THE APINAYÉ LANGUAGE:
PHONOLOGY
and
GRAMMAR

Thesis
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John Campbell Callow

School of Oriental and African Studies

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Apinaye language is spoken today by a little over 200 Indians, living in two villages between the Rivers Tocantins and Araguaia, in the northern tip of the state of Goiás in Brazil. The largest of these villages, São José, has about 160 inhabitants and is situated some 15 miles west of Tocantinópolis, a small town on the western bank of the Tocantins. Its latitude and longitude are thus about 6.8 and 48.W. The second village, called Mariazinha, is situated about a day's journey from São José in a northerly direction, and contains some 50 inhabitants.

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

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

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

2. The historical information cited here is taken from the section on the history of the Apinaye in 'The Apinaye', by Curt Nimuendaju, translated from the original German by R.H.Lowrie, in the Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series, no.8. It was published by the Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., in 1939.
In 1945, the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (SPI) established a Post among the Apinayé in the village of São José.

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

* * * * * * *

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

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

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

¹. See, for instance, Henry Osborn's 'A List of South American Indian Languages', Indiana University, 1948 (this is based on various lists, such as that of J.A.Mason, used in the Handbook of South American Indians, Vol.6). Like other writers, he groups Apinayé as the only member of the Western Timbira, a subgroup of the Jé language group, as much geographical, however, as linguistic. J.M. Camara, Jr., in 'Alguns Radicais Jé', Publicações Avulsas do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1959, a comparative study of twelve Jé languages, groups Apinayé with Piokobié and Rankokamekra. This grouping, he says, 'appears to be entirely new'. But all workers in this comparative field readily admit that there is at present insufficient linguistic evidence to accurately identify or classify the members of the Jé language family.
In 1895, Oscar Leal in 'Viagem a um país de selvagens' lists 129 words (pp.225-228), but according to Nimuendaju, 'the word list is copied from Castelnau, with partial alteration of French into Portuguese orthography'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1. I translate from Camara's Portuguese.

2. Some examples from Nimuendaju's book, with my own orthography in brackets, will show how well he recorded the back spread vowels, one of the most difficult features of the language. 'mbadn-yambi' (manžamá) 'forearm feathers'; 'kridre' (krit-re) 'a type of wood'; 'kamčvj' (kamčve) 'to shoot arrows at something'. 
published in 1959 (see footnote 1, p.2). As previously mentioned, this is a comparative study of 12 Jê languages, one of these being Apinayé. Camara uses lists from various writers for the different languages, that of Snethlage (see p.3) being used for Apinayé.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. (from previous page). Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics are at present engaged in the study of some of the Jê languages, so that published material should soon be available about them.
places in these units. Similarly, different juncture systems are set up for different syllable-finals.¹

Finally, there is a third emphasis, on the close correlation between grammatical categories and phonological features, a correlation liable to be obscured by an 'overall' approach. This shows itself in the highlighting² of phonological features peculiar to, and so characteristic of, various grammatical categories, particularly word-classes. There are thus such sections as 'The phonology of the nominal suffixes' (6.41) and 'The phonology of the particle conjunctions nē and ñūm' (8.43).

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

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

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


4. op.cit.⁴, p.43.

5. op.cit.⁴, p.46.
CHAPTER I THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

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1.4 THE PHONOLOGICAL TRANSCRIPTION 15
1.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

1.2 THE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Except in the text at the end.
1.3 THE READING TRANSCRIPTION

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

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

1.31 The Consonant Symbols

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

The four plosives are represented by the symbols p, t, c, the phonemic procedures used were based on 'Phonemics', by K.L. Pike, Ann Arbor - Univ. of Michigan Press, 1947.

2. The diacritic v serves to distinguish this symbol from the c used in the phonological transcription, and to relate it to the alveolo-palatal ʔ.
and k, being respectively, bilabial, dental, alveolo-palatal (affricate) and velar in point of articulation. They are voiced when they are both unstressed (i.e. syllable-final in any syllable, syllable-initial in an unstressed syllable) and preceded and followed by voiced sounds; they are voiceless and lightly aspirated elsewhere. In faster speech, and especially next to open or half open vowels, the voiced forms may occur as continuants, υ, r, j, and γ respectively. The consonant ɛ occurs as a palatalised dental plosive (ʨ) when preceding a voiceless plosive.

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

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

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

¹ The nasals and the plosives can thus both occur as voiced plosives. In the case of the nasals, however, the voiced plosive is initial in a stressed syllable; in the case of the plosives the voiced plosive is initial in an unstressed syllable.
The symbol \( ? \) represents a voiceless glottal plosive.

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

1.32 The Vowel Symbols

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

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

```
   FRONT          BACK
   i   i   u
CLOSE
   e   e   o
HALF-CLOSE
   e   A   o
HALF-OPEN
   a
OPEN
```

1. As has already been stated (see 1.2) this vowel is a little centralised from the cardinal \( a \).
The seven nasal vowels are charted below. Their phonetic values match the corresponding oral vowels, except that the half-open vowels can fluctuate to a half-close position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLOSE</td>
<td>ï</td>
<td>ì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPEN</td>
<td>ñ ñ</td>
<td>ñ ñ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.33 The punctuation and other symbols

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

1.331 Punctuation symbols

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

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

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

1.332 Other Symbols

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

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

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

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

A word which occurs with emphatic stress (2.421) is underlined.
1.34 The representation of the morphophonemics

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

1.4 THE PHONOLOGICAL TRANSCRIPTION

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

2.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

2.2 THE SYLLABLE

2.21 The structure of the syllable unit S

2.211 The phonematic units system of the syllable unit S
  2.211.1 Medial place in the syllable unit S
  2.211.2 Initial place in the syllable unit S
  2.211.3 Final place in the syllable unit S
    2.211.31 In the closed syllable unit S
    2.211.32 In the long open syllable unit S

2.212 The prosodic features system of the syllable unit S
  2.212.1 For the whole syllable
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  2.212.3 For final place

2.22 The structure of the syllable unit U

2.221 The phonematic units system of the syllable unit U
  2.221.1 Medial place in the syllable unit U
  2.221.2 Initial place in the syllable unit U
  2.221.3 Final place in the syllable unit U

2.222 The prosodic features system of the syllable unit U
  2.222.1 For the whole syllable
  2.222.2 For initial place
  2.222.3 For final place
2.3 THE WORD

2.31 The simple or favourite word
   2.311 The syllable units system of the simple word
   2.312 The prosodic features system of the simple word
      2.312.1 For the whole word
      2.312.2 For juncture within the word

2.32 The repetitive word
   2.321 The open repetitive word
   2.322 The closed repetitive word

2.33 The compound word
   2.331 The homogeneous compound word
   2.332 The heterogeneous compound word

2.4 THE TUNE

2.41 The tune units system
2.42 The prosodic features system
   2.421 For the whole tune
   2.422 For final place
2.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

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

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

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

3. A 'stem' is defined as any form that can occur affixed (e.g. nominals, verbs, etc).
In the sections on the syllable and the word, the phonetic exponents stated for a phonological element are those appropriate to that element when the syllable in which it occurs is both preceded and followed by another syllable, allowing for the abstraction of the phonetic exponents of the juncture. Consequently, the phonetic exponents of the element when preceded or followed by silence will be given separately, and the examples at the phonetic level will illustrate these phonetic exponents only.

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

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

2.2 THE SYLLABLE

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

1. It would be possible to set up juncture systems to handle juncture with silence, but this has not been done, except to a limited extent. No juncture system is set up to handle juncture with preceding silence, as this would necessitate setting up an entire extra system (cf. footnotes 1 and 2, page 2); but juncture with following silence is incorporated into the general juncture system except for the case in which an echo-vocoid occurs. This particular case will be described in this chapter; the more general case is exemplified by the text material following chapter 9.
In sections 2.21 and 2.22 the structure of the syllable units \( S \) and \( U \) will be described respectively. Their structures will be stated by means of two systems, the phonematic units system, and the prosodic features system; and three places, initial, medial, and final. A phonematic unit is a phonological element that has phonetic exponents which may be referred to one place only in the phonetic structure of the syllable; a prosodic feature is a phonological element whose phonetic exponents either extend over more than one place in the phonetic syllable, or have implications over more than one place in that they delimit it from, or link it to, preceding and following structures.¹

2.21 The structure of the syllable unit \( S \)

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

2.211 The phonematic units system of the syllable unit \( S \)

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

¹. See the Introduction, pp.5-7; for a general discussion of the phonological approach adopted in this thesis.
CV and V; CVc and Vc; CVə and Və. The first pair are termed 'short open' syllables; the second pair 'closed' syllables; and the third pair 'long open' syllables. A count based on some random samples of text material showed that, for S syllable units, short open syllables accounted for nearly 70 per cent of the occurrences, closed syllables for about 30 per cent, and long open syllables for less than 2 per cent.

2.211.1 Medial place in the syllable-unit S

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>İHum</th>
<th>'and'</th>
<th>('İHum)</th>
<th>CVc</th>
<th>CIc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pØi</td>
<td>'to come back'</td>
<td>('pØi)</td>
<td>CVə</td>
<td>CEə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>'thus'</td>
<td>('A)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

- pa 'I' ('pa) CV PA
- te 'that is so' ('te) CV TE
- ki 'hair' ('ki) CV KI

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

---

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

2. 9.32 describes one special case in which the phonetic exponent of the C unit P is a bilabial nasal.
The phonetic exponents of these are nasals, at bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation respectively. Following silence they are voiced. E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mā} & \quad 'to' \quad ('\text{mā}) \quad CV \quad \text{MA} \\
\text{nē} & \quad 'and' \quad ('\text{nē}) \quad CV \quad \text{NA} \\
\text{ŋo} & \quad 'water' \quad ('\text{ŋ'go}) \quad CV \quad \text{NG}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ra} & \quad 'already' \quad ('\text{ra}) \quad CV \quad \text{JA}
\end{align*}
\]

2.211.3. Final place in the syllable-unit S

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

2.211.31 Final place in the closed syllable unit S

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

1. Lower case letters are used for final phonematic units and also for phonematic units which occur in the syllable-unit U. They are thus related at the phonological level (as reflected in the transcription) because their phonetic exponents exhibit numerous parallels and their juncture phenomena are closely related.
form a closed system for final place. These seven \( c_1 \) units are grouped into three subsystems - Sep, Scn and Scj.

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
tep & 'fish' & ('t\text{ce}b\text{e}) & CVc & TAp \\
mit & 'sun' & ('\text{mb}\text{\acute{d}}\text{\acute{m}}) & CVc & MIT \\
pok & 'flame' & ('\text{p}\text{co}g\text{o}) & CVc & PEk \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
těm & 'to fall' & ('tě\text{m}č) & CVc & TAM \\
ton & 'armadillo' & ('\text{t}\text{o}n\text{o}) & CVc & TEN \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
něv & 'new' & ('n'\text{ď}\text{\acute{u}}\text{\acute{v}w}) & CVc & NIV \\
pur & 'clearing' & ('\text{p}\text{ru}\text{r}) & CVc & PIR \\
\end{array}
\]

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

2. For further details concerning the phonetic exponents of final \( c_1 \) units, see the last paragraph of this section. Chapter 3 also gives other phonetic exponents of final \( c_1 \) units in particular junctures.
In absolute final position, the final contoid of a closed syllable may be followed by an 'echo-vocoid'. At slower speeds this echo-vocoid is voiced, and has the same degree of openness as the vocoid which is the phonetic exponent of the V unit (unless there is a final-prosody, or the V unit is A with no syllable-prosodies). At faster speeds the echo-vocoid is voiceless, and is closer in articulation than the nuclear vocoid, if the latter is not the phonetic exponent of a V unit I. In the slower case, the final contoid is voiced; see the examples given above. In the faster case, the final contoid is voiceless if it is the phonetic exponent of a member of the subsystem cp, or of the c unit r; otherwise it is voiced. Two examples at the faster speed are given below.

\[
\begin{align*}
tep & \quad \text{'fish'} \\
pur & \quad \text{'clearing'}
\end{align*}
\]

2.211.32 Final place in the long open syllable-unit S

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\tilde{n}ai & \quad \text{'woodpecker'} \\
krua & \quad \text{'arrow'}
\end{align*}
\]

1. A 'contoid' is any sound which is not a 'central resonant oral'; a 'vocoid' is any sound which is. See K.L. Pike, 'Phonemics', Univ. of Michigan, 1947, pp.235, 244.
2.212 The prosodic features system of the syllable-unit S

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

2.212.1 The prosodic features system set up for the whole syllable

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

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

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

(i) With all short open and closed syllables, whose initial C unit is not a member of the subsystem Cn, the phonetic exponent of the syllable-prosody n is lowering of the velic for all vocoid articulations. If the final c unit is a member of the subsystem cp, there is voiced nasal transition between the nuclear vocoid and the phonetic exponent of the c unit, homorganic with the latter. E.g.
1 When "when" ('i) V nI
r3r 'babassu ("r3r3) CVc nJAr
pr3t 'to run' ("pr3n3d3) CVc nJAt

(ii) With all short open and closed syllables, whose initial C unit is a member of the subsystem Cn, the phonetic exponent of the syllable-prosody n is lowering of the velic at the release of the initial coticid, and for all vocoid articulations in the syllable. If the final C unit is a member of the subsystem cp, the same phonetic phenomena occur as described above in section (i). E.g.
kanr3k 'swamp' (n'r3ŋg3) CVc nJAk

(iii) With long open syllables, the phonetic exponents of the syllable-prosody n are as given above, but the vocoid which is the exponent of the a unit may or not be nasalised, i.e. there is free fluctuation. E.g.
m3i 'that' ('m3i/'m3i) CVa nM1a

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

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

1. Where polysyllabic forms are cited as examples, the syllable unit S will be underlined in the reading transcription, and only its phonetic exponent will be given in the phonetic transcription.
(ii) With syllables whose initial C unit is a member of the subsystem Ca the phonetic exponent of the syllable-prosody X is raising of the velic at the release of the initial contoid, and for all vocoid articulations in the syllable (with the same exceptions stated above).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Syllable Type</th>
<th>Phonetic Exponent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td>('tʃɪʃ)</td>
<td>CVc</td>
<td>MTAP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to place something'</td>
<td>('təmə)</td>
<td>Vc</td>
<td>MAm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to pound something'</td>
<td>('təmə)</td>
<td>Vc</td>
<td>MEm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to sing'</td>
<td>('ŋɡrɛ)</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>MNG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'honey'</td>
<td>('m'bɛpɛ)</td>
<td>CVc</td>
<td>MMan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Syllable Type</th>
<th>Phonetic Exponent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td>('mɔ)</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>nWMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'not, none'</td>
<td>('ked')</td>
<td>CVc</td>
<td>MKe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'yes'</td>
<td>('y')</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>MwE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- par 'foot' ('pari) CVc $\n\text{PAR}$
- tam 'himself' ('tami) CVc $\n\text{NTAM}$

2.212.2 The prosodic features system set up for initial place

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

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

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

- kwe 'a few, some' ('kwy) CV $\n\text{N\n\text{KE}}$
The phonetic exponent of a phonetic exponent with a syllable whose initial C unit is a member of either of the subsystems Cp or Cn is an alveolar flap, with or without lateral tongue shape; with the initial C unit J it is a dental or lateral continuant. E.g.

- krā 'head' (krā) CV nwy^KA
- mra 'to walk, go' (mbra) CV ŋy^MA
- ri 'continuously' (ri) CV ŋy^RI
- vre 'to descend' (vre) CV ŋy^WE

The phonetic exponents of y initial-prosody are as follows:

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

- pže 'hole' (pže/pše/pʃe, etc) CV ŋy^PE

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

- mžen 'husband' (m'bže/m'bžene, etc) CVc ŋy^ME

1. These phonetic exponents are based upon the speech of my principal informant, Francisco Suturc. Other speakers used a flat palatal fricative in all contexts, except with the C units T and N.
(iii) With the phonematic unit T, the phonetic exponent of \( y \) initial-prosody is alveo-palatal affrication. E.g.

\[ \text{Čer} \quad \text{‘to burn’} \quad (\text{‘tčere}) \quad CVc \quad \text{ŋyTTER} \]

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

\[ \text{nē} \quad \text{‘to sit’} \quad (\text{‘nū}) \quad CV \quad \text{nywNI} \]

\[ \text{nē} \quad \text{‘interrogative’} \quad (n’dzA) \quad CV \quad \text{ywNaN} \]

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

\[ \text{ža} \quad \text{‘this’} \quad (\text{‘ža}) \quad CV \quad \text{JyJA} \]

The phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody \( y \) is a glottal plosive. E.g.

\[ \text{wō} \quad \text{‘with’} \quad (\text{‘wō}) \quad V \quad \text{ywA} \]

The distribution of the initial-prosodies with the initial consonant units is shown on the following chart. It can be summed up by saying that in general the phonetic exponents of the initial C unit and of the initial-prosody have different points of articulation. An \( 'x' \) marks the combinations that were found; an \( 'x' \) with an asterisk in the columns under \( Cn \) indicates forms that occur only in syllables with the syllable-prosody \( n \).
2.212.3 The prosodic features system set up for final place

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

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

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

teč 'hard' ('twɛtzi) CVc ɪwyTɛtɪ

Aň 'to like (of) food' ('Aŋi) Vc ɪwyAnɪ
(ii) With the final unit \( e \), the phonetic exponent of the final-prosody \( y \) is a close spread palatal articulation of the unstressed vowel. The final-prosody \( y \) occurs with the final unit \( e \) only if there is \( w \) syllable-prosody, or no syllable-prosody at all. E.g.

\[
\text{poe} \quad \text{"to come back" (} \text{poe} \text{)} \quad \text{CV}e \quad \text{wPE}e^y
\]

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

\[
\text{kuwpea} \quad \text{"to err" (} \text{pau} \text{)} \quad \text{CV}e \quad \text{wPA}e^w
\]

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

\[
\text{apea} \quad \text{"to look for" (} \text{pe}^j\text{a} \text{)} \quad \text{CV}e \quad \text{wPE}e^wy
\]

\[
\text{inau} \quad \text{"to hollow out" (} \text{n}^\text{\acute{d}}\text{u}^w\text{a} \text{)} \quad \text{CV}e \quad \text{wNI}e^wy
\]

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

\[
\text{prea} \quad \text{"many" (} \text{n}^\text{\acute{g}}\text{rei} \text{)} \quad \text{CV}e \quad \text{w\text{\acute{r}}E}e^\text{yn}
\]

1. Except when the final-prosody \( n \) also occurs; see below.
2.22  The structure of the syllable unit U

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

2.221  The phonematic units system of the syllable unit U

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

2.221.1  Medial place in the syllable-unit U

Every syllable-unit U has a medial place which is filled by a v unit. There are three such v units, which together make up a closed system for medial place. These three units are represented in the phonological transcription by i, e, and a. The phonetic exponent of the vowel unit i is closeness of articulation; of e is midness; and of a is openness. A count of U syllable-units in text material showed that the vowel unit a accounts for about 70 per cent of all v units; the vowel unit i for about 30 per cent;
and the vowel unit e for 0 per cent. (Cf. with 2.211.1, page 21). E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭiire</td>
<td>(ʔi) v i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenā</td>
<td>(ke) cv ce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ārīk</td>
<td>(a) v a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2212 Initial place in the syllable-unit U

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

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

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

2. In the examples, the syllable unit U will be underlined in the reading transcription, and only it will be given in the phonetic and phonological transcriptions.
The subsystem cn comprises two members which are represented in the phonological transcription by m and n. The phonetic exponents of these are nasals, at bilabial and dental points of articulation, respectively. They are voiced when following silence. E.g.

\[ \text{mānēn} ' \text{again}' (\text{mā}) \quad \text{cv} \quad \text{ma} \]
\[ \text{ñīpeč} ' \text{to make cr do} (\text{ñi}) \quad \text{cv} \quad \text{ni} \]

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

\[ \text{žarē} ' \text{to tell, say} (\text{ža}) \quad \text{cv} \quad \text{ja} \]

2.221.3 Final place in the syllable unit U

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

1. A third member, ň, has not been set up as it has only been found to occur very rarely as a variant for either n or j. E.g. ňimeč for ňimeč 'to kill someone'; and ňarē for žarē 'to tell, say something'. It is possible that such forms are the relics of a dialect difference.
The subsystem Ucp comprises two members, which are represented in the phonological transcription by \( p \) and \( t \). The phonetic exponents of these are plosives, at bilabial, and dental points of articulation respectively. E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{apka}^\text{ti} & \quad \text{tomorrow, the (ap)} \\
\text{ačte} & \quad \text{again! (ae)}
\end{align*}
\]

next day

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{abte} & \quad \text{again} (ae)
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{amnī} & \quad \text{one's self (am)} \\
\text{kunne} & \quad \text{to taste, (ku)}, \text{try something} (ku)
\end{align*}
\]

The subsystem Ucj comprises one member, which is represented in the phonological transcription by \( v \). The phonetic exponent of \( v \) is a labio-dental fric和平less continuant. E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{avžanā} & \quad \text{to return} (aw)
\end{align*}
\]

2.222 The prosodic features system of the syllable unit \( U \)

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

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

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

E.g.

- **pumu** 'to see something' (pu) cv p'pi
- **ōpo** 'to extract something' (5) v na

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

- **?aro** 'woman' (9a) v n'ya
- **kupē** 'white person' (ku) cv n'wki
- **apeñ** 'to work' (λ) v n'wiya
2.222.2 The prosodic features system set up for initial place

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vakre</th>
<th>'place, spot'</th>
<th>(w)</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>$\text{My}^w$ a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čišr̃o</td>
<td>'swallow'</td>
<td>(ti)</td>
<td>cv</td>
<td>$\text{My}^y$ tı¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>źat̃a</td>
<td>'now'</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>cv</td>
<td>$\text{My}^y$ ja²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ar̃a</td>
<td>'to tell, say'</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>$\text{My}^y$ a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.222.3 The prosodic features system set up for final place

There is only one prosodic feature set up for final

1. It seems very likely that forms with an initial c unit $t$ and initial-prosody $y$ which are not weak forms (see 5.3) are borrowed forms, either from Portuguese or another Indian language, such as Krahá. Forms of this structure which have been identified as borrowed are the following: čapó 'scap' (Prt. sabão); čikar 'cigarette' (Prt. cigarro); łukrut 'guinea-hen' (Krahá). There are two forms not identified as borrowed; čivivi 'a whistle'; and the form cited in the text above.

2. Forms with an initial-prosody $y$ and initial c unit $j$ are confined to the Adverb Class and the Nominal Particle Class.
place in the syllable-unit U, and it is represented in the phonological transcription by y.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ačte} & \quad \text{'again'} & (a^i_t) & \quad \text{vc} & \quad \text{Myat}^y \\
\text{ičkū} & \quad \text{'to drink'} & (i^i_t) & \quad \text{vc} & \quad \text{Myit}^y
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kuňne} & \quad \text{'to taste,'} & (ku^i_n) & \quad \text{cvc} & \quad \text{Mywkin}^y \\
\text{try something!}
\end{align*}
\]

2.5 THE WORD

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

1. Following L. Bloomfield, 'Language', page 178.
The word will be described by means of two systems, the syllable units system, and the prosodic features system; and by means of three places, ultimate, penultimate, and antepenultimate.

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

2.31 The simple or favourite word

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

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

2.311 The syllable units system of the simple word

The syllable units system of the simple word is a closed system comprising two members, S and U. These two units combine to form three types of simple word, viz. S, US, and UUS, which will be referred to, respectively, as 'monosyllabic', 'disyllabic', and 'trisyllabic' simple words. A count based on text material showed that monosyllabic words account for about 75 per cent of all simple words; disyllabic for nearly 25 per cent; and trisyllabic for about 1 per cent.
There are certain distributional limitations to be noted in connection with disyllabic and trisyllabic words. In disyllabic words, the only syllable units $U$ which have not been found to occur are those with the initial $c$ unit $m$.

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

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

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

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

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

- akunɔ 'to flee' (,agun'do) $\ddot{\x}ya + \ddot{\x}wki$
- amūšu 'to hide' (,amūt'tsu) $\ddot{\x}ya + nwmi$
- užair 'tapping, pecking' (,uja'rm) $\ddot{\x}wi + \ddot{\x}ya$
- apkaʔti 'tomorrow, the (',apkaʔ'ti) $\ddot{\x}yap + \ddot{\x}yka$

In disyllabic weak forms (see 5.3) in which the

1. Apart from one adverb: see 8.21.
initial c unit in the penultimate place is p; and in
trisyllabic words in which the initial c unit in the
penultimate place is m, there is a type of harmony between
the penultimate syllable, and the ultimate one. Such
penultimate syllables are always characterised by w syllable-
prosody; if the syllable unit S occurs with y syllable-
prosody (with or without w syllable-prosody) then so does
the syllable-unit U. In disyllabic words there tends to be
fluctuation. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Prosodic Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pumu</td>
<td>'to see something'</td>
<td>μwπi + μwMI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pune</td>
<td>'to catch something'</td>
<td>μw(y)πi + μyNE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pine</td>
<td>'to hide'</td>
<td>nwmi + μwTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amūcu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nwymi + μwyKI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amākārī</td>
<td>'afternoon'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.312. The prosodic features system of the simple word

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

2.312.1 The prosodic features system set up for the whole word

There is only one prosodic feature, stress, which is
set up as a prosodic feature for the whole word; it will be
referred to as a word-prosody. It is considered to be a
prosody of the whole word because it has phonetic implications
throughout the word of prominence, vocoid length, pitch and
juncture.
The phonetic exponents of stress can be conveniently considered in four groups, which will be termed primary, secondary, tertiary and emphatic stress.

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

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

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

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

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

In phonetic transcriptions, primary stress will be marked by a vertical stroke above the line (''); secondary stress by a vertical stroke through the line (,); tertiary stress will be left unmarked; emphatic stress will be marked by two vertical strokes above the line (''). In phonological
transcriptions, primary stress will be marked by an acute accent over the vowel unit; secondary stress by a grave accent over the vowel unit; tertiary stress will be unmarked; emphatic stress will be marked by two acute accents over the vowel unit. E.g.

pikunor 'to flee' (pigun'doro) ᱇thetic + ᱇wki + ᱇När

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

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

2.32 The repetitive word

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

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

The open repetitive word can be formulaised as follows:

\[(cv) + CV + CV(c/e),\]

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Stress Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cūkūt</td>
<td>'Moon'</td>
<td>nw'TI + nw'TI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍren'er</td>
<td>'smooth'</td>
<td>ny'MA + ny'MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokci</td>
<td>'monkey'</td>
<td>nwKE + nwKEJa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kat5tōk</td>
<td>'thunder'</td>
<td>nyka + nwTA + nwTAk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapreprehk'to spank'</td>
<td>(kap.prep'propk)</td>
<td>nyka + nyPE + nyPEk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Forms written with a final tilde are stems that have only been found suffixed, not free.
The closed repetitive word can be formulated as follows:

\[(cv) + CVc + CVc,\]

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

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

\[\text{kopno} \quad \text{'itchy'} \quad (\text{ndzom'dzobc}) \quad \text{p} \text{w}^\text{y} \text{NE}^\text{p1} + \text{p} \text{wy}^\text{y} \text{NE}^\text{p}\]

\[\text{kukrivkriv} \quad \text{'many small'} \quad (\text{kuk, krw'krw'k}) \quad \text{p} \text{wki} + \text{p} \text{wy}^\text{r} \text{k}^\text{i} \text{v} + \text{p} \text{wy}^\text{r} \text{k}^\text{i} \text{v}\]

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

1. A final c unit p, when it occurs preceding an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cn has a bilabial nasal for phonetic exponent.
substitutable for a single root or stem in an equivalent grammatical context, and which is indivisible. 

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

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

2.331 The homogeneous compound word

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

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

---

1. For the one exception to this statement, see 7.322.2.
b) Compound words that contain one syllable unit U. There are four types of compound with only one U syllable unit, which can be formularised as follows: USS, SUS, SUSS, and SSUS. In each case in isolation, the final syllable unit S carries primary stress, and the U syllable unit tertiary stress. The syllable units S which are non-ultimate occur with secondary stress. E.g.

kupčē 'cloth' (kup, pē'tē) nyki + nypha + myte
krāžapa 'hat' (krājap, 'pabm) nyra kā + myja + mypă
mītza'pō'kā 'east' (m., bwa'zap, po: 'tē) nywmi + myja + mywpe + myta
ropkrāžakot 'night-ape' (rop, krājap, 'kōs) nywjan + nyra kā + myja + mykāt

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

amāikati 'to play' (amājigat'ti) myam + nyānī + myka + mytī

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

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

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

\[ \text{atoanē 'to treat you like this'} (\text{atoan'ne or adoan'ne}) \]

\[ \text{\(n\)ya + \(n\)wTA + \(n\)ya + nyNA or \(n\)ya + \(n\)wTA +, etc.} \]

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

\[ \text{ta'n-mā 'how (interrog)'} ('\text{ta\^{i}mā) n\text{TAn}' + n\text{wYMA}} \]

\[ \text{pā'n-oā 'instead of'} ('\text{pā'nā) n\text{wYPAn}' + n\text{wY'A}} \]
In this section, an attempt is made to describe the pitch patterns characteristic of Apinaye utterances. It is not intended, however, to be an exhaustive treatment, as that would require considerably more text material, and a description too extensive and detailed to be part of this thesis; but it is hoped that the following description is reasonably adequate.

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

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

![Diagram showing pitch levels: high, mid, and low.]

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

---

2.41 The tune units system

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Occasionally, 'double' peaks occur, either immediately in succession, or with syllables with secondary or tertiary stress between them. See, for example, 6.Nb.
transcription of the tune, with translation and reference. Syllables with primary and secondary stress will be transcribed with a line; those with tertiary stress by a dot, in each case over the voccid(s) of the phonetic syllable.

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

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{L} & \quad \text{he walked around} \\
\text{2.34} & \quad \text{singing, and} \\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{D} & \quad \text{6.AF.6-9} \\
\text{A} & \quad \text{'My father,'} \\
\text{4.6} & \quad \text{'} \\
\end{align*} \]

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

2. References will be given as follows. Where a simple number occurs before a dot (as 2.34), this refers to the number of the text, there being nine texts, the first eight given by Estevam Laranja, the ninth by Francisco Sutero; the figures after the dot refer to the line. In the case of text 6, however, which is that analysed in detail at the end of the thesis, after the 6, there will be a capital letter, or letters, which refer to the sentence, and then a small letter referring to the pause-group in that sentence, or a number referring to the clause similarly. Where an example is cited from elicited notes, the number preceding the dot is the page number, and the letters preceding that are the initials of the informant who gave the information.
The tune unit may occur in a special form, in which the final syllable unit with primary stress in tune unit L, or the peak in tune unit D, may occur in a very long form. Such long syllables usually occur as the final syllable of a verb stem, and have the semantic implication of continuity - 'going on doing something' - which can be expressed in English by such a construction as 'he walked and walked and walked' or 'he kept on walking'.

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
né'm'm3:::áum? \quad L \quad '\text{so he went on and on ... and'} \\
né'm3..., áum
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ám'brin'?} \quad D \quad '\text{He ate and ate and ate, and then he said:}' \\
áum kuvo..., amri-né:
\end{array}
\]

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

The prelude can also occur as a sharp rise from low or mid to the first stressed syllable of the tune unit. In this special case, the rise is analysed as the prelude, and the highest point it reaches as the start of the phonetic exponent of the tune unit.
In the following example, the boundary of the prelude will be marked by a broken vertical line.

```
kotpaït, tçch'õmîit' vëgùp' yë
"kotpa ža čep ţm išpe kúpe."
'I will become a white man'.
```

```
n'çjaye pëìmësamë?
"na, kotpa ža mëamë"
For your sake, I will (become a white man)
```

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

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

```
jùmàm kàngòm 'be:ja' kùxt' tàngum' mëjùm', vëg'ra: nët' tëngùr' iù-
D + L + L
```

```
nûm kàm' kànc mëk ža' k'vëte, në kumë, nûm' zòk rač, në të,
në kúpë, nûm aòtë.
'So he (the woodpecker) pulled off a piece of honey for him, and threw it; it burst into flame, and fell, but he (Sun) caught it, and it went out'.
```

2,18
The prosodic features system set up for the tune comprises two closed systems, one set up for the whole tune, and the other for tune-final. These will be described, respectively, in 2.421 and 2.422.

2.421 The prosodic features system set up for the whole tune

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

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

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

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

There are thus nine possible combinations of tune unit and tune-prosody, of which seven were found, the tune unit A not being found with either low or high tune-prosody. Of these seven, the tunes with mid tune-prosody account for the majority of the pitch patterns, the high and low forms being rarer and more limited in their function.
Tune units L and D with the mid tune-prosody are the usual narrative patterns, the latter also being used extensively in conversation. See for instance, the first two examples on page 53.

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{mem'nu: } \text{di'mem'bud'urk're'ja: } \text{nē:} & \quad \text{hL} \\
\text{mēmit-ti mēmitvra-re } \text{va anē!} & \\
& \quad \text{'Sun and Moon acted like this!'}
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{mekām'kat'to} & \quad \text{hD} \\
\text{mēčīkām } & \quad \text{kato. } \quad \text{it was in the following way that he was born among us'.}
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{tgermēmēkot'krin'ban'la'ret'tamna...} & \quad \text{1D} \\
\text{če nē mēkot kritmanē-rc čam, nē } & \quad \text{6.AK.2-3.}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{'he put his pet macaw on a stick behind them, and ...'}
\end{align*} \]
Tune unit A (with mid tune-prosody) is most commonly used for the Vocative Piece, as in the third example on page 53.

2.422 The prosodic features system set up for final place

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

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

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

\[ \text{iʃ'krāmge:jı: mAf 'My father.' 1.14} \]

(b) If the final syllable of the tune unit does not occur with primary stress, in which case it is almost invariably tertiary, the phonetic exponent of f is low pitch, with the potentiality of a partial fall on the preceding syllable (with primary stress). E.g.
There was no trace of his pet macaw.

"But my halves are hard."

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

"We did kill him!"

"We did kill and bury him!"

1. When there is only one syllable unit with primary stress in the tune unit, tune units L and D are homophonous. However, it is usually possible to assign the pitch pattern to one or the other by grammatical or (other) phonological parallels with unambiguous cases. In this case, the long prelude is characteristic of tune unit D.
The phonetic exponent of the final prosody is a partial fall, that is, to the lower range of mid, or the upper range of low. This prosody marks a major grammatical break within the sentence, and will be represented in the reading transcription with a semi-colon (unless otherwise marked) when it occurs clause-final, which is almost invariably the case. E.g.

\[ 'kwa t'igotka\textsuperscript{on} 'be\textsuperscript{\i}, ne  \\
'kva to, kotka \mathring{\textsc{a}z\textsc{e}}\text{\textsc{c}} ně; ' 'You had better do well;'
\]

\[ 'kwan'da...    \\
kva na!    \\
'Not so!'
\]

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

\[ 'kot\textsuperscript{?}om\textsuperscript{\i}o\textsuperscript{p}r'ra...    \\
'kot \?o \v{m}r\textsuperscript{\i}p\textsuperscript{\i}p\textsuperscript{\i}r\textsuperscript{\i}k?"    \\
'Will he really be like us?'
\]
CHAPTER 3  JUNCTURE

3.1  INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

3.2  JUNCTURES OF THE TYPE Jv

3.21  With the juncture-prosody ?

3.22  With the juncture-prosody a

3.3  JUNCTURES OF THE TYPE Jc

3.31  With the juncture-prosody Z

3.311  'Simple' junctures

3.312  'Nasal' junctures

3.313  'Non-y' junctures

3.314  'e' junctures

3.315  'Vowel' junctures

3.32  With the juncture-prosody X

3.33  With the juncture-prosody H

3.4  THE JUNCTURE-PROSODY Y

3.5  JUNCTURES WITH PAUSE

3.6  JUNCTURES PECULIAR TO PARTICLES
3.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

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

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

b) Such an approach enables the phonetic data to be handled in a way that more obviously brings to attention the phonetic characteristics of a particular juncture. In a phonemic approach, a considerable amount of the phonetic detail would be handled allophonically (in the description of the phonemes), and would thus be irrelevant to the morphophonemics, which would only describe changes at the phonemic level. For instance, in the present approach, the phonetic facts that 'p' (in the phonological transcription) can occur as a voiceless bilabial plosive; as a voiced bilabial plosive; and as a voiced bilabial nasal, are all regarded as equally relevant to a consideration and description of the juncture phenomena. But in a phonemic
statement of the morphophonemics, the first two of these phonetic facts would not be mentioned as they would be handled as allophones of the phoneme /p/.

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

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

The details of the juncture phenomena will be presented in the following way. The chapter will be divided into two main sections (3.2 and 3.3) describing, respectively, junctures in which the prejunctural syllable is a short open one; and junctures in which the prejunctural syllable is a closed or long open one. Within these two main sections, the juncture phenomena will be handled in groups, each group occurring with the same juncture-prosody. There will also be three further sections; one on the special juncture-prosody Y (3.4); one on
juncture with pause (3.5); and one on those junctures peculiar to particles (3.6).

3.2 JUNCTURES OF THE TYPE Jv

Junctures of the type Jv are those in which the pre-junctural syllable is a short open one, i.e. has the structure (C)V cr (c)v. For junctures of this type, a closed system of two prosodic features is set up. These prosodic features will be represented in the phonological transcription by 9 and 2 ('glottal' and 'non-glottal'), written immediately above the + sign between the two syllables in juncture. It should be noted that where both of these juncture-prosodies can occur in the same phonological environment (for instance, when the post-junctural syllable has an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cp), their occurrence is defined grammatically, not phonologically.

Junctures of the type Jv will be described in two sections, the first (3.21) describing junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody 9; and the second (3.22) describing the junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody 2.

3.21 Junctures of the type Jv with the juncture-prosody 9

The juncture-prosody 9 occurs only if the initial consonantal unit of the post-junctural syllable is a member of the subsystem Cp, or of the subsystem cp; or, (and this only applies within a word, and not across word boundaries), if the post-junctural syllable is vowel-initial with the initial prosody 9. The phonetic exponent of 9 juncture-

1. There is one exception to the above statement - the form ro?rot 'a dance'; the sequence 9r has not been found elsewhere in the language.
prosody is a glottal plosive, with voiceless articulation of the phonetic exponent of the following consonantal unit if it is a member of one of the subsystems Cp or cp; or with voiced articulation of the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody w.

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

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

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<tr>
<td>mēA?pumuiñ</td>
<td>'those who (A?pu) nywâ + nywpi</td>
<td>6,13n²</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>?Ikže ?teč-rc</td>
<td>'one side was (kse?'tw:di) nyvKÉ + nywTÉtψ</td>
<td>1,25</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>krA?ka</td>
<td>'crest' (grA?ka) nywKA + nywKA</td>
<td>2,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?A?wë</td>
<td>'to ask for something' (A?wë) nyw + nyw õé</td>
<td>F311,13</td>
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</table>

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

2. A reference followed by an 'n' means that the form cited was obtained as a note on that particular line of the text; such notes were obtained from Francisco Suterc.
3.22 Junctures of the type Jv with the junction-prosody

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

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

ape 'worked' (ap'pe) yya + yyPE 4.6

nyra ko 'a buriti palm' (,ngwerek'ko) yrnJ Â 2 + ywKE 1.35

?ikže 'one side' (?i,kse) nyi + yyKE 1.22

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

c, pu mös, 'let us go' (,'cbu) yyA + ywPI 3.17

tok râ te 'the flower of (,râda) nwyJ Â 2 + yTA 1.14

akuno 'he fled' (agu) yya + ywki 1.17

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

c, pa mös, 'let us go' (,'cua) yyA + yPA 2.10

kva, tokič; 'Quickly!' (,'kuaro) yK Â 2 + ywta 3.8
c) When the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, has an initial consonantal unit which is a member of the subsystems Cn or cn, and occurs with the syllable-prosody n, the phonetic exponent of a juncture-prosody is lengthening and voiced articulation of the phonetic exponent of the initial unit.

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

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

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

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

2. The phonetic data pertinent to this juncture admits of interpretation as either a 9 or a 2 juncture-prosody (see the last example cited). The latter interpretation has been preferred because of its parallelism with the other junctures described in this subsection (c).
a) When the post-junctural syllable occurs with tertiary stress, and has the initial consonantal units and/or initial prosodies described above in (c), the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody is as given above, but without any lengthening. Also, when the initial consonantal unit is J or j, with the initial-prosody y, the phonetic exponent of y is a palatal frictionless continuant.

Amri-nūm 'scorn' (m'brinūm) ₃y⁵M₁ + ny⁵NIm 7.8
Hla ne?e 'Can it be...?' (n'džove) ₃wy⁵NÁ + ₃y⁵A 6.2
Iš ša 'the one' (išja) ₃w²A + ₃y⁵JA 8.64

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

Kva nā! 'Not so!' ('kwan'ā) ₃w⁵K₁ + ₃wyNÁ 1.24
Mrí rūm mō 'he came back (m'brurrū) ₃wy⁵M₁ + nw⁴JIm 5.17

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

Ča ūm kām 'Do you want ('tcā'ūm) ₃wy⁵TA + nw⁴m 3.20

Kano? honey mixed
with the wax?'

1. A single FS in the reference indicates that the form in question was recorded directly onto its file-slip.
When the post-junctural syllable occurs with tertiary stress, and is vowel-initial without initial-prosody, the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody is zero. If the phonetic exponents of the vowel units in the two syllables in juncture are the same, (i.e. as given in chapter two), then the phonetic exponent of the vowel unit in the post-junctural syllable is usually zero. It is also usually zero if the post-junctural syllable is a syllable-unit $U$, and occurs with $y$ syllable-prosody.

\begin{align*}
mćičte įmuň \quad & 'we saw him' \quad (,tea) \quad \text{MyTA}^2 + \text{wa} \quad 6.BD.3 \\
ka āri \quad & 'you may' \quad (ka'ri) \quad \text{MyKA}^2 + \text{ya} \quad 5.6 \\
?amri anči \quad & '(I) spoke as' \quad (m'tri'ne) \quad \text{MyRM}^2 + \text{ya} \quad 8.1
\end{align*}

### 3.3 Junctures of the Type $J_c$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The junctures which are comprised within this group will be described in five subsections (3.311 - 3.315), each subsection sharing some common feature at the phonetic level in addition to occurring with the juncture-prosody Z.
'Simple' junctures are defined negatively as those that are not 'nasal', 'non-y', 'a', or 'vowel' junctures, these being defined in the following sections. That is to say, in general they are junctures in which the phonetic exponents of the phonological elements in juncture are not both nasals; in which the phonetic exponent of the final-prosody y with the c units t and n is not zero; and in which the pre-junctural syllable does not have a phonetic exponent analysable as of phonological structure CVe or CV.

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

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

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<td>v̌</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Column 1

**ŋiv mûi** 'that mud' (ŋ'gûv'mûi)  mwyNyìv  Z nwMîeY  FS16.23

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

**nê qîr wa** 'and heard the (ŋ'grèlm'ba)  mYìNîr  Z mA  2.34

singing'

---

1. The initial elements which are bracketed only occur when the juncture-prosody Y is present (apart from some loan words and adverbs). Such elements will be indicated in this way on all the charts. Where it is necessary, for completeness, to cite examples involving them, the juncture-prosody Y will not be indicated in the phonological transcription, in accordance with the practice (in this thesis) of not introducing elements that have not yet been defined and described.
The phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody \( r \) when the final \( c \) unit is \( t \) or \( n \) is a dental lateral; and, in this case, the phonetic exponent of \( t \) may also be a dental lateral.

\[ \text{manrā-re} \quad 'a \text{ macaw'} \quad (m'ban'la) \quad \text{mwyMān} + \text{nwy} \text{Jā} \quad 7.46 \]

\[ \text{mut rā-\text{-}ti} \quad 'a \text{ long neck'} \quad (m'bul'lm) \quad \text{mwyMīt} + \text{mwy} \text{Jī} \quad 7.50 \]

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

\[ \text{kep žuk...} \quad '\text{he wandered about for fear of him'} \quad (\text{'keb} \text{n}: \text{u}: \text{u}) \quad \text{kū} \text{KEP} + \text{mwy} \text{Jīk} \quad 1.17 \]

\[ \text{mitžapokča} \quad 'east' \quad (\text{m,'bud} \text{za}) \quad \text{mwyMīt} + \text{mwy} \text{Ja} \quad 1.3 \]

\[ \text{ūm ža} \quad 'the wax' \quad (\text{'ūm} \text{ja}) \quad \text{nw} \text{lm} + \text{mwy} \text{Jā} \quad 3.26 \]

\[ \text{vaŋc nīv ža} \quad 'this new craiba (n'aw} \text{za}) \quad \text{mwyNīv} + \text{mwy} \text{Jā} \quad 9.29 \]

**Column 3**

\[ \text{Mitvra-re} \quad 'Moon' \quad (\text{m'bud} \text{'ur} \text{v}) \quad \text{mwyMīt} + \text{mwy} \text{r} \text{w} \text{Jī} \quad 1.2 \]

\[ \text{kām, 'c',} \quad 'he said to him, 'Alright,' ' \quad (\text{'kām}' \text{c}) \quad \text{nwyKām} + \text{mwy} \text{Jā} \quad 2.21 \]
The initial-procedy $?\$ has the phonetic exponent of zero in all the junctures in this column, unless the preceding word is a particle (see 3.6 for this case).

Column 4

a'pēn kura 'he struck (‘pēngu) nypān $2$ nāwi
another one

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

mčiće $?\$ir kenāl! 'We did (‘pilge) nypīr $2$ nīke kill him!'

Column 5

nēv ŋínu 'the lad’s nose’ (n’dwānī) $\chi$w nyN īv $2$ nymi FS210.19.

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

par ŋīkže 'the side of (‘palpī) ẙpār $2$ nymi FS56.21
the foot'

1. Occasionally, especially when the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary stress, the final contoid initiates the following phonetic syllable.
(The phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody Y is the same as the phonetic exponent of the initial-prosody y as described under column 2, for tertiary stress).

- **kok žakrä** 'a cold wind' ('kogza) ūwkēk Ḩyja FS85.6
- **kën žaka** 'a white stone' ('kënja) nykân Ḩyja FS57.14

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

- **iĕkapër žarē** 'tell (him)' ('pĕlja) nyPār Ḩyja 8.20

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

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

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

(with any stress)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>( \gamma_N )</th>
<th>( \eta )</th>
<th>( (n) )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*x</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*x</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( a^o \text{tep, } n^\circ \) 'he drew near, ('temn\( \circ \)) \( \text{myTep} + Zn \) \( \text{nyNA} \) 2.34

\( \text{m\( \dot{a} \)n } m^3 \), 'they will) ('m\( \dot{a} \)n'm\( \dot{a} \)) \( \text{nMAn} + Zn \) \( \text{nwMA} \) 8.40

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

\( i^\circ \text{kritman\( \dot{a} \)-re} \) 'his pet macaw' ('krin'ban) \( \text{my} \) \( \text{KIt} + Zn \) \( \text{wyMAn} \) 6.AG.1

\( i^\circ \text{kr\( \dot{a} \)m\( \dot{a} \)et-ti} \) 'My father,' ('kr\( \dot{a} \)m'ge:) \( \text{nwy} \) \( \text{KAm} + Zn \) \( \text{my\( \dot{a} \)Et} \) 1.14

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

\( \text{mc\( \dot{a} \)n } n\( \dot{a} \) } \) 'you) gave (me) (m'bc\( ^i \)n'\( \dot{a} \) \( \text{myMAn} + Zn \) \( \text{nw\( \dot{a} \)} \) \( \text{FS74.22} \)

honey' or \( m'bc\( ^d \)n'\( \dot{a} \) \( \text{myMAn} + Zn \) \( \text{nw\( \dot{a} \)} \)

---

1. These junctures only occur as nasal junctures if the post-junctural syllable has the syllable-prosody \( \# \); if it has the syllable-prosody \( \n \), they occur as 'o' or 'vowel' junctures, as described in 3.314 and 3.315.
When the post-junctural syllable occurs with primary or secondary stress, the phonetic exponent of the final c unit t in a syllable with the syllable-prosody fluctuates between a dental stop, a dental nasal, and a dental nasal with a preceding transitional dental plosive. Cf. the paragraph above.

| kvret hî | 'The fish's flesh' ('kuryd'nî wwy-rw-Kst \( Z_n \) nyNî or 'kury'n'pî) FS.54.4 |
| tokâk mô, | '(I) am going immediately' ('km\( d \)n'mô \( wwyKît^yZn \) nwNô 8.25n or 'km\( d \)n'mô) 8.25 |

3.313 'Ncn-y' junctures of the type Jc with the juncture-prosody \( Z \)

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL ELEMENTS</th>
<th>(with any stress)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r( J )</td>
<td>y( J )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINAL ELEMENTS</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t( y )</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n( y )</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is one further juncture of type 'ncn-y' not shown on the chart. This is the juncture between the final phonological elements n and either of the initial phonological elements T or t (with y initial-prosody or Y juncture-prosody) when the latter occur in a syllable with tertiary stress.

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

"Ikže πίκ ρέρεκ 'one side ('pille) χψπίτι Y Ζψ χψ ιΑ 1.23 only was soft'

mέσθρ νύν ζα 'he who had ("τσψνια) χψ χψ ιΑ 8.55 brought them'

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

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

Junctures of the type 'ε' are marked with an 'x' on the following chart.
INITIAL ELEMENTS
(with primary or secondary stress only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Ɣ</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FINAL ELEMENTS n

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

rap ma 'the dog's (own) ('ro:m'ba) ƔwʃAp Zə \YM\ FS10.21

kuk ŋo-ti 'a wrinkled face'('ku:n'dʒo) ƔwKik Zə \YWNY FS215.2

nā niv var ket ne 'the young man (n'dw:'wyl) ƔwyNiv Zə \wyw'Er FS251.6

groi ƞi 'the porcupine's (ŋ'groi'pi) ƔwŋNĀw Zə \ynwNFS

kuʔcau, pu 'if you err, we ('paubu) ƔPAw Zə \YWPl 2.6

1. This juncture occurs as a ə juncture only when the post-junctural syllable has the syllable-prosody n.
As was mentioned in 3.311 (see the bracketed forms on the chart in that section) those junctures in which the final c unit is k can also occur as simple junctures. E.g.

kuk ŋo-ti 'a wrinkled face' (‘kugn’dʒo) μwKIK ƐNE

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

kia rač 'a large grill' (‘kia’raadži) μyKIAS wy ZE μJATy

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y_T</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Y_N</th>
<th>Y_N</th>
<th>r_J</th>
<th>Y_J</th>
<th>w_V</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>(t)</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>(n)</th>
<th>(j)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FINAL**

| t_V | t_V | k | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |

**UNITS**

| r | v | x | x | x | x | x | x |

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

- **ičkrāmnet ta** 'my father' ("teja") \(\text{\u0258y\u0143\u0105\u0161t} ZV \text{\u0151}\text{\u0105}\text{\u0161}k\) 8.15
- **arāk, pa** '(y-u) stay here,'("rība") \(ny^r\text{\u017d}k ZV \text{\u0151}\text{\u0105}\text{\u0161}k\) 4.7
- **\u017daneć, ūnum** 'it came to an end, and!' \(\text{\u0105y\u027d}k\text{\u0111m} ZV \text{\u017d}w\text{\u02f7}\text{\u017f}\text{\u0105}\text{\u0177}n\text{\u0105}\text{\u0151}\text{\u0161}\text{\u0177}m\) 3.6
- **kot ža** 'he will' ("koja") \(\text{\u0105}w\text{\u017d}k\text{\u027d}k ZV X V Jh\) 7.67FS
- **kvar rćrek-ti** 'soft maniac' ("kuvre") \(\text{\u017d}w\text{\u017d}k\text{\u0111}k ZV \text{\u0151}\text{\u0105}\text{\u0161}k Jh\) FS48.19
- **pīka ūnua, nē** 'she scooped a hollow, and!' \(\text{\u0105}w\text{\u017d}n\text{\u02f7}n \text{\u017d}w ZV \text{\u0151}\text{\u0105}\text{\u0161}k \text{\u0177}n\text{\u0105}\text{\u0177}n\) 7.10
- **tā ūnum mā** 'But away ...' ("püm\'män") \(\text{\u017d}w\text{\u017d}n\text{\u0177}n \text{\u017d}w ZV \text{\u0151}\text{\u0105}\text{\u0161}k \text{\u0177}n\text{\u0105}\text{\u0177}n\) 2.32

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

The juncture-prosody X has the phonetic exponent of voiced articulation of the phonetic exponent of the final
phonological element, and voiceless articulation of the phonetic exponent of the initial phonological element.

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

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

INITIAL ELEMENTS
(with primary or secondary stress only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>(t)</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FINAL

| m | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| n | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| n' | x | x | y | x | x | y | x |
| r | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| v | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| a | e | e | e | e | e | e | e |

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

Subgroup (a): simple junctures.

'wo̞ n̞o̞n̞ ű' 'he cleaned them' ('wo̞ n̞o̞n̞ ű) ꞌɒwPETn̞ ꞌX ꞌwP̞ ꞌX.2.20

'ni̞v ku̞ʒate' 'he pushed the mud' (ni̞v ku̞ʒate) ꞌni̞v ꞌX ꞌwki ꞌX.2.20

FS259.11
The phonetic exponent of the final c unit r is a dental lateral.

\[ ñ̃r\ tā ňūm \ 'But' \ (\nt̪ul\tā) \ nwy\tīr \ X \ nwyTā \ 7.49 \]

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

\[ rōn\ čet \ 'a burnt (\nōn'tōde) \ nwy\tān\ X̃y\ Tēt \ macauba fruit' \]

\[ \text{Subgroup (c): \ η junctures.} \]

\[ vaměkēp\ pēp \ 'the four of (\nmeː\pēp) \ \text{nyKEp} \ X̃y \ \text{nyPēp} \ 8.59 \]
\[ \text{them became soldiers'} \]

\[ pātāk\ tīm \ 'the sloth's fat' \ \text{wyKĀk} \ X̃y \ \text{wyTēm} \ (\n\kāː\t\īm) \ FS80.11 \]

\[ kūpēau\ ket\ nē \ '(you) did not err' \ \text{yPĀw} \ X̃y \ \text{yKEt} \ 2.6n \]
\[ (\n\pēua\keː) \]

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

\[ \text{Inua ket nē \ '(you) did not \ build it' \ (n'\djuː\keː)} \]
\[ \text{build it'} \ (n'\djuː\keː) \]

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

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

All junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody H are of the simple type. Also, the final unit in the pre-junctural syllable is a member of the subsystem Cp only; and the initial consonantal unit of the post-junctural syllable is a member of the subsystem Cp, or of the subsystem Cp, only.
Junctures which occur with the juncture-prosody $H$ are indicated by an 'x' on the following chart.

**INITIAL ELEMENTS**

(with any stress) (with non-tertiary stress)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>yT/t</th>
<th>(T/t)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FINAL ELEMENTS**

apka'ti 'tomorrow' (apka) $\acute{\eta}yap$ $\acute{\eta}yka$

$\acute{\eta}y$ 'a potato hole' $\acute{\eta}wy^\prime y\acute{\eta}t$ $\acute{\eta}y^\prime y\acute{\eta}p\acute{e}$

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

içpoč, tā 'we returned, (içpoč'tā) $\acute{\eta}wp\acute{e}t^\prime y$ $\acute{\eta}nwy\acute{t}ā$ but'

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

The phonetic exponents of the juncture-prosody Y are the same as those of the initial-prosody y when it occurs with the initial phonological elements T, N, J; t, n, j, as
described in the sections on \( Jv \) and \( Jc \) junctures; and it has zero phonetic exponent with the initial \( c \) unit \( p \). \( Jv \) juncture-prosody occurs with the initial units \( N \) and \( n \) only when the post-junctural syllable has the syllable-prosody \( n \).

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{apka?ti} & \quad \text{'many days'} \quad ({}^{(t)igq}) \quad \mu y T \bar{i} \quad Y^{/} \quad \mu w t a \quad 7.6 \\
\text{kapat \( \hat{h} \)ipck ri} & \quad \text{'in the middle} \quad ({}^{(h)p}\hat{c}i) \quad \mu w P \bar{t} \bar{c} \quad Y^{/} Z^{/} \quad \mu n y n i \quad 1.17 \\
\text{katorcA} & \quad \text{'mother'} \quad ({}^{(t)ol't}\hat{c}A) \quad \mu w T A r \quad Y^{/} X^{/} \quad \mu w y T A \quad 7.11 \\
\text{rop \( \hat{c} \)va} & \quad \text{'the dog's} \quad ({}^{(r)op't}\hat{c}vA) \quad \mu w J \bar{A} p \quad Y^{/} H^{/} \quad \mu w T A \quad F 36.2
\end{align*}
\]

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

---

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

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

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

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

In the phonological transcription non-final pause will be represented by \(\hat{c}\), final pause by \(\hat{0}\). E.g.

"n\(\hat{a}\)\(\hat{a}\)" (n'd\(\hat{a}\)\(\hat{a}\)/)\(^1\) \(\hat{\alpha}wy\hat{N}A + \hat{0}\) "\(\hat{N}c\)" 2.4

"n\(\hat{a}\)\(\hat{a}\)" (n'd\(\hat{a}\)/) \(\hat{\alpha}wy\hat{N}A + \hat{0}\) "\(\hat{N}c\)" 2.6

"pu m\(\hat{e}\) cer." (b\(\hat{u}\)m\(\hat{e}\t't'\(\hat{c}\)r\(\hat{e}\)/) \(\hat{\alpha}y^y\)\(\hat{T}\)Er \(\hat{H}\) + \(\hat{0}\) "we will burn" 2.6

"n\(\hat{h}\)r n\(\hat{a}\)v" (\(\hat{n}\)\(\hat{h}\)l\(\hat{a}\)n\(\hat{d}\)\(\hat{a}\)\(\hat{w}\)/) \(\hat{\alpha}wy\hat{N}Iv \hat{X}\) + \(\hat{0}\) "When he was a young man" 6.Qa

1. The oblique bar represents a pause in the phonetic transcription.
3.6 JUNCTURES PECULIAR TO PARTICLES

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kot} & \ ?pifr & \text{'they killed him'} & \ \text{(kot}'pil) & \ 7.61 \\
\wedge KAT & + nyPfr & \\
\text{üm kám} & \ ?kañc & \text{'honey mixed with the wax'} & \ \text{(gám'ka)} & \ 3.22 \\
\wedge KAM & + myka & \\
\text{nä žar} & \ ?kañve & \text{'he pierced it here'} & \ \text{('žar', ka)} & \ MF86.12 \\
\wedge JAR & + mykà & 
\end{align*}
\]

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

'and one of them'

4.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

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

4.2 THE SENTENCE

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clauses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

"е, мемри ишмё амё." 'Alright, you can throw it to me' 2.18

"нум меперпум зе 5 вар тем, нё проц, нё нум кым: "на на 7.93 "нё кимпу?

'So one of our ancestors arrived there, and he (Vahmek aprin-rc) said to him, 'Do you recognise me?'

нум кумп, нум Митру-rc мё каюо меч за та, нё кумп, нум Мит-ти кым: "кеп ум кым каюо; кеп ум кым каюо." 3.21

'He caught it. Then he (Woodpecker) pulled off some good honey for Moon, and threw it. But Sun said to him, 'Let it become honey mixed with the wax - let it become honey mixed with the wax.' "
The clause is the largest grammatical unit to be set up, other than the sentence, and comprises one or more pieces. Every clause (without the Connective Piece) can occur as a monoclusal sentence; that is to say, every clause has the potentiality of occurrence with one of the final prosodies set up for the tune, and of being preceded and followed by silence.

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

4.31 Major clause-types

Major clause-types differ from minor clause-types in three ways: their structure can be stated in terms of pieces, they exhibit a certain flexibility of order, and they have a much wider external distribution.
It is found that for each of the major clause-types there is one order of the constituent pieces which is much more common than the other possible orders. Moreover, when the same pieces are found occurring in the different major clause-types, they occur in the same order relative to one another; thus, the Subject Piece precedes the Adverb Piece, which in turn precedes the Indirect Piece. This order will be termed the 'favourite' order.

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>favourite order, non-extended form</td>
<td>80 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>favourite order, extended form</td>
<td>12 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-favourite orders, non-extended form</td>
<td>7 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-favourite orders, extended form</td>
<td>1 per cent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are four major clause-types – the Verbal Clause-Type, the Nominal Clause Type, the Indirect Clause-Type, and the Predicate Particle Clause-Type. These will be described in turn in sections 4.311 – 4.314.

4.311 The Verbal Clause Type

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

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

(a) The favourite order

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


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

In the examples, the clause under consideration will be given first in the reading transcription, and this will be followed by a classification of the clause as a non-extended Verbal Clause-Type (nxVCTf), or as an extended one (xVCTf). Also, the pieces will be identified by means of the following abbreviations:– Connective Piece – CP; Subject Piece – SP; Predicate Particle Piece – PFP; Adverb Piece – AP; Indirect Piece – IP; Verbal Piece – VP.
kato,\(^1\) n.vxCTf 'he was born' 6 F.1.

\[\text{Čár-nē kót mā kēn prēk-tī vār āmōr,} \quad \text{x vxCTf} \quad 7.26\]

'\text{so they took him away to the mountain}'

\[\text{Vaṁmekaprān-rec tām nē ā ri vanē-toanē} \quad \text{n vxCTf} \quad 7.20\]

'\text{it is Vaṁmekapprān-rec himself that has been doing this to you all}'

(b) \text{The non-favourite orders}

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

\[\text{nē ŋūm tē nā ža nōč-mā opa} \quad \text{n vxCTnf} \quad 7.2\]

'\text{and his mother would carry him to the river}'

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

\[\text{Amri-ŋūm Vaṁmeka prān-rec mēi-kūm ā kato} \quad \text{CP SP IP AP2 VP nxvxCTnf} \quad 6.\text{A.2}\]

'\text{Now, it was in the following way that Vaṁmeka prān-rec was born among us}'

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

2. \text{Two examples were found in text (7.83 and 8.10) in which both Adverb Pieces occurred in the same clause.}
(c) The emphatic orders

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

\[\text{hum no\textsuperscript{9}k\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}}n \text{ za kam\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}} kotpu \text{ za pa\textsuperscript{9}kra \text{ ze opakato.}}\]

CP EIP PP VP nxVCTem 5.5

'we shall create our descendants inside the gourds'

\[\text{hum ra M\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}}tvr\text{\textcircled{-re} \text{ za t\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}.}}\]

CP EAP SP VP nxVCTem 5.15

'Moon had already arrived'

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

\[\text{tok r\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}}n \text{ \textcircled{\textasteriskcentered} pa \text{ \textcircled{\textasteriskcentered} te kuku}}\]

EOP EAP PPP VP nxVCTem 1.10

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

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

\[\text{hum ke ve\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}}r \text{ \textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered} pr\text{\textcircled{-z}}} \text{ kra\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}} k\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}}m \text{ nn\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}} k\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}tu\textsuperscript{-re} \text{ \textcircled{\textasteriskcentered} m\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}}n \text{ h\textcirc{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}}po\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}n \text{ \textcircled{\textasteriskcentered} m\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}}9 \text{ \textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}3\text{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}16}}\]

CP EPPP EIP PP IP SP VP nxVCTem 3.16

'Now (surprisingly?) it was at the beginning of the path that Woodpecker was pecking out honey!'
Examples with two Emphatic Pieces have been found; in the majority of these cases, the Emphatic Pieces are the Adverb and Object Pieces, and usually in that order.

\[ \text{Am i ičte omuñ ken̪̊.} \]

EAP EOP PPP VP xVCTem

\[ '\text{it was definitely his body that I saw}' \]

4.312 **The Nominal Clause-Type.**

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

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

(a) **The favourite order**

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


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

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

'I am going to become a white man'

'these things belong to you'

(b) The non-favourite orders

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

'your buriti fruit is soft'

'when they have their own food'

(c) The emphatic orders

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

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

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

(a) The favourite order

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


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

In addition to the notation already introduced, the abbreviation ICT will be used for 'Indirect Clause-Type'.
'but he was embarrassed about himself'

'and the other was probably his wife'

(b) The non-favourite order

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

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

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

1. Occasionally, this clause occurs without the Indirect Piece, i.e. it consists of a Connective Piece, with or without a Subject Piece. See, for instance, 6.N.2.
Certain clauses were found, both in text and in elicited material, which cannot be included in the other major clause-types, as none of them ever comprise a Verbal Piece or a Nominal Piece; and only occasionally an Indirect Piece. On the other hand, they differ both internally (their structure is stateable in terms of pieces, and shows variability of order) and in distribution from the minor clause-types. Consequently, they are handled as major clause-types, and are termed 'Predicate Particle Clause-Types' since they always comprise one or more members of the Predicate Particle Piece.

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

1. For the establishment of the Question Piece see the next section.
4.315 Question, Command, and Statement

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

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

E.g.

mo n̥ ka ?te aku? VCT/q 1.9
QP PPP VP

'What have you been eating?'

ča ēm k̥m ?kaŋo? NCT/q 2.4
QP NP 'Do you want honey mixed with the wax?'

n̥a ēm ḍapuri n̥ ka akužn̥e ə ən̥? VCT/q 5.6
CP EAP PPP IP VP

'Is what you are saying really true?'

A command is any Verbal Clause-Type, or Nominal Clause-Type in which the Nominal Piece has a Class 2b modifier as head word, which occurs initial in speech (i.e. conversation, as opposed to narrative) and has nothing in it which precedes the Adverb Piece (except, rarely, a Quantitative Particle). A sequence of
Commands may be connected by the connective nc 'and', each clause fulfilling the stated conditions, other than initiality. If the verb is a Class 1.1 or 1.2 verb it occurs with the second person prefixes (see 5.2) under the appropriate syntactic conditions (see 7.321.1 and 7.321.2).

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

\[
\text{vaiñmā kaño mač ža mē} \quad \text{VCT/c} \\
\text{IP} \quad \text{VP}
\]

'throw us some good honey!' 3.32

\[
\text{amē uma ?ket nē} \quad \text{NCT/c} \\
\text{IP} \quad \text{NP}
\]

'don't be afraid!' 3.46

\[
\text{kām amē krā rūm kapa, nē ?ārē ?o ?kupu' mač, nē kām amē.} \\
\text{IP} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{CP} \quad \text{IP} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{CP} \quad \text{IP} \quad \text{VP}
\]

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

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

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

4.316 Major clauses as included clauses

Of the four major clauses, two have been found occurring as 'included clauses'; that is to say, filling
a place within a piece which can be filled by a single word; these two are the Verbal Clause-Type, in the extended form, and the Nominal Clause-Type.

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

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

1. The included clause is the object of the verb in this example, but this is not immediately apparent, as the object is analysed as an integral part of the Verbal Piece.
The Nominal Clause-Type can fill the place of a noun only.

\[ nā añ ṅvra Ḹa am̃ rcrck kao. \text{ np} \text{ vctf} \]

\[ \text{PPP SP IP NP} \]

\[ \text{(NCTnf)} \]

\[ \text{VP}^1 \]

'you are eating your soft buriti fruit'

4.32 Minor clause-types

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

4.321. The Interjectory Clause-Type

The Interjectory Clause-Type comprises members of

---

1. In this example, the Nominal Clause-Type is the object; for further comments, see footnote on the previous page.
the class of interjections only (see 8.3) usually singly, but occasionally in pairs or triplets. This minor clause-type can occur as a response to a question or statement, as well as introducing direct speech. It often occurs as the peak of the tune-unit D (see 2.41).

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

"ε, σίχκρω; ζα κοτπε ρα με σίχκρω." 8.23
InjCT VCT/c nxVCTem

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

"Να να κα νε με Βανμεκαπραν-ρε ρι?" "ε, μειχτε πιρ κενα."
VCT/q InjCT cxVCT 7.66

'Did you kill Βανμεκ Kaprań-rc?' "Yes, we did kill him."

4.322 The Vocative Clause-Type

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

"κραμμας-τι, pu m5, ..." 3.2
VocCT VCT

'Father, let us go, ...'

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

"κνα, pa?κραμ-rc, mo nα ka οκε-ρι αμμινιпеρ?" 4.17
InjCT VocCT VCT/q

'But my son, why have you behaved like this?"
4.4 THE PIECE

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

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

4.41 Phrasal Pieces

There are two sorts of Phrasal Piece - Nominal and Verbal; the former will be described in 4.411, the latter in 4.412.
A Nominal Piece is one which always comprises at least one nominal phrase, as set up in 6.2. Pieces have been found comprising a maximum of three phrases.

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

(a) The Indirect and Emphatic Indirect Pieces

The Indirect and Emphatic Indirect Piece always and only comprise phrases of the Nominal Phrase Type B (see 6.2.12.22), that is, phrases that comprise an Indirect Particle (see 9.2). The former Piece frequently comprises two such phrases, and sometimes three, but the latter has only been found with one.

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

*ñūm mā kēn tak ?ō a"par-mā tē.* nXVCTf 7.28
CP AP IP AP2 VP
'and he fell downwards, dashing against the rocks'

*ñūm apeñ pe ačpēn mā amra? ?ō ḫa.* nXVCTf 4.8
CP IP VP
'and they were shouting to one another, as they worked'

1. The Transitive Verbal Piece may comprise a nominal phrase, but this nominal phrase does not have status as a Piece.
(b) The Emphatic Object Piece

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

\[
\text{\underline{nē i\textsuperscript{?}kritmanrā-rc kuvā mā kumē}, nxVCTem}
\]

CP EOP IP VP

'and they threw his pet macaw into the fire'

This clause can be transformed into

\[
\text{\underline{nē kuvā mā i\textsuperscript{?}kritmanrā-rc mē}, nxVCTf}
\]

CP IP VP

where mē is that form of the verb kumē which occurs with an immediately preceding object.

(c) The Subject Piece

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

1. For a discussion of the special case in which the Nominal Phrase-Type B consists of the Indirect Particle only, see 6.212.22, footnote 1.
structure, and from the Emphatic Object Piece by not being transformable, as there described.

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

4.412 The Verbal Piece

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

'Be quiet!' 

'and spread very rapidly'

4.42 Non-Phrasal Pieces

There are four Pieces whose structure is not stateable

1. There are other distinguishing features such as the fact that the Subject Piece can occur in a clause with an intransitive verb, whereas the Emphatic Object Piece cannot; and the Subject Piece shows concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece and with the verb, if of a suitable class, which the Emphatic Object Piece does not.
in terms of phrases. They are the Predicate Particle Piece, the Connective Piece, and the Adverb and Emphatic Adverb Pieces. These will be described in three subsections, (a) to (c), according to the order given above, with the Adverb Pieces considered together.

(a) The Predicate Particle Piece

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

" пу мă мă," nxVCTf 6.4.4.
PPP VP'
'let us go!'

нăр-нă кот мă кён прек-ти вар омён xVCTf 7.26
CP PPP AP IP VP
'so they took him away to the mountain'

нă прă иă iăпăнăм нă. NCTf 7.98
CP PPP AP NP
'but I was embarrassed'

(b) The Connective Piece

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

нă тă nxVCTf mult.
CP VP
'and went'

Amri-нăм ĕп Cūšū-re ŭа kăм: nxICTnf 3.1
CP PPP SP IP
'now Moon said to him'
The Adverb Piece is defined as that Piece which occurs following the Subject and/or Predicate Particle Pieces, and preceding the Indirect Piece, in the favourite order of the major clause-types.

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

-he had already made a wife for himself'

'let us go soon!'
CHAPTER 5 THE PREFIXIAL PARADIGM, AND STRONG AND WEAK FORMS

5.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

5.2 THE PREFIXIAL PARADIGM

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

5.3 STRONG AND WEAK FORMS

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

5.311 Strong and weak forms with the syllable-prosody n
5.312 Strong and weak forms with the syllable-prosody y

5.312.1 Weak forms with the initial consonant unit J, or j
5.312.2 Weak forms with the initial consonant unit T, or t
5.312.3 Weak forms with the initial consonant unit p

5.32 Junctures involving a weak form
5.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In this chapter, the forms of the prefixial paradigm and the strong and weak forms of stems will be described. These apparently diverse subjects are grouped together in this chapter for the sake of economy of description. The prefixial paradigm occurs (in general) with nominals, verbals, and certain classes of particles; strong and weak forms are exhibited (in general) by nominals and verbals. Hence, to save needless repetition, and since the phonology of these forms (as opposed to their grammatical function) is independent of the grammatical class to which they are prefixed or belong¹, they are thus described in a separate chapter. Moreover, the prefixial paradigm and the distribution of strong and weak forms are closely related, for non-3rd person prefixes are affixed to the weak form, and 3rd person prefixes to the strong form.

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

### 5.2 THE PREFIXIAL PARADIGM

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

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

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¹ The 3rd person prefixes form a partial exception to this statement.
Two new phonological elements, initial c units, have been introduced in the phonological analysis of the prefixial paradigm; these are represented in the phonological transcription by v and r. The phonetic exponents of these initial c units are the same as those of the initial-prosodies w and r, but they have not been handled as initial-prosodies because they do not have the grammatical and phonological implications that the initial-prosodies have (in terms of juncture and strong and weak forms).

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

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

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

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

| '1st.pers.sg.' | iō- | (iō) | yvit'y |
| '2nd.pers.sg.' | a- | (a) | yya |
| '3rd.pers.sg.' | iô- | (i) | yyi |
| '1st.pers.dual exc.' | paô- | (pa) | yypa |
| '1st.pers.dual inc.' | vaiô-² | (yviô) | vyvat'y |
| '2nd.pers.dual' | vara- | (vara) | yyya + yyya |
| '3rd.pers.dual' | vaô- | (va) | yyya |
| '1st.pers.pl.exe.' | mēpaô-² | (mēba) | nyma + yypa |
| '1st.pers.pl.inc.' | mēiô- | (mēiô or mēîô) | nymat'y |
| '2nd.pers.pl.' | mēa-³ | (mēa) | nyma + yya |
| '3rd.pers.pl.' | mēô-³ | (mē) | nyma |
exponents, except \( r \); that the juncture between any two syllables within a prefix is 2 only; and that the \( c \) unit \( m \) can occur word-initial in a prefix, but not in a simple stem or root.

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

### 5.21 The forms of the lst. person (inclusive) prefixes

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ičvrek} & \quad \text{"I descend"} \quad (\text{idzurvgy}) \quad \text{y\textit{it}y}^Z \quad \text{y\textit{wy}y^wEyk} \\
\text{idtri} & \quad \text{"together with me"} \quad (\text{id\text{\textquoteleft\textprime}li}) \quad \text{y\textit{it}y}^Z \quad \text{y\textit{y}y^rJl} \\
\text{idcpa} & \quad \text{"my arm"} \quad (\text{id\text{\textquoteleft\textprime}pa}) \quad \text{y\textit{it}y}^Y \quad \text{y\textit{pA}} \\
\text{idčužakor} & \quad \text{"I smoke"} \quad (\text{idt\text{\textquoteleft\textprime}čučak'koro}) \quad \text{y\textit{it}y}^Y \quad \text{y\textit{y}y^xl yt\text{\textquoteleft\textprime}lj} \\
\text{idžakva} & \quad \text{"my mouth"} \quad (iž\text{\textquoteleft\textprime}jak'kova}) \quad \text{y\textit{it}y}^Y \quad \text{y\textit{y}y^z\textit{y}y\text{\textquoteleft\textprime}ja}
\end{align*}
\]

---

1. Except for certain members of the Adverb Class (see 8.52).
2. There is fluctuation in the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody \( Y \), when it occurs with the initial \( c \) unit \( j \), between an alveolo-palatal grooved fricative articulation and a palatal frictionless articulation when the preceding syllable has the structure \( \text{y\textit{it}y} \).
5.22 The forms of the non-1st person (inclusive) prefixes

The non-1st person (inclusive) prefixes share the common phonological feature that they all consist of short open syllables, of structure cv, and can therefore occur with the juncture-prosody system set up for Jv junctures in chapter 3 (see 3.2), i.e. 9 and 2 juncture-prosodies. In the paragraphs below, the distribution of these juncture-prosodies with the prefixes will be described, and the various forms of the 3rd person prefixes will also be described.

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

apa 'your arm' (ap'pa) yya + yyA
akato 'you were born' (agat'to) yya 2 yyA

The 1st person exclusive prefixes (pa- and məpa-) occur with the juncture-prosody 9 when affixed to a stem whose initial consonant unit is a member of the subsystem Cp, unless the juncture-prosody 1 is present, in which case the juncture-prosody is 2. It is also 2 in all other cases. E.g.

pa?pa 'our arms' (pa?pa) yypa 2 ypa
pacs'va 'our teeth' (pas'tc'va) yypa y/2 y'TA
pakato 'we were born' (pagat'to) yypa 2 yyA

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

The 3rd person singular prefix zero always occurs with the juncture-prosody 9 when prefixed to a modifier; it occurs with 9 or 2 juncture-prosody when prefixed to a verb, depending on the subclass of the verb. (For affixation to nouns, see the next paragraph.) E.g.

nā 2karo nə 'he/it is hot' (nāo'ka) nNA y yyA
nā pa 'he walked' (nāp'pa) nNA 2 yPa
nā 2prət 'he ran' (nā'prəu'də) nNA 2 mw'PA

1. nā and nə are particles, the former used because 9 juncture-prosody is not found following silence, the latter being necessitated by the grammatical structure of a modifier preceded by nā.
Both of the 3rd person singular prefix forms occur with nouns. The form zero is found with all vowel initial nouns except those which are disyllabic and whose penultimate syllable has the structure iyə; the form iy occurs with all other noun stems. In this latter case, if the stem has an initial consonant unit which is a member of one of the subsystems Cp or cp, or is vowel initial with w initial-prosody, the prefix is linked by the juncture-prosody 2 to the stem; otherwise, it is linked by the juncture-prosody 2. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iy</td>
<td>'food or his food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iʔifu</td>
<td>'nose or his nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iʔkamro</td>
<td>'his blood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va or iʔva</td>
<td>'his tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imut</td>
<td>'his neck'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A rare third form of the 3rd person singular prefix was found with vowel initial nouns. The form was iyʔi and was found with both 2 and 3 juncture-prosodies; the former when the initial-prosody w was present, the latter when the initial-prosody 2 was present. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iʔvrE</td>
<td>'his ribs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iʔw</td>
<td>'his lead-shot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 STRONG AND WEAK FORMS

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

1. This form of the 3rd person prefix necessitates introducing the new phonological element 7, as an initial c unit; it is not analysed as an initial-prosody for the reasons given in the paragraph which follows the listing of the prefixial paradigm (see p.115)

2. Corresponding dual and plural forms were also found, such as maʔi- and vaʔi-.

3. This form (and parallel ones) is analysed as occurring with a 2 juncture-prosody and an open pre-junctural syllable, rather than as a closed pre-junctural syllable with H juncture-prosody, because of the general phonological feature that a long contoid is the phonetic exponent of the juncture-prosody 2.
The relationship, at the phonological level, between the strong and weak forms of any particular stem can be stated solely in terms of the phonology of the two forms. That is to say, two stems from different grammatical classes, which have the same strong form, will have the same weak form, and vice-versa. Strong forms are always vowel initial; weak forms are always consonant initial.

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

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

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

The description of strong and weak forms will be given in two main sections. The first of these (5.31) will describe strong and weak forms whose initial syllable has the syllable-prosody $n$; the second (5.32) will describe strong and weak forms whose initial syllable has the syllable-prosody $\mathfrak{m}$.

5.311 Strong and weak forms with the syllable-prosody $n$

Stems whose strong and weak forms have an initial syllable with the syllable-prosody $n$ have a weak form whose initial consonant unit is either $n$ or $\mathfrak{m}$. The former is found when the stem is disyllabic, the latter when it is monosyllabic.

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

1. Very occasionally, in the speech of some speakers, the initial C unit was $\mathfrak{m}$ not $N$. Thus, $\text{aaf}\text{\text{\text{'}}in}$ for $\text{aaf}\text{\text{\text{'}}in}$ 'your dung' (1.9).
cription; the third will give the weak form in reading transcription; the fourth will give the initial syllable of the weak form in the phonological transcription; and the fifth will give a translation.

- fr nwyIr
- ñm nñm
- ñpo nwa
- ñikra nyî

'fr nwyIr' 'fr nwyIr' 'to sit'
'ñm nñm' 'chin'
'ñpo nwa' 'to extract'
'ñikra nyni' 'hand'

5.3.12 Strong and weak forms with the syllable-prosody /ñ/

The description of the strong and weak forms of stems whose initial syllable has the syllable-prosody /ñ/ will be given in three subsections. The first, 5.3.12.1, will describe stems whose weak form has one of the initial consonant units J or j; the second, 5.3.12.2, will describe stems whose weak form has one of the initial consonant units T or t; and the third, 5.3.12.3, will describe stems whose weak form has the initial consonant unit p.

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

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

- ?i2 ñy'í
- ñarè ñy'á

'ñi2 ñy'í' 'ñarè ñy'á' 'bone'

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

2. Monosyllabic stems, with the initial-prosody ?, have a marked tendency to occur in the weak form only when prefixed with the non-3rd person prefixes, and not in the other constructions in which a weak form is found.
5.312.2 Weak forms with the initial consonant unit T, or t

Stems whose weak form occurs with the initial consonant units T or t have strong forms without initial-prosody, or with the initial-prosody w. The only exceptions are disyllabic stems whose penultimate syllable has the syllable-prosody w and whose ultimate syllable is not of the general structure \(\text{N}^\text{NV}\). Also included in this group are monosyllabic stems with the initial-prosody 0 and the final c unit t, with y final-prosody.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{om} & \quad \text{kwDn} & \quad \text{0om} & \quad \text{kwT\text{Tn}} & \quad \text{'mound something'} \\
\text{apef} & \quad \text{kwy} & \quad \text{0apef} & \quad \text{kwy} & \quad \text{lt} & \quad \text{lw}\text{y} & \quad \text{'work'} \\
\text{uzanKr} & \quad \text{kvi} & \quad \text{0uzanKr} & \quad \text{kvti} & \quad \text{'return'} \\
\text{uwve} & \quad \text{kvi} + \text{ny\text{yW}N\text{E}} & \quad \text{0uwve} & \quad \text{kvti} + \text{ny\text{yW}N\text{E}} & \quad \text{'cook something'} \\
\text{ece} & \quad \text{ky\text{yE}t\text{y}} & \quad \text{0ece} & \quad \text{kvti} + \text{ny\text{yE}t\text{y}} & \quad \text{'tell lies'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.312.3 Weak forms with the initial consonant unit p

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{om} & \quad \text{ka} & \quad \text{0ka} & \quad \text{ka} & \quad \text{kw\text{y}i} + \text{kw\text{y}\text{M}I} & \quad \text{'see something'} \\
\text{ut} & \quad \text{kw\text{y}i} + \text{ny\text{y}} & \quad \text{0ut} & \quad \text{kw\text{y}i} + \text{ny\text{y}} & \quad \text{'heavy'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.32 Junctures involving a weak form

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

In the examples, the three syllables under consideration will be underlined in the reading transcription and will be given in both phonological and phonetic transcription. The v unit whose phonetic exponent is zero will be bracketed, and the juncture analysed in terms of the Jc type juncture system.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyMN³  Y²  awyp(i)  H  wytº</td>
<td>to take care of something</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tufire</td>
<td>one side of his stomach</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyMKzº  X</td>
<td>on one side of the river</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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CHAPTER 6  THE NOMINAL PHRASE, THE NOMINAL, AND THE NOMINAL SUFFIXES

6.1  INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

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

6.2  THE NOMINAL PHRASE

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

6.21  The structure of the nominal phrase

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

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

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

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

6.211.1 The Nominal Particle Class

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

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

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

6.211.3 The Terminal Particle Class

The Terminal Particle (TPt) Class is a closed class, defined as consisting of the following particle - mē. Unlike the two previous classes, this class occurs if and only if certain syntactic conditions are fulfilled (see 6.212.1), and it never occurs with the other two classes.

6.212 The nucleus of the nominal phrase

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

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

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

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

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

6.212.11 Nominal Phrase-Type 1

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>NPT-la</th>
<th>'honey'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>msf</td>
<td>NPT-la</td>
<td>'your honey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amsf msf ta</td>
<td>NPT-la</td>
<td>'yours'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nmr N NPT</td>
<td>NPT-la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Numerals are used for simple phrase-types; capital letters will be used for the complex phrase-types.
2. The term 'phrase' may seem a little anomalous applied to a single form, but it seems simpler and more consistent to use this terminology thus preserving the parallelism with the other (polyverbal) phrase-types.
3. These three forms are grouped together as Nominal Phrase-Type 1a because the first two have parallel distribution in the other phrases, and because this is the simplest place in which to include the third. This third form, however, is rare, and (as might be expected) does not parallel the distribution of the other two closely, being more limited in distribution.
Nominal Phrase-Type 1b comprises a sequence of one, two, or three \(^1\) modifiers (M), one of which may be a minor modifier (Mmr).

\[\text{NPT-1b: } \text{ complimentary sequence of one, two, or three modifiers (M), one of which may be a minor modifier (Mmr).}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{?kehi mec} & \quad \text{NPT-1b} & \quad 'he was almost naked' & 7.91 \\
M & M \\
\text{msapitak} & \quad \text{NPT-1b} & \quad 'all of you' & 6.85.2
\end{align*}

6.212.12 Nominal Phrase-Type 2

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

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

\begin{align*}
\text{no nkiZe} & \quad 'one side of the river' & 4.5 \\
N & N \\
\text{NPT-1a NPT-1a} & \quad \text{NPT-2} \\
\text{water side} \\
\text{ma fi5 ?anro} & \quad 'the man's pig' & \text{MFL10.12} \\
N & Nmr & N \\
\text{NPT-1a NPT-1a} & \quad \text{NPT-2} \\
\text{man poss. pig}
\end{align*}

\(^1\) No example with three modifiers was found in text material, but only in elicited material.
Nominal Phrase-Type 3 is a trinary simple nominal phrase consisting of a Nominal Phrase-Type 1a followed by a Nominal Phrase-Type 2.

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

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

a) the clause contains a Predicate Particle Piece; or
b) the clause is an imperative one; or
c) the clause follows a sequence of clauses, the first of which fulfils either of the above conditions.

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

"no nā pre pa An ičpižašm nē .'" 7.98

PPP NPT-lb

but non-compl. I only I-embarrassed -

future

'but I became embarrassed'

"āma uma ?ket nē " imperative 'don't be afraid' 3.46

NPT-lb

you+to fearing not -

"mō nā ka ?te aku, nē arān meðo nē ?" 1.9

PPP NPT-2

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

future dung

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

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

"zaā nā pa ičpunui nē nē .'" 5.21

PPP NPT-lb CP VP

that is non- I I-ruined -

why future and sit

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

---

1. The statement of the occurrence of nē is complicated by two factors; (a) its homophony with the conjunction nē (see ex. 5.21 above); and (b) the 3rd person pronoun being zero in most cases. It is possible, therefore, that further material and research might modify the above statements, to a greater or less extent. With those that follow, however, they give a high degree of predictability of the occurrence of nē.
In narrative (in which certain restricted forms only of the Predicate Particle Piece are found - see 9.31l.12), n£ occurs if the Subject Piece occurs in the clause, or a preceding one.

\[ \text{tx fim ve Am inst ta ?Kemadkro n£} \]

SP NFT-lb

but and - only his+uncle - him+fearing -

'But his uncle was really afraid of him'

6.212.2 Complex nominal phrase-types

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

6.212.21 Nominal Phrase-Type A

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

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

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

b) The ultimate syllable of the final modifier in phrase-type 2 occurs as the peak of a tune-unit D, whereas in phrase-type A it is the ultimate syllable of the non-final modifier, immediately preceding the modal.
The two examples immediately following this paragraph illustrate the phonological difference between Nominal Phrase-Type A and Nominal Phrase-Type 2 by giving the pitch pattern of the two phrases. The third example gives a further example of Phrase-Type A, but without the pitch pattern.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{o"to} & \text{kure} & \text{kumr}\\
\text{M} & \text{M} & \text{Ml}
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{NPT-1b}\]

NPT-A

he-many soon intensity

' they will increase very rapidly'

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{mškupro} & \text{šo"to} & \text{ms}\\
\text{N} & \text{M} & \text{M}
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{NPT-2}\]

NPT-A

single-woman many good

'a good many of the single women'

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{mšpešpam} & \text{še} & \text{š} \text{ken}\\
\text{N} & \text{Npt} & \text{M} & \text{Ml}
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{NPT-2}\]

NPT-A

our-father - one certainty

6.212.22 Nominal Phrase-Type B

Nominal Phrase-Type B is an exocentric phrase consisting of a simple nominal phrase-type, or a Nominal Phrase-Type C (q.v. below), (or a verbal phrase-type), followed by an Indirect Particle (see 9.2)¹

1. In analysing this phrase-type as exocentric, note has been taken of
This phrase-type occurs in the Indirect and Emphatic Indirect Pieces only.

\[
\text{\textit{νοσπόρως} \textit{φύρκα} \textit{μέ} \textit{μα} \ 'into the wasp's nest'} \quad 3.53
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{N} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{NPT} \quad \text{IPT} \\
\text{NPT-2} \\
\text{NPT-B} \\
\text{wasp} \quad \text{nest} \quad - \quad \text{into}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{\textit{kφν} \textit{προκ-τι} \textit{νερ} \ 'towards the mountain'} \quad 7.26
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{N} \quad \text{M} \quad \text{IPT} \\
\text{NPT-2} \\
\text{NPT-B} \\
\text{rock} \quad \text{high} \quad \text{towards}
\end{array}
\]

\textbf{6.212.23 Nominal Phrase-Type C}

Nominal Phrase-Type C consists of a simple nominal phrase-type as head, preceded by a Nominal Phrase-Type B as attributive.

\[
\text{\textit{ολμ} \textit{κάσμ} \textit{καρο} \ 'honey mixed with the wax'} \quad 2.14
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{N} \quad \text{IPT} \quad \text{N} \\
\text{NPT-B} \quad \text{NPT-1a} \\
\text{NPT-C} \\
\text{wax} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{liquid} \quad \text{(honey)}
\end{array}
\]

(on) the fact that an Indirect Particle is always found preceded by a nominal phrase, a verbal phrase, or prefixed. Thus, the phrase always has two parts - an indirect particle, and a preceding grammatical element. Cf. the parallel analysis of the Transitive Verbal Piece (7.211.1, s2). This means that this nominal phrase-type can occur simply as an inflected Indirect Particle.
6.22 Constructions into which nominal phrases enter

In analysing the pieces in which nominal phrases are found occurring, it is necessary not only to distinguish the above phrase-types, but also three types of construction into which such phrase-types enter. These are described in turn below.

A simple construction is one which comprises only one of the phrase-types described above: all the examples so far given in this chapter have been of this type.

A coordinate construction is one in which two or more nominal phrases are linked by means of the particle conjunction nē 'and'.

In the example, the line underneath the whole piece will have co written in its centre to indicate the type of construction. E.g.

\[
\text{mēkupra ūa nē mē?prōket ūa 'the single women and the single men'}
\]
An appositional construction is one in which two nominal phrases are juxtaposed without the particle conjunction ne, and without forming a single phrase.

In the examples, the line underneath the whole piece will have app in its centre to indicate the type of construction. Also, except for the case in which the phrases are type B, a comma will mark the end of the phrases in apposition.

E.g.

\[
\text{Num Čuču-re, Matvra-re, } \text{ačkiin, 'and Moon was overjoyed'}
\]

\[
\text{and Lunar Moon he-very happy}
\]

\[
\text{Num ač krąka kamrek-ti, āka čveń ža,}
\]

\[
\text{and wood- crest red head- person - ornament}
\]

\[
\text{and the red-crested woodpecker, the owner of the head ornament}
\]

\[
\text{Num apecn pe čpēn mā Amra? } \text{oo pa 'they were shouting to one another as they worked'}
\]

\[
\text{and working in another to shouting with go (intens)}
\]

1. In appositional constructions, even though a major word follows another major word (across the boundary between the two phrases), it does not occur in the weak form. This distinguishes it from a single phrase.
6.3 THE NOMINAL

A nominal is defined as any major form that occurs in the nucleus of a nominal phrase-type.

Nominals are divided into two major classes - nouns and modifiers, and these classes will be defined and described in sections 6.31 and 6.32 respectively.

6.31 The noun

A noun is defined as any form which, when it occurs as the final word in a sentence-final clause in which there is a Predicate Particle Piece, is not followed by the terminal particle ne.

"kotpa ža čep ām ičpe kūpe." 'I am going to become a white man'

Nouns are divided into two main classes - minor nouns and major nouns. These will be described in 6.311 and 6.312 respectively.

6.311 Minor nouns

A minor noun is defined as any noun which cannot occur with the suffixes -re 'diminutive' and -ti 'augmentative'.

1. Except for the extended form of a verb, which is defined independently; see 7.3 and 7.31.
There are two minor nouns, אמא 'both' and אס 'possession'. They exhibit strong and weak forms in the same way as major words (see 5.3); thus אמא 'both of us, we two', אמא 'both of you, you two', אמא 'both of them, they two', and אס 'my possession', אס 'your possession', אס 'his, her, its possession'. אמא has not been found in the weak form other than when prefixed, but אס occurs in the (uninflected) weak form אס when occurring in a Nominal Phrase-Type 2 or 3.

Minor nouns are distinguished from major nouns on the following three grounds:

a) they do not occur suffixed with -re and -ti;
b) they can only occur preceding the nucleus;
c) they are always followed by strong forms.

אמא מaza 'these two men' FS 216.22
Nmr N NPt

אס מyro 'my pig' FS
Nmr N

Minor nouns are distinguished from the peripheral particles on the following three grounds:

a) they occur with the prefixial paradigm, and exhibit strong and weak forms;
b) they occur preceding the major words in the nucleus;
c) they usually occur with primary stress or secondary stress on the ultimate syllable.

1. This statement does not imply that there are no particles that occur with the prefixial paradigm, but only that, in the context of nominal phrases, occurrence with the prefixial paradigm is one of the characteristics of minor nouns, as opposed to peripheral particles.
6.312 Major nouns

A **major noun** is defined as any noun that can occur with the suffixes -re and -ti.

Major nouns can be independently classified on three grounds, as follows.

a) On the basis of their internal structure;

b) On the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence with the prefixial paradigm;

c) On the basis of their juncture with a preceding particle.

The classes set up on these grounds will be described in turn in sections 6.312.1 - 6.312.3.

6.312.1 Simple, derived, and compound nouns

All major nouns can be classified as simple, derived, or compound, on the basis of their internal structure.

**Simple nouns** are defined as those that comprise one morpheme only.

**Derived nouns** are those that comprise an extended verb

1. A fourth classification of some of the major nouns will be set up in 6.42.
stem followed by the bound root \(-\text{ča}\) 'nominaliser'. The verb stem may be either transitive or intransitive; transitive forms will be translated by a past participle, intransitive forms by a gerund.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kā'tāča} & \quad \text{'breechcloth'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{kā'tā} \quad \text{folded'} \\
\text{katorča} & \quad \text{'mother'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{kator} \quad \text{'bearing'} \\
\text{kōmča} & \quad \text{'cup'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{kōm} \quad \text{drinking'} \\
\text{tikča} & \quad \text{'breath'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{tik} \quad \text{'dying'}
\end{align*}
\]

Compound nouns are those that comprise two or more roots or stems (neither of which is ča). Eight types of compound noun have been found, which are presented in the following three groups: A - those that comprise nominals only; B - those that comprise a verb; C - those that comprise a particle.

- **Group A** - compounds comprising nominals only.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N + N} \quad \text{krā'ka} & \quad \text{'crest'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{krā} \quad \text{'head'} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{skin'} \\
\text{mitšapočča} & \quad \text{'east'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{mit} \quad \text{sun'} \\
\text{N + M} \quad \text{krā'tik-rč} & \quad \text{'wasp'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{krā} \quad \text{head'} \quad \text{tik} \quad \text{black'} \\
\text{M + N} \quad \text{rērekka} & \quad \text{'flanks'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{rērek} \quad \text{soft'} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{skin'} \\
\text{N + N + M} \quad \text{ropkrāžakot} & \quad \text{'night-ape'} \quad \text{cf.} \quad \text{rop} \quad \text{dog'} \quad \text{krā} \quad \text{head'} \quad \text{žakot} \quad \text{round'}
\end{align*}
\]

---

1. \(-\text{ča}\) is analysed as a bound root, rather than as a suffix, because while it does not occur free, it also does not exhibit any of the phonological characteristics associated with a suffix (cf. 6.41).
Group B - compounds that comprise a verb (always in the extended form).

N + V  
\[ \text{kačkapēr} \]  
'tape recorder' cf. kač 'container' kapēr 'speaking'

V + N  
\[ \text{kritmanrā-re} \]  
'pet macaw' cf. ṭoṛkrit 'raised' manrā-re 'macaw'

ērka  
'wasp-nest' cf. ēr 'sitting' ka 'skin (i.e. shell)'

V + ūi  
\[ \text{ţečni} \]  
'liar' cf. ţeč ūi 'lying' ūi 'characterised by'

Group C - compounds that comprise a particle, always an Indirect Particle.

Pt + N  
\[ \text{ţānc} \]  
'sweat' cf. ţā  ṇo 'on' ōn 'water'

Pt + V  
\[ \text{ţāñor} \]  
'heart' cf. ţā ņor 'on' 'suspended'

6.312.2 Noun classes 1 and 2

All major nouns can be classed as Class 1 or 2 on the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence with the prefixial paradigm.

A Class 1 noun is defined as any major noun that can occur with the prefixial paradigm; a Class 2 noun is defined as any noun that cannot occur with the prefixial paradigm. Semantically, Class 1 nouns are objects or persons sustaining a close relationship to human beings, such as parts of the body, relatives, and such possessions as houses, bows, feather ornaments, etc; Class 2 nouns are objects or persons that do not sustain such relationships.
Some examples of members of these two classes are listed below, each with the translation 'your ....', and 'the man's ....'. Since Class 1 nouns occur in the weak form in these constructions, the strong form will be given in brackets, to facilitate comparison between the two classes. The classes will be identified as N/1 and N/2 respectively.

- aprî 'your footprint' N/1
- añō prî 'your trail' N/2
- mà prî 'the man's footprint' N/1
- mà añō prî 'the man's trail' N/2
- ažakva 'your mouth' N/1 (ażakva)
- añō ' your pig' N/2
- mà žakva 'the man's mouth' N/1 (ażakva)
- mà añō ' your pig' N/2
- ače 'your cloth' N/1 (če)
- añō e 'your spider' N/2
- mà če 'the man's cloth' N/1 (če)
- mà añō e 'the man's spider' N/2

Certain nouns, such as ma 'liver', belong to both classes.

- ama 'your (own) liver'   añō ma 'your liver (of some animal)'

A few nouns were uncertainly classed, such as pAr 'canoe'.

- apAr 'your canoe'   añō pAr 'your canoe'

Class 2 nouns are divided into two subclasses a and b: Subclass 2a nouns are defined as those that can immediately follow a noun to form a Nominal Phrase-Type 2; Subclass 2b nouns are defined as those that cannot so occur.

1. There are a few nouns (shown to be such by the non-occurrence of the Terminal Particle), such as čveñ, which have been found in an attributive place only; they are classed as 2a nouns.
All major nouns whose initial consonant unit is a member of the subsystem $C_P$ or of the subsystem $cP$ can be classed as A or B on the basis of their juncture with a preceding particle, (or minor noun).

A Class A noun is defined as any noun such that the sequence particle + noun occurs with the juncture-prosody $^2$; a Class B noun is defined as any noun such that the sequence particle + noun occurs with the juncture-prosody $^1$.

Some members of these two classes are given below in pairs for contrast. In the reading transcription, the members of Class A will be written with an initial glottal-plosive when following particles or minor nouns. The nouns will be identified as $N/l,A$ etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>par</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
<td>N/1,A</td>
<td>nǝ́ 'par kañe' 'he pierced the foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par</td>
<td>'bed'</td>
<td>N/1,B</td>
<td>nǝ́ par üpeč 'he made a bed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
<td>N/1,A</td>
<td>nǝ́ 'tu pumu 'he looked at the stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
<td>N/2,B</td>
<td>nǝ́ tu krǝ́ 'ta   'he cut the grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaar</td>
<td>'splinter'</td>
<td>N/2,A</td>
<td>iñǝ́ 'keǝ́r   'my splinter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaá</td>
<td>'peanuts'</td>
<td>N/2,B</td>
<td>iñǝ́ kaá   'my peanuts'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.32  The Modifier

A modifier is defined as any form, which when it occurs as the final word in a sentence-final clause in which there is a Predicate Particle Piece, is followed by the terminal particle ne.

\[ \text{no nā pre pa ãm ičpičam ne.} \quad \text{'but I became embarrassed'} \]

\( \text{PPP M TPt} \)
\( \text{(1st.pers.) (affixed with 1st. pers.prefix ič-)} \)

Like nouns, modifiers are divided into two main classes - minor modifiers and major modifiers; these will be described in turn in 6.321 and 6.322.

6.321  Minor modifiers

A minor modifier is defined as any modifier which cannot occur with the suffixes -re and -ti.

There are two minor modifiers, pič 'only' and piitā 'all'. They are distinguished from major modifiers on three grounds as follows:--

a) they do not occur suffixed with -re and -ti;

b) they are followed by strong forms;

c) they always occur with the juncture-prosody a when preceded by a short open syllable.

\[ \text{prin źa pič e} \quad \text{'only these bitter scuari nuts'} \]
\( \text{N NPt Mmr M} \)

\[ \text{pč piitā ūm} \quad \text{'all the dirty water'} \]
\( \text{N Mmr M} \)
They are distinguished from the peripheral particles on the following two grounds:

a) they occur with the prefixial paradigm; e.g. ičpič 'only I', mčičpiitā 'all of us';

b) they always occur with primary or secondary stress on the ultimate syllable.

6.322 Major modifiers

A major modifier is defined as any modifier that can occur with the suffixes -re and -ti.

The description of the major modifiers will be presented in two main sections, the first, 6.322.1 dealing with their classification, and the second, 6.322.2 with some aspects of their phonology.

6.322.1 Classification of the major modifiers

Major modifiers can be independently classified on two grounds, as follows:

a) their internal structure;

b) their occurrence or non-occurrence with the prefixial paradigm.

1. A third classification of some of the major modifiers will be set up in 6.42.
It will be seen that these two classifications parallel the first two classifications of the noun (see 6.312); there is no third classification on the ground of the juncture with a preceding particle as the sequence particle + modifier occurs only when the modifier is prefixed, for Class 1; Class 2 modifiers all occur with the same juncture.

The classes set up on these two grounds will be described in sections 6.322.11 and 6.322.12 respectively.

6.322.11 Simple, derived, and compound modifiers

Like major nouns, all major modifiers can be classified as simple, derived, or compound.

Simple modifiers are defined as those that comprise one morpheme only. Some of the simple modifiers found in text are given below.

- kamrek 'red'
- prek 'tall, high'
- ket 'no, none'
- reč 'large, big, many'
- meč 'good'
- reček 'soft'
- oto 'many'
- toč 'hard'

Derived modifiers are defined as those that consist of pi- prefixed to an extended verb stem, always of Class 2. The sequence particle + derived modifier has the juncture-prosocdy 2. E.g.

- pinin 'to have had intercourse' cf. kunin 'to have intercourse with someone' (form (iv) is niň)
- pipro 'covered' cf. pro 'to cover something'
Ik7
Compound modifiers are defined as these that comprise
two or more stems.
Four types of compound modifier were
found, which are grouped into two groups parallel with the
first and the last set up for the noun.
Group A - compounds com]; rising nomine Is only.
M +

M

N + M

poqri~re

'narrow’

cf. po
ijri

'broad'
'sma ll'

9ircrek

'weak.'

cf. 9i
rcrek

'bone'
'soft 1

Group
B- compounds thatcomprise s particle, or a
minor
noun.
Theparticle is
always an Indirect Particle, the minor
noun 9ame.
Pt + M

9omec'to do well'

cf.

0X9amakkro 'tc be afraid'

Nmr + M

6 ,322.12

3 as

9amebkrut

'two'

cf.

°o
me<5

’with'
'good '

cf,
9a
'on'
9atiiakkr o 'afraid'
9amc
'both'
abkrut 'two'

Modifier classes 1, 2, and 3

All major me. 'ifiers can >e classed as Class 1, 2, or
follows.

A Class I modifier is defined as any modifier that can
occur with the pr^fixial paradigm, the paradigm showing
concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece or Subject
Piece,
All the simple, derived, and compound modifiers yiv'&L tU* 6ir
(except 9 omec) belong to this class, as do the majority of
modifiers.


A Class 2 modifier is defined as any modifier that always occurs with the Indirect Particle mā in the same clause, the particle showing concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece or the Subject Piece. Class 2 modifiers are further divided into two subclasses a and b; Class 2a cannot occur with the prefixial paradigm, Class 2b can. In this latter case, there is no concord of person between the prefixial paradigm and the Predicate Particle Piece or the Subject Piece.

Eight members of Class 2 were found, four in each subclass; these are listed below, and some examples are given from text to illustrate their occurrence in a clause. The sequence particle + plosive-initial member of Class 2 always occurs with the juncture-prosody ².

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subclass 2a</th>
<th>Subclass 2b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kānā 'lazy'</td>
<td>ʔape 'to be sorry for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor 'thirsty'</td>
<td>kīn 'to like' (other than food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krā 'cold' (of persons)</td>
<td>prām 'to need, want, desire, be hungry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma 'wild, untamed'</td>
<td>uma 'to fear'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nē kām kor, 'they will be thirsty' 1.34
"amā uma ?ket nē." 'Don't be afraid!' 3.46
"iāmā mēpapiitā mēpāzape." 'I am sorry for us all.' 8.19

A Class 3 modifier is defined as any modifier which does not occur with the prefixial paradigm, nor with the Indirect Particle mā. The only members of this class that have been found are the two compound modifiers ʔomme 'to do well', and ʔomnu 'to do badly'; and modifiers which are the extended form of a Class 2 verb, such as pīr 'killed', ńor 'suspended', etc.

There are a few modifiers to which it is not possible to apply the above criteria for collocational or syntactic reasons. For example, ūm 'dirty', is only used of water, not persons, and so there is no possibility of obtaining it with the prefixial paradigm; and ʔi 'characterised by', has only been found in an attributive place. Such modifiers as these,
therefore, will be classed simply as modifier, without further subclassification.

6.322.2 Emphatic forms of the major modifiers

Many major modifiers have been found to occur in special emphatic forms, peculiar to modifiers. Three types of emphatic form can be distinguished, and these are described in turn below.

**Type A.** In Type A emphatic forms there is marked glottal restriction of the stressed vocoid, often with a medial glottal plosive. This vocoid is also frequently lengthened. This emphatic form seems to occur with any modifier.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{meč} & \quad \text{'good'} \quad \text{Emph. forms (m" be::dzi, m" be explain')} \text{, etc)} \\
\text{kro} & \quad \text{'rotten'} \quad \text{'''' (" kro::, " kro: explain', etc)} \\
\text{ŋri-re} & \quad \text{'small'} \quad \text{'''' (ŋ"grí:i', ŋ"grí:ire', etc)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Type B.** Type B emphatic forms have only been found to occur with modifiers whose ultimate syllable has the V unit I, and the syllable-prosody y (with or without the syllable-prosody w). Its phonetic exponent is a very close articulation of the stressed vocoid, so as to produce friction (indicated by a + under the vocoid in the phonetic transcription), accompanied by voicelessness.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{píši-}ti & \quad \text{'one'} \quad \text{Emph. forms (pun'tpiši'ti)} \\
\text{tik-}ti & \quad \text{'dirty'} \quad \text{'''' ("tik:tidi)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Type C.** Type C emphatic form was found with one modifier only, whose ultimate syllable has the V unit A, and the general structure CVο'. The phonetic exponent is voiceless articulation of the vocoid, with lengthening.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔakni-}ti & \quad \text{'white'} \quad \text{Emph. form (ʔak'ti:ididi)}
\end{align*}
\]
There are two nominal suffixes, -rc 'diminutive', and -ti 'augmentative', with (one or both of) which all major nominals recur.

There are a few instances of suffixed forms being further suffixed, up to three suffixes.


'species of motuca fly'
'species of small parrot'

The nominal suffixes will be described in two main sections: the first, 6.4.1, will describe their phonology; the second, 6.4.2, will define certain classes of nominal based upon the form of their suffixation with -ti.

1. A suffix -č 'feminine' can be analysed as occurring with the following nominals:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>'bull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moc</td>
<td>'cow, cattle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tö</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>töč</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭet</td>
<td>'uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭeč</td>
<td>'aunt'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and with various nominals containing the root ṭet, such as krâmčet '(special) father', krâmčeč '(special) mother'.

It seems doubtful whether this suffix is entering into any new combinations. The 'feminine' is given by using ni 'woman', following the noun; e.g. kupč ni 'white woman'; rop ni 'bitch'.

---

1
6.41 The phonology of the nominal suffixes

The phonology of the nominal suffixes will be described in two sections: 6.411 will describe the phonetic exponents of the word-prosody of stress; 6.412 will describe the juncture between the stem and the suffix.

6.411 The word-prosody of stress and suffixed stems

The word-prosody of stress exhibits a variety of patterns with respect to the distribution of the four stresses (primary, secondary, etc) over a suffixed stem. These can be summed up by saying that the ultimate syllable of the stem can occur with any non-tertiary stress, and the suffixial syllable with any of the four possible stresses. Many of these combinations were found, but the combinations primary + primary and primary + tertiary (on the ultimate syllable of the stem and the suffixial syllable respectively) are much the commonest.

In the reading transcription, suffixes will be written preceded by a tilde (~), and if the ultimate syllable of the stem, or the suffixial syllable, occur with emphatic stress, this will be marked by an acute accent on the emphatic syllable.

Some examples of the various stress patterns are given below. The ultimate syllable of the stem, and the suffixial syllable, with the preceding and following syllables, will be given in phonetic transcription, with the pitch pattern. The piece to which the suffixed form belongs will be indicated.

\[ \text{behind them, he placed his pet macaw (on a stick)} \]
6.412 The juncture between a stem and the nominal suffixes

The juncture phenomena relevant to nominal suffixation will be described in two subsections, the first (6.412.1) dealing with Jv type junctures, and the second (6.412.2) with Jc type junctures.

6.412.1 Jv type junctures between a stem and the nominal suffixes

The juncture between a nominal stem, whose ultimate syllable is a short open one, and the suffix -rc, is always with a 2 juncture-prosody; with the suffix -ti, however, both 1 and 2 juncture-prosodies occur, on the basis of which two classes of nominal are set up in 6.42.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Prosody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manrā-rc</td>
<td>'macaw'</td>
<td>šwy¥JA + šy¥JA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā- ti</td>
<td>'ostrich'</td>
<td>nwyMá + šyTi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po- ti</td>
<td>'bread'</td>
<td>šwPA + šyTi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.12.2  Jc type junctures between a stem and the nominal suffixes

The distribution of the juncture-prosodies set up in 3.3 for Jc type junctures with respect to the final phonological unit of the stem and the suffixial syllable, is set out in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE SUFFIXIAL SYLLABLES</th>
<th>υ^P J^A</th>
<th>υ^T^I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>Zθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t^Y</td>
<td>Z^θ</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINAL</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHONOLOGICAL</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELEMENTS</td>
<td>n^Y</td>
<td>Z^θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>Zθ</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Zθ</td>
<td>Zθ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the junctures with the suffix "re" parallel those described in 3.3 for junctures in which the post-junctural syllable had the initial C unit J, the initial-prosody r, and primary stress. On the other hand, almost the reverse is true of the junctures with the suffix "ti", only those junctures in which the final phonological elements are p or t^Y paralleling those in which the post-junctural syllable has the initial C unit T, and primary stress. For the other junctures, the parallel ones described in 3.3 all occurred with the juncture-prosody X, whereas here they all occur with the juncture prosody Z. These juncture phenomena are thus peculiar to the suffix "ti".

tik-re  'black'  ("tik're")  υwyT^I k Z θ  υ^T^I
rən-re  'a spiny club-('rən'el)  ('palm')  nwJ^A n^Y θ  υ^P J^A
par-re  'an ani (bird)' ("pa:'re")  υwyP^r Zθ  υ^P J^A
pat-ti  'great ant' ("pa:'di")  υwyP^t Zθ  υ^T^I
mrüm-ti  'ant'  ("mrüm'di")  nwM^m Z θ  υ^T^I
mai-ti  'crab'  ("mai'di")  M^m θ  υ^T^I
All major nominals whose ultimate syllable is a short open one are divided into two classes on the basis of their suffixation with the suffix -ti.

A Class F (fortis) noun is one whose juncture with the suffix -ti is marked by the occurrence of the juncture-prosody ²; a Class L (lenis) noun is one whose juncture with the suffix -ti is marked by the occurrence of the juncture-prosody ².

- kro N/F 'root, tendril' suffixed form: kro~ti
- kro N/L 'rat' suffixed form: kro~ti
CHAPTER 7  THE VERBAL PHRASE AND THE VERB

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7.22 The (complex) Verbal Phrase-Type A

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7.32 Verb Classes 1 and 2

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7.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In chapter 4 the Verbal Piece was set up, and was described as occurring only in the Verbal Clause-Type, and always in the final place in that clause-type. It was classed as a Phrasal Piece (4.41), and was stated to comprise 'one, and only one, verbal phrase' (4.412). The purpose of this chapter is to describe the structure of the verbal phrase; this will be done by means of a system of verbal phrase-types, whose structure, in turn, will be stated in terms of various word classes, such as the verb, the modifier, and the modal.

The chapter will be presented in two main parts - the Verbal Phrase (7.2), and the Verb (7.3).

7.2 THE VERBAL PHRASE

The structure of the verbal phrase is stated by means of a system of verbal phrase-types, which are divided into simple and complex forms; the former are described in 7.21, and the latter in 7.22.

1. Traditionally, the term 'phrase' has tended to be restricted to nominal phrases, and it might be thought that there was no case for introducing verbal phrases into this description as the verbal piece comprises one verbal phrase only, and so the structure could be stated in terms of the verbal piece only. This would be a possible alternative analysis, but it is felt that the parallelism with the nominal phrases (though not complete) justifies setting up verbal phrases also.
7.21 Simple verbal phrase-types

Simple verbal phrase-types are divided into unitary and binary forms on the basis of the number of phrases occurring in the phrase-type. The unitary verbal phrase-type will be termed Verbal Phrase-Type 1, and is described in 7.211; the binary verbal phrase-type will be termed Verbal Phrase-Type 2, and will be described in 7.212.

7.211 Verbal Phrase-Type 1

Verbal Phrase-Type 1 is a unitary simple verbal phrase, comprising a verb without any further forms following it. Each such phrase can be classified in two independent ways, as transitive or intransitive, and as extended or non-extended. All four possible forms (transitive extended, transitive non-extended, etc) occur. The transitive and intransitive forms will be described in 7.211.1; the extended and non-extended forms in 7.211.2.

7.211.1 The transitive and intransitive forms of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1

An intransitive Verbal Phrase-Type 1 consists of a verb of the Verb Class 1 (see 7.321); a transitive Verbal Phrase-Type 1 always contains a verb of the Verb Class 2 (see 7.322).

Class 2 (transitive) verbs are always preceded by a grammatical element which may be termed the 'object'. This grammatical element is either a member of the prefixial paradigm, a nominal phrase (of any type other than A and B), or an included clause. The transitive Verbal Phrase-Type 1 is therefore analysed as eccentric, as it always comprises

1. Numerals will be used for simple verbal phrase-types, and capital letters for complex verbal phrase-types; cf. the labelling of the nominal phrase-types.
a verb and a preceding grammatical element.

In the examples, the verb will be identified as intransitive, V(i), or as transitive, V(t), and the phrase-type will be identified as ivPT-1 or tvPT-1 correspondingly. Where the phrase is transitive, and the object is free, the latter will be identified as a nominal phrase, or included clause. A word for word literal translation will also be given, for phrases that contain more than a stem.

```
tē V(i) iVPT-1 'went' mult.
po V(i) iVPT-1 'came back'
meččipam u V(t) tvPT-1 '(I can) see you'
you + see
νvrə ko pumu NPT-2 V(t) tvPT-1 'he saw the buriti palm'
buriti wood see
taḥ-mā kot mēččašiv ammītu? pumu tvPT-1 7.15 V(t)
how he us+for make see
'(we shall) see whatever he makes for us'
```

1. Cf. the analysis of the Nominal Phrase-Type B (6.212.22, page 133). There are two main reasons for handling the sequence object + verb as a grammatical unit, rather than as a sequence of units. The first of these is phonological; if the verb is one which exhibits the contrast between strong and weak forms, then in the sequence object + verb the verb is always in the weak form, except with a third person prefix. Or to put it in another way, the sequence object + verb is always marked by the juncture-prosody Y, apart from the exception mentioned. But all other sequences, consisting of major words, which are so marked, are handled as phrases and it is therefore considered best to handle the sequence object + verb as a grammatical unit. The second reason is syntactic. The sequence object + verb parallels, in its external distribution, the intransitive form of Verbal Phrase-Type 1, which is a single word, and so this sequence is handled as a grammatical unit.
The extended and non-extended forms of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1

The extended form of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1 is that form in which the verb occurs in the extended form; the non-extended form is that form in which the verb occurs in the non-extended form (see 7.31, §2, for the definition of extended and non-extended forms).

The occurrence of this phrase-type in its two forms is one of the marks of the extended and non-extended forms of the Verbal Clause-Type (see 4.31, §5).

In the examples, the extended form of the verb will be indicated by the letter 'x' and the non-extended form by the letters 'nx' following the symbol i or t, and separated from it by an oblique stroke. The extended and non-extended forms of the phrase-type will be indicated by the letters 'x' or 'nx', respectively, immediately preceding the symbols i and t.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tē</th>
<th>nxivpt-1</th>
<th>'went'</th>
<th>mult.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V(i/nx)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔtēm</td>
<td>xivpt-1</td>
<td>'he went'</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(i/x)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išpoč</td>
<td>xivpt-1</td>
<td>'we came back'</td>
<td>6.BD6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(i/x)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēapumu</td>
<td>nxvtpt-1</td>
<td>'(I can) see you'</td>
<td>4.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(t/nx)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-mā kūkrač, ter-re, qumuñ</td>
<td>xtvpt-1</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nct/q)</td>
<td>V(t/x)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how thing possess- see (owned?)</td>
<td>ion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'they will see what they possess'
7.212 **Verbal Phrase-Type 2**

Verbal Phrase-Type 2 is a binary simple verbal phrase, consisting of a Verbal Phrase-Type 1 followed by a Nominal Phrase-Type lb (see 6.212.11, page 128).

In this verbal phrase-type, the Phrase-Type 1 always occurs in the extended form, and the phrase is closed by the Terminal Particle нě if it occurs in a sentence-final or semi-final clause, which is non-extended, and which fulfills the conditions stated in 6.212.14, page 130.

The examples of this verbal phrase-type will be given with the clause in which they occur, so that the conditions for the occurrence of нě can be exemplified.

nă pa apumun ket ě; 'I do not know you' 7.94

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{V(t/x) M Tpt} \\
\text{xtVPT-1 NPT-lb} \\
\hline
\text{PPP VP} \\
\text{- I you+see not -} \\
\text{nxVCF} \\
\end{array}
\]

ně ćpoč ět. 'and never came back' 6.802

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{V(i/x) M} \\
\text{xIVPT-1 NPT-lb} \\
\hline
\text{PPP VP} \\
\text{xVCF} \\
\text{CP VP} \\
\text{and he+come not back} \\
\end{array}
\]
7.22 The (complex) Verbal Phrase-Type A

There is only one complex verbal phrase-type, which consists of a simple verbal phrase-type followed by a modal; it will be termed the Verbal Phrase-Type A.

The pitch-cum-stress pattern of this verbal phrase-type parallels that described for the Nominal Phrase-Type A (see 6.212.21, page 132).

If the simple phrase-type is the unitary one, it occurs in the extended form if the modal is a major word, and in the non-extended form if the modal is a particle.

?poč kct žape 'he may not return' 7.73
V(i/x) M ML

VPT-2

VPT-A

he+come not uncertainty back

?iř kumrěč 'you must kill him' 6.4T2
V(t/x) ML

xtVPT-1

VPT-A

he+kill intensity

apř mān '(you) must kill him without fail' 6.BC2
V(t/nx) MIPE

nxtVPT-1

VPT-A

he+kill completive
A verb is defined as any form which, when it occurs as the final word in a sentence-final clause in which there is a Predicate Particle Piece, is not followed by the Terminal Particle nē; and which cannot occur with the nominal suffixes -te and -ti in the non-extended form.

All verbs can be independently classified on the following two grounds:

a) the phonological relationship between the extended and non-extended forms;

b) the occurrence or non-occurrence of the verb with an immediately preceding nominal phrase to form an exocentric phrase.

While verbs, like nominals, can also be classified on the ground of their internal structure, this ground is so closely related to ground (b) that it is not set up separately and independently.

The description of the verb, therefore, will be presented in two main sections: 7.31 will describe the Classes A, B and C set up on the basis of (a); 7.32 will describe the Classes 1 and 2 set up on the basis of (b).

7.31 Verb Classes A, B and C

All verbs are divided into three classes A, B and C on the ground of the phonological relationship between their extended and non-extended forms.

The extended form of a verb is that form which occurs as the head (first) word in the Verbal Phrase-Types 2 and
A; the non-extended form is that form which occurs in the Verbal Phrase-Type I when the Predicate Particle Piece does not include the Subject Particle; it is also the form given in isolation.

The extended form of the verb can occur in any place in which a nominal can occur, so that every nominal phrase has an alternative form in which one of the places is filled by a verb stem in the extended form. Where extended forms exhibit the contrast between strong and weak forms, the distribution of these is the same as for a nominal. Some examples are given below of nominal phrases containing an extended verb stem; the constituents, the phrase(s), and the piece will be identified in the usual way.

1. Except in the case in which the head word is immediately followed by a particle modal; see 7.22, §3.
All extended forms have an ultimate syllable which has one of the two general structures CVc or CVw; non-extended forms may have an ultimate syllable of any structure.

Class A verbs are those whose non-extended and extended stems are identical.

Examples will be listed in four columns, the first giving the non-extended form, the second the extended form, the third the class, and the fourth the translation.

erik | erik | A | 'to remain, stay, dwell'
ku?peu | ku?peu | A | 'to bungle something'
pröt | pröt | A | 'to run'
töm | töm | A | 'to fall'
?inua | ?inua | A | 'to hollow something'

Class B verbs are those whose ultimate syllable in the non-extended form differs from the ultimate syllable of the extended form by the final C unit only. All members of this class therefore have a non-extended form whose ultimate syllable has the structure CV.²

1. Because of the phonological parallelism between extended forms in that their ultimate syllables are all closed, a final C unit ? is set up which occurs in the extended form of verbs only. Its phonetic exponent is glottal plosive when the following syllable has an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cp, and is zero in all other cases.

2. Also included in this class are those verbs whose non-extended form has the structure CVw for its ultimate syllable: all such belong to the subclass Bö.
Class B is divided into a number of subclasses according to the final c unit of the extended form. Subclasses will be indicated by such abbreviations as Bk, Bn, Br, etc.

- kura → kurañ → Bn → 'to beat something or someone'
- kuqe → kuqe? → Br → 'to stand (intens)'
- mra → mracr → Br → 'to walk, go (intens)'
- poii → poe → Dk → 'to come back, arrive'
- tē → tēm → Em → 'to go, come'
- vre → vreak → Bk → 'to descend'

Class C verbs are those whose non-extended and extended forms have no regular stateable relationship to one another. They are also subclassed according to the final c unit of the extended form.

- akia → akāer → Cr → 'to shout'
- če → am → Cm → 'to stand'
- ka?tc → ka?ek → CK → 'to break something (intens)'
- nôr → 6t → Ct → 'to sleep'

7.32 Verb Classes 1 and 2

The verb classes 1 and 2 are set up on the basis of

1. It has been pointed out that a more economical analysis would be obtained by defining Class B verbs as those whose non-extended form lacks the final c unit of the extended form. Then, if such a definition were used, there would be no need for subclassing. If, however, the relationship between the extended and non-extended forms is stated this way round, a parallel procedure has to be followed in the subclassing of Classes 1 and 2, which makes for a very complicated statement. Hence, this analysis has been chosen here as giving a simpler total description of the verb system.

2. Of the 10 possible final c units, only 6 have been found occurring in extended forms of this class; of these 6, ñ, r, and ? account for over 80 per cent of the members of this class.
whether they can form an exocentric (verbal) phrase with a preceding nominal phrase. Class 1 will be described in 7.321, Class 2 in 7.322.

7.321 Verb Class 1 (intransitive)

Verbs of Class 1 are defined as those that can not form an exocentric (verbal) phrase with an immediately preceding nominal phrase. All Class 1 verbs are thus conveniently termed 'intransitive'.

Class 1 verbs will be described in three sections, 7.321.1 - 7.321.3, dealing with the three subclasses (1.1 - 1.3), set up on the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence with the prefixial paradigm in the extended and non-extended forms.

7.321.1 Class 1.1 verbs

Class 1.1 verbs are defined as those that always occur with the prefixial paradigm. The prefixial paradigm always shows concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece and the Subject Piece.

Plosive-initial Class 1.1 verbs are further subdivided

1. This fact is a useful distinguishing criterion between Class 1.1 verbs and Class 2 verbs, as the latter, when prefixed, do not show concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece or the Subject Piece.
on the basis of whether they occur with ə or ə juncture-prosody with the third person prefix (zero). Those that occur with ə juncture-prosody will be termed 1.1a; those that occur with ə juncture-prosody 1.1b.

Class 1.1 verbs occur in simple, derived, and compound forms which will be described in § 321.11 - 321.13 respectively.

### 7.321.11 Simple Class 1.1 verbs

Simple Class 1.1 verbs are those that comprise one morpheme only. Some members of this class are listed below, classified as to their extended form as well as to subclass 1.1a or 1.1b.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Extended Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapčr</td>
<td>1.1b/A</td>
<td>'to talk, speak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kato</td>
<td>1.1b/Ḅ</td>
<td>'to be born, come out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kří</td>
<td>1.1a/Ḅ</td>
<td>'to sit down (intens)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuq̩e</td>
<td>1.1b/Ḅ</td>
<td>'to stand (intens)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>1.1b/Ḅ</td>
<td>'to walk, əc (intens)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōt</td>
<td>1.1a/A</td>
<td>'to run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaše</td>
<td>1.1/A</td>
<td>'to finish, come to an end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeš</td>
<td>1.1/A</td>
<td>'to tell lies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣkvẉ</td>
<td>1.1/Ḅ</td>
<td>'to lie down (intens)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.321.12 Derived Class 1.1 verbs

Derived Class 1.1 verbs are those that consist of a Class 2 verb stem affixed with the intransitivising prefix pi-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Extended Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pipro</td>
<td>1.1b/Ḅ</td>
<td>'to cover oneself, to be covered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. pro 'to cover something'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pianpri  1.1a/B?  'to give birth to a child'
cf. amnianpri 'to observe taboos'

7.321.13 Compound Class 1.1 verbs

Compound Class 1.1 verbs are those that consist of two or more stems, and they can be divided into two main groups: Group A compounds are those that consist of nominal stems only; Group B compounds consist of a verb stem and one or more nominal stems. These are described in turn below.

Group A - those that comprise nominal stems only; in each case, the initial constituent of the compound is a noun of Class 1 (see 6.312.2, page 141).

N + N  tuzaro  'to be pregnant' cf. tu (1) 'stomach'
            žaro (1) 'womb'

N + M  kakanro  'to have a fever' cf. ka (1) 'skin'
            kanro 'hot'

Group B - those that consist of a verb stem with one or more nominal stems.

N + V  tikčame  'to breathe' cf. tikča (1) 'breath'
            mě (2) 'to throw something'

krakato  'to be awake' cf. krast (1) 'head'
            kato (1.1) 'to come out'

1. The root *apri was not found free, but only in this derived verb, and the compound amnianpri. It would presumably mean 'to put a taboo on something or someone'. Childbirth was associated with work and food taboos.
V + M + M  *amakketkati* 'to have nothing more to do with'

cf. *amak* (1.2d) 'to feel' ket 'not' kati (meaning uncertain, but probably 'not, nothing'

cf. *amrakati* 'nothing, not a trace')

7.321.2  Class 1.2 verbs

Class 1.2 verbs are those that occur with the prefixial paradigm in the extended form only, but never in the non-extended form. The prefixial paradigm shows concord of person with the Predicate Particle Piece, and the Subject Piece.

Class 1.2 verbs are divided into simple and derived forms (there are no compound members of this class), the former being described in 7.321.21, the latter in 7.321.22.

7.321.21  Simple Class 1.2 verbs

Simple Class 1.2 verbs are those that comprise one morpheme only. They are divided into four subclasses, a to d, on the basis of the phonological structure of their extended form; these subclasses are described in 7.321.211 - 7.321.214.

1. As with Class 1.1 verbs, this fact serves to distinguish Class 1.2 and Class 2 verbs; cf. 7.321.1, §1, footnote 1, page 167.
Simple Class 1.2a verbs are those whose (strong) extended form is disyllabic, with a penultimate syllable of structure /wy(a(c). If the non-extended form is also disyllabic, the final c unit in the penultimate syllable is the same in the extended and non-extended forms; if the non-extended form is trisyllabic (in which case the non-ultimate syllables are /ya + nyomi), the c unit in the penultimate syllable of the extended form is m.

The examples will be presented in the same way as in 7.31, in four columns, the first giving the non-extended form, the second the (strong) extended form, the third the class, the fourth the translation.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{a°kî} & \text{a°kîĺ} & 1.2a/BÎ & \text{'to steal'} \\
\text{amîra} & \text{amra'} & 1.2a/B' & \text{'to shout'} \\
\text{ape} & \text{apefî} & 1.2a/Bf & \text{'to work'} \\
\text{apku} & \text{apkuri} & 1.2a/Br & \text{'to eat'} \\
\end{array}
\]

In the particular case in which the ultimate syllable of the non-extended form has the structure /wyTai, the (strong) extended form is a monosyllable of structure /wyAr.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{a°kî} & \text{a°kîĺ} & 1.2a/BÎ & \text{'to steal'} \\
\text{amîra} & \text{amra'} & 1.2a/B' & \text{'to shout'} \\
\text{ape} & \text{apefî} & 1.2a/Bf & \text{'to work'} \\
\text{apku} & \text{apkuri} & 1.2a/Br & \text{'to eat'} \\
\end{array}
\]

7.321.212 Simple Class 1.2b verbs

Simple Class 1.2b verbs are those whose extended form has an initial syllable of structure /yî(c).

1. It has been decided to class these extended forms as Class B rather than Class C, as, once the class is known to be 1.2a, 1.2b, etc., the differences between the extended and non-extended forms, other than the final c unit, is fixed.
If the non-extended form is disyllabic, and the penultimate syllable does not have the structure jyxat', then the extended form is also disyllabic with the syllable jyxpi as the penultimate syllable. If the penultimate syllable of the non-extended form is jyxat', then the extended form is trisyllabic, the antepenultimate syllable being jyxpi and the penultimate syllable being jya.

*a?ka1 *pi?kar 1.2b/Br 'to mix'
*apkže *pi?kžer 1.2b/Br 'to turn over'
a?yu pi?yu? 1.2b/B9 'to fight, struggle'

If the non-extended form is trisyllabic, and has a penultimate syllable of structure kl, the extended form is also trisyllabic, with the antepenultimate syllable being jyxpi. If the non-extended form is trisyllabic, and has a penultimate syllable of structure mi or ni, the extended form is disyllabic with the penultimate syllable of structure jyxpin or jyxpin respectively. In the particular case in which the penultimate syllable is mi, and the ultimate syllable has an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cp, the extended form has an ultimate syllable with an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cn, the phonetic exponents of the two C units having the same point of articulation.

akuno pikunor 1.2b/Br 'to flee'
*a?npa *pi?npā 1.2b/Bm 'to exchange'
am?ti pianir 1.2b/Br 'to dream'

7.321.213 Simple Class 1.2c verbs

Simple Class 1.2c verbs are those whose extended form is a monosyllable with an initial C unit which is a member of the subsystem Cp (other than T with the initial-prosody y),

1. Forms which have only been found in compounds (usually with the particle "n") will be asterisked.
and whose non-extended form is disyllabic with the penultimate syllable of structure ُمُيِتٍ.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{iški} & \text{kəm} & 1.2c/Bm & \text{'to drink'} \\
\text{ičtu} & \text{tur} & 1.2c/Br & \text{'to urinate'}
\end{array}
\]

7.321.214 Simple Class 1.2d verbs

Simple Class 1.2d verbs are defined negatively as those which do not belong to any of the three previous subclasses; for this class the relationship between the non-extended and extended forms is that stated in 7.31.

All members of this subclass are monosyllables in the non-extended form (which thus distinguishes them phonologically from the other three subclasses), and none are vowel initial without initial-prosody.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ča} & \text{Am} & 1.2d/Cm & \text{'to stand'} \\
\text{mo} & \text{mr} & 1.2d/Br & \text{'to go, come'} \\
\text{nrc} & \text{nrcr} & 1.2d/Br & \text{'to sing'} \\
\text{pot} & \text{pot} & 1.2d/Bm & \text{'to come back, arrive'} \\
\text{tē} & \text{tēm} & 1.2d/Bm & \text{'to go, come'} \\
\text{āf} & \text{fr} & 1.2d/Cr & \text{'to sit'}
\end{array}
\]

7.321.22 Derived Class 1.2 verbs

Derived Class 1.2 verbs are those which consist of a

1. Class 1.2c verbs, in the extended form, occur with the juncture-prosody ُ with the third person prefix.
Class 2 (transitive) verb stem, prefixed with a derivative prefix. There are three pairs of derivative prefixes, for non-extended and extended forms respectively; these will be described below.

The derivative prefixes ač- and pi-

Disyllabic verbs of Class 2, whose initial syllable in the non-extended form has the structure /yka, occur as Class 1.2 verbs when prefixed with ač- in the non-extended form, and pi- in the extended form.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ačka°tê} & \quad \text{pika°æk} & \quad 1.2/\text{Ck}^1 & \quad '\text{to break (intens)}' \\
\text{ačkapo} & \quad \text{pikapóñ} & \quad 1.2/\text{Bá} & \quad '\text{to separate}'
\end{align*}
\]

Disyllabic verbs of Class 2b, whose initial syllable in the non-extended form has the structure /ywa, occur as Class 1.2 verbs when prefixed with ač- to form (iii), and with pi- to the extended form.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ačkvíñ} & \quad \text{pikvíñ} & \quad 1.2/\text{A} & \quad '\text{to break}'
\end{align*}
\]

The derivative prefixes av- and u-

Disyllabic verbs of Class 2, whose initial syllable in the non-extended form has the structure /yka, or /ywa, occur as Class 1.2 verbs when prefixed with av- to the non-extended (weak) form, and u- to the extended (weak) form.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{avkakre} & \quad \text{ukakreñ} & \quad 1.2/\text{Bá} & \quad '\text{to scratch, rub}' \\
\text{avžaš} & \quad \text{užašr} & \quad 1.2/\text{Br} & \quad '\text{to tap, peck}' \\
\text{avžarč} & \quad \text{užarčr} & \quad 1.2/\text{Bá} & \quad '\text{to say, relate, teach}'
\end{align*}
\]

The derivative prefixes A- and A-

Disyllabic verbs of Class 2a, whose initial syllable has the structure /ywi in the non-extended form, occur as Class 1.2 verbs when prefixed with A- in both the non-extended and extended forms.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Akučot} & \quad \text{Akučot} & \quad 1.2/\text{A} & \quad '\text{to roast}' \\
\text{A kukža} & \quad \text{A kukžer} & \quad 1.2/\text{Cr} & \quad '\text{to ask}'
\end{align*}
\]

1. The derived members of Class 1.2 have their extended forms classed in the same class as the Class 2 verb from which they are derived.
Class 1.3 verbs are those that never occur with the prefixial paradigm.

Class 1.3 verbs will be described in two sections, 7.321.31 and 7.321.32, dealing respectively with simple and compound forms (there are no derived members of this class).

7.321.31 Simple Class 1.3 verbs

Simple Class 1.3 verbs are those that comprise one morpheme only.

- anē 'do or speak thus, like this'
- anže 'to enter (intens)'
- ažet 'to remain, stay, live'
- cr 'to melt'
- žuk 'to wander, drift'

7.321.32 Compound Class 1.3 verbs

Compound Class 1.3 verbs are those that comprise two or more roots.

Compound Class 1.3 verbs can be divided into two groups; Group A consists of the noun amē 'self' compounded with Class 2 verbs; Group B compounds are those that consist of one or two members of the Adverb Class (see 8.2) compounded with Class 1.2 verbs (see 7.321.214).
Group A - those that consist of amnī and a Class 2 verb.

amnī + V(2) amnīma 1.3/Br 'to think'
cf. ma 'to hear, know, understand something'
amnīnīpeč 1.3/A 'to behave, act thus'
cf. īpeč 'to make, do something'

Group B - those that consist of one or two si verbs and a Class 2.2d verb.

A + V (1.2d) amrīnī 1.3/Br 'to be quiet'
cf. amrī 'permissive'
ī 'to sit'
māriča 1.3/Cm 'to be quiet'
cf. mā 'away'
arī 'yet, still'
ča 'to stand'

7.322 Verb Class 2 (transitive)

Verbs of Class 2 are defined as those that can form an exocentric phrase with a nominal phrase. All Class 2 verbs are thus conveniently termed 'transitive'.

All Class 2 verbs can occur with the prefixial paradigm, the paradigm not exhibiting concord with the Predicate Particle Piece and the Subject Piece. With verbs that exhibit the contrast between strong and weak forms, the weak form occurs with a free object, and with the non-third person prefixes; the strong form with the 3rd person prefixes.

Class 2 verbs are divided into simple and compound forms; the former will be described in 7.322.1, the latter in 7.322.2.
Simple Class 2 verbs are those that comprise one morpheme only.

Plosive-initial Class 2 verbs are divided into two subclasses 2a and 2b on the ground of whether they occur with $\theta$ or $\phi$ juncture-prosody with the third person prefix respectively; cf. Class 1 verbs (7.321.1).

Some members of this class are listed below: where relevant, it is the strong extended form that will be cited.

Am  Am  2/A  'to place something'
Opo  Opon  2/Bn  'to extract something'
Omu  Omuñ  2/Bñ  'to see something'
Kura  Kurañ  2a/Bñ  'to hit something'
Kupi  Piñ  2b/Br  'to kill something'
Kapa  Kaçar  2b/Cr  'to pull something up, or cut'
?arç  ?arçñ  2/Bñ  'to tell, say something'

Those (disyllabic) members of subclass 2b, which have a penultimate syllable of structure $\theta$wki, occur in four different forms. If a member of this group is regarded as having a particular form of the general structure $\theta$wki + CV(c), where C is any consonantal unit, and V is any vowel unit, then the four forms are the following:

(i) $\theta$wki + CV(c)
(ii) $\theta$ya + CV(c)
(iii) CV(c)
(iv) CVx/c,

where x is the final c unit of the extended form.\(^1\) The syntactic distribution of these forms is shown on the following chart.

---

1. The only exceptions to the above statement of the forms are those members of this group which belong to the extended class C.
In the particular case in which C is T, with the initial-prosody y, the fourth form has a strong form Vx, and a weak form VTx.

Members of this group occur quite commonly in text, and some are listed below. Where they belong to Class C, all four forms will be given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuchi</td>
<td>2b/Br</td>
<td>'to put something down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukrč</td>
<td>2b/Br</td>
<td>'to eat something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuku</td>
<td>2b/Br</td>
<td>'to eat something (intens)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>2b/Br</td>
<td>'to hear, understand something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumč</td>
<td>2b/Bn</td>
<td>'to throw something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunš</td>
<td>2b/Cr</td>
<td>'to give something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anš</td>
<td>ūs</td>
<td>3r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupi</td>
<td>2b/Br</td>
<td>'to kill someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupič</td>
<td>2b/Br</td>
<td>'to take hold of, catch something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurč</td>
<td>2b/Bn</td>
<td>'to throw something (intens)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuta</td>
<td>2b/Cr</td>
<td>'to pull something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ata</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>'air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuve</td>
<td>2b/Cr</td>
<td>'to eat something sweet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.322.2 Compound Class 2 verbs

A compound Class 2 verb is one that comprises two or more stems. Compound Class 2 verbs are divided into two
main groups - homogeneous and heterogeneous. Homogeneous compounds are those that comprise major stems only; heterogeneous compounds are those that comprise both major and particle stems.

Homogeneous compounds are of one type only, viz., a nominal stem and a verb stem. In each case, the nominal stem precedes the verb stem, and the verb is in the form which it exhibits with a free object.

'ɔ³kapa 2/Cr 'to pull up something one at a time'
cf. 'ɔ³ (M) 'other, one'
šAPA (2b) 'to pull something up'

kvaʔo 2a/4r 'to eat some of something sweet'
cf. kva (N) 'a few, some'
ʔo (2b) 'to eat something sweet'

Heterogeneous compounds are of one general type, viz., Indirect Particle + major stem. The indirect particles

1. The reasons for analysing such forms as compounds, (particularly in the case in which the major stem is a verb), rather than as a sequence of the Indirect Piece and the Verbal Piece, are the following:-

a) The non-occurrence of the Adverb Piece following the Indirect Particles and preceding the Verbal Piece. Such a sequence would be a non-favourite order of the Verbal Clause-Type (see 4.311(1), page 95), but such compounds as the above are not uncommon, and it would therefore be reasonable to have expected such a sequence to have been found.

b) The use of the compounded form in nominal contexts parallelling simple Class 2 verbs. E.g. pîčo ʔapakâw 'stolen bananas'; cf. ʔapâkâw 'a suspended pct'.

c) The parallel compounds formed with nominal stems.

In connection with these compounds, it should be noted that the stem with which the particle is compounded can still occur with the prefixial paradigma, so that a prefix can occur word medially. E.g. ʔapakâto 'we created it'.
which are so compounded are the two glottal-initial ones, ʔo and ʔo, and the major stems are verbs or nominals, the former being members of Class 1.

Ipt + V ʔokato 'to create, cf. kato la/la/Br 'to invent something' come out, he born'

ʔamâne 'to order someone to be killed' cf. amâne 1.2a/Bn 'to order to kill'

ʔamâpitâ 'to take charge of, look after something' cf. *amâpitâ 1.3/Br 'to take charge, take care'

Ipt + Ncm. ʔomro 'to cock something in ashes' cf. mro (N) 'ashes'

ʔokatâ 'to empty something' cf. katâ (M) 'empty'

ʔno?teŋ 'to recognise, know someone' cf. no (N) 'eye', teŋ (M) 'hard'

When ʔo is compounded with Classes 1.2c and 1.2d (see 7.321.213 and 7.321.214), it almost invariably occurs as ʔo- with non-extended forms, but fluctuates with extended forms.

erî ʔomô 'you can take it' 2.29

kotpa ža akupâ-m ʔämâmr ket nẽ 'I am not going to take him away again' 6.BD2.

1. It is interesting to note that all the borrowed verbs that were found were thus compounded with ʔo. These were:

ʔonana cr ʔonâda 'to swim' (Port.nadar)
ʔokântâ 'to count' (Port.contar)
ʔovene 'to sell' (Port.vender)
CHAPTER 8  THE NON-NOMINAL, NON-VERBAL MAJOR WORD CLASSES

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  8.612 Particle modals
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CHAPTER 8  THE NON-NOMINAL, NON-VERBAL MAJOR WORD CLASSES

8.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the course of the description of Apinayé grammatical structures thus far, reference has been made to certain word classes which are neither nominals nor verbs. It is the purpose of this chapter to define and describe these classes, which are distinguished from (the great majority of) nominals and verbs, in that (apart from the models) they are all invariant: that is, they never occur affixed, nor do they exhibit any contrast between strong and weak forms. They are distinguished from the particle classes discussed in the next chapter in that each of the classes described in this chapter comprises major words only, or major words and particles, but not particles only.

All the classes described in this chapter are small in membership (the Adverb Class is the largest, with less than 50 members), and are distinguished from one another by their distribution in the various clause-types and pieces set up in chapters 4 to 7.

There are five such classes: the Interrogatives, the Interjections, the Conjunctions, the Adverbs, and the Models. They will be described in this order, which is the order in which they were introduced in chapters 4 to 7 in the definition of particular clause-types, pieces, or phrases.

8.2 THE INTERROGATIVE

In section 4.315 (page 102), it was stated that all major clause-types could be classified as questions, commands or statements, and that questions were marked by
the occurrence of a Question Piece, preceding all other Pieces except the Connective Piece, and consisting of one member of the class of interrogatives (Int). This class is defined as consisting of a certain set of forms, which are divided into simple and compound, described in 8.21 and 8.22 respectively.

### 8.21 Simple interrogatives

Simple interrogatives consist of one major root only; the following have been found:

- ḫa
- ūa
- mēqō or vaqō
- mo or mēmo
- nok

1. The form ḫa occurred three times in text (5.19, 21; 7.22) immediately preceding the particle adverb apu, and was in each case translated by 'why': (in two of these cases apu preceded the interrogative mo). It is uncertain whether it should be handled as an interrogative, as its place in the sentence does not parallel the other interrogatives.

2. Forms homophonous with these interrogatives have been found occurring in other places, raising the question of whether these homophonous forms should be analysed as belonging to another class, or whether it should be said that the interrogatives can occur in other places than the Question Piece. Either solution poses problems. For instance, the form mēmo occurs as an object, and so could be analysed as a noun, but it would be unique among the nouns in always occurring with the prefix mē-, and no other prefix. On the other hand, homophony and semantic similarity alone, are not the test grounds for identifying two forms (i.e. further criteria such as affixes in common, or parallel distribution in larger grammatical units, would be much surer). In this case, the homophonous forms are handled as belonging to different classes, according to where they occur. E.g. nūm mēqō za kām: 'and someone said to her' (6.k1), where mēqō is analysed as a noun; and tā nūm va nīqō-m mō 'but the two of them went off somewhere' (9.25), where nīqō-m is analysed as a (compound) adverb.
8.22 Compound Interrogatives

Compound interrogatives are all heterogeneous, consisting of a major root followed by a particle, in each case, an Indirect Particle. The following compound interrogatives were found:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo-to}^1 & \quad \text{‘with what’} \\
\text{ni\-ri}^2 & \quad \text{‘where (rt)’} \\
\text{ni\-m(\text{n})}^2 & \quad \text{‘where (to)’} \\
\text{ta\-m\~{n}}^2 & \quad \text{‘how’}
\end{align*}
\]

8.3 The Interjection

In 4.321 (page 105) the Interjectory Clause-Type was defined as a minor clause-type, and as comprising one or more members of the class of interjections. An interjection is any invariant (major) form which does not answer to the definitions of the other classes in this chapter, i.e., it never occurs in the Pieces by means of which conjunctions, adverbs, and modals are defined.

All interjections are major words, and can be divided into simple and compound forms, the former being described in 8.31, the latter in 8.32.

1. The form of this interrogative at the phonetic level was (m\b‘ot\b‘to), as it has been written in the reading transcription in a manner parallel with the writing of the nominal suffix -\ti, rather than as a major word + particle compound, when the form *m\b\b‘bodo would have been expected.

2. See the previous page for this footnote.
Simple interjections are those that comprise one root only; apart from apa they are all monosyllables.

Simple interjections can be divided into two groups, which may be termed 'initiatory' and 'responsive'. 'Initiatory' interjections are those that almost invariably initiate conversation, occurring sentence-initial; they only rarely occur with the final-presories / and \ set up for the tune. 'Responsive' interjections are those that only rarely initiate conversation, but occur, rather, in response to a preceding statement or question; they often occur with the final-presories / and \. These two groups are listed below.

### Initiatory interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>če</td>
<td>'Look!' (expresses surprise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kva</td>
<td>Calls attention to a following statement, often a reproof, or a command; when preceding another interjection, adds emphasis to it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa or apa</td>
<td>'Oi!' (calls attention to following question)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>Calls attention to what follows; lacks the emotional force of kva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Calls attention to what follows; seems to differ little from to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Responsive interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>má</td>
<td>'No' (only used by women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na²</td>
<td>'No' (only used by men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>'that is so; yes' (expresses agreement with a previous utterance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>'Yes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>į</td>
<td>Emphatic response to previous utterance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. This is the only interjection found in narrative.

2. It would seem that na can also be used occasionally as an initiatory interjection; 6.03 may be an example of such a use.
Occasionally, interjections occur in sequences of two or three. Apart from kva, which may precede either initiatory or responsive interjections, such sequences consist entirely of initiatory or responsive interjections. The sequences found were the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With kva:</th>
<th>kva to</th>
<th>kva na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initiatory:</td>
<td>e tc</td>
<td>to e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsive:</td>
<td>ṇ na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.32 Compound interjections

Compound interjections are those that comprise more than one root. Apart from those that consist of an interjection and a connective, it has not been found possible to identify the constituents with any certainty.

1. These forms have been analysed as compounds as the syllable ā or ā only occurs in this combination with tc.

2. These are analysed as compounds because they occur as sentences, so that the connective cannot be analysed as part of the following clause. ku was found once in text (1.30) where it was probably an alternative form of kva.
The Connective Piece was defined (in 4.42(t), page 111) as the non-phrasal piece which always precedes all other pieces in any clause-type, whether it occurs in a favourite, non-favourite, or emphatic order. A conjunction (Cj) is any form which is found in the Connective Piece.

Conjunctions are divided into two classes - particle and major; the former is described in 8.41, the latter in 8.42.

8.41 Particle conjunctions

A particle conjunction is any conjunction that occurs finally in a sequence of conjunctions.

Particle conjunctions are divided into simple and compound forms, the former being described in 8.411, the latter in 8.412.

8.411 Simple particle conjunctions

Simple particle conjunctions are those that comprise one root only: the following three were found:

ke 'when, so that'
ne 'and'
ñum 'and'
nē and ūrm differ from one another in that nē introduces a clause without change of subject (as marked by the Subject Piece and/or the Predicate Particle Piece) from the preceding clause, whereas ūrm introduces a clause with a change of subject. In particular, when the subject is third person singular (which is zero in the Predicate Particle Piece), the changes of third person singular subjects are marked by the use of nē and ūrm. This difference in function between nē and ūrm also holds when they occur in sequence with other conjunctions, and in the compounds Amri-nē and Amri-ūrm.

An example illustrating this difference is given below.

Amri-ūrm kām maē kāre maē kvēta, nē kumē, ūrm per,
and him+to honey liquid good ,ull and it+ and it+catch

nē aper - mā tē, ūrm kupa, ūrm apta.
and down to go and it+ and go out catch

Then he (the woodpecker) pulled
some good honey off for him, and threw it; it caught fire,
and fell, but he (Sun) caught it, and it went out.'

Simple particle conjunctions can occur in pairs, subject only to the condition that ke occurs finally in the sequence.

8.412 Compound particle conjunctions

Compound particle conjunctions are those that comprise more than one root, each of which is a particle. One such particle compound was found, ūrm?ā, where 'ā is an Indirect Particle. It has the meaning of 'until an action is completed'. E.g.

ūrm?ā apka?ti ?apek, 'until the dry had come to an end' 3.6
CP SP VP
The phonology of the particle conjunctions nē and ūm

The particle conjunctions nē and ūm have a marked tendency to be separated by pause from the clause in which they occur, so that while they are linked, at the grammatical level, to the clause following them, at the phonetic level they are linked to the clause preceding them.

In the examples, the conjunction(s) under consideration will be underlined in the reading and phonetic transcriptions.

\[
\text{mra, nē anže, ūm nē 'ō api, } \overline{\text{mbranaŋ'gzenūm}} / \text{'nā'op'vi}
\]

7.4

\[
\text{nēr nē mōr, \quad \overline{\text{mēlnē}} / \text{mōl}}
\]

7.30

Also, the particle conjunction nē occurs very frequently as (n) at the phonetic level, whenever it follows a word whose ultimate syllable is a short open one; or whenever it follows a word whose ultimate syllable is a closed or a long open one, and precedes a word which is vowel initial without initial-prosody, or pause.

\[
\overline{\text{ūm Māt- ti mō, nē omu, nē kuta, } \overline{\text{mūn'bum'di'mōnom'lungut'ta}}
\]

5.12

\[
\text{čam, nē otē, nē opci. \quad \overline{\text{'tčamnot'tēnop'poi}} \text{ 6. AK2-4}
\]

\[
\text{nē tē, nē ṣvra ža ... \quad \overline{\text{nēt'tēn}} / \text{nē'guroi}}
\]

1.18

8.42 Major conjunctions

A major conjunction is any conjunction which occurs initially in a sequence of conjunctions.

Major conjunctions are divided into simple and compound forms, the former being described in 8.421, the latter in 8.422.
Simple major conjunctions are those that comprise one root only: the following were found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>hār</code></td>
<td>'but'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tā</code></td>
<td>'but, until, when'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

`hār` occurs only when followed by one or more of the other conjunctions (particle or major), and when followed by `nē` or `hūm` it occurs in extended clauses only.

Only one sequence, `hār tā hūm`, has been found with more than one major conjunction in it; all other sequences containing a major conjunction contain one only, followed by one or two particle conjunctions; e.g. `tā hūm`, `nē ke`, `hār nē hūm`.

8.422 Compound major conjunctions

Compound major conjunctions are those that comprise more than one root, one of which must be a major one. Two types of compound major conjunction were found - homogeneous, and heterogeneous: these will be described in turn.

Two homogeneous major conjunctions were found - `rāʔā` 'until', and `tāmtā` 'until, when', but it has not proved possible to identify the constituents with any certainty.

Two heterogeneous compounds were also found - `amri-nē`,

---

1. `tā`, when followed by `hūm`, seems sometimes to occur as a shorter form of `tāmtā` 'until, when': see for instance, 6. P2.
and amri-ümüz. These compounds function in a very similar way to the particle conjunctions nê and nüm, but occur less frequently. It is possible that they mark the beginning of some unit larger than the sentence, such as a paragraph.

8.5 THE ADVERB

In 4.42(c), the Adverb Piece was defined as the non-phrasal Piece which occurs preceding the Indirect Piece and following the Subject and Predicate Particle Pieces in the favoured order of the clause-types. An adverb is defined as any form which occurs in the Adverb Piece.

The description of the adverbs will be given in two main sections, the first, 8.51, describing the classification of the adverbs, the second, 8.52, some aspects of the phonology of adverbs.

8.51 The classification of the adverbs

Adverbs are divided into two main classes, major and particle; major adverbs are described in 8.511, particle adverbs in 8.512.

8.511 Major adverbs

A major adverb (A) is any adverb which can occur in the Adverb Piece 2, that is, following the Indirect Piece in a
Major adverbs can be classified as simple and compound. Simple major adverbs comprise one root only. The following is a list of some simple major adverbs found in text.

- ačte 'again; mere'
- arī 'still, yet'
- mā 'away (from here)'
- mān 'to here'
- ra 'already'
- ri 'continuously'
- tokāč 'quickly'
- 'like this, thus'

Compound major adverbs comprise two roots. It has not always proved possible to identify the constituent roots, but where it has proved possible, this will be done.

- aʔpor-mā 'downwards'
- aʔpēn-ʔē 'separately, distributively'
- akupā-ʔm 'again to there'
- akupā-ʔn 'again to here'
- kor-mā 'still, yet'
- māprī 'permissive'
- mēnri 'it's true, it's certain'

Major adverbs have only been found singly in Adverb Piece 2, but they can occur in pairs in the Adverb Piece. E.g.

```
ke ra kupē ŋa mār ʔri mēnaikra kāmā ri mēmā ężpro 8.10
CP EAP SP AP IP AP2 VP
'so that it must be the white people who buy these things from you'
```

8.512 Particle Adverbs

A particle adverb (APt) is any adverb which cannot
occur in the Adverb Piece 2. The article adverbs found in text are listed below.

- `apu` 'useful'?
- `atar` 'there (at)'?
- `kop` 'permissive'?

Particle adverbs may occur preceding or following a major adverb, or in pairs. E.g.

- `mu mē kop arī ama,` 'let us wait a while'
- `čo, nā apu ām točito` ket, 'child, they were doing'
- `amri-ţūm ?amri ām sēhār kumārčē.` 'but they behave' in

8.52 Some aspects of adverb phonology

Adverbs, at the phonological level, exhibit two features which are peculiar to them as a class. The first of these is that non-ultimate syllables in adverbs exhibit forms not exhibited by other syllable types; the second is the placing of emphatic stress. These are described in turn.

Certain adverbs have non-ultimate syllables which require an analysis using phonological units and combinations of units not required by other classes. Thus, an initial c unit occurs in such syllables, as does the c unit itself without the initial-prasdj y, or the juncture-prasdj y. Also, the vowel-initial syllable ñwyna is found with a ? initial-prasdj only in the adverbs, and, apart from the Minimal Particle Žaţa, adverbs are the only forms with an initial syllable of structure ñy'ja which are not weak forms. E.g.

- `mānēn` 'else'
- `tökč` 'quickly'
- `?amri` 'then, now'
- `žetā` 'then, now'
Also, under this general heading, it should be noted that akkutā is the only trisyllabic form in which the antepenultimate syllable has an open vowel unit and the penultimate syllable a close one.

The second feature peculiar to certain aiverbs, is that emphatic stress occurs on a non-ultimate syllable. In this case, the syllable in question will be marked with an acute accent. These emphatic forms are given below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mrākati} & \quad \text{"nothing"} \quad \text{(mrākati)} \\
\text{mūter} & \quad \text{"(ever) there"} \quad \text{("mūt'āri")} \\
\text{mūtūm} & \quad \text{"(ever) there"} \quad \text{("mūt'ārū")} \\
\text{ṭāburī} & \quad \text{"it's true, it's certain"} \quad \text{("ṭābūrī")}
\end{align*}
\]

From their morphological structure it seems likely that all these forms are compounds, but it has not proved possible to identify the constituents other than "mū 'there", and (probably) "tar 'at there".

8.6 THE MODAL

The modal (M1) is defined as that form which occurs final in the Nominal Phrase-Type A, (see 6.212.21, page 132); it also occurs final in the Verbal Phrase-Type A (7.22, page 162).

Medals will be described in two sections, 8.61 and 8.62, the former dealing with their classification, the latter with some aspects of their chronology.

1. In fact, the stress always occurs on the first syllable of type S. In this connection, it is interesting to note that mrākati also occurs as mrākati; and that its Portuguese equivalent nadinho, which has penultimate stress, is pronounced with initial stress, viz. ("nā:sdrinu").
8.61 The classification of the modals

Modals are divided into major and particle modals: the former are described in 8.611, the latter in 8.612.

8.611 Major modals

Major modals (Ml) are defined as those which occur with the extended form of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1 (see 7.211 page 158). Three major modals have been found, which are:

kena  'certainty'
kumrēc  'intensity'
žone  'uncertainty'

The form kumrēc was given inflected, viz., kēkumrēc, 'I am first'. Modals, however, have not been analysed as nominals, as they do not occur with the nominal suffixes *-re and -ti, nor the Terminal Particle, nor have they been found in phrases other than those mentioned above.

8.612 Particle modals

Particle modals (MlPt) are defined as those which occur with the non-extended form of the Verbal Phrase-Type 1 (see 7.211). Two particle modals were found, viz.,

wān  'completion' (used only in positive clauses)
ri   'completion' (used only in negative clauses).
8.62 Some aspects of modal phonology

It has already been pointed out in 6.212.21 (page 132, cf. also 7.22, page 162) that the major form which precedes a model in a Nominal or Verbal Phrase-Type A occurs as the peak of a tune-unit D or A, and not infrequently with high tune-prosody. The modal itself, whether major or particle, frequently occurs with secondary or tertiary stress on its ultimate syllable: major models are the only major words of which this is true. For examples, see 6.212.21.
CHAPTER 9    THE INDIRECT PARTICLES, THE PREDICATE PARTICLES, 
AND THE FREE EMPHASISING PARTICLE

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9.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the previous chapter, the major word classes, other than nominals and verbs, were defined and described; this chapter serves a parallel purpose in that it will define and describe these particle classes which were used in the description of various pieces and phrases in chapters 4 to 7, but which were not defined and described at that point.

The classes to be described all share the common feature that they comprise particles only and are small in membership (the Indirect Particles are the most numerous and less than 30 of these were found).

There are a number of such particle classes to be described, which can be conveniently grouped into three groups of particles, according to the piece in which they occur: these three groups are the Indirect Particles, the Predicate Particles, and the Free Emphasising Particle. They will be described in this order in sections 9.2 - 9.4, this also being the order in which they are introduced in chapters 4 to 7.

9.2 THE INDIRECT PARTICLES

An Indirect Particle (I Pt) is defined as any particle other than the Subject Particle -te (see 9.311.21) which can
occur affixed with the members of the prefixal paradigm.¹

An indirect particle always forms one constituent (the final one) of the Nominal Phrase-Type B (see 6.212.22, page 133), which occurs in the Indirect Piece (see 4.411(a), page 108).

Indirect particles are divided into simple and compound forms: the former will be described in 9.21, the latter in 9.22.

9.21 Simple Indirect Particles

Simple indirect particles are those that comprise one (particle) stem only. They are divided into two subclasses, 1, and 2, on the ground of the number of stems exhibited, and subclass 2 is further subdivided on the ground of the forms of the third person singular prefix with which the members occur. 9.211 will describe subclass 1, 9.212, subclass 2.

9.211 Subclass 1 of the Simple Indirect Particles

This subclass comprises those indirect particles which exhibit two forms of the stem, one with non-third person prefixes, the other with third person prefixes. Four such particles have been found, which may be grouped into two pairs, the members of each pair closely resembling each other.

¹ Under special circumstances (see 9.312.3) the pronouns pa 'I', and ka 'you', can be prefixed by va- and me-. They are distinguished from the Indirect Particles by their place in the clause.
The first pair consists of the particles pe 'in, on, from among' and mā 'to, for'. The third person singular form of the particle pe is kep, and of mā is kām. The forms pe and mā are those that occur with a (preceding) nominal phrase. It should be noted that the dual and plural third person prefixes (va- and mē-) are linked to kep and kām by the juncture-phrase 2.

The second pair is 2o 'with, by' and 2ā 'on'. In this case, the third person singular form is the one just given, which is also the one which occurs with a nominal phrase. With the non-third person prefixes a stem with the initial C unit T is used; e.g. ʾištō 'with me', ʾištā 'on me', etc.

9.212 Subclass 2 of the Simple Indirect Particles

This subclass comprises those indirect particles which exhibit one form of the stem only. It is further subdivided into subclasses, 2a, 2b, and 2c, on the basis of the forms of the third person singular prefix.

1. pe and mā thus parallel, in distribution, the weak forms of major words; kep and kām the strong forms.

2. ʾāō and ʾāā thus parallel the distribution of ʾ-initial major words, as such forms have a marked tendency to use the strong (ʾ-initial) form following a nominal phrase, as well as for the third person. Cf. p.120, fn.2.

3. The forms to and tā of the stems are also used when following a nominal whose final C unit has a phonetic exponent which is dental in point of articulation. E.g. ʾaṯpēn to 'with another'; katut-tā 'on top of'.
Subclass 2a, occurs with the third person singular prefix ku-, which is unique to this subclass. The particles found in this subclass are the following:

čəvař 'like, similar to'
mě 'as well as, besides; concerning'
ri 'together with, at, near, by'
rām 'then'
rūm 'from'

Subclass 2b occurs with the third person singular prefix zεr-. The following particles were found in this subclass:

kočiv 'far'
komā 'inside, on'
kutā 'as well as'
kām 'within, on'

Subclass 2c occurs with the third person singular prefix i?-/. The particles found in this subclass are the following:

ket 'after, behind (in single file)'
kuri 'together with, at, near, by'
var1 'towards, in the direction of'

9.22 Compound Indirect Particles

Compound indirect particles are those that comprise two steps, the first a nominal, the second a simple indirect particle; they are thus all heterogeneous compounds.

1. The particle var inflects in the same way as the noun vra 'rib' and the verb vra 'to descend', viz., ičvar (idz'var), ėvar, ičvar.
The following are the compound indirect particles that were found; where the nominal constituent was found free, it will be given, with its class and meaning. Also, where the nominal constituent is plosive-initial, it can be classified as a or b according to whether the third person prefix is linked to it by a 7 or a juncture-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9ımök-ʔa</td>
<td>'on top of'</td>
<td>cf. 9ımök (N/2a) 'top (of a tree), source (of a river)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9ıpök-ri</td>
<td>'in the middle of'</td>
<td>cf. 9ıpök (N/2a) 'centre'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9ižak-ri</td>
<td>'in front of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katut-ri</td>
<td>'behind'</td>
<td>cf. katut (N/1) 'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katut-ta</td>
<td>'on top of'</td>
<td>cf. katut (N/1) 'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot-ta</td>
<td>'in the middle of'</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krak-ri</td>
<td>'underneath'</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-ri</td>
<td>'at the edge of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>var-pe</td>
<td>'underneath, beneath'</td>
<td>a cf. var (N/1) 'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>päh-ʔa</td>
<td>'instead of, in the place of'</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-ʔa</td>
<td>'round about'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.3 THE PREDICATE PARTICLES

A predicate particle is defined as a member of one of the classes of which will be described below. The term 'predicate particle' is used because the members of these classes occur in the Predicate Particle Piece, and, with the exception of the emphatic pronoun tam, occur only there.

These classes are distinguished by their distribution in the various forms of the Predicate Particle Piece. Hence, the description of the predicate particles will be in terms of the structure of the Predicate Particle Piece, which is described in 9.31. Some aspects of the phonology of the Predicate Particle Piece are then given in 9.32.
9.31 The structure of the Predicate Particle Piece

The structure of the Predicate Particle Piece will be described in two main sections: the first, 9.311, will describe the non-emphatic forms of the Piece; the second, 9.312, the emphatic forms of the Piece.

9.311 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece

In consideration of the structure of the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece, two distributional factors have to be taken into account: the first is whether the Piece occurs in the extended or non-extended form of the clause (see 4.31, § 5, 6); the second is whether the Piece occurs in narrative or speech. To disregard this latter distinction (as far as this material is concerned) would be to obscure the structure of the Predicate Particle Piece by uniting forms that should be kept separate.

The discussion, therefore, of the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece will be given in two main subdivisions - 9.311.1, dealing with non-extended clauses; 9.311.2 dealing with extended clauses. These two subdivisions will be further divided seems to handle the different forms of unit, relating these to speech and to narrative.

9.311.1 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses

The description of the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses will be given in two subsections, 9.311.11 and 9.311.12, the former dealing with its structure in speech, the latter with its structure in narrative.
Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece
in non-extended clauses in speech

By 'speech' is meant direct speech or conversation. All
the material is, of course, based on speech, but when used in
this context 'speech' is to be understood as having reference
to conversation.

The non-emphatic Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended
clauses in speech occurs in two distinct, though related,
forms, which will be termed forms (a) and (b); they are
described in turn below.

Form (a). This form comprises a maximum sequence of
five places in which the first place always occurs. The five
places, with the particles that fill them, are charted below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
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<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ža</td>
<td>čep</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>ve</td>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot, o³</td>
<td>kotka</td>
<td>kot</td>
<td>kotpu</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

1. A very considerable proportion of the text material is,
in fact, conversation, this evidently being characteristic of
Akinyé stories. In the great majority of cases, the conver-
sation is introduced by the special form of the Indirect Clause-
Type, described in 4.313(1), p. 100.

2. Under certain conditions, places 4 and 5 may occur
without 1 (and be non-third person); these are
(a) when a previous clause is partially repeated; e.g.
"na va kuve - va kuve." 'As that we may eat it', 3.30;
(b) in imperative clauses; e.g. "na, mě arĩ mĩ" 'Alright, yu (yn) may go', 8.44.
(c) when the subject of a clause is unambiguously indicated
in the preceding clause; e.g. "vaĩmã kãno moč ža mě, ŕum
va kupe" 'throw us (two) (vaĩmã) some pock haney, and we (two)
will catch it', 3.32.

Such occurrences, however, are relatively rare.

3. See page 206.
The particles found in places 1, 3 and 4 are predicate particles; those in 2 are two members of the Nominal Particle Class (see 6.211.1, page 126), and those in 5 are the members of the Quantitative Particle Class (see 6.211.2, page 127). This latter class closes the numerical forms of the Piece as it closes the nominal phrase. The former class occurs only if the long forms of the pronouns occur, and to only occurs with the third person in free fluctuation with za.

The predicate particles are described in turn below.

Place 1. This place is filled by a class of particles which may be termed pronouns. These pronouns occur in short and long forms, the latter being used predominantly in sentence-initial clauses, the former in non-initial clauses. po is first person; ka is second person; pu is third person exclusive, i.e. first and second persons, exclusive of the third.

This form of the Predicate Particle Piece is used to refer to 'future' actions; that is, to actions which have not yet taken place, or which are taking place now but are considered as continuing into the future. E.g.

"na, kotpa za kupā" 'No, I'll catch it' 3.39
"katke pāmu nē, pu mē pā" 'If you bungle it, we shall turn' 2.17
"ē, pu mē" 'Let us go!' 3.17

1. The term 'pronoun' has been applied to these forms, thus linking them with the nouns, for the following reasons:
   a) they occur in construction with the Nominal Particles and the Quantitative Particles;
   b) they can occur prefixed by va- or mē- (see 9.312).

3. (relative to page 205).
   The forms kotpa and ketka were occasionally recorded, and are treated as (rare) free variants.
Place 3 is filled by the particle čep, to which it has not proved possible to assign a meaning. E.g.

"kotka že čep ľam iščete kupč" 'I am going to become a white man'

Place 4 is filled by the two particles te and ve. Both of these emphasise the pronoun to some extent; te seems to be contrastive - yu as opposed to me, etc; ve implies such emotions as surprise, exclamation, etc; te is linked by the juncture-ecuity to preceding particles, by the juncture-ecuity to preceding major words. Ve can occur in an emphatic form ve? - see 9.312. E.g.

níč ju ?te më pi žarček më kaná kuku

'we would still be eating rotten wood with Beet'

"teč-má kotka že ve më ?o " 'How could you have done so?"

An example with all five places filled was found, but an example with four is cited immediately after ve (7.67).

Form (b). This form of the Predicate Particle Piece comprises a maximum sequence of six places, of which the first and the third always occur; the six places, with the particles that fill them, are charted below.

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<tr>
<th>1</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ná</td>
<td>prč</td>
<td>prč</td>
<td>čep</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ve</td>
<td>më</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

1. This is the only example found of te occurring in a Predicate Particle Piece of form (a), and is found in narrative, not in speech. See the suffix attached to 9.311.12, § 2.
It will be seen that this differs from form (a) in the occurrence of the two places preceding the pronouns; in the non-occurrence of the long forms of the pronouns, and (consequently) the non-occurrence of the Nominal Particles.

The first two places are described below.

Place 1 is filled by the particle na, which is regarded as a tense particle, with the general meaning of 'non-future'. It is used in reference to past action, or to present action (often without distinction) when it is not considered as continuing into the future. Contrast this with the meaning of form (c). In Nominal Clause-Types, and Predicate Particle Clause-Types, it has more the force of a 'stative'. E.g.

"mo na ka ote aku?" 'What are you (or, have you) eating?'
1.11

"na pa išpunui nē" 'I am ruined.'
5.21

Place 2 is filled by the particle re, which is regarded as an aspective particle, meaning 'completion'. It tends, therefore, to act somewhat as a past tense, but isn't often used. E.g.

"mē, mēpa?pān nē pre kato" 'N., it is an ancestor that has been born'
6.N3-4

Two occasional variations from the order given for the two forms have been noted. The particles te and ve may occur following the quantitative particles va and mē, and in this case, the latter may be repeated. E.g.

"nā nē ka mē ve mē Vāmēkāprān-re nē?" 'But I thought that you had killed Vāmēkāprān-re?'
6.AY5

Also, pre has been found in preceding and following the pronouns. This appears to be a matter of idiolect, as the text material regularly used the order given above, but the informants gave the reverse order.

It will be seen that the pronouns and the quantitative particles combined form an 11-member paradigm corresponding
t: the prefixial paradigm (sec 5.2). The two are placed side by side for comparison, using the shorter forms of the pronouns, and the forms of the prefixial paradigm that occur with monosyllabic sive-initial nouns.

1st. pers. sg.  pa
2nd. - -  ka
3rd. - -  /

1st. pers. dual exc.  pu
lsted. - - inc.  ra va
2nd. - -  ka ve
3rd. - -  va

1st. pers. pl. exc.  pu mē
lsted. - - inc.  ya mē
2nd. - -  kwa mē
3rd. - -  mē

By 'narrative' is meant the consecutive narrative of a story, other than the conversation which is included in it.

In this context, the Predicate Particle Piece occurs in two forms. The first is simply prc, which was not found in combination with any other predicate particles. The second is the last three places in the forms found in speech, viz

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sēp</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td>va</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ve</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The only exceptions to this statement were in the text given by Francisc Suter (text 9), where the opening sentence, and the closing sentences used form (b) of the Predicate Particle Piece as follows.

na-me-pe-mā nā pu sēp  'tē mā pī žapok ku 'A long time' 9.1
and we used to eat rotten wood'

amri-ʁūm Kaho-ti nā prc mē3 ža pōketo 'S. it was 9.46
Star-woman who created our food'
It will thus be seen that there is no occurrence of the tense particle nَz, nَr if the pronouns. This latter point reflects the fact that the narrative is always third person; but the absence of the nَ means that it has to be assumed that it is narrated in the past tense, as this is not formally marked at any point. The following are some examples from narrative:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tāmā hūm waкра k̪to} & \quad \text{'until he had been born'} & \quad 6.82 \\
\text{hūm wa qar wa ƙa} & \quad \text{'they (tw) went in eating'} & \quad 1.22 \\
\text{hūm ƙepwte næ kām} & \quad \text{'and they said to her'} & \quad 9.43 \\
\end{align*}
\]

9.311.2 *Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses*

As with the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in non-extended clauses, this section will be divided into two subsections, 9.311.21 and 9.311.22, the former describing the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses in speech, the latter in narrative.

9.311.21 *Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses in speech*

In the great majority of cases, the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses comprises only the inflected Subject Particle. The non-third person forms of this particle consist of a stem -te, prefixed by members of the prefixial paradigm; the third person forms are kot, vakot, and màkot. The singular part of the paradigm is thus lište 'I', aṣe 'you', and kot 'he, she, it'.

The Subject Particle (along with the whole of the extended clause) is often used in a timeless sense,
expressed in English by the simple present. Thus, vapo'ti kot māmoi žakar meč 'knives cut things well', and ište māmo, karpo'tik-re, pumuň re 'I don't know this thing, coffee'. It is also used when the clause is an included one: see 4.316, p. 104. But at other times, it is used in a manner parallel with the non-extended clauses.

Occasionally the Subject Particle is preceded by the initial part of the non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece, the 'initial part' being defined as the exclusion of the last three places. E.g.

" kotpete žas ate anār " 'that's what you say'

PPP(a) SPt V(ex)

" nā pprc mēkot kuvā mā mēn " 'they threw me into a fire'

PPP(b) SPt IP VP(ex)

9.311.22 Non-emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece in extended clauses in narrative

The Predicate Particle Piece occurs in only one form in extended clauses in narrative - the third pers n form. E.g.

nūm mēkot mā... āpir mā omōr 'and they took away to kill him'

9.312 Emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece

As n emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece were found in extended clauses, not only one (vc2c) in narrative, it has not been considered necessary to divide this section in the same way that 9.311 was divided.
The Predicate Particle Piece occurs in three types of emphatic form; the first is marked simply by position; the second by the use of particular emphatic forms; the third by reduplication. These are described in turn in sections 9.312.1-3 below.

9.312.1 Emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece
marked solely by position

Only one emphatic form of the Predicate Particle Piece has been found of this type. In this, the particle ḍep occurs in an emphatic position, preceding an Emphatic Adverb Piece, and the Predicate Particle Piece, as hásid in the second way (see 9.312.2). ḍep was also of higher pitch in this context than in the n-emphatic form of the Predicate Particle Piece. This form of the Predicate Particle Piece will be symbolised as EPPP.

" ōep apo tēm kōt anān ṣeč " 'for he is chowing in
EPPP EAP emPPP(a) VP
this way' 6.21

9.312.2 Emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece
marked by particular emphatic forms

Emphatic forms of this type can be divided into two subtypes, the first using the emphatic form of the particle ve; the second using the emphatic form. These are described in turn below, under the headings of subtypes (a) and (b).

Subtype (a). The particle ve occurs in the emphatic form ve?e; and when it does, it usually occurs in the emphatic position, that is, preceding any other Emphatic Pieces and/or the Predicate Particle Piece (thus overlapping with the
emphatic form described in the section at ve. In this
case, it can be regarded as a discontinuous member of
the Predicate Particle Piece occurring in the Emphatic
Predicate Particle Piece (EPPP). ve^c has also been found following the non-emphatic form of the Predicate
Particle Piece when utterance-final; in this case, the
Predicate Particle Piece is analysed as occurring in an
emphatic form, symbolised as EPPPem. As noted above,
ve^c has been found in narrative also. E.g.

\[\text{ñum ke ve^c prá } \text{krač kām ġāc ku\text{t}\text{a}-re meň ġāpoň o co mō} \]

\[\text{CP EPPP EIP SP IP VP} \]

'N w (surprisingly?) it was at the beginning of the
path that W. dpecker was pecking out honey'

''ñā ve^c kot o co mōpa\text{r}ak? '' 'Do you think he'll really
be like us?' 6.K2

''mēmo nā ve^c ? '' 'What on earth is that? ' FS

Subtype (b). The Predicate Particle Piece is also
emphasised by the use of the class of Emphatic Pronouns, which
cumprises the following three members:

pām 'myself, ourselves'
kām 'yourself, yourselves'
tām 'himself, herself, itself; themselves'

The non-third persons immediately follow the final particle in
the non-emphatic form; the third person immediately precedes
the initial particle. The emphatic pronouns have not been

1. It is not certain how to handle the three forms pāč, kāč, tāč, which were given when followed by nič 'only'. They were
only given in response to elicitation, and were not found in text,
but their 'vi vi us phonological parallelism with pām, kām, and
tām would seem to indicate that they should be considered with
the emphatic pronouns. It is interesting to note that, when
followed by nič, the usual juncture patterns were not used, the
ehā-veči being repeated. E.g. ('pāči'pāči), etc.

2. pām was found only following the Predicate Particle Piece
and separated from it by the particle verb ġām 'only', viz,
"konta za ġām kupā "I (and only I) will catch it", 3.36.

3. In the idiom ke arī tām 'He's the one who knows' (8.8)
tām occurs without any other member of the Predicate Particle
Piece.
f. un occurring with tc and ve. This form of the Predicate Particle Piece is also symbolised as emPPP.

"ka mē kām ?omājīpta" 'it is you yourselves who must look after them'

emPPP(a) VP

"na, tām nā ra mēkveñime ē pā mū" 'Nā, he is the one 6.13-4 emPPP(t) AP IP VP wh. is already killing some of you'

Unlike the non-emphatic pronouns, the emphatic pronouns have been found in another piece rather than the Predicate Particle Piece, viz., the Emphatic Object Piece. E.g.

"tām iče omuñ kena" 'It was definitely he himself that I saw'

EOP SP VP(t)

9.312.3 Emphatic forms of the Predicate Particle Piece

When the Predicate Particle Piece is non-third person it can be made emphatic by the repetition of the pronoun, with or without the Nominal Particle. When the Predicate Particle Piece has the form (a), the pronoun is repeated following the non-emphatic form; when it has the form (t) it is repeated preceding the non-emphatic form. If the Predicate Particle Piece is dual or plural, the repeat pronoun is prefixed with a va- or mē- accordingly. Such reduplicated forms were not found with čep, te, or ve. E.g.

"na, pa mēpa ja mār mēpān-ōmū omū" 'Nā, we will take him away instead of them'

PPP PPP(r)

vaka ja nā ka va tēm 'you (tw.) fell'

PPP(r) PPP
There are two aspects of the phonology of the Predicate Particle Piece which are unique to it, and therefore of special interest. They are described below.

The first of these is very common, and consists in the reduction of the number of syllables as compared with a very slow enunciation of the same form. This reduction is particularly marked with form (t), of which two examples are given below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na } & \text{ ka me } \text{ ?o} \text{ ?o} \text{ ?e } \text{ ?e} \ldots & \text{ (?o} \text{ ?o} \ldots) & \text{ 7.81} \\
\text{na } & \text{ pu } \text{ ?e } \text{ ?e } \text{ me} & \text{ (m} \text{ t} \text{ u} \text{ t} \text{ ?e} \text{ ?e} \text{ ?e} \text{ ?e} \text{ ?e} \text{ ?e} \ldots) & \text{ 9.1}
\end{align*}
\]

The second feature was not found in text material, but was used quite commonly by the informant Miguel Fernandez. In this case, the phonetic exponent of the initial C unit P was a bilabial nasal when it followed the contracted form of na. E.g.

\[
\text{to } \text{ na } \text{ pa } \text{ ri } \text{ mra } & \text{ (,pa} \text{ mra} \ldots) & \text{ MF22.9}
\]

9.4 THE FREE EMPHASISING PARTICLE, mår

The particle mår is unique among the particles in that it is not confined to functioning as a constituent of a particular type of phrase piece, but may be attached to any. Hence, it has not been described thus far, and is termed a 'free' particle.

The particle mår has been found following every piece in the clause, except the Adverb Piece, and also the Interjectory Clause-Type. It can also occur in the Transitive Verbal Piece, between the object and the verb.
It functions as a retrogressively emphatic particle, so that the last major word in the preceding phrase-piece occurs as the peak, often in the high and, of a tune-unit D. When mār follows the Predicate Particle Piece, the Piece occurs in the reduplicated form, described above (see ex. 7.43). When it follows a Nominal Phrase-Type B (i.e., one with a final indirect particle) it is the indirect particle that is emphasised.

In the examples, the piece or phrase that mār is following will be labelled an underlined with a broken line; mār itself will be underlined with a solid line. E.g.

"tā mār ka erī ič'pumu"  "tāmālga..."  8.11

'Nevertheless, you will continue to see me'

"na, no mēnū ḫa mār mē'pān-ʔā omō"  "lamep"pojamār 7.43

'We indeed will take him away instead of them'

"na, yu mē mō kēnkā ḫrek-ti ver mār omō."  6.83-4

...kēnkā ḫrek-ti ver mār omō

'No, let us take him away to the mountain'
AN ANALYSIS OF TEXT 6

The following pages present an analysis of text no. 6, in two sections. The first of these, covering the first 17 sentences, is presented with a full phonological and grammatical analysis; the second, covering the remaining 55 sentences, with an outline grammatical analysis only.

In the first section, the analysis of the text is presented sentence by sentence, as the sentence is the largest unit set up for which there is a congruence of phonology and grammar. Each sentence will be presented in four distinct ways. First, in the reading transcription; second, in a free translation; third, in the phonological analysis; and fourth, in the grammatical analysis. Each of these is described below.

The reading transcription is that used throughout the thesis thus far, apart from the following two differences: (a) each clause will be numbered consecutively throughout the sentence, the number being written as a subscript at the beginning of the clause; (b) each pause-group (see below for this) will be marked by an oblique line and labelled with a series of consecutive superscripts, a, b, c, etc, within each sentence. It is hoped that the reading transcription, thus numbered and labelled, will provide a convenient means of cross-relating the phonological and grammatical analyses.

The unit for the presentation of the phonological analysis will be the 'pause-group', i.e. the stretch of speech between successive pauses. A phonetic transcription of each pause-group will be given (not enclosed in brackets, however); above this a transcript of the pitch pattern will be given, enclosed between lines, as has already been done; above this again will be the phonological analysis of the pitch pattern; and finally, beneath the phonetic transcript, there will be a phonological analysis presented in three levels. The first will give the analysis in terms of the phonemic units and prosodic features; the second in terms of the syllable units; and the third in terms of the word type.

The unit for the presentation of the grammatical analysis (other than the sentence, of course) is the clause. Each clause is given in the reading transcription, beneath which there is a line separating it from the analysis. The analysis is presented in a series of levels, corresponding to those already described, viz, morpheme, word-class, phrase-type, piece, and clause-type. The phrase-type level, however, is more complex than the others as several layers of phrase analysis

may occur (e.g. in the complex phrase-types), so that it is sometimes necessary to devote several lines to phrase-level analysis. Where this is done, such lines will be grouped together by a curly bracket at the left hand end. Finally, beneath the clause-level analysis, a word by word literal translation will be given.

The sentences will be labelled with capital letters, A, B, C, etc., and the clause numbers and the pause-group letters will be written immediately after the sentence letter. Thus, the second clause in the first sentence is labelled 12, and the second pause-group in the first sentence is labelled 1b. When the analysis of the sentence has been completed, a double line will be drawn across the page.

In the second section, a grammatical analysis only is given, at the word-class, piece, and clause levels, with a literal translation. The free translation is given at the foot of the page.

To facilitate reader understanding of the text analysis, the following list of the grammatical abbreviations used is provided. In general, symbols indicating cross- and sub-classification will consist of small letters, the former preceding the main symbols, the latter following them. With the list of abbreviations is given a reference to the main paragraph dealing with that particular grammatical category.

- **a**: Adverb (major) 8.511
- **AP**: Adverb Piece 4.42(c)
- **AP2**: Adverb Piece 2 4.311(b)
- **APT**: Adverb (particle) 8.512
- **c**: command clause-type 4.315
- **c**: compound
- **Cj**: Conjunction (major) 8.42
- **CjPt**: Conjunction (particle) 8.41
- **CF**: Connective Piece 4.42(b)
- **EAP**: Emphatic Adverb Piece 4.311(c)
- **EIP**: Emphatic Indirect Piece 4.311(c)
- **em**: emphatic form
- **EOP**: Emphatic Object Piece 4.411(b)
- **EPn**: Emphatic Pronoun 9.312.2

1. Prefixes, however, as before, will also be translated, because of their significance for the grammar.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HKEP</td>
<td>Emphatic Predicate Particle Piece</td>
<td>9.312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>favourite order of clause-type</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaPt</td>
<td>Free Emphasising Particle</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>intransitive form of VPT</td>
<td>7.211.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Indirect Clause-Type</td>
<td>4.313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inj</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>InjCT</td>
<td>Interjectory Clause-Type</td>
<td>4.321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>Indirect Piece</td>
<td>4.411(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPt</td>
<td>Indirect Particle</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Modifier (major)</td>
<td>6.322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ml</td>
<td>Modal (major)</td>
<td>8.611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLPt</td>
<td>Modal (particle)</td>
<td>8.612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr</td>
<td>Modifier (minor)</td>
<td>6.321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun (major)</td>
<td>6.312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCT</td>
<td>Nominal Clause-Type</td>
<td>4.312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nf</td>
<td>non-favourite order of clause-type</td>
<td>4.311(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nmr</td>
<td>Noun (minor)</td>
<td>6.311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Nominal Piece</td>
<td>4.411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPt</td>
<td>Nominal Particle</td>
<td>6.211.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPT</td>
<td>Nominal Phrase-Type</td>
<td>6.212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns</td>
<td>Nominal suffix</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nx</td>
<td>non-extended form of VPT and VCT</td>
<td>7.211.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pn</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>9.311.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2CT</td>
<td>Predicate Particle Clause-Type</td>
<td>4.314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFP</td>
<td>Predicate Particle Piece</td>
<td>9.31, 4.42(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prt</td>
<td>Predicate Particle</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr</td>
<td>prefix</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>question form of clause-type</td>
<td>4.315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QP</td>
<td>Question Piece</td>
<td>4.315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QPt</td>
<td>Quantitative Particle</td>
<td>6.211.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>strong form</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Subject Piece</td>
<td>4.411(c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPT</td>
<td>Subject Particle</td>
<td>9.311.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>transitive form of VPT</td>
<td>7.211.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPt</td>
<td>Terminal Particle</td>
<td>6.211.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCT</td>
<td>Verbal Clause-Type</td>
<td>4.311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VocCT</td>
<td>Vocative Clause-Type</td>
<td>4.322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verbal Piece</td>
<td>4.412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VPT</td>
<td>Verbal Phrase-Type</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>weak form</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>extended form of VCT and VPT</td>
<td>4.31, 7.211.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...)</td>
<td>included clause</td>
<td>4.316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sentence Analysis**

*a, 2 amri-nūm Vamēkprān-re / mēičām X kato.*

**Free translation**

Now, it was in the following way that Vamēkprān-re was born among us.

**Phonological analysis**

```
pr   mL²
```

```
La 'vam'brí'nūm'odā'n'mēap'prān'le:?

\[\text{S} - \text{U} - \text{S} - \text{S} \quad \text{S} - \text{S} - \text{U} - \text{swl} \quad \text{cēht} \quad \text{cēhmn}(s)\]

/over....
Grammatical analysis

1. In the phonological analysis, \( W \) stands for word; the small letters \( s, r, \) and \( c \) for simple, repetitive, and compound words respectively; the numbers following \( W \) for the number of syllables; the letters \( o \) and \( c \) following \( rW \) for open and closed respectively; and the letters \( h m \) and \( h t \) following \( cW \) for homogeneous and heterogeneous respectively. A \( (^{s}) \) after any of the above symbols indicates that the word is a prefixed one, and an \( (s) \) that it is suffixed.

2. The interjection \( e (Al) \) is a responsive one except in this one context, where the sequence \( e, amri-f\text{am} \) marks the beginning of a story.

3. Minor clause-types, and non-phrasal pieces, will have a dash at the phrase and piece levels in the former case, and at the phrase in the latter case.
A2 Amri-kûm Vasmêkaptûn-re mšîckûm X kato

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cj-CjPlt</th>
<th>N-</th>
<th>N-</th>
<th>Ns</th>
<th>pr9-Ift</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>prj-V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cj</td>
<td>CN:2b</td>
<td>Iit:2b</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>V:1.1b/Br</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>NîT-1a</td>
<td>NîT-3</td>
<td>nxiVPT-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>Sf</td>
<td>Ir</td>
<td>I:22</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nxVCTnf

now Vasmêkaptûn-re us-within thus he-born

SENTENCE B - Reading transcription

B 1 mšîckûm X kato, 2 nê / kor-mû ñero ri.

Free translation

While he was still unborn,

1. Morphemes occurring bound in a particular word will be marked with a hyphen on the bound side, and the whole word will be underlined before proceeding to the next level.

2. The prefixes will be identified by numbers, according to the listing given in 5.2.

3. The name of the subject of this story is handled as a compound, as it is always given in this form. It is interesting to note, however, that Vasmê is currently in use as a name among the Āpinayés, and that kaprûn means 'tortoise' or 'turtle'.

4. It is characteristic Āpinaye style to repeat part of a final clause (occasionally, clauses) as the initial clause in the next sentence, but no attempt is made to reproduce this in the free English translation, as this is not normal English style.
Phonological analysis

pr  hD

Ba  mëtkâm"Kät'to:në
nymat' + nwyKîm  + nwyA  + âyka  + âwîl  + nynA  + o
U  -  S  S  U  -  S  S
swl (p)  swl  sw2  swl

pr  hD

Bb  'kolmîa"ro:'ri

nyâltî + nwyîld.  + âyA  + âwîI  + âyîI  + o
S  -  S  U  -  S  S
swht  sw2  swl

Grammatical analysis

Bl as latter half of B2 (see previous page)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>në</th>
<th>kor-mâ</th>
<th>âro</th>
<th>ri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cjit</td>
<td>?-Lit</td>
<td>Ns</td>
<td>Iit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cjit</td>
<td>cl.</td>
<td>N:1/L</td>
<td>Iit:2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N-I-T-1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N-I-T-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>Jap</td>
<td>I'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsICTf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and still womb in

Sentence C - Reading transcription

C: 1 kor-mâ âro ri, 2 fûm nà 2 a 3 në 4 fûm këp tep, 5 në 'apor, 6 fûm mra.
Free translation

his mother used to carry him to the river, and sit down with him in the water. He would turn into a fish, emerge, and swim about.

Phonological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pr</th>
<th>hD</th>
<th>mL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ca
\[\text{kolm}a\text{'re'ri'pūm'nxīŋ'go'}\text{'p'māē'p'pe:::}'nğ::\]

\[\begin{array}{ccccccc}
p\text{r} & n\text{wyml} & a & \text{pūm} & a & \text{nxīŋ} & a \\
S & S & U & S & S & S & S \\
cwht & sw2 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 \\
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{ccccccc}
p\text{r} & n\text{wyml} & a & \text{pūm} & a & \text{nxīŋ} & a \\
S & S & S & S & S & S & S \\
sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 \\
\end{array}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pr</th>
<th>mD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cb
\[\text{nį'jį'kįn'ţo'kriŋ'kōp'tamę}'ŋa'poinŋūm'bra::::}::::\]

\[\begin{array}{ccccccc}
p\text{r} & n\text{wyml} & a & \text{pūm} & a & \text{nxīŋ} & a \\
S & S & S & S & S & S & S \\
sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 \\
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{ccccccc}
p\text{r} & n\text{wyml} & a & \text{pūm} & a & \text{nxīŋ} & a \\
S & U & S & S & S & S & S \\
sw1 & sw2 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 & sw1 \\
\end{array}\]

Grammatical analysis

Cl as B2, apart from the Cjït (see previous page)
Note. The ŋgm of C6 should be n§ rather than ŋgm, since the subject of the clause is the same as the previous one, viz, Vazmŋkapron-re. (For the use of n§ and ŋgm, see 8.4.11.) FS changed it to n§, and in the parallel account in text 7, a n§ is used. Cf. also D3 below, which can be regarded as an expansion of this clause.
SENTENCE D - Reading transcription

D 1 kep tep, 2 nɛ 9apoi, 3 nɛ ri amfiqati? 9o mra.... 4 nɛ / akupɛ-m mra, 5 nɛ / nɛ ŋa / mɛ anɛze, 6 hɛm / 9o api, 7 nɛ mɛ oqa.

Free translation

When he had played, he would enter his mother, who then carried him up the bank, and took him away.

Phonological analysis

```
pr     mD

```

Da 'kep teme?ap'poinrim'pfat'iti?om'bra:...nɛ?

```
xykEp H  xyTAp Zn  nyNa 2 xy'a 2 xyT '?xy 2  nyNa 2 xy'rJli 2
S     S     S     U - S     S     S
swl   swl   swl   swl   swl

xyem  Zn  ny'yNi 2 xyka 2 xyTi 2 xy 2  xav 2  xav 2  nyNa 2 9
U - S - U - S     S     S     S
swlm  swl   swl   swl
```

1. The juncture-prosody Xv (see line 2 of the phonological analysis of Da above) was not mentioned in section 3.32 (see pp.81-83) as it is restricted to this one sequence of verb - 9o, where the verb is a member of the extended class B9.
1. When the particle conjunction n£ occurs as (n) at the phonetic level (see, for instance, Db and De above), in the phonological analysis it will be represented as nyN(A), as the juncture is now a Jc type juncture rather than a Jv one. The (n), however, still functions as being part of a particle, as the juncture with pause in Db shows.

2. In Dd, the sequence (gje) is that given by Estevam Larenja; Francisco Sutero gave it as (gse).

3. When the pause-group is short, the phonological analysis will be written beside the phonetic transcript, not beneath it.
Grammatical analysis

D1  as C4 without the CjPt
(see p. 225)

D2  as C5 (see p. 225)

D3  nęk  ri  emikati?  ʔo  mra...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CjPt</th>
<th>N-V</th>
<th>IPT</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>cV:1.3/B?</td>
<td>IPT:1</td>
<td>V:1.2d/Br</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xiVPT-1

-  -  NPT-B  nxiVPT-1

nxVCTf

and contin. playing with go (intens)

D4  nęk  akup-ʔ-m  mra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CjPt</th>
<th>-IPT</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>cʔ</td>
<td>V:1.2d/Br</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-  -  nxVPT-1

CP  AP  VP

nxVCTf

and there again-to go (intens)

D5  nęk  nʔa  ża  nʔa  arzke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CjPt</th>
<th>N- NPT</th>
<th>IPT</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>N:1/(ʔ) NPT</td>
<td>IPT:1</td>
<td>V:1.3/ʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NPT-1a

-  NPT-B  nxiVPT-1

CP  IP  VP

nxVCTf

and mother - to enter (intens)

1. Sentence D has started with the repetition of the antepenultimate and penultimate clauses of sentence C, and has expanded on the final clause, using the same verb, mra.
### SENTENCE E - Reading transcription

E 1 ^opa, 2 tÃ¥mtÃ... fÃµm pre /b kato.

### Free translation

This she went on doing, until he was born.

### Phonological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D6</th>
<th>¿ñm</th>
<th>ño</th>
<th>api</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>IPT</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>IPT:j V:1.2â/sr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>NFT-3 nxVPT-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Irp</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and him-with climb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D7</th>
<th>n'g</th>
<th>ma</th>
<th>opa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CjIt</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Irp-V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CjIt</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>V:2/E'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nxVPT-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Irp</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and away him-carry (intens)
Grammatical analysis

El as final word in D7 (see previous page: "opa is a rarer form of opa).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>El</th>
<th>tänk... Küm</th>
<th>pre</th>
<th>kato</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?-Cj</td>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>FPt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CcJ</td>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>FPt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CP</td>
<td>PPP(b)</td>
<td>VP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>until</td>
<td>and complet</td>
<td>he-born</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SENTENCE F - Reading transcription

1 kato, 2 nê 1 / 2kät'tüm-re, 3 Küm / 4 mê Küm: 4" pu mê mô,
5 nê žat / 5kkapa"; 6 nê žat ver mô, 7 nê / 7Küm nê ža kuci; 8
Vafmékaprân-re či.

Free translation

Some time later, they (the women) said to her (his mother), "Let's go and pull the potatoes up!" So they set off for the potato-plot, where she put Vafmékaprân-re down on the ground.

Phonological analysis

| mL |
|    |
| Fa | kät'toni? |

Ayyka 2 ywl: 2 nyN(A) 2 ny1 2 o
U - S S S
S\|2 s\|1 s\|1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>mD</th>
<th>mL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fo</td>
<td>Fe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kas'tu:im'repum?</td>
<td>&quot;Kam'pum'em'zado'gap'pe:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nywa + fyka + nwTl + nyvaLT + nyNl + o</td>
<td>nywa + fyka + nyvaLT + nyNl + o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S - U - S - S S</td>
<td>S - U - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fo</td>
<td>Fe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ne'zad'uwl'mi:n?</td>
<td>jum'najagut'ci:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyNa + fyvaLT + nyvaLT + nyvaLT + nyNl + o</td>
<td>nyvaLT + nyvaLT + nyvaLT + nyvaLT + nyvaLT + o</td>
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<table>
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<td>ne'zad'uwl'mi:n?</td>
<td>jum'najagut'ci:</td>
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<td>sw1 sWl sWl sWl sWl</td>
<td>sw1 sWl sWl sWl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grammatical analysis

F1 see final word in E2 (p. 230)

F2

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{mš} & \text{i} & \text{?Katum-re} \\
\hline
\text{CjPt} & \text{i} & \text{Ipt-M- } -\text{Ns} \\
\text{CjPt} & \text{i} & \text{cM:1} \\
\text{CP} & \text{v} & \text{Npt-1b} \\
\end{array}
\]

and when he-passing some time

F3

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{hūm} & \text{mš} & \text{kām} \\
\hline
\text{CjPt} & \text{Qpt} & \text{Ipt} \\
\text{CjPt} & \text{Qpt} & \text{Ipt:1} \\
\text{CP} & \text{Fpp} & \text{IP} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{nxICTf}

and plural her-to

F4

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{pu} & \text{mš} & \text{mš} \\
\hline
\text{rPt} & \text{Qpt} & \text{V} \\
\text{In} & \text{Qpt} & \text{V:1,23/Br} \\
\text{Fpp(a)} & \text{VP} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{nxVCTf}

we(exe) pl. go
and potato one-pull up

and potato towards go

and mother - him-put down

Vašiměskapřán-re put down
SENTENCE G - Reading transcription

G [Amri-nō / Akweñ? o mō.

Free translation

Now, while she was pulling the potatoes up,

Phonological analysis

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mL}^1 & \ldots \\
\text{Ga} & \text{Am'brinšº} \\
\text{mL}^2 & \ldots \\
\text{Gb} & \text{Ak'kupom'mós}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{GrS} & \text{Am'brinšº} \\
\text{fmL} & \ldots \\
\text{GrS} & \text{Ak'kupom'mós}
\end{align*}
\]

U - S S
sīl2 sūl
sīl2 sūl sūl

Grammatical analysis

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gl} & \text{Amri-nō} \quad \text{Akweñ} \quad ?o \quad mō \\
\text{Cj-CjPt} & \text{pr}3-V^S \quad \text{IPT} \quad V \\
\text{Cj} & \text{V:1.2b/3mó} \quad \text{IPT:1} \quad V:1.2d/br \\
\text{Cj} & \text{xiVPT-1} \\
\text{CP} & \text{IF} \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{nxVCTF} & \text{now} \quad \text{sho-pulling up with} \quad \text{go}
\end{align*}
\]

1. The Amri-nō in Gl is the first 'Amri-' conjunction since the one which occurred in the initial sequence e, Amri-kūm. It probably introduces the detail of the second incident in the life of Vāfmāš-kaprān-re, sentence F having given the background.
SENTENCE H - Reading transcription

H 1 Akwe' o m3, 2 fim ra Va'miska-pran-re 'kra' zarị, 3 nị ri...
    nị że pumuń o o nị.

Free translation

Va'miska-pran-re raised his head, and lay there looking at her.

Phonological analysis

| pr | mD | mL
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H âm akwom'mön'ëm're'p'me'mepränle'kra'rin'li: 'näibum'bupon'nọ

nywa 2  nyw y. 2  ny 2  nmy 2  nyuN 2  y. 2  J 2  y 2  y. 2  Z 2  nym 2
U - S  S  S  S  S  S  S  -  S - sW2  sw1  sw1  sw1  sw1  sw1  oñhm(s)...

nyku 2  nwy 2  nya 2  J 2  nwy 2  y. 2  J 2  nyja 2  ny 2  J 2  nyn(ɨ) 2
U - S  -  S  S  U - S  S  ...

...oñhm(s)  sw1  sw2  sw1

ny 2  J 2  nwy 2  J 2  y. 2  wpi 2  y. 2  nym 2  y. 2  ny 2  nyn 2  O
S  S  S  U - S  S  S  sW1  sw1  sw1  sw2  sw1  sw1

Grammatical analysis

H1 as Gl (see previous page) apart from the compound conjunction amri-nị.
Someone saw him, and said to her, "Look! Vafmękprän-re is already sitting up, and looking at us!"
Phonological analysis

pr

Ia \( \mu \text{m} \) ?nwY'Nim \( ^{2} \) o
S
sWl

mD

Tb me'\( ^{2} \)jom'bungAm

nyma \( ^{2} \) nw'\( ^{2} \) \( \mu \) JI \( ^{2} \) \( \mu \) wa \( ^{2} \) \( \mu \) wMl \( ^{2} \) nyN(\( \mu \) ) \( ^{2} \) nwyKlm \( ^{2} \) o
U - S S U - S S S
sWl(p) sWl sW2 sWl sWl

hD...

Ic "tce:\( ^{1} \) ri'va\( ^{1} \) m\( ^{1} \)\( \mu \) ap'pr\( \mu \)nl\( a \)r\( a \)

\( \mu \)y\( ^{1} \)r\( ^{1} \) T\( ^{1} \) + \( \mu \) wa \( ^{2} \) \( \mu \)y\( ^{1} \) JI \( ^{2} \) \( \mu \) w\( ^{1} \)n\( ^{1} \) + nyMl \( ^{2} \) + \( \mu \)yka \( ^{2} \) + nwy\( ^{2} \) l\( ^{2} \)n \( ^{2} \)
S U - S S - S - U - S -
sWl sW2 sWl

c\( ^{1} \)\( ^{1} \)h\( ^{1} \)m(s)...

\( \mu \)y\( ^{1} \) JI \( ^{2} \) + \( \mu \) At\( ^{1} \) ? o
S S
sWl
Grammatical analysis

**Il**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Il</th>
<th>kūm</th>
<th>mš?q5</th>
<th>ža</th>
<th>omu</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>prl-N</td>
<td>Nlt</td>
<td>ṗrj-Vś</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>N:2b/(?)</td>
<td>Npt</td>
<td>V:2/ǐṅ</td>
<td></td>
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NPT-1a  nllxVPT-l

CP  SP  VP

nxVCTf

and  someone  -  him-she

**I2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I2</th>
<th>nṣ</th>
<th>kām</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>IPT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>IPT:1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>NPT-B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>IP</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

nxICTf

and  her-to

**I3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>če...</th>
<th>ori</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>Inj</td>
<td>Inj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
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<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>IP</td>
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</table>

nxICTf

and  her-to

look!  look!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I4</th>
<th>Vañmškaprān-re</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>kaō-mā</th>
<th>ūh</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N- -N- -Ns</td>
<td>NPt</td>
<td>2-IPT</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cN:2b</td>
<td>NPt</td>
<td>al.</td>
<td>V:1.2d/br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPT-1a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nxVPT-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>IP</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vañmškaprān-re</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I5</th>
<th>nē</th>
<th>ra</th>
<th>mśpa-pumufi</th>
<th>ʔo</th>
<th>ūh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>l</td>
<td>prō-V̥́</td>
<td>IPT</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>V:2/ʔh</td>
<td>IPT:1</td>
<td>V:1.2d/3r</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>xtVPT-1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CP</td>
<td>IP</td>
<td>IP</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and already us(exo)-looking with sit at

**SENTENCE J - Reading transcription**

J a nē țūm akupā-m tēm, 2 nē/ʔo ăčoňi ʔo nō

**Free translation**

But he fell down again, and lay kicking his legs in the air.
Phonological analysis

pr mD

Ja ,nëpùmegup'pìm'ténnë°

nyNë.² + nwNIm² + ñyn.² + ñwki² + nwyPìm + nytIm + Zn + nyNë.² o
S S U - U - S S S
swl swl chnt swl swl

Grammatical analysis

J1 në Fùm akupì-m tëm

CjPt CjPt ?-IPT V
CjPt CjPt ai V:1.2ā/l.

nxIVPT-1

CP LP VP

nxVCTf

and and there agrin-to fall

J2 në Locùì ñë në

CjPt pr3-Vs IPT V
CjPt V:1.2ā/m IPT:1 V:1.2ā/iər

nxIVPT-1

\{- \}

CP IP VP

nxVCTf

and kicking with lie
SENTENCE K - Reading transcription

K amenus za kān; "a naive / to me are you asking?"

Free translation

Then someone said to her, "Is he going to be like us?"

Phonological analysis

1. The 'em' after the sw in Kb stands for 'emphatic', and both syllables are analysed as syllable type S, as there are no syllable units U with these structures.

2. The end of sentence K is a rare instance of sentence-final not being marked by pause - hence the dots after the phonetic transcript, and the Ze juncture with the first syllable of sentence L.
### Grammatical Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kl</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
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<td>NPT</td>
<td>IPt</td>
<td>NPT</td>
<td>NPT-l</td>
<td>NPT-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>IP</td>
<td>NnICIf</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

and someone her-to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>j</th>
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<td>FPt</td>
<td>PPT</td>
<td>IPt</td>
<td>pró</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Přt:em</td>
<td>Em</td>
<td>IPt:1</td>
<td>V:2/ hurdle</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>QP</td>
<td>KETT</td>
<td>PPT(a)</td>
<td>IP</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ques. incred- he(fut) it-with us(exc)-resemble utility?

### Sentence L - Reading transcription


### Free translation

"No. When one of our ancestors was born, he used to behave just like this."

### Phonological Analysis

Mř

La 'má: nř. + o

S

sřl
 Grammatical analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L1</th>
<th>mā</th>
<th>L2</th>
<th>mēpa'pām</th>
<th>Ze</th>
<th>nē</th>
<th>kato</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pr8--N</td>
<td>NPT</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>PPT</td>
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<td>Inj(r)</td>
<td></td>
<td>N:1/l</td>
<td>NPT</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>PPT</td>
<td>V:1,lb/3r</td>
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<td>NPT-1a</td>
<td>NPT-1b</td>
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<td>NPT-2</td>
<td>xNCPVPT-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>InjCl</td>
<td></td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>PPP(b)</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>no (woman speaking)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. Francisco Sutero regularly gave (d3) for the (j) of the text, as in Lc.
2. The initial syllable of the form anē is frequently elided, as in Lc.
They continued talking like this, and those with insight, the ones with understanding, had pity on Vāṁśkaprāṇa-re Ḷape nē.

**Phonological analysis**

1. Utterance-initial, the initial unstressed syllable of aṁār tends to be omitted. Cf. footnote 2 on the previous page (aṁār is the extended form of anē).
Ma(cons)  

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Ml} & \quad \text{affr} & \quad \text{kot} \\
\text{V} & \quad \text{M} \\
\text{V:3/3} & \quad \text{M:1} \\
\text{xIVPT-1} & \quad \text{NPT-1b} \\
\text{VPT-2} & \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{nxVCTf} & \quad \text{after} \\
\end{align*} \]

1. It seems best to interpret the junctures between kot and fūm (see line 1 of the phonological analysis) and between teč and żaža (see line 2) as being Zv junctures, rather than Zn junctures, the length being regarded as a concomitant feature of the 'peak' stress rather than the phonetic exponent of a Zn juncture.

2. The initial syllable of the particle żaža has zero phonetic exponent in this utterance, perhaps because, at this speed of utterance, the phonetic exponent at slower speed, viz (i), has been 'fused' with the following (j).
1. The classification of τετ is uncertain. Its position here parallels that of a modifier, and it occurs with the prefixial paradigm. But it does not occur with the terminal particle under suitable conditions, and its juncture with a following glottal plosive is that of a particle. It has therefore been tentatively analysed as a minor modifier, and it is translated as 'thinking'.

2. It is uncertain whether to analyse the νς in N1 as a Terminal Particle (only), as given in the analysis below, or as a particle conjunction (only), or as a 'fusion' of the two. If it is either of the two latter cases, then a further clause would have to be set up in N, which would be the special form of the Indirect Clause-Type which introduces direct speech, but which lacks the Indirect Piece. See 4.313, p.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>τετ</td>
<td>τετ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τετ</td>
<td>τέχνη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τέχνη</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>CP</th>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{NPT-2 app} )</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{SP} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \text{NCTf...} \)

\( \text{Vαμεκαπράκες τετ ἀπε... } \)

\( \text{N} \)

\( \text{NPT-2 NPT-2app SP} \)

\( \text{NPT-2} \)

\( \text{NP} \)

and judging-one thinking under-thinking gen.pl. him-to standing-one

\( \text{Vαμεκαπράκες πιθήνες } \)

\( \text{SENTENCE N - Reading transcription} \)

\( \text{N} \quad \text{a kαμ ἀπε νς, } \frac{3}{4} \quad \text{"μα, } \text{3 μεπαπάμ nα πρε kato. } \)
Free translation

"No, " (they said), "it's an ancestor of ours who has been born.

Phonological analysis

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pr</th>
<th>mL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>
```

Na, kâm'ap'pe:në

nwykâm ³  øy a ²  øyPe² ²  nyNu. ²  o  

S  U  S  S

swl  swl2  swl

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pr</th>
<th>hD</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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```

Nb 'nämëva? 'pâmëbregat' to

nMu²  nyMe²  øyPa²  nwyPâm ²  

nNu. ²  øyPi²  øyka²  øwNu²  o  

S  U  U  S  S  U  S

swl  swl(p)  swl  swl

Grammatical analysis

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>kâm  øapo në</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Ms  Tpt</td>
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<td>k:2b  Tpt</td>
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<td>NPT-1b</td>
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<td>IP</td>
<td>NP</td>
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<td>NCTf</td>
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<tr>
<td>him-to</td>
<td>pitying</td>
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<table>
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<th>as Ll (q.v., p. 243)</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N3</th>
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<td>N  Fft  Fft  pr3-V</td>
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<tr>
<td>N:1/1</td>
<td>it  it  V:1.1b/Cr</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPT-1a</td>
<td>-  -  nxVCTf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>PPP(b)  VP</td>
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<tr>
<td>nxVCTf</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

```
our(exc)-father non-fut. complet.
born
```

1. The pitch pattern of Nb is analysed as having a double peak (on mû and pâm) rather than two separate tune units D, as the only descending pitches are on unstressed syllables.
SENTENCE 0 - Reading transcription

0 Ḟ ṭ a Ḳ o ṭ apu mēpakaṁ ṭ aptaṛ, 2 ni ṭ ri tāṁ-mā mēpamaṁ anāśto, 3 pu me ṭ amu."

Free translation

It may be that he will grow up among us, and make all sorts of things for us, so that we can see them."

Phonological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pr</th>
<th>mD</th>
<th>ml^f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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Oa  nyaggodap, pu, mēvagam'map'talnērīt'ta'pmēmēvamāmpīt'tobu'mēom'bu

ophonological analysis

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<tr>
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<th>nyN</th>
<th>nyF</th>
<th>ym</th>
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</table>

Grammatical analysis

Ol  fā  kōt  apu  mēpakaṁ ṭ  aptaṛ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Int</th>
<th>PPr</th>
<th>APt</th>
<th>pr3-IPt</th>
<th>pr3-Vs</th>
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<td>PPr</td>
<td>IPT;2b</td>
<td>V:1.1/C</td>
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<tr>
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<td>AP</td>
<td>IP</td>
<td>VF</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ques. he(fut) ? us(exc)-inside he-grow
They went on talking like this until he grew up.

Phonological analysis

sentenced  
P - Reading transcription

P 1 anfär 'o pa... ; 2 täh āmūm / f 3 aptar.

Free translation

They went on talking like this until he grew up.

Phonological analysis

ml²

Pa 'jārop'pa::  yya + nwyN'Ir + ywə + yʁə + o

U - S S S sW2 sW1 sW1

1. The analysis of the -to in amfiito (02) is uncertain, though it was identified by the informant with the form to of the Indirect Particle 'o. But in that case, the stressing and grammatical structure are very unusual.
Grammatical analysis

Pl  | aț h f i r | P2  | tă | țum | i | aptar
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
V  | IPT | pr3-V
V:1.3/Cr | IPT:1 | V:1.1b/3
xIVPT-1 | NPT-3 | nxIVPT-1
IF | VP
nxVCTf

Talking thus with he-go (intens)

SENTENCE Q - Reading transcription

Q 1 năr năv.

Free translation

Now, when he had become a young man,

1. When tă is followed by țum (P2) it appears to be an alternative form of tămță 'until'. Cf,E2, p.230.
Phonological analysis

\[ m^I \]

Qa 'nəln\'dəw

nwN\'r ə wyN\'v ə 0

S  S

swl  swl

Grammatical analysis

Ql  nər  nəv

?  M

?  M:1

?  NPT-1b

N/VET-2

N/VCTf

lying  now  down

1. The analysis of nər is unknown, but it seems likely that it is the extended form of the verb nə 'to lie down'. If this is so, the whole phrase may be verbal or nominal, as indicated.

(From here on, only an outline grammatical analysis of the text will be given, as described in the introduction to the text.)

R  1  nər  nəv  2  Amri-nə  i  ri  təfəfto!

as Ql above  Ccj  \( \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \)

CP  LP  VP

nxVCTf

now  when  contin.  make  (something unknown)

he made all sorts of things.

1. The Amri-nə of R2 can be considered as introducing the third incident in the life of Vafməkprān-re. Cf. Q1, and footnote ad. loc. (p. 234).

2. The -to of təfəfto (R2) is identified with that of sməfto: see Q2, and the footnote ad. loc. (p. 249). The təfti- is identified with the taft- of taft-mə ‘how?’. Again, this would entail a very unusual word, grammatically and phonologically, for presumably the i would be the echo-vocoid following the palatal mə.
and thus we(exc)-lier a long certainty

time

and someone already him-with he-lie

U 2 nę: (special form of the ICT introducing speech: see 4.313)

U 3 " na , tım nà ra męakvełłmeč ço mō .

Inj(r) MPn Přt A oV:2a/R. IPT:1 V:1.2a/Br
- emPPP(a) řP IP VP

InjCT nxVCTf

no himself non-fut. you-some-killing with go

(already)

V 1 męape nā ře o'io , 2 męape păm ře o'io ,

IPT:1 N:1/(?) NPr M:1S
IP NP

NCTf

you-from mother - many

But we are inveterate liars, and so someone told lies about him,
saying, "No, he is the one who is already killing some of you. You
are his many mothers; you are his many fathers;

1. Since na (U3) is a responsive interjection, it is probably given in
response to some question not given here, such as who the killer was.
but he is already killing some of you." Then one of his uncles took fright, and gave orders for him to be killed, saying, "It is so; take him and kill him,

1. The åto in Y2 is used in response to the statement given in sentences U and V concerning the supposed killing activities of Vahme-kapran-re.
for he is behaving in this way." But they were sorry for him.
"No, let us take him away to the mountain, and throw him off it,

1. Since the pronoun kot in Z1 is homopnonous with the 3rd person
pronoun kot which occurs in form (a) of the PPP (see 9.31.1, p.205),
and since the verb is a member of the Class 1 of extended forms, an
alternative analysis would be to take kot as the pronoun of form (a).
so that he will fall and be killed." So they said to him, by way of invitation, "Let us go and play on the mountain." He consented, so they went to it,

1. It is not so easy to see what the significance is of the two Amri-conjunctions which occur on this page in AC1 and LE1. Perhaps they introduce subdivisions in the long third incident.

2. It is uncertain how to analyse the interjection e in AD1, that is to say, to decide in what place it is occurring. It is perhaps best considered as an included direct quote.
while he came following them, carrying his pet macaw, which he placed on a stick. He climbed up the mountain, and when he arrived, they pushed him off. As he fell,
he turned into a leaf, went circling down, and fell onto the ground. Then they killed his pet macaw, and threw it after him. Descending the mountain, they went off,
and arrived back in the village. When they had related what had happened, the one who had ordered him to be killed said, "You have indeed done well; perhaps I will now be able to go on living."

1. *AI* is an example of the special form of the ICT which introduces speech, but which lacks the final Indirect Particle. Also, the second and third words constitute an included extended verbal clause-type.

2. The *n* which links *AI* and 6 together is best regarded as a fusion of the Terminal Particle which should close the nominal phrase in *AI* and the conjunction which introduces *AI*.
Ho was very happy until the sun had risen high, and it had become afternoon, when, startlingly, Varmâkapräma-re put his pet macaw on a stick, and arrived back with it.

1. The čo, Ak3, has been analysed as 'inserted' into the beginning of clause Ak2.
His uncle was sitting there, and when he saw him, he said, "I thought that you had killed Vafmśkaprān-re!" "We did kill him!" "Tomorrow you will take him away again,"
and this time make sure you kill him."          "No, I am not
going to take him away again. We saw him and killed him, but he is
alive and has come back."
"That is so. Then I will instruct some others instead of you, so that they will take him away and kill him. I want him killed!"

So, the following day, he instructed some others, and they took him away again.
"You will take him away and make sure you kill him properly!"

So they took him away instead of the others, and killed him. They also killed his pet macaw on top of the mountain.

1. The occurrence of kva (AT3) has been analysed in a similar way to the occurrence of če in AT3. See footnote ed.loc., p.259.
2. ˇipi (AV1) is analysed as modifying the (zero) 3rd.person subject, formally expressed in AU1, and continued by the nes in AU2 and AV1. The strong form shows concord with a 3rd.person subject.
and buried it, together with him. Then they returned. But already, by the afternoon, he had placed his pet macaw on a stick, and had returned, safe and sound.

1. It is not known to what class ʔoamārə (LA1) belongs. It looks like a compound class 2 verb (ʔo and a 1.2 verb) but the informant could not give it with a following modifier. Because of the sequence of něs, if a verb, it has the subject 'they' expressed in LA1 on the previous page.
"Look here, I thought that you had killed Vahmekaprān-re!" "We did kill him and bury him." Then we killed his pet macaw, and buried it along with him. But he has come back!"
"Then you must make sure you kill him for me." "No, I am not going to take him there again. We saw him, killed him, and returned from there, but nonetheless he has obviously come back." "Well then, tomorrow"
I am going to replace you with some others, so that they can take
him away." So he instructed others, who took him away and killed him
again.

1. The form of the clause given for BF2 appears to be what the text
says, though the verb might be omōr, in which the clause would be
unambiguously extended. Francisco Sutero said that it was the same as
fūm mēkōt mē omōr, but this would imply the occurrence of an isolated
prefix (mē), or the AP being in the middle of the PPP, either of which
alternatives would be extremely strange.
"You will kill him, and then cut him up into pieces, throwing each piece away separately. Then we shall see if he will stay like that." So they took him away and killed him. They cut him up into pieces, carried each piece away separately, and buried it. But when afternoon came, he put his pet macaw on a stick,
and arrived back after them. His uncle was really frightened, and kept on acting towards him in this same way. "You are going to kill him", he said. "You will take him and throw him into a fire, so as to burn him completely."
BM 8 ka më "pra$h^e$t $ako \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BN</th>
<th>më</th>
<th>ĕm</th>
<th>mëkot</th>
<th>omër</th>
<th>në</th>
<th>žetx</th>
<th>fë</th>
<th>pëft</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>Spt</td>
<td>cV:2/Br</td>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>V:2b/Br</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>PPPx</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>CP</td>
<td>lP</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td>xVCTf</td>
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</table>

and they him-tako and then him-kill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BN</th>
<th>në</th>
<th>kaciv</th>
<th>kuto ;</th>
<th>në</th>
<th>kuva</th>
<th>më</th>
<th>kumë ,</th>
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<tr>
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<td>IPT:2b</td>
<td>V:2b/(?</td>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>N:2b/B/F</td>
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<td>V:2b/fi</td>
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<td>IP</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>CP</td>
<td>IP</td>
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<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

and him-for it-light and fire to him-throw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>ĕm</th>
<th>kaciv</th>
<th>kën</th>
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<td>CjPt</td>
<td>V:1.2a/l</td>
<td>CjPt</td>
<td>QPt</td>
<td>IPT:2b</td>
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<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>CP</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>IP</td>
</tr>
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<td>nxVCTf</td>
<td>NCTf</td>
<td>NCTf</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

and burn and pl. him-for stone

Then you will blow the charcoal dust away." So they took him, killed him, lit a fire for him, and threw him into it. When he had burned, they took a stone,
pounded the charcoal on it, and then blew it away. Because they had blown the charcoal dust away, he became embarrassed about himself. "Alright then, I will become a white man;
for your sake, I will become a white man. Then you will be able to follow me in becoming white men, which will be to your advantage. But as for my uncle, who has been ordering me to be killed,

1. The clause, kot ri ištämmneñ 'o pa', in BR2, is an included verbal clause, filling the place of a noun. See 4.316, pp.103-104.
and the others who have done the same, they will remain just as they are. But I am sorry for all of you." They continued to talk like this,
and thus he act thus

and us-for him-from white man for enter

now again there-to ho-go and he-come back not

and Vafmškaprān-re did as follows: he turned into a white man for our sake, went away there, and never came back.

1. The clause, mšickaciv kep kupš, in BT3, is an included nominal clause, filling the place of a noun. See 4.316, pp.103-105.
The following vocabulary is a list of those stems or roots cited in the thesis or the text; it is hoped that it will facilitate understanding of those examples for which no analysis or literal translation has been given.

The vocabulary will be given in three columns. The first of these will give the A'inayó stem or root; the second its classification or subclassification by means of the symbols used throughout the thesis; the third its translation. Between the last two, however, certain forms in brackets will be given: these forms consist of the weak forms, extended forms, and forms (ii) to (iv) of Class 2b verbs with the initial syllable ku-. Where a verb has both a weak form and an extended form, the work extended form only will be cited, unless the verb belongs to the Class C of extended forms, in which case both strong and weak extended forms will be given.

All stems are given in their (strong) uninflected form except in the case of proper names, where the suffix is an integral part of the name. Weak forms, extended forms, and forms (ii) to (iv) of Class 2b verbs with the initial syllable ku- are listed in the first column only if they are cited in the thesis or text. They will be indicated as referred to the main entry.

Where a particular subclassification is unknown, this will be indicated by a bracketed question mark (?).

For the English translation of the Portuycan given for the A'inayó forms, especially the names of flora and fauna, I am indebted to 'A Portuycan-English Dictionary', by J.L. Taylor, 1959, (British edition).

The 'alphabetical in use' is the following: a, e, i, o, u, ñ, ñ, a, ñ, ñ, e, i, o, u, a, i, l, k, m, n, ñ, ñ, o, e, ñ, ñ, r, s, t, u, ñ, v, ñ, ?.
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<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>ččapo</td>
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<td>(pikapoč)</td>
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<td>ččrote</td>
<td>dV:1.2/Ck</td>
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<td>meaning unknown</td>
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<td>V:1.2c/Bn</td>
<td>(čáchčoč)</td>
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<td>N:2b</td>
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<td>V:1.2b/Bo</td>
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<td>ččte</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'more; 'again'</td>
</tr>
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<td>(ikunic)</td>
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<td>cA</td>
<td>'to there again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akupč-n</td>
<td>cA</td>
<td>'to here again'</td>
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<td>(exten. form of anē, q.v.)</td>
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<td>(form (ii) of kūnō, q.v.)</td>
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<td>V:1.3/Bō</td>
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<td>Inj(i)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>V:1.2a/Br</td>
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<td>api</td>
<td>V:1.2a/Br</td>
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<td>(form (ii) of kūnā, q.v.)</td>
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<td>N:2b/(?)</td>
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<td>V:1.1/A</td>
<td>(aptar)</td>
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<td>ari</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>V:1.2a/h</td>
<td>(arīk)</td>
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<td>atar</td>
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<td>atān</td>
<td>A</td>
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</table>
avkakre  dV:1.2/Bn (čukakreň) 'to scratch'
avžañ dV:1.2/Br (čužažr) 'to tap, peck'
avžako dV:1.2/Br (čužakor) 'to smoke'
avžanā  dV:1.2/Br (čužanār) 'to return'
avžarč  dV:1.2/Bn (čužarčč) 'to say, relate, teach'
ažet   V:1.3/A (ažet) 'to wait, remain, dwell'
*a?ka  V:1.2b/Br (pikAr) 'to mix'
a?ki  V:1.2b/Bn (čA?kiň) 'to steal'
a?par-mā cA 'downwards, down'
a?pēň-?ā cA 'separately, distributively'
a?tep  V:1.2a/A (čA?tep) 'to approach'
a?tā  V:1/Bk (a?tāk) 'to go out (of a flame'

ām       N:1 (ńām) 'chin'
āto      cInj(r) expresses agreement

AČoň   (strong extended form of aČo, q.v.)
Akučot  dV:1.2/A (Čakučot) 'to roast'
Akukža  dV:1.2/Cr (Čakukžer) 'to ask'
Akukžer (strong extended form of Akukža, q.v.)
Akveň   (strong extended form of akve, q.v.)
Akžer   (strong extended form of akia, q.v.)
Am      V:2/A (Čam) 'to place something'
Am (strong extended form of Ča, q.v.)
Ammeň   (strong extended form of amėne, q.v.)
Amra (strong extended form of amāra, q.v.)

Amri-nē cCj 'now, then, and, so'
(followed by clause with same subject as the preceding one)

Amri-ñūm cCj 'now, then, and, so'
(followed by clause with different subject from the preceding one)

Aň V:2/A (čaň) 'to like (of food)'

Apeň (strong extended form of ape, q.v.)

Apkur (strong extended form of apku, q.v.)

Aptar (strong extended form of aptar, q.v.; also, occasional free variant for aptar, q.v.)

Ar (strong extended form of ača, q.v.)

Aºkĩň (strong extended form of aºkĩ, q.v.)

Aºkã N:1/(?) 'head ornament; crest'

Aºpumuň N:1 'one who knows, understands'

A A 'thus, in this way, like this'

Ām APt 'only; no more than, to this extent'

Āto cInj(r) (cf. āto) expresses agreement

Ča V:1.2d/Cm (Am, čAm) 'to stand'

Čapō N:2b/L 'soap'

-čA nominalising root from verbs'

ČA Int question-word
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Definition</th>
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<td>čam</td>
<td>(directed form of am, V:2, q.v.)</td>
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<td>čet</td>
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<td>čcp</td>
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<td>či</td>
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<td>čoŋto</td>
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<tr>
<td>čveň</td>
<td>N:2a</td>
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</table>

'as follows; like this'
'behold! look!'
'to burn'
'to burn'
'meaning uncertain'
 '(form (iii) of kući, q.v.)'
'cigarette'
'swallow (bird)'
'whistle (instrument)'
'(directed form of om, q.v.)'
'(weak form of oŋto, q.v.)'
'guinea-hen'
'(weak extended form of avžai, q.v.)'
'(weak extended form of avžako, q.v.)'
'(weak extended form of avžană, q.v.)'
'Moon'
'like, similar to'
'person who, one who'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e</th>
<th>N:1/(?) (če)</th>
<th>'cloth, material'</th>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>N:2b/L</td>
<td>'spider'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>M:1/(?) (če)</td>
<td>'bitter, sour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Inj(r)</td>
<td>'yes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Inj(i)</td>
<td>'alright, well, then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hē</td>
<td>Inj(?)</td>
<td>meaning unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| iškō | V:1.2c/Bm (kōm) | 'to drink' |
| ištu | V:1.2c/Br (tur) | 'to urinate' |

| ī   | N:1/(?) (ḥī) | 'flesh; thorn, spine' |
| ī   | A            | 'when, at such time as' |
| īn  | N:1 (ḥīn)   | 'dung, faeces'         |

| ā   | Inj(r)      | emphatic response     |
| ār  |             | (strong extended form of āē, q.v.) |
| ārka| cN:2a/F     | 'wasp-nest'           |

<p>| ka  | Pn          | '2nd.pers.sg.'        |
| kaar| N:2a/A      | 'splinter'            |
| kač | EPn(?) | 'you only' |
| kačār | (extended form of kapa, q.v.) |
| kačāv | IPT:2b | 'to, for, on behalf of, for the sake of' |
| kačkěp | V:1.1a/A | 'to spin, whirl, circle' |
| kāi | N:2b/B/L | 'peanuts' |
| kamā | IPT:2b | 'inside, in, within; on' |
| kamrek | M:1 | 'red' |
| kamro | N:1/A/(?) | 'blood' |
| Kañe-ti | N:2b/B | 'Star-woman' |
| kaňva | V:2a/Br (kaňvar) | 'to pierce something; to shoot something with an arrow; sting someone' |
| kāņa | M:2a | 'lazy' |
| kāŋo | N:2a/A/F | 'liquid; drink; liquid part of honey' |
| kāŋoʔtāk | cN:2b/A | 'coffee' |
| kāŋro | M:1 | 'hot' |
| kāo | V:2a/Br (kāor) | 'to suck something; eat something sweet' |
| kapa | V:2b/Cr (kačār) | 'to pull something off, up, out' |
| kapčr | V:1.1b/A | 'to speak' |
| kapot | N:2b/B | 'plateau' |
| kapreprek | V:2a/A | 'to spank someone' |
| kaprān | N:2b/B | 'tortoise, turtle' |
| karō | N:1/A/F | 'soul, spirit; photograph, picture' |
| katč | M:1/(?) | 'empty' |
| kato | V:1.1b/Br (kator) | 'to go out, come out; be born' |</p>
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<td>katorc̣a</td>
<td>N:1/B/(?) 'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katšṭok</td>
<td>N:2a/(?) 'thunder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katut</td>
<td>N:1/B 'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katut-ri</td>
<td>cIPt/(?) 'behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katut-ṭa</td>
<td>cIPt/(?) 'on top of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔek</td>
<td>(extended form of kaʔtc, q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔtc</td>
<td>V:2b/Ck (kaʔek) 'to break, split something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔṭa</td>
<td>V:2b/Bʔ (kaʔṭa?) 'to line something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔṭaʔa</td>
<td>N:1/B/(?) 'breech-cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔṭaʔ</td>
<td>(extended form of kaʔṭa, q.v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kām</td>
<td>EPn 'yourself, yourselves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>N:1/A/F 'skin; bark; peel; breast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kA</td>
<td>V:1.2d/Br (kA) 'to make a noise (of an animal); to bellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kAЩ</td>
<td>N:2a/B 'bottle; box'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kAЩ-mA</td>
<td>cA 'upwards, up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kA</td>
<td>(extended form of kA, q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kAm</td>
<td>IPT:2b 'with; in, in the midst of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kAм</td>
<td>(3rd.pers.stem of mA, q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>CjPt 'so that; when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keṆA</td>
<td>M1 'certainty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keṆ</td>
<td>M:3 'naked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kep</td>
<td>(3rd.pers.stem of pe, q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-ri</td>
<td>cA 'for this reason'(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ket</td>
<td>M:1 'negative; no, not, none'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketari</td>
<td>cInj(r) emphatic no (used by women only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td>ketka</td>
<td>'2nd. pers. sg. future'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketpa</td>
<td>'1st. pers. sg. future'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēn</td>
<td>'stone, rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēnkrā</td>
<td>'rocky outcrop; hill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kia</td>
<td>'earth oven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kīn</td>
<td>'to like something (other than food)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>'wood; ornamental stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kok</td>
<td>'wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokoi</td>
<td>'monkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor</td>
<td>'thirsty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot</td>
<td>'behind, after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot-tā</td>
<td>'in the middle of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konč</td>
<td>'I don't know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konč-āum</td>
<td>'I don't know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop</td>
<td>meaning uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor-mā</td>
<td>'still, yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot</td>
<td>'3rd. pers. sg. future'</td>
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<tr>
<td>kot</td>
<td>(3rd. pers. stem of -te, q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotka</td>
<td>'2nd. pers. sg. future'</td>
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<tr>
<td>kotpa</td>
<td>'1st. pers. sg. future'</td>
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<tr>
<td>kotpu</td>
<td>'1st. pers. exc. dual future'</td>
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<td>kōm</td>
<td>(extended form of iškō, q.v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kōmča</td>
<td>'cup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krač</td>
<td>'start, beginning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krak-ri</td>
<td>'underneath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krā</td>
<td>'head; protuberance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Gender</td>
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<tr>
<td>krämneč</td>
<td>cN:1/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>krämnet</td>
<td>cN:1/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>kräšapap</td>
<td>cN:1/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>krä?ä</td>
<td>cN:2b/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>krä?ka</td>
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<td>krä?tik</td>
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<td>kritmanrå</td>
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<td>krâ</td>
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<td>kro</td>
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<td>krua</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuči</td>
<td>V:2b/Br (ači, či, ir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuk</td>
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<td>kukreč</td>
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<td>kukrč</td>
<td>V:2b/Br (akrč, krč, krčr)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kukravkrav</td>
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<td>kuku</td>
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<td>kukvår</td>
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<td>kuma</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuño</td>
<td>(año, ño, ñor)</td>
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<td>ku-ñúm</td>
<td>cInj(r)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kunö</td>
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<td>ma</td>
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<td>mai</td>
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<td>V:1.2d/Br (ār, ūār)</td>
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<td>ūČ</td>
<td>APr</td>
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<td>ār</td>
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<td>ūār</td>
<td>(weak extended form of ēā, q.v.)</td>
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</table>
ñé-mm (â) cInt 'where to?'
ñé-mm (â) cA 'to somewhere (unknown)'
ño M:1 'withered, wrinkled'
ñopño M:1 'itchey'
ñor ((form (iv) of kuño, q.v.)
ñō (weak form of 5, q.v.)
ñōpo (directed form of ñpo, q.v.)
ñōpoñ (extended directed form of ñpo, q.v.)
ñūm CjPt 'and ' (following clause has a different subject from the preceding one)
ñūm-ôû cCjPt 'until (the completion of something)'

ñārê (rare variant of žarê, q.v.)
ñêś N:1 'aunt'
ño N:1 'uncle'
ñoś (rare variant of ñîmêś, q.v.)
ñoîn (rare variant of ñîn, q.v.)
ñoïv N:2b 'mud'
ño N:2b/ (?) (occasionally ñoč) 'water; river'
ñoč (occasional variant of ño, q.v.)
ñošpor cN:2b 'species of wasp'
ñoî N:2b 'pot'
ñoñošpri cN:2b/ (?) 'bathing-place'
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<td>'gourd'</td>
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<td>2q2\n\n</td>
<td>N:2b/(?)</td>
<td>'gourd-seed'</td>
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<td>(rare variant for 2k, q.v.)</td>
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<td>(form (iii) of ku\n, q.v.)</td>
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<td>2r \v</td>
<td>V:1.2d/Ct</td>
<td>(\s, \n\s)</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>'many'</td>
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<td>2c \n</td>
<td>V:1.2d/Br</td>
<td>(\n\n)</td>
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<td>2c</td>
<td>N:2a/F</td>
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<td>M:1</td>
<td>'smooth'</td>
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<td>(extended form of 2c, q.v.)</td>
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<td>2r</td>
<td>M:1/(?)</td>
<td>'small'</td>
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<td>2r \n</td>
<td>N:2b</td>
<td>'porcupine'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2r\n\n</td>
<td>N:2b/(?)</td>
<td>'the wine mauritia or murity palm; log cut from this palm'</td>
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<td>okapi</td>
<td>V:1.1/B?</td>
<td>(\s\s)</td>
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<td>om</td>
<td>V:2/A</td>
<td>(\s\s)</td>
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<td>opok</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>(\s\s)</td>
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<td>or</td>
<td>V:1.3/A</td>
<td>'to melt'</td>
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<td>cV:2/Bm</td>
<td>(\s...k\s)</td>
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<td>(\s\s\s)</td>
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<td>cV:2/Br</td>
<td>(\s...m\s)</td>
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</table>
omra  cV:2/Br  (...mrar)  'to carry, take something (intens)'

öm  V:2/Bn  (pumun)  'to see; know, recognise; understand'

ömunu (strong extended form of ömu, q.v.)

öpa  cV:2/B' (...pa?)  'to carry, take something (intens)'

öpoi  cV:2/Bč (...poč)  'to bring something'

óri  Inj  'look at that!'

órirá  cInj  'look at that!'

ó-ta  cInj  'look at that!'

otě  cV:2/Bm (...těm)  'to carry, take something'

ö?to  M:1  (ö?to, žö?to)  'many'

ö  N:1/(?)  (ňô)  'food'

ö  Nmr  (ňô)  'possession'

öpo  V:2/Bn  (ňôpoň)  'to extract, pull out something'

öpoň (strong extended form of öpo, q.v.)

ȫr (form (iv) of kũņõ, q.v.)

ȫt (strong extended form of ŋ̄r, q.v.)

pa  N:1/A/(?)  'arm'

pa  V:1.1b/B' (pa?)  'to walk, go (intens)'

pa  V:2/Br (par)  'to complete something'

pa  Inj(i)  'Oi!'

pa  Pn  '1st.pers.sg.'

pač  EPn(?)  'I only'
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<td>N:1/B</td>
<td>'bed'</td>
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<td>par-pe</td>
<td>cIPT:a</td>
<td>'beneath'</td>
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<td>păm</td>
<td>EPn</td>
<td>'myself, ourselves'</td>
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<td>par</td>
<td>N:2a/B</td>
<td>'trunk; plant; wood'</td>
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<td>N:1 or 2b/B</td>
<td>'canoe'</td>
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<td>N:2b/B</td>
<td>'ani (a bird)'</td>
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<td>pat</td>
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<td>'instead of'</td>
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<td>(3rd. pers. stem kep) 'from, from among; at'</td>
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<td>dV:1.1a/B²</td>
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<td>Mmr</td>
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<td>dM:1</td>
<td>'to have had intercourse'</td>
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<td>N:2b/B/F</td>
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<td>V:1.1b/A</td>
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<td>M:2b</td>
<td>'need, want, desire; be hungry'</td>
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<td>M:1</td>
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<td>pri</td>
<td>N:2b/B/F 'trail, path, road'</td>
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<td>pro</td>
<td>V:2a/B° (pro?) 'to cover something'</td>
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<td>prö°ket</td>
<td>N:2b/A 'young man'</td>
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<td>pu</td>
<td>N:2b/B/F 'motuca fly'</td>
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<td>pumu</td>
<td>Pn 'lst.pers.exc.dual'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>pu-?A</td>
<td>cIPT:a 'round about'</td>
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<td>pže</td>
<td>N:2a/(?)/(?) 'hole left when something is pulled up or out'</td>
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<td>ra</td>
<td>A 'already'</td>
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<td>rač</td>
<td>M:1 'big, large; many, many times'</td>
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<td>rã</td>
<td>N:2a/F 'flower'</td>
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<td>IPT:2a 'than'</td>
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<td>rã°ã</td>
<td>cCj 'until'</td>
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<tr>
<td>rc</td>
<td>M(?) meaning unknown</td>
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<td>rcrcK</td>
<td>M:1 'soft'</td>
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<td>rcrcKxa</td>
<td>cN:1/(?) 'flank(s)'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>A 'continuously'</td>
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<td>ri</td>
<td>MLPT 'completion' (in negative clauses)</td>
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<td>ri</td>
<td>IPT:2a 'together with, at, near, by'</td>
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<td>prâ</td>
<td>N:2b/B/F</td>
<td>'trail, path, road'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pro</td>
<td>V:2a/B°</td>
<td>(pro°) 'to cover something'</td>
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<tr>
<td>prōket</td>
<td>N:2b/A</td>
<td>'young man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu</td>
<td>N:2b/B/F</td>
<td>'motuca fly'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pu</td>
<td>Pn</td>
<td>'1st.pers.exc.dual'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pumu</td>
<td></td>
<td>(directed form of ōmu, q.v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pumuñ</td>
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<td>(extended directed form of ōmu, q.v.)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>punui</td>
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<td>(weak form of ōmnui, q.v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>purak</td>
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<td>(directed form of urāk, q.v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pu-ʔā</td>
<td>cI Pt:a</td>
<td>'round about'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pže</td>
<td>N:2a/(?)/(?)</td>
<td>'hole left when something is pulled up or out'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>'already'</td>
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<tr>
<td>rač</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>'big, large; many, many times'</td>
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<tr>
<td>rā</td>
<td>N:2a/F</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
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<td>rām</td>
<td>I Pt:2a</td>
<td>'than'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāʔā</td>
<td>cCj</td>
<td>'until'</td>
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<tr>
<td>rc</td>
<td>M(?)</td>
<td>meaning unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>rcrčk</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>'soft'</td>
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<tr>
<td>rcrčkka</td>
<td>cN:1/(?)</td>
<td>'flank(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'continuously'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ML I Pt</td>
<td>'completion' (in negative clauses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>I Pt:2a</td>
<td>'together with, at, near, by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rá</td>
<td>N:1</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōn</td>
<td>N:2b</td>
<td>'a macaw palm, the mucaja acromia; the fruit of the palm'</td>
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<tr>
<td>rōr</td>
<td>N:2b</td>
<td>'babassu palm'</td>
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<tr>
<td>rūm</td>
<td>IPt:2a</td>
<td>'from'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Siprī</td>
<td>N:2b</td>
<td>personal name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit-ti</td>
<td>N:2b</td>
<td>personal name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sit</td>
<td>N:2b</td>
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<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>NPt</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>(form (iii) of kuta, q.v.)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>tač</td>
<td>EPn(?)</td>
<td>'he, she, it, them only'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tañito</td>
<td>cV:1.3/B° (tañito°)</td>
<td>'to do, make something unknown; to not know what you are going to do'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tañito°</td>
<td>(extended form of tañito, q.v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>tañ-mā</td>
<td>cInt</td>
<td>'how? why?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tañ-mā</td>
<td>cA</td>
<td>'whatever; somehow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tām</td>
<td>EPn</td>
<td>'himself, herself, itself, themselves'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>Cj</td>
<td>'but; until, then, when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'now; then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāmtā</td>
<td>cCj</td>
<td>'until, when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>Inj(r)</td>
<td>expresses agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tač</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>'hard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tač</td>
<td>Mar(?)</td>
<td>'thinking'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tačkîn</td>
<td>cM:1</td>
<td>'very happy, overjoyed'</td>
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<td>tc</td>
<td>PPT</td>
<td>emphasises subject</td>
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<td>SPt (3rd. pers. stem kot)</td>
<td>pronominal subject in extended clauses</td>
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<td>tcp</td>
<td>N:2b/B</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tcr</td>
<td>N:1/(?)</td>
<td>'possession'</td>
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<td>tē</td>
<td>V:1.2d/Bm (tēm)</td>
<td>'to go, come'</td>
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<td>V:1.2d/A</td>
<td>'to fall'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tīr</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>'alive, living'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>V:1.2d/Bk (tāk)</td>
<td>'to die'</td>
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<td>tāk</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>'dirty; black'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tākčā</td>
<td>dN:1/A/(?)</td>
<td>'breath'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tākčamē</td>
<td>cV:1.1a/Bn (tākčamēn)</td>
<td>'to breathe'</td>
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<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>Inj(i)</td>
<td>'alright, well, then'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tok</td>
<td>N:2b/(?)</td>
<td>'trumpet-bush'</td>
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<td>toanē (alternate stem of 'oanē, q.v.)</td>
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<td>tokič</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'quickly'</td>
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<td>tō</td>
<td>N:1/A/(?)</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
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<td>tōč</td>
<td>N:1/A</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
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<td>tu</td>
<td>N:1/A/(?)</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
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<td>tu</td>
<td>N:2b/B/(?)</td>
<td>'plateau-grass'</td>
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<td>tūm</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>'a long time; useless (with age)'</td>
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<td>tvam</td>
<td>N:1/A</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
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<td>Pronouns</td>
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<td>uma</td>
<td>M:2b</td>
<td>(puma)</td>
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<tr>
<td>une</td>
<td>V:2/Bn</td>
<td>(puneň, pîneň)</td>
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<td>uņva</td>
<td>V:2/Br</td>
<td>(čuņver)</td>
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<td>V:2/A</td>
<td>(purAk, pîrAk)</td>
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<td>utī</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>(putī, pātī)</td>
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<td>užanār</td>
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<td>ūm</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>(ūūm)</td>
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<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>N:1/(?)</td>
<td>(čva)</td>
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<td>(čvakrc)</td>
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<td>va-nē</td>
<td>cInj(i)</td>
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<td>Veņmē</td>
<td>N:2b</td>
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<td>Veņmēkaprān-rc</td>
<td>cN:2b</td>
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<td>vaņc</td>
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<td>vapo</td>
<td>N:1/F</td>
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<td>va?ō</td>
<td>Int</td>
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<td>va?ō</td>
<td>N:2b/(?)</td>
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<td>vai</td>
<td>N:1</td>
<td>(čvai)</td>
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<td>var</td>
<td>IPt:2c</td>
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<td>vc</td>
<td>PPt</td>
<td>(emph.form vc?c)</td>
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<td>vc?c</td>
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<td>(emphatic form of vc, q.v.)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
vra
N:1/(?)  'rib (small)'
vra
V:1.2d/Bk (vrek)  'to descend, go down'

vrek (extended form of vra, q.v.)

ža
NPt  
ža
A  'for this reason'

žaka (weak form of ?aka, q.v.)
žakar (extended directed form of ?aka, q.v.)
žako (directed form of ?ako, q.v.)
žakor (extended directed form of ?ako, q.v.)
žakot (weak form of ?akot, q.v.)
žakri (weak form of ?akri, q.v.)
žakva (weak form of ?akva, q.v.)
žamč (weak form of ?amč, q.v.)
žamč (weak form of ?amč, q.v.)

žape
Ml  'uncertainty'

žape (weak form of ?ape, q.v.)
žapčča (weak form of ?apočča, q.v.)
žapok (weak form of ?apok, q.v.)
žapro (directed form of ?apro, q.v.)

žar
APt  'here'

žarč (directed form of ?arč, q.v.)
žari A  'over there'

žari (directed form of ?arí, q.v.)
žaro (weak form of ?aro, q.v.)

žatá A  'now; then'
žaža  NPt  'group or generic plural'
žt  N:2b  'sweet-potato'
že  NPt  
ži  (weak form of ži, q.v.) 
žoʔto  (occasional weak form of oʔto, q.v.) 
žuk  V:1.3/A  'to wander, drift, float (of a feather)'
ača  V:2/Br  (žačar)  'to put something inside; to bury someone'
aka  M:1/L  (žaka)  'white'
akai  M:1  (žakai)  'white'
akĩ  V:2/Br  (žakar)  'to cut something (intens)'
akọ  V:2/Br  (žakor)  'to blow, smoke something'
akọt  M:1  (žakot)  'round; small (of a person)'
akrai  M:1/L  (žarká)  'cold' (not of humans)
akva  N:1/F  (žakva)  'mouth'
amakočpær  cV:1.1/A  (žamačpær)  'to think, imagine'
amak  (strong extended form of ama, q.v.)
amakkro  cM:1/ (?)  (žamakkro)  'fearing, afraid of'
amć  Nmr  (žamć)  'both, the two of'
amći  N:2a/ (?)  (žamći)  'tail'
amo  V:2/Br  (žanor)  'to invite someone'
amrč  N:1/ (?)  (žanrč)  'feather ornament for the head'
amrö  N:2b/L  'pig'
apče  M:2b  (žape)  'to be sorry for, have pity for, be concerned for'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9apea</td>
<td>V:2/A</td>
<td>(9apea) 'to look for, hunt something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9apeč</td>
<td>V:1.1/A</td>
<td>(9apeč) 'to come to an end, finish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9apočča</td>
<td>dN:1/ (?)</td>
<td>(9apočča) 'point or place of coming or going out (intens)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9apoi</td>
<td>V:1.1/Bč</td>
<td>(9apoi) 'to go out, come out (intens)'</td>
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<tr>
<td>9apok</td>
<td>M:1</td>
<td>(9apok) 'rotten (of wood)'</td>
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<td>9apro</td>
<td>V:2/Br</td>
<td>(9apro) 'to buy something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9aret</td>
<td>V:2/A</td>
<td>(9aret) 'to bury someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9arč</td>
<td>V:2/Bā</td>
<td>(9arč) 'to say, tell something'</td>
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<td>(extended non-directed form of 9arč, q.v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9arī</td>
<td>V:2/Bº</td>
<td>(9arīº) 'to raise, lift something'</td>
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<td>9aro</td>
<td>N:1/L</td>
<td>(9aro) 'womb'</td>
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<td>9amri</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'now'</td>
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<tr>
<td>9ā</td>
<td>IPT:1</td>
<td>(other stem tā) 'on'</td>
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<td>M(?)</td>
<td>meaning unknown</td>
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<td>9āsmīne</td>
<td>cV:2/Bā</td>
<td>(tā...amneš) 'to order someone to be killed'</td>
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<td>9āsuṭūm</td>
<td>cM:1</td>
<td>(tā-suṭūm) 'passing some time'</td>
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<td>9āsuve</td>
<td>cV:2/Br</td>
<td>(tā...auve) 'to ask for something'</td>
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<td>9ānor</td>
<td>cN:1</td>
<td>(tānor) 'heart'</td>
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<tr>
<td>9āņo</td>
<td>cN:1/ (?)</td>
<td>(tāņo) 'sweat'</td>
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<tr>
<td>9ānre</td>
<td>cV:2/Br</td>
<td>(tānre) 'to sing something (or by means of something(?))'</td>
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<td>9āpuri</td>
<td>cA</td>
<td>(emph. form 9āpuri) 'truly, certainly'</td>
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<td>9āmakkro</td>
<td>cM:1/ (?)</td>
<td>(tā...amakkro) 'to be afraid, frightened of something'</td>
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<td>Root</td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>V:1.1/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>N:1/(?)</td>
<td>(ži)</td>
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<td>īkra</td>
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<td>cIPT</td>
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<td>īnuva</td>
<td>V:2/A</td>
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<td>N:1/(?)</td>
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<td>īpeč</td>
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<td>īpok-ri</td>
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<tr>
<td>īře</td>
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<td>(níře)</td>
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<td>V:2/B</td>
<td>(nířeř)</td>
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<td>cIPT</td>
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<tr>
<td>ŋi</td>
<td>N:1/(?)</td>
<td>(ži)</td>
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<td>(extended form of kutā, q.v.)</td>
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<td>(form (iii) of kuvo, q.v.)</td>
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<td>(form (iv) of kuvo, q.v.)</td>
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<td>ŋo</td>
<td>IPT:1</td>
<td>(other stem to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋoamērΛ</td>
<td>cV(?)</td>
<td>'to do something along with someone else (?)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋoamēpātΛ</td>
<td>cV:2/Br</td>
<td>(toamēpātΛ)</td>
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</table>
"oanë  cV:2/Cr  (toañïr)  'to do, make something like this, in this way'

"oañïr  (extended form of "oanë, q.v.)

"oañkï  cV:2/Bn  (to..čañkïñ)  'to steal something'

"oañkïñ  (strong extended form of "oañkï, q.v.)

"okatë  cV:2/B  (tokatë?)  'to empty something'

"okato  cV:2/Br  (tokator)  'to create, invent something'

"okônta  (borrowed)  'to count'

"omcë  cM:3  'to do well'

"omnuï  cM:3  'to do badly'

"..môr  (extended form of omô, q.v.)

"omro  cV:2/B  (tomro?)  'to cook something in ashes'

"onana  (borrowed)  'to swim'

"onâda  (borrowed)  'to swim'

"opa  (alternate form of ñpa, q.v.)

"ovene  (borrowed)  'to sell'

"økrit  cV:2/A  (toøkrit)  'to raise a pet animal'

"ô  M:1/(?)  (weak form not found)  'other; one'

"škape  cV:2/Cr  ("škâšar)  'to pull up, off one (at a time)'

"oöo  cV:2/Br  ("oöor)  'to suck, eat one of something sweet'
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