special form where the 1st syllable is reduplicated at the end of the relational (see second column of chart). At least in the cases of *kiroki* and *koroko* these forms seem to function as demonstrative pronouns (rather than as relationals) specifying even more forceably the thing in question, e.g., *kiroki ĝa ahe juka* IY 62 'they are the ones that killed the dead person'. Where semantically feasible and appropriate these and the simple demonstrative pronouns are followed by person marker 5 in the third person forms as also just illustrated.

Demonstrative Pronoun Chart

Dem pro	Specifier	Instrumental	Referential	Double		
a'ea	a'ero	a'evo	aemo		a'erogwe	a'eroĝwe
agwa			aĝwamo			
emphatic	redupl					
kia(kihia)	kiro(ki)			kiromo		kiroĝwe
koa(kohoa)	koro(ko)			koromo	korogwe	koroĝwe
ĝwia(ĝwihĩa) ĝwiĝwia	ĝwino(ĝwi)			ĝwinomo		
pea(pehea)	pero(pe)	pevo			pevogwe	
poa(pohoa)	poro(po)					
akoja	akoiro					
-	pairo	paivo				
-		avo				
aĝa						
apoa						

Adverbs may be divided semantically into adverbs of place, time, and manner. The adverbs of place which have been noted are: *ayvu* 'near', *aygwa* 'near', *ira'agwe* 'near', *yvate* 'high up', *irupe*[1] 'far

[1] In comparisons, a suffix *-ro* has been found to occur on occasion following the relator hohe (see 3.4.1.) and once following the adverb *irupe*.

away'. Certain demonstrative pronouns may also function in this way: *agwa* 'here', *aĝa* 'here'.

The adverbs of time are: *ka'aru* 'in the late afternoon', *ypyhajive* 'in the morning', *ypyhaji'i* 'at midnight', *ymya* 'a long time ago', *oji'i* 'a little while ago', *eaji'i* and *eako'ẽ* 'the day after tomorrow'.

The following adverbs of manner have been noted: *na/nan-* 'like this', *kotihĩ* 'right away', *kotihĩtihĩ* 'every day', *koji'i* 'more', *gwere* 'a little', *xui'ĩ* 'small, a few', *nane'ymi* 'every day, always', *mbaigwe* and *mbaipo* 'after a long time', *pavẽi* 'all', *ovuhu* 'it looks like, it appears that', *ojipeji* 'once', *mokõi* 'twice', and *mbohapyra* 'a few times'.

Only one auxiliary has been found to occur in the modifier slot of the relational phrase, i.e., the descriptive verb root *-katu* 'well, right'. It has also been found in the form *ikatu* 'right, straight, directly', following the relator *rehe*, e.g., *ga rehe ikatu* GQ 20 'right at him (his place)'. Compare with the first example in 3.3.

The aspects *'i* 'diminutive', *hete* 'really', *tehe* 'without purpose', and *tete* 'intensively', are the only ones which have been noted in the relational phrase.

The morpheme *mo*[1] 'further' may be an additional filler of the modifier slot,

e.g. ga rehe mo HT 6
H M
him on further
'on past him'

It is sometimes followed by *'i* with apparently the same meaning, e.g., *Urumutũa rehe mo-'i* 7C1 'on past Urumutum'. The latter morpheme may also be used in this same sense without *mo*, e.g., *irupe'i* DB 59 'a long ways further'. This may be the diminutive aspect used in another sense.

3.4. Axis-relator phrase

An axis-relator phrase fills the head slot of a relational phase, and may be either nominal or clausal.

[1] This may be connected in some way to the morpheme *mo* handled under the double relationals.

3.4.1. Nominal

A nominal axis-relator phrase consists of a noun complex, person marker, or demonstrative pronoun, and a relator.

+ A:nc / pm_5 / dem pro + Rr:rr_1

Ex. ga hugwi CX 6
A:pm_5 Rr
him from
'from him'

y pe DF 25
A:nc Rr
water in
'in the water'

Relators of set 1 are: *pe* (*pe* following oral vowels, *ipe* following consonants, and *me* following nasalized vowels) 'to, at', *pe* (variant forms follow certain of the person marker 5 set: *ve* follows *ji, nde, ore,* and *nhande,* and *me* follows *pe* 'second person plural') 'about, for, (speak, give) to', *rehe* 'on, after, because of', *hugwi* 'from', *rupi* 'via', *pype* 'into', *pyri* 'with, to the place of', *pavẽi* 'together with', *pyvõ* 'with (instrumental)', *ypyvo* 'near', *yvyri* 'along past, alongside of', *pohe* 'with (in or on a means of transportation with)', *hohe*[1] 'more, greater than', and *gwyre'i* 'less, smaller than'.

When the filler of the axis slot is not specifically stated and is nonhuman, this information is conveyed by a change in the relator slot. The first two morphemes listed above, *pe*, becomes *jupe*, *rehe* and *rupi* become *hehe* and *hupi* (they are *ndehe* and *ndupi* following *g̃a* and *pe*, person markers of set 5), *hugwi* becomes *jugwi*, and other relators add *-i* or *j-* to their first consonant or vowel respectively.

3.4.2. Clausal

The clausal axis-relator phrase consists of a qualifier or topic-comment clause and a relator.

+ A:$q_1$cl / $q_2$cl / to-ccl + Rr:rr_2

1 See footnote p. 49

Ex. ka'gwyri pe okovo g̃waramo BE 175
A:$q_1$cl Rr
bush in being because
'because they are in the bush'

g̃a ndur-ame BB 144
A:$q_2$cl-Rr
they come-when
'when they arrived'

ipypav-irẽ AN 19
A:$q_2$cl-Rr
dance/all-after
'after they finished dancing'

There are four relators in the relator 2 slot: *-rẽ* after vowels, *-irẽ* after consonants 'after'; *-ame* after consonants, *-rame* after vowels[1] 'when, if'; *g̃waramo* 'because'; and *-akykweri* (3.3.e.i.) 'after'. *G̃waramo* occurs with a qualifier 1 clause, and the other relators with a qualifier 2 clause, and all may occur with a topic-comment clause. With the latter clause when the relator is *g̃waramo*, a morpheme *ro* sometimes appears immediately preceding the *g̃waramo*, e.g., *ga tehe ro g̃waramo* CT 10 'because he's alone'.

4. Clauses

Clauses are found to fill base slots in the simple and complex sentences, and the quotative slots in a quotation sentence. Some fill slots on the clause and phrase level as well. The following is a chart of the various clause types.

		Declarative	Demonstrat.	Qualifier	Command
Predicative	Transitive	x	x	x	x
	Intransitive	x	x	x	x
	Descriptive	x	x	x	
Stative	Possessive	x			
	Topic-Comment	x			

[1] The form *-name* has been found occasionally after a nasalized vowel.

4.1. Distinguishing criteria

The major criteria for distinguishing the clause types are now given according to various categories.

a. Predicative versus stative.
   i. The stative types do not transform into the declarative, demonstrative, etc., divisions of the predicative clauses.
   ii. There are different emic classes of fillers in the obligatory nuclear slots, i.e., verbal versus nonverbal.
   iii. The obligatory nuclear slots have a different internal structuring, see verb complexes as opposed to noun complexes.

b. Transitive versus intransitive.
   i. The transitive types may have an object slot whereas the intransitive types may not.
   ii. There are differing internal structures in the predicate slots, see the various verb complexes.

c. Transitive and intransitive versus descriptive.
   i. There is a difference in emic classes filling the predicate slots, i.e., active versus descriptive.
   ii. There is a difference in internal structuring in the predicate slots in the declarative types, in the demonstrative types, and in the qualifier types,[1] see the different verb complexes.
   iii. The clauses transform differently into the other types with regard to person markers and construction markers. Moreover, the descriptives do not appear to transform into the command type.

d. Possessive versus topic-comment.
   i. There are different negative transformations (see 4.2.2.1. and 4.2.2.2.)
   ii. There is a different semantic relationship between the two major slots in each as the names signify.
   iii. There is a wider variety of fillers found in the obligatory nuclear slot of the topic-comment type, i.e., the fillers of the head slot of the relational phrase.

e. Declarative versus demonstrative.
   i. There are differences in the internal structure of the predicate, see verb complexes.
   ii. The permissive slot may be present in the demonstrative types, but may not be in the declarative types.

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[1] There appears also to be a difference in the relational slots in that in the descriptive clause types neither the relator *pyvõ* nor the instrumental relational suffix *-vo* occur within the relational phrase.

f. Declarative, demonstrative, and command, versus qualifier.
    i. There are differences in the internal structuring of the predicate slots, see verb complexes.
    ii. The subject slot may only precede the predicate slot in the qualifier types, whereas it may precede or follow in the declaratives.
    iii. The demonstrative clauses may have a permissive slot which it is not possible to have in the qualifier clauses.
    iv. The commands only occur with second person subjects whereas the qualifiers may occur with all persons as the subject.

g. Declarative and demonstrative versus positive command. [1]
    i. The command clauses only occur with the second person as subject while the other types occur with any person.
    ii. There is a different person marker acting as second person singular subject in the commands than in any of the others.
    iii. The ordering of the command slots has the subject only preceding the predicate whereas in the declarative types it may precede or follow.

4.2 Nuclear tagmemes

The nuclear tagmemes of the various clause types are presented first in order to highlight some of the differences between the types.

4.2.1. Predicative

The predicative clauses are those which have a verb phrase filling the predicate slot. Because the verb complexes serve as major distinguishing factors between the predicative clauses, following the formula for the predicate tagmeme will be written in brackets the particular verb complex which is found to fill the head slot of the verb phrase in that particular predicate.

4.2.1.1. Declarative

Declarative clauses fill the base slot of the simple sentence, the base one slot of the contingent sentence, either base slot of the purposive sentence and the quotative 2 slot of the quotation sentences (see 5.). They may be transitive, intransitive, or descriptive.

[1] The negative commands are included in the declarative types rather than with the positive commands. They are more similar to the declaratives in that they have the same person markers and may occur with the modal 1 and 2 slots in the predicate neither of which modal slots may be found in the positive commands.

4.2.1.1.1. Transitive

A transitive declarative clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and optional subject and object tagmemes.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:vcII) ± O:nph

Ex.

Omombo ga itakya GM 1
P S O
throw he stone
'He threw the stone.'

Mimico'ga opyhy HS 21
S P
'Mimico grabbed it.'

4.2.1.1.2. Intransitive

An intransitive declarative clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and an optional subject tagmeme.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:vcI)

Ex.

Oki ga. AA 3
P S
'He is sleeping.'

Ji avo aĩ. IT 5
S (R) P
'I am sitting here.'

4.2.1.1.3. Descriptive

A descriptive declarative clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and an optional subject tagmeme.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:dvcI)

Ex. Ijy mbejua. AU 34
P S
'The bread was tough'

Ndekatu hete nde. KB 27
P S
you/pretty very you
'You are very pretty.'

4.2.1.2. Demonstrative

Demonstrative clauses fill the base slot of a simple sentence, either base slot of complex sentences and the quotative one slot of a quotation sentence.

4.2.1.2.1. Transitive

A transitive demonstrative clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and optional permissive and object tagmemes.

± Per:part na + P:vph (H:vcIV) ± O:nph

Ex. Ga̰ na'arõi ore. BD 78
P (S)
them await we
'We were waiting for them. '

Na ga̰ herohoi. HA 4
Per (S) P
let them with/go
'Let them take it.'

4.2.1.2.2. Intransitive

An intransitive demonstrative clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and optional permissive and subject tagmemes.

± Per:part na ± S:nph + P:vph (H:vcIII)

Ex. Na ga reni. DA 33
Per P
'Let him sit. '

Mbutu'gia ityityvi. CB 8
S P
'The boat kept getting stuck.'

4.2.1.2.3. Descriptive

A descriptive demonstrative clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and optional permissive and subject tagmemes.

± Per: part na ± S:nph + P:vph (H:dvcII)

Ex. Na japoro te ga hugwi na'ẽ. BD 97
Per P (R) (Part)
let get better intens him from first
'Let it pass from him first.' i.e.,'Let him get better first.'

Kirog̃we pyryvamo. PG 29
(R) P
'Now it's good.'

4.2.1.3. Qualifier

There are two types of qualifier clauses each filling slots on different levels.

4.2.1.3.1. Qualifier 1

The qualifier 1 clause fills the base slot of a simple sentence, either of the quotative slots of a quotation sentence, and the clause level qualifier slot. (In the latter case the subject tagmeme is obligatorily absent.) It is also found to fill the axis slot of an axis-relator phrase. Qualifier 1 clauses may also be either transitive, intransitive, or descriptive.

4.2.1.3.1.1. Transitive

A transitive qualifier 1 clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and optional subject and object tagmemes.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:vcVI) ± O:nph

Ex. Sinaja'ga reja CN 15
P
'leaving Sinai'

Pyrakatui'ga imbojikoga yhara. EA 42
S P O
'Pyrakatu'i landed the canoe.'

4.2.1.3.1.2. Intransitive

An intransitive qualifier 1 clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and an optional subject tagmeme.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:vcV)

Ex. opopoa y pe DF 25
P (R)
'jumping in the water'

Mbarupa'ive'ea ogwovo Mbahira po pe AI 3
S P (R)
Barupa going Bahira hand into
'Barupa was going into Bahira's hands.'

4.2.1.3.1.3. Descriptive

A descriptive qualifier 1 clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and an optional subject tagmeme.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:dvcIII)

Ex. o'mbero BB 12
P
'lying'

otypyvygamo HF 18
P
'drowning'

4.2.1.3.2. Qualifier 2

Qualifier 2 clauses fill only the axis slot of an axis-relator phrase. These clauses may also be transitive, intransitive, or descriptive.

4.2.1.3.2.1. Transitive

A transitive qualifier 2 clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and an optional object tagmeme.

+ P:vph (H:vcX) ± O:nph

Ex. g̃a apiti-rẽ CM 56
P
'after killing them'

ojuka-rame JA 2
P
'when killing her'

Pirive'ea ahe juka-rẽ CK 12
O P
'after killing Piri'

4.2.1.3.2.2. Intransitive

An intransitive qualifier 2 clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and an optional subject tagmeme.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:vcIX)

Ex. ga ho-rame GQ 16
S P
'when he went'

karugwaruhua imano-rame AP 14
S P
'when the paca died'

4.2.1.3.2.3. Descriptive

A descriptive qualifier 2 clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and an optional subject tagmeme.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:dvcIV)

Ex. heihanh-ame PA 62
P
'when it's big'

ĝa puru'a-rame CQ 21
P
'when they are pregnant'

4.2.1.4. Command

Command clauses fill the base slot of a simple sentence and either base slot of the complex sentences. The clauses may be transitive, or intransitive, and the heads of the noun phrases in the subject slots may only be filled by second person, person markers.

4.2.1.4.1. Transitive

A transitive command consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and optional subject and object tagmemes.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:vcVIII) ± O:nph

Ex. Embuhu eta'akwara ore ve. CP 19
P O (R)
give your arrows us to
'Give us your arrows.'

Peapo yhyga. BG 27
P O
make torch
'Make torches.'

4.2.1.4.2. Intransitive

An intransitive command consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and an optional subject tagmeme.

± S:nph + P:vph (H:vcVII)

Ex. Avo eapy. AZ 295
(R) P
'Sit here.'

Pe tepehoi. BF 101
S P
'Don't you go.'

4.2.2. Stative

The stative clauses are those which do not have verbal but have nominal or relational phrases filling the nuclear slots.

4.2.2.1. Possessive

Possessive clauses fill the base slot of a simple sentence. It consists of an obligatory possession tagmeme.

+ Poss:nph

Ex.

A'i comadre Marihẽ hovajara. 8C2 1
(Part) (S) Poss
'Because comadre Maria had half (an animal).'

In the negative the head of the noun phrase becomes the same in form as a descriptive verb complex I.

4.2.2.2. Topic-comment

A topic-comment clause fills the base slot a simple sentence, the base 2 slot of a contingent sentence, or the axis slot of a clausal axis-relator phrase. It consists of an obligatory comment tagmeme and an optional topic tagmeme.

± To:nph + C:nph / rph

Ex.

Paivo ğandapyja. GD 3
C To
long ways away their/house
'Their house is a long ways away.'

Ağa mboja. BE 129
To C
'This is a snake.'

The negative is formed with the presence of the attribute *rũi* in the modifier slot of the noun or relational phrase in the comment tagmeme, e.g.,

onga pyri rũi CA 11
C:rph
H:a-rrph M:att
'not at the house'

4.2.3. Clause fragments

A simple sentence base may at times be filled by a clause which is incomplete, i.e., a clause fragment.

Ex. Ndehe no. HR 32
S Part
you also
'Now you.'

Oro ji. JA 2
Part S(?)
and me
'And then there's me.'

Oro ko Rosahẽa renymbava Diana, apoa Tapium. HM 26
Part Part S S
and focus Rosa pet Diana whachamacallit Tapium
'And Rosa's pet, Diana, and whachamacallit, Tapium.'

4.2.4. Question

Statements may become questions in either of two ways: by the use of question phrases or by changes of intonation.

4.2.4.1. Question phrases

Any of the predicative and stative clauses except for the command and qualifier 2 clauses may become questions by replacing the fillers of one of the clause level tagmemes by a question phrase and placing this tagmeme initial[1] in the clause.[2]

[1] Question phrases may be preceded by particles.
[2] The question phrase also receives the stress of the phonological sentence.

Ex. Gara ga gwepia? HU 24
O:qsph S P (t decl cl)
what he see
'What did he see?'

Oro po marã garetymakaĝa? CJ 23
Part Part C:qsph To (tc-c cl)
and indef how his/leg
'And how is his leg?'

Ma rupi ga hoi? KB 48
R:qsph P (i dem cl)
where through he go
'Which way did he go?'

There are certain co-ocurrence restrictions with regard to the question phrase and the type of clause with which it occurs.

gara 'what' occurs with declarative and topic-comment clauses;

garamo 'why' *gara rehe* 'on or after what', *mome* 'where', *marã* 'how', *maname* 'when', *maraname* 'how come', *maramomi* 'how many' *manamo*
'which person' *ma rupi* 'via where' occur with a demonstrative or topic-comment clause, however, as there is no negative form for a demonstrative clause, in such cases the clause reverts to a declarative type;

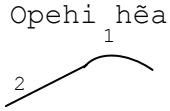
ma'ĝa 'who', and *mahã* 'where is it', may occur with any of these types;

mara'ngu 'who knows if' occurs with qualifier one and topic-comment clauses.

4.2.4.2. Intonation

A certain type of intonation pattern on any of the clauses (except command and qualifier 2 clauses) may indicate an interrogative clause. In conversation the intonational pattern will be in a higher register than normal for an assertive clause. There may be a significant drop in pitch following the stress of the phonological sentence. In narrative, however, there may be no noticeable difference in the intonational patterns of assertive and interrogative clauses, the difference presumably being signalled by the context.

Ex.

assertive	interrogative
P S (intransitive decl cl)	
Opehi hẽa.	Opehi hẽa?
	
'She is sweeping.'	
R P (intransitive dem cl)	
Kiro g̃a hoi.	Kiro g̃a hoi?
	
now they go	
'They are going now.'	

4.3. Peripheral tagmemes

A subject slot filled by a noun phrase may also be found in demonstrative transitive, qualifier transitive and possessive clauses, and a relational slot filled by a relational phrase may be found in any of the clause types. The qualifier slot has only been found to occur in the predicative clauses and may be filled by a qualifier clause or a quotation 2 sentence. For some examples of these tagmemes, see 4.4.

Particles may be found in any clause. They fall into four different categories depending upon their position in the clause.

a. Initial position.

An interjection, as *iii*, *eee*, *aaa*, or an onomatopoeic word or words, of which there are many in Parintintin, always occur initial in the clause. Outside of these, then, the following particles occur clause initial: *ku*, *koi*, and *ki*, the meanings of which are not clearly defined:

avi	'a positing of what follows in contradiction to what has preceded';
kono	'generalization';
mboria	'it's a shame that';
o'javi	'on a following trip';
a'i, *ereki*, and *ete*	each meaning 'because, but';
nurã	'for this reason';
oro	'and, and then';

igwavate (or in reduplicated form *igwaigwavate*) 'continuing, keeping on';

na 'let, allow';

ekovo 'this judgment came because';

teuhu 'it is impossible';

he, and *peji*, 'exhortatives', also *haite* 'hurry up'. Occasionally two of these particles occur together.

Ex. Iii, mboria nhande ruri ra'e. AV 103
Part Part P Part
oh shame we came already
'Oh, it's a shame that we came already.'

Nurã ga mokõi ombopu. GU 6
Part S R P
for this reason he twice shot
'For this reason he shot twice.'

The particles *ku*, *ki*, *avi*, *ete*, *a'i*, *ereki*, and *nurã* are found mainly in declarative clauses, *oro*, *igwavate*, and *na*[1] in demonstrative clauses, and *ekovo* in qualifier 1 clauses. *Teuhu* is always found with a nominal form, usually the nominal form of a verb and probably acts as the comment in a topic-comment clause, e.g.,

Ex. Teuhu gapo'ama. GI 7
C To
impossible his/standing up
'It was impossible for him to stand up.'

Exhortative particles may occur clause initial in the declarative and qualifier transitive and intransitive clauses.

In declarative clauses only persons other than second person occur as subject when an exhortative is present, and *he* is the only exhortative that has been found to occur in this case. Moreover, the purposive prefix always occurs filling the modal 1 slot of the verb complex in the predicate. (In the first person plural inclusive there is no purposive form other than the regular person marker 1 forms.)

[1] For *na* as filler of the permissive slot, see 4.2.1.2.

Ex. He ti ğa tu. AW 13
Part Part S P
exh fut they come
'It's for them to come.'

He tipyhy pira. AZ 24
Part P O
exh grab fish
'Let's grab the fish.'

In qualifier 1 clauses only a second person subject is found when these particles occur.

Ex. Haite peji herogwovo. DE 73
Part Part P
exh exh with/going
'Hurry up and take it away.'

When the clause is intransitive all of the exhortatives except *haite* may fuse with the person marker (set 3) on the verb stem in the predicate.

Ex. Here ti egwovo. DE 32 AND Herogwovo. AH 4
Part Part P P
exh fut going *exh going*
'Go on and go.' 'You may go.'

There is probably some such distinction in meaning. The second form is the normal polite permission for leaving. When the second person plural is involved the verb appears only in this fused form, e.g.,

Hepejikwapa. PF 164 'You (pl) may pass.'

There is also a special form occurring with only one verb in both singular and plural forms, e.g.,

Herejo. CO 13 'Come (second singular).'

and

He pejijo. CW 27 'Come (second plural).'

b. Post initial position.

Kaitu 'certainty', *ti* 'future', *re* meaning unknown, and *konondu* 'a generalization' occur following another clause level slot. *ti* has been found to precede *re*, and *re* found to precede *konondu* as well. *jitehe* 'again, the same one', *ve* 'continuing', *tuvẽi* 'really', and *te* 'intensifier', and *reki* 'actually, in the end' may follow another clause level slot or another particle or both. The first four may also occur in the modifier slot and the fourth and fifth ones in the realizer slot on phrase level.

Ex. Xaho ti ga repiaga. DA 107
P Part Qualifier
let's go fut him seeing
'Let's go and see him.'

Oro ve ga jehe'oi. EA 29
Part Part P
and then he cried
'And then he cried.'

c. Final position.

Nehẽ 'future' and *a* 'assertative or intensifier', have been found to precede the particles *amene* 'assertative', *no* 'also', *ra'e* 'already', and *hamo* 'ought to, would' which also occur in this slot. Also found here are *orondu* 'it is said', *naka* 'determination', and *novĩa* 'in vain'. Another set of particles found here are temporals. They quite often follow one of the above-mentioned particles, or may precede them, and on occasion may both precede and follow one of these particles. Up to three of these temporals may occur consecutively. The temporals are: *raka'e*, *rimba'e*, *hako*, *kako*, all referring to distant past, and *raikwehe*, *heikwehe*, *ikwehe*, *raji'i*, and *heaji'i*, referring to nearer past. *Ymya*[1] 'a long time ago', and *oji'i* 'a while ago' also act at times as final particles (they otherwise act as adverbs in the head slot of a relational phrase).

[1] *ymya* may in this slot occur with the augmentative aspect.

Ex. Oro po ti Moacir'ga ruri nehẽ no. CT 16
Part Part Part P Part Part
and indef fut Moacir come fut also
'And then Moacir will come too.'

Po okaoka te raji'i hamo. HB 17
Part P Part Part Part
indef break intens other day would have
'It would have broken and broken them the other day.'

d. Any position.

The particles *po* 'indefinite, unproven, probable, etc.' and *ko* 'focus' appear to occur in almost any position. When *ko* is in final position it usually means 'very recent past'.

Ex. Pevo po hẽa rekoi. AU 66
R Part P
there indef she be
'She's probably there.'

Ki rupi ga hoi ko. PF 156
R P Part
there through he go recently
'He just went through there.'

4.4. Ordering of tagmemes

The most common ordering of all the major slots is S P O Q R, however, no restrictions have been noted in the ordering of the relational and qualifier slots with regard to the other slots. They may occur initially, between them, or clause finally. The predicate slot, however, is normally one of the first three major slots in the clause.

Ex.

Yambirura'g̃a okwa ogwovo ya'nha me. AK 1
S P Q R (i decl cl)
fish people pass going upriver to
'The fish people passed by going upriver.'

Pe ndepiaga ji ruri. IQ 16
Q P (i dem cl)
you seeing I come
'To see you I've come.'

Yvarue'ria g̃a omondy. PD 13
O S P (t decl cl)
wood/old they burn
'They are burning old wood.'

Ga kiro heruri mbutu'gia imbojikoga. HU 37
S R P O (of Q) Q (t dem cl)
he then with/come boat landed
'He then came with his boat and landed'

Ombuhu ga herekovo nhag̃wati'ngia apoa jahukava pype. IK 1
P S Q O R (t decl cl)
bathe he with/being dog whachamacallit bath/thing in
'He gave the dog (being with it) a bath in the whachamacallit, the bathtub.'

In studies made on subjects, objects, and predicates within a limited corpus of declarative and demonstrative transitive and intransitive clause types, the following rules were found to apply to these three tagmemes in relation to one another:

a. When the object is a noun the preferred order of occurrence is S P ± O in the declarative intransitive and demonstrative transitive clauses, and also in the declarative transitive type except when the subject is a pronoun (pm_5) in which case the preferred order is P S O. Because of the rule under f. below the preferred order involving a free subject in the demonstrative intransitive clause is P S.
b. The object may never precede the subject in the clause, unless both are preceding the predicate.

c. In the declarative transitive clause the subject is almost always as near or nearer to the predicate than the object is,[1] and when both are nouns, the subject precedes the predicate.

d. In the demonstrative transitive clause the object is almost always as near or nearer to the predicate than the subject is.[1]

e. When no subject is stated, the object may either precede or follow the predicate.

f. A human subject in a demonstrative intransitive clause and a human object in a demonstrative transitive or qualifier transitive clause must be represented within the verb complex by a nominal or pronominal (pm_5) form.

g. In a declarative transitive clause, when the object is a pronoun (pm_5), the subject, if stated, is also and both follow the predicate.

4.5. Recurrence of tagmemes

The subject, object, qualifier, and relational slots may recur within a clause contiguously or discontinuously. They occur when there is a repetition of information given or whenever information that has already been referred to is made explicit or more specific.

Ex.

Ga ndopa'gapotari Kaindo Lobo'ga g̃a pe. OC 6
S P S R
he neg/pay/want Kaindo Lobo them to
'He, Kaindo Lobo, didn't want to pay them.'

ikutukutugi hevega ohya revega HN 6
P O O
puncture stomach mother stomach
'punctured its stomach, its mother's stomach'

There may also be a repetition of the slots to list a series of items or actions, etc.

[1] Another slot, however, may be inserted between the subject or object and the predicate, see 4th example on page 70.

Ex. Aerẽ po japiti inambua akutihua inamuhu'ndia inamuğwyğwyma tapi'ira. AZ 142
R Part P O O O O O
this/after indef kill dove agouti black dove (other) black dove tapir
'After this it killed doves, agoutis, black doves,(other) black doves, and tapir.'

ipyhyga ojogwerokupa herua AZ 24
Q Q Q
grabbing rec/with/2 being with/coming
'grabbing them, 2 being together with each other and bringing them'

Oro ga nhipymi ypy pe yvy pe. AG 14
Part P R R
and he dove depths into earth into
'And he dove into the deep and into the earth.'

There may be two relational slots preceding the predicate and three or occasionally more following it although all will not occur in any one clause. When there are two relational slots preceding the predicate, none will follow it. When two relational slots follow the predicate, only one may precede it, but if more than two follow it none will precede it. Any of the categories in the head of a relational slot, i.e., axis-relator phrases, relationals, or adverbs, may occur in any of these four or five positions without apparent restriction. The specifiers, then instrumentals (both relationals, see 3.3.b. and c.), tend to dominate in frequency of occurrence positions preceding the predicate, while the axis-relator phrases supercede them in the positions following the predicate.

5. Sentences

Sentences fill slots mainly on the paragraph and sentence levels. Sentences may be of either the simple, complex, or quotation types.

5.1. Simple

A simple sentence consists of a base and possible peripheral items. It may fill a paragraph level slot or the citation slot of a quotation sentence.

± Intro:nph/rph + Base:cl/cl frag/comp sen/quota sen
± Add:nph/rph/qcl^{n} ± Voc:proper names/kinship terms/nouns of address

Ex.

Base:i dem cl — Co 4:1

Oro po turi materanuhũa ga mokona raka'e.
and indef came big fish him swallow long time ago
'And then came a big fish and swallowed him a long time ago.'

Ga po a'i okai gapy'a. — BD 147
Intro:nph Base:i decl cl
they indef but burn their/livers
'As for them, it'll burn their livers.'

Haite, tig. — PF 97
Base:cl frag Voc
hurry up fellow
'Hurry up, fellow.'

See also the first example under the complex contingent sentence, 5.2.1.

A qualifier 2 clause never acts as filler of a sentence base and no examples have yet been found where the vocative slot is present when qualifier or possession clauses fill the sentence base.

The introduction slot may also contain initial, and/or medial, and final particles. The head of the noun phrase in the introduction slot may refer to the subject of the clause in the base slot. In such a case, it appears that the object of the clause may also be present in the introduction slot. When a pronoun is head of the noun phrase it may refer to the possessor of the subject of the clause (see 2nd example above) or to the head of a relational phrase found in the clause.

The fillers of the addition slot repeat, add to, or clarify information found in the base. Final particles may be found at the end of this slot also. It appears that any number of qualifier 1 clauses may be found in the addition slot.

Ex.

"He tipyhy pira," ipyhyga ojogwerokupa herua
Base:quota sen Add:$q_1$cl $q_1$cl $q_1$cl
exh let's grab fish grabbing rec/with/2/being with/coming

yrua apovo imotynyhema herua. AZ 24
$q_1$cl $q_1$cl $q_1$cl
basket making filling with/coming

'"Let's grab the fish," (they said) the two of them grabbing them together with each other, making a basket, filling it, and bringing them.'

Because in the giving of this sentence, the informant paused after the first occurrence of the word *herua*, the addition slot might be better analysed as being filled by two qualifier 1 clauses each containing a predicate and two qualifier slots as follows:

```
Add:       q1cl                                        q1cl
…ipyhyga  ojogwerokupa  herua      yrua apovo imotynyhema herua
   P:vph       Q:q1cl       Q:q1cl        P:vph    Q:q1cl    Q:q1cl
     |           |            |             |          |         |
   H:vcVI      P:vph        P:vph         H:vcVI     P:vph     P:vph
                 |            |                       |         |
                H:vcV        H:vcVI                  H:vcVI    H:vcVI
```

grabbing rec/with/being with/coming basket making filling with/coming

There are two terms found in the vocative slot which are solely vocative forms. They are: *ha'i* 'mother' and *mba'i* 'girl'. The following are some of the more common nouns which are used as terms of address: *apĩ* 'father', *tapihã* 'son', *kui'i* 'girl', *pi'a* 'boy', *kunumi* 'young boy', *kwãi* 'boy', and *tiᷝ* 'fellow'.

5.2. Complex

Complex sentences may fill a slot on paragraph level, the base slot of a simple sentence, or the citation slot of a quotation sentence. They are either contingent or purposive.

5.2.1. Contingent

A contingent sentence consists of two base slots with fillers which, although they are grammatically independent of one another, have some sort of semantic relationship between them. In the first

example below the second clause is expressing the purpose of the first, and in the second example the second clause may be equated with the subject of the first clause.

+ $Base_1$: predicative cl/quota sen + $Base_2$:dem cl/to-c cl

Ex.

Base:comp sen — Add:n ph — GC 3,4

Oro po ti ɡ̃a heruri Helena'ɡ̃a i'ui nehẽ hupi'a nehẽ.

$Base_1$:t dem cl — $Base_2$:t dem cl

and indef fut they bring Helen/they eat fut egg fut

'And they will bring eggs for Helen (plural) to eat.'

Ki kiro pyry reki ga ndurí. — BE 285

$Base_1$:d decl cl — $Base_2$:decl cl

Part with/that good in the end he neg/come

'It was just as well he didn't come.'

Final particles are not found in base 1 and initial particles are not found in base 2 in this sentence type. As there is no negative form for the predicate of a demonstrative clause, a declarative clause must then be used in base 2.

5.2.2. Purposive

A purposive sentence also consists of two base tagmemes and in the declarative clause in base 2 the purposive modal *t-* must also occur initial in the verb complex, see desiderative prefix in 1.4.1.

+ $Base_1$(Action):pred cl + $Base_2$(Purpose of Action):decl cl

Ex.

Xaho terenhi'ĩ ga pe. CB 4
Base$_1$:i decl cl Base$_2$:i decl cl
let's go you/talk him to
'Let's go for you to talk to him.'

Pembuhu mo ky'ynha taroho. GS 5
Base$_1$:t com cl Base$_2$:t decl cl
you/give some pepper I/take
'Give me some peppers, I want to take them.'

5.3. Quotation

Quotation sentences consist of a citation tagmeme filled by any sentence, and a possible one or two quotative tagmemes.

5.3.1. Quotation 1 sentence

A quotation 1 sentence may fill a paragraph level slot, the base slot of a simple sentence, the base 1 slot of a contingent sentence or the citation slot within a quotation sentence as a quote within a quote.

± Quov$_1$:i dem cl + Cit:sen ± Quov$_2$^{3} :i decl cl

Ex.

"Xaho pevo," ei hẽa. BB 134
Cit:sen Quov$_2$:i decl cl
let's go there said she
'"Let's go there," she said.'

Oro ko g̃a ei, "Nhande juka ty'ara," e ko g̃a hako. Co 4:2
Quov$_1$:i dem cl Cit:sen Quov$_2$:i decl cl
and focus they said us kill hunger said focus they long ago
'And they said, "We are hungry," they said a long time ago.'

Either the quotative 1 or the quotative 2 tagmemes or both have been found to occur in a quotation 1 sentence.

Only one verb has been found to occur in the predicate slot of the clauses filling the quotative slots. It is the irregular verb *e* 'say'. It combines with person marker set 1 in the second person singular to form *ere* (this is also the command form). In third person the forms *ei* and *e'i* are found (the latter possibly being a combination with the diminutive aspect although the negative form is also *nde'i*) except before the particles *ko*, *po*, *te*, and *ti* (4.3.) where the form is *e*.

After the predicate or comment slots in the final clause of the citation sentence, it appears that the quotative 2 tagmeme may separate any of the clause level tagmemes in that part of the citation from the rest of the tagmemes in the clause.

Ex.

"Ajipokytykyty ji hehe, xave'e," ei ji ga pe, "neparinha rehe". AE 10
Cit:sen Quov$_2$:i decl Cit: sen continued
rf/hand/cut I on/it old man said I him to your/flour on
'"I cut and cut my hands on it, old man," I said to him,"on (making) your flour".'

Up to three occurrences of the quotative 2 slot have been found, the second and third each being after items of the citation which have been so separated.

With regard to particles in the intransitive demonstrative clauses in the quotative 1 slot, only clause initial and clause final time particles have been found. Any clause level tagmeme may be found in the intransitive declarative clauses in the first occurrence of the quotative 2 slot, however, these clauses become successively simpler in each of their succeeding occurrences within the same sentence.

5.3.2. Quotation 2 sentence

A quotation 2 sentence fills the qualifier slot in any predicative clause.

± Quov$_1$:iqcl + Cit:sen ∓ Quov$_2$:iqcl

Ex.

Sentence Base:i dem cl BB 10

Aerẽ ɡ̃a hoi javo, "Ereho ti nde nehẽ Coriolano?"

R P Q: quota$_2$ sentence

Quov$_1$:q$_1$cl Cit:sen

this/after they go saying you/go fut you fut Coriolano

'After this they went saying, "Are you going to go, Coriolano?"'

Sentence Base:i dem cl AI 2

Mytũa rehe ahe hoi tajuka javo.

R P Q:quota$_2$ sen

Cit:sen Quov$_2$:q$_1$cl

mutum after they went I/kill saying

'They went after mutum saying, "I want to kill them."'

Either the quotative 1 or quotative 2 tagmemes may occur[1] but both do not occur in the same sentence. As in the quotation 1 sentence, only the verb *e* 'to say' occurs in the predicate slot of the clauses filling the quotative slots. This verb does not combine with the person markers of set 3 and the sole form found in the predicate of a qualifier clause is *javo*.

[1] Quotative 1 most commonly occurs.