

The Grammar of Karipuna Creole

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FOREWORD

It is customary for the 'Série Lingüística' of the Summer Institute of Linguistics to be published in Portuguese. Most of the articles or monographs are written in English by their authors and then translated. In this number however, we are departing from this practice and publishing the grammar of Karipuna Creole in English. We anticipate that this grammar will be of interest to creole scholars in all parts of the world, many of whom will not be readers of Portuguese. Any such scholar who could read it in Portuguese will almost certainly be able to read it in English also. It is likely that this is the only creole language spoken in Brazil. While on the one hand, this in itself is a good reason for publishing the grammar in the language of the country where it is spoken, on the other hand, it is the reason why interest in creole languages on the part of Brazilian scholars is less than that in European or Amerindian languages. In order to give this comprehensive study of Karipuna Creole the widest possible circulation, we are therefore departing from our usual practice. We trust that it will, nevertheless, be of interest to Brazilian linguists also.

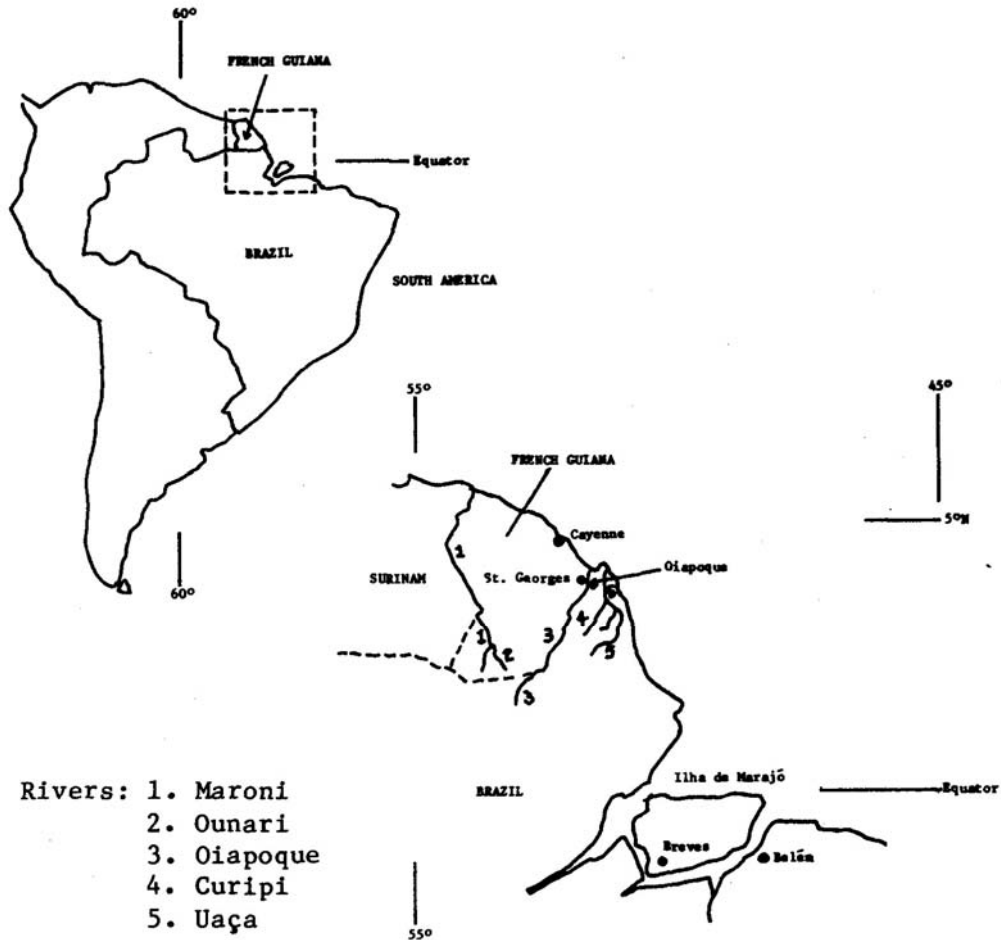
Eunice Grace Burgess

INTRODUCTION

The Karipuna Indians of Brazil, who number 400-600, now live in the northern part of the territory of Amapá, near the border with French Guiana. They inhabit three main villages and some smaller clusters of houses along the Curipi river. The oldest of these villages, Espírito Santo, has been the centre of the Karipuna tribal life for at least a century. It is thought that before this time the Karipunas were originally located in the state of Pará, speaking a Tupi language, and that they later (c.1830) moved to French Guiana, where they began speaking Creole, before settling along the Curipi river. (cf. Expedito Arnaud, 1969, p. 2-3, and see following maps.) The Karipunas today speak a dialect of the Guianese Creole, but appear to have retained some words of their original language (particularly in names of fauna and flora), as well as incorporating some Portuguese words. There is a considerable degree of integration with the Brazilian way of life, and an increasing influence of Portuguese is seen amongst the younger people due to the opportunity for elementary schooling by national teachers in the villages.

The presentation used in this paper follows the display grammar approach developed by Austin Hale (cf. Hale's article in SIL-40, 1973, fig. 7 p.13) in correlating semantic roles with surface structure slots in the clause and defining the transivity system in terms of the role structure. Clause structures are presented as formulas with each element labelled as to surface structure slot, filler class and semantic role.

Map to show areas inhabited by Karipuna in the last 150 years.



Karipuna migration in 19th century (according to Expedito Arnaud, 1969): from region of Breves, Brazil to Ounari River, French Guiana to Curipi River, Brazil.

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1.2.1. The Simple Sentence consists of one independent clause.

li ale	gã mãyók la batxi?
3s go	have manioc there field
'He went.'	'Is there manioc in the field?'
mo te malad	li gã kat mwa
1s Tp ill	3s have four month
'I was ill.'	'She is four months old.'

1.2.2. The Complex Sentence may be co-ordinate or subordinate. In a co-ordinate sentence all clauses are independent; but in a subordinate sentence at least one clause is subordinate to a dependent or independent clause head. (See section 2.8. for definitions of dependent, subordinate, etc., as used in this paper.)

1.2.2.1. Coordinate Sentences are of two kinds: juxtaposed and conjoined.

Juxtaposed. Two or more independent clauses are linked only by intonation and breath pause, to express certain semantic relationships of time, reason, emphasis, etc.

(1) Coupling (A, B)

a pwomiyé fwé mo ale, mo pa le ale
 Eq first time 1s go 1s Neg want go
 'It was the first time I went, I didn't want to go.'

ye teka hete āsam, ye fé ye kaz
 3p Tp=i stay together 3p make 3pP house
 'They were living together, they made their house.'

li hete la kaz, so māmā malad tu le ju
 3s stay here house 3sP mother ill all those day
 'He stayed home, his mother was ill every day.'

(2) Contrast (A whilst B)

li voye so fwé sabhe, li mém ka hete
 3s send 3sP brother cut 3s Emph Tpr=i stay
 'He sent his brother to cut, whilst he himself stays (home).'

ale bola, mo k-ale wót bó la
 go over=there 1s Tpr=i-go other side there
 'You go over there, I'll go the other way.'

mo fwé ka txēbe gho pwasõ, u mém a hẽ xévwét
 1sP brother Tpr=i catch big fish, 2s Emph Eq only shrimp

u ka póte
2s Tpr=i bring
'My brother catches big fish, but you only bring shrimp.'

(3) Sequence (A then B)

li fé kafe, nu bwé, nu ale
3s make coffee 1p drink 1p go
'She made coffee, we drank (it), (then) we went.'

li bake, li phã so pagay, li kumase pagay
3s embark 3s take 3sP paddle 3s begin paddle
'He got in, picked up his paddle (and) began to paddle.'

ye fãde bwa, fé-n ghã djife, li voye ghãmun lãdã
3p chop wood make-a big fire 3s send old=person there-in
'They chopped wood, made a big fire, (and then) he threw the old-woman onto it.'

(4) Duration (A,A,A = A for a long time)

li maxe, li maxe, li maxe, li maxe
3s walk 3s walk 3s walk 3s walk
'He walked, he walked, he walked, he walked.'

(i.e., 'He walked on and on.' / 'He walked for a very long time.')

mo hete, mo hete, mo hete, mo hete
1s stay 1s stay 1s stay 1s stay
'I stayed a long time.'

ye kumase bay mo héméd, ye bay mo héméd, ye bay
3p begin give 1s medicine 3p give 1s medicine 3p give

mo héméd
1s medicine
'They kept on giving me medicine.'

(5) Expansion (A,A+)

li lave-1, li lave-1 byã
3s wash-3s 3s wash-3s well
'He washed her, he washed her thoroughly.'

li maxe, li maxe pu djivã
3s walk 3s walk to ahead
'He walked, he walked on ahead.'

la nu dhómi, la la kaz dji mo bélmé nu dhómi
 there 1p sleep there there house of 1sP mother=in=law 1p sleep
 'There we slept, there in the house of my mother-in-law we slept.'
 (i.e. 'We slept there in my mother-in-law's house.')

(6) Reiteration (A,A-)

pwomiyé fwé mo hive laba, mo hive
 first time 1s arrive there 1s arrive
 '(It was) the first time I arrived there, I arrived.'

mo ale kote dona dalin, mo ale
 1s go to Dona Dalina 1s go
 'I went to Dona Dalina's, I went.'

li sal tut so fléx ke djisā laghatxis, li sal
 3s dirty all 3sP arrow with blood lizard 3s dirty

so fléx
 3sP arrow
 'He dirtied his arrow all over with lizard's blood, he dirtied his arrow.'

(7) Paraphrase (A,B where A=B)

so tét du, li sót
 3s head hard 3s stupid
 'His head is thick, he's stupid.'

a laba mo te fika, a la mo teka hete
 Eq there 1s Tp be=at Eq there 1s Tp=i stay
 'It is there I had been, it is there I was staying.' (i.e., 'That is where I stayed.')

li khaze-1 tut, li txue-1 tut
 2s squash-3s all 3s kill-3s all
 'He squashed them all, he killed them all.'

(8) Reason (A because B)

li pa le bwé, li xo
 3s Neg want drink 3s hot
 'She didn't want to drink (it), (because) it was hot.'

mo gā tximun, la ye opehe mo
 1s have child there 3p operate 1s
 'I have a child (because) they operated on me there.'

mo pa kónét laba, pwómiyé fwé mo hive laba
 1s Neg know there first time 1s arrive there
 'I didn't know (anything) there, (because) it was the first time I went there.'

Conjoined Two independent clauses (Clause A and Clause B) are linked by a conjunction to express either reason or constraint. In a conjoined sentence, the omission of the conjunction does not alter the meaning of the sentence, but would change its status to that of a juxtaposed sentence.

(1) Reason (A because B)

li pa puve pase li malad
 3s Neg able because 3s ill
 'He cannot, because he is ill.'

li ale la sidadj pase li le axte so bagaj
 3s go there city because 3s want buy 3sP thing
 'He went to town because he wanted to buy stuff.'

mo pa māje-l pase li gha boku
 1s Neg eat-3s because 3s fatty much
 'I did not eat it because it was too fatty.'

u ka kólé ke mo kumã mo txue sa mun
 2s Tpr=i angry with 1s how 1s kill that person
 'You are angry with me because I killed the man.'

(2) Constraint (A but B)

mo pa le ale mẽ mo ale
 1s Neg want go but 1s go
 'I didn't want to go but I went.'

ye dji li hive mẽ mo pa-õkó wé-l
 3p say 3s arrive but 1s Neg-yet see-3s
 'They said he arrived but I haven't seen him yet.'

mo le vāde-l maz li pa-õkó pahe
 1s want sell-3s but 3s Neg-yet ready
 'I want to sell it but it is not ready yet.'

1.2.2.2. Subordinate Sentences consist of a subordinate clause (S) and an independent or dependent clause head (H) to express condition, purpose comparison and time. The subordinate clause carries an obligatory subordinating marker at the beginning of the clause. This marker (unlike the conjunction in conjoined sentences) cannot be omitted if the sentence is to retain the same meaning.

(1) Conditional - marker si

- Authentic (if S, H)

si li ka hive, li ke bõ
if 3s Tpr=i arrive 3s Tf good
'If he arrives, it will be good.'

si li mi, nu ke mǎje-l
if 3s ripe 1p Tf eat-3s
'If it is ripe, we will eat it.'

si-l ka vin, mo ke pale ke-l
if-3s Tpr=i come 1s Tf talk with-3s
'If he comes, I will speak with him.'

- Generalization (if S, H)

si u kupe vitmǎ, ka fǎde
if 2s cut quickly Tpr=i break
'If you cut (it) quickly, it breaks.'

si mun āvi wasey, si-l pa mǎje, ka sótxi
if person crave "açai" if-3s Neg eat Tpr=i come=out

lasu tximun
on child

'If (a pregnant woman) craves "açai", and if she does not eat (it), (it's mark) will come out on her child.'

- Hypothetical (if S had been, H would have)

si-l te hive, mo teke pale ke-l
if-3s Tp arrive 1s Tc speak with-3s
'If he had come I would have spoken with him.'

si mo te gǎ lajõ, mo teke axte wun hadj
if 1s Tp have money 1s Tc buy one radio
'If I had had the money, I would have bought a radio.'

The following relationships have been observed between the tense markers of the two clauses in the conditional sentence:

	<u>Conditional Clause (S)</u>	<u>Main Clause (H)</u>
Authentic	ka (present incomplete) # (present complete)	ke ke
Generalization	-- omission of ka in present incomplete	ka
Hypothetical	te (past complete)	teke

(2) Purpose - marker pu

- Feasible (H in order that S)

li hive pu koze ke mo
3s arrive for talk with 1s
'He arrived to talk with me.'

li ka bui-l pu li mu
3s Tpr=i boil-3s for 3s soft
'She is boiling it so that it will be soft.'

li bay li pu li bwé
3s give 3s to 3s drink
'He gave it (to him) to drink.' (i.e., in order that he should drink it)

- Non-feasible (H, therefore S not possible)

batõ pa ka bay pu plãte tut batxi
sticks Neg Tpr=i give for plant all field
'There were not sufficient shoots for planting the whole field.'

p-ka bay tã pu mo tóne
Neg-Tpr=i give time for 1s return
'There isn't time for me to return.'

u tho pitxi pu ale pexe
2s too small for go fish
'You are too small to go fishing.'

(3) Comparative

- Real (H just as S), marker kumã

mo txue ye tut kumã u mém pa txue sa hẽ mux
1s kill 3p all just=as 2s Emph. Neg kill that only wasp
'I killed them all, just as you did not kill only that one wasp (but all of them).'

- Imaginary (H as if S), marker kõ/kõsi
 so bux huj kõ batõ pase
 3sP mouth red as=if stick pass
 'His mouth is red as if he'd used lipstick.'

mo pa kónét ayě kõi mo hive äfě
 1s Neg know nothing as=if 1s arrive stupid
 'I didn't understand or know anything--as if I had become stupid.'

(4) Temporal

- marker kã (when S, H)

kã li sék, u ka hamase-1
 when 3s dry 2s Tpr=i gather-3s
 'When it is dry you gather it together.'

kã nu hive la kabé, mo fé-1 kuxe
 when 1p arrive there hut 1s make-3s lie=down
 'When we reached the hut, I made him lie down.'

-marker ló (when S, H)

ló ye opehe mo, mo fé-n somey
 when 3p operate 1s 1s make-a sleep
 'When they operated on me, I was in a sleep.'

ló só fwé hive, li puse lapót la
 when 3sP brother arrive 3s push door Ind
 'When his brother arrived he pushed the door.'

NB Both kã and ló appear to indicate the same variety of time sequence relationships between clauses. The distinction between the terms is found in their function in discourse, where kã seems to indicate a local time referent, while ló introduces a general time setting for all that follows.

- marker xak (whenever S, H)

xak li k-ale a laba li k-ale dhómi
 each 3s Tpr=i-go Eq there 3s Tpr=i-go sleep
 'Whenever he goes, that is where he sleeps.'

- marker avã (before S, H)

avã li ale, li dji wi
 before 3s go 3s say yes
 'Before he went, he said, "Yes."'

-marker dji pi tã (since S, H)

dji pi tã zót ale, li malad
from more time 2p go 3s ill
'Since (from the time) you left, he has been ill.'

-marker aphe (after S, H)

aphe li sék, nu hamase-l
after 3s dry 1p collect-3s
'After it is dry we collect it.'

-marker juk tã (H until S)

u ka bhase-l juk tã li sêk
2s Tpr=i stir-3s until time 3s dry
'You stir it until it is dry.'

1.2.2.3. Merged Sentences. A complex sentence is said to be merged if at least one element is functioning in both clauses of the sentence at the same time (though not necessarily in the same role in both clauses), but is overtly expressed in the first clause only. Some coupled and feasible-purpose sentences may be merged in this way. In merged sentences, the underlying sentences may be easily reconstructed.

- (i) li voye so fwé sabhe
3s send 3sP brother cut=down
'He sent his brother to cut.'

This is the merger of an independent clause and a subordinate purpose clause:

li voye so fwé, pu li sabhe
'He sent his brother in order that he (brother) should cut.'

- (ii) li mete-l asi la djivã lapót
3s put-3s sit there in=front door
'He put her sitting there in front of the door.'

This is a merger of two coupled independent clauses:

li mete-l la djivã lapót, li asi la
'He put her in front of the door, she sat there.'

- (iii) The common use of the verb ale 'go' in an apparently auxiliary verb role is considered to be the head of one of two merged clauses.

mo k-ale plâte mo batxi
 1s Tpr=i-go plant lsp field
 'I'm going to plant my field.'

This is a merger of an independent clause and a subordinate purpose clause,

mo k-ale, pu plâte mo batxi
 'I'm going in order to plant my field.'

or possibly a merger of two coupled clauses:

mo k-ale, mo ke plâte mo batxi
 'I am going, I will plant my field.'

1.2.2.4.

Semantic Relationship	Surface Structure			Merged
	Co-ordinate Conjoined	Juxtaposed	Subordinate	
Coupling		X		X
Contrast		X		
Sequence		X		
Duration		X		
Expansion		X		
Reiteration		X		
Paraphrase		X		
Reason 1		X		
Reason 2	X			
Constraint	X			
Conditional				
authentic			X	
hypothetical			X	
Purpose				
feasible			X	X
non-feasible			X	
Comparative				
real			X	
imagined			X	
Temporal			X	

Figure 1. The semantic relationships and surface structure of complex systems.

1.3. The Periphery.

The periphery of the major sentence consists of both pre-nuclear and post-nuclear elements.

1.3.1. **Pre-Nuclear Periphery** expresses the following, of which examples are given:

Logical link	ěbé	'well then'
Temporal link	djila	'after that'
Response	wi	'yes'
Vocative	madam	'madam'

Rarely, two pre-nuclear elements may occur in juxtaposition

mě, kamahad

'Nevertheless, friend, (so and so happened).'

1.3.2. **Post-Nuclear Periphery** expresses tag questions or statements. For example:

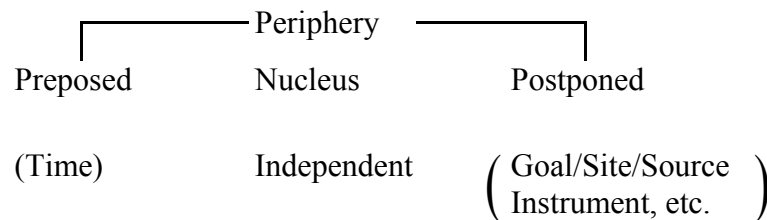
nõ? '(You are going to do it), aren't you?'

u save '. . . , you understand'

2. THE CLAUSE

2.1. Systematization.

The clause consists of a nucleus and periphery, as diagrammed:



The clause nucleus may be classified semantically on a two-way basis according to (i) inherent (though not necessarily always overt) obligatory roles (see Fig. 5 for definitions of role terms) and (ii) activity aspect, as shown in Fig. 2.

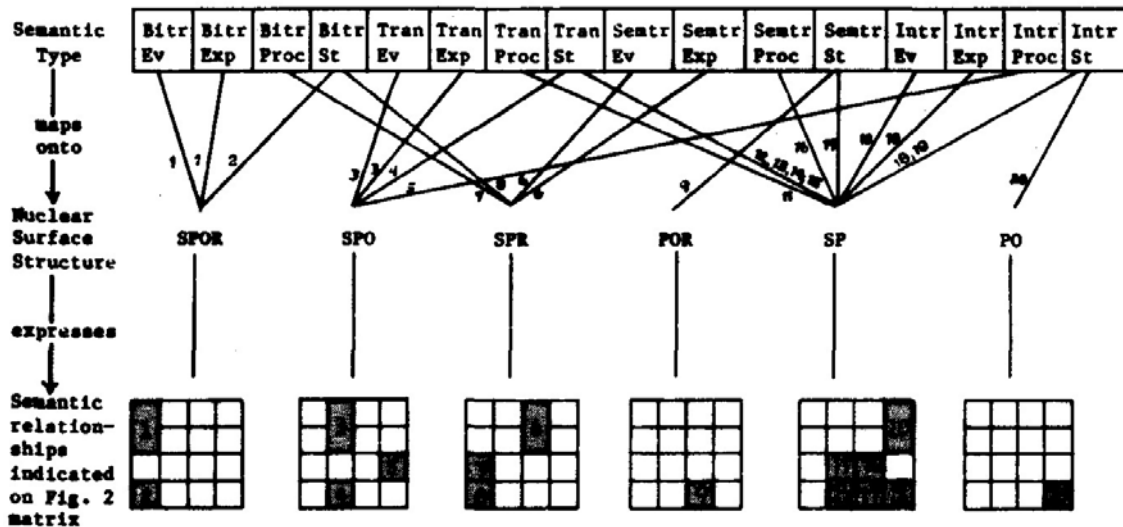
Activity \ Roles		+ Patient	+ Patient	+ Scope	#
		+ Scope			
+ Agent	{ Event	Bitrans.	Trans.	Semitrans.	Intrans.
		Event	Event	Event	Event
	{ Experience	Bitrans.	Trans.	Semitrans.	Intrans.
		Exper.	Exper.	Exper.	Exper.
- Agent	{ Process	Bitrans.	Trans.	Semitrans.	Intrans.
		Process	Process	Process	Process
	{ State	Bitrans.	Trans.	Semitrans.	Intrans.
		State	State	State	State

Figure 2. Classification of clause nuclei according to roles and activity.

(This chart is based on the display by A. Hale in Figure 7, p.13, of his introductory article in 'Clause, Sentence, & Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal' Part 1, SIL 1973.)

The semantic differences expressed by these sixteen semantic types are manifested in the surface structure either in the basic structure (i.e., the inherent presence or absence of subject, object, predicate and referent slots), or in the potential of the basic clause type to be transformed into another type, or in the possible or non-possible use of auxiliary verbs in the predicate, etc. These distinctions will be dealt with in more detail in section 2.3.

Each of these semantic clause types is mapped onto one or more of the six basic surface structure types, as indicated in Fig. 3.



Numbers refer to contrastive clause types shown in Fig. 4 and detailed thereafter. Key: s - Subject, P - Predicate, O - Object, R - Referent.

Figure 3. Mapping of semantic clause types onto basic surface structures.

The six basic surface structure types may be further sub-divided according to the role of the subject and to structural differences within the predicate (see section 3.1.), thus giving rise to the contrastive clause types shown in Fig. 4. The symbol # is used to represent a semantically empty or null role, often with a dummy surface filler (such as is expressed by 'it' in the sentence 'It was night-time.').

Surface Structure	Subject Role	Role Structure	Semantic Type	Name of Clause	Ref. No.
S P O R	agent	Ag Pat Sc	Bitr Ev/Exp	Bitransitive	1
	patient	Pat Sc	Bitr St	Comparative	2
S P O	agent	Ag Pat	Tran Ev/Exp	Transitive	3
	patient	Pat Sc	Tran St	Possessive	4
	# (<u>l</u> i)	#	Intr Proc	Occasional	5
S P R	agent	Ag Sc	Semitr Ev/Exp	Semitransitive	6
	patient	Pat Sc	Bitr Proc	Circumstantial	7
	scope	Pat Sc	Bitr St	Descriptive	8
POR	(R as scope)	Sc	Semitr St	Existential	9
S P	agent	Ag	Intr Ev/Exp	Intransitive	10
	patient	Pat	Tran Proc	Receptive	11
	patient	Pat	Tran St	Attributive	12
	patient	Pat	Tran St	Complementive	13
	patient	Pat	Tran St	Locative	14
	patient (<u>a</u>)	Pat	Tran St	Identificational	15
	scope	Sc	Semitr Proc	Progressive	16
	scope	Sc	Semitr St	Extensive	17
	# (<u>l</u> i)	#	Intr St	Ambientive	18
	# (<u>l</u> i)	#	Intr St	Temporal	19
P O	--	#	Intr St	Durational	20

Figure 4. Contrastive clause types.

Nuclear Surface			
Slot		Role	Definition
Subject		Agent	-that which performs an action or experiences a reaction to a stimulus.
Object		Patient	-that which undergoes an action or process upon it, or is the bearer of a given state.
Referent		Range	-that which expresses the limits of an action or state.
		Goal/Site/Source	-to/at/from where action performed or state achieved.
		Instrument	-with what action performed or state achieved.

Figure 5. Terminology and relationship between surface slots and semantic roles

The term Scope is used as an inclusive role term for all the roles of the referent when a given clause type may take a variety of roles in its referent slot.

The term Adjunct is used for any peripheral surface slot. Adjuncts may have any of the following roles:

- Goal/Site/Source
- Instrument
- Manner (ex: quickly, quietly)
- Means (ex: by canoe, by road)
- Company
- Time

The twenty clause types thus identified positions in the matrix as shown in Fig. 6.

The division of the State row here (into State A and State B) is on the basis of the two different types of predicate nucleus (non-verbal or with a figurative-verb) found in state clauses. See Fig. 8.

Event Experience	Bitransitive 1)	Transitive (3)	Semitransitive (6)	Intransitive (10)
Process	Circumstantial (7)	Receptive (11)	Progressive (16)	Occasional 5)
State	A	Descriptive (8)	Att(12)/Cpl(13) Loc(14)/Idf(15)	Extensive (17)
	B	Comparative (2)	Possessive (4)	Existential (9)
				Ambientive (18) Temporal (19) Durational (20)

Key: Att = Attributive, Cpl = Complementive, Loc = Locative, Idf = Identificational

Figure 6. Positions of clause types within the role-activity matrix

Three further basic clause types of causation, quotation and cognition (in all of which the object slot is filled by a clause) will be dealt with separately as ditransitive clauses in section 2.5. There are also one or two "frozen form" idioms which do not concur with the normal surface-role mapping patterns, and these are mentioned in section 4.

2.2. Basic Contrastive Clause Types.

Of these twenty clause types, some occur frequently as basic (non-derived) forms, while others occur infrequently as basic forms and more frequently as derived forms (i.e., forms derived from some other clause type). One type, "Occasional", occurs only as a derived form. Where a derived clause is given as an example of a clause type, it will be indicated by (Der).³ Examples not so labelled are assumed to be basic, non-derived forms.

The relationships between the surface structure, the fillers of the surface structure slots and their semantic roles are formulated for each contrastive clause type. The elements of each formula show the following features in the positions indicated:

1	2	1) surface structure slot
3		2) surface structure slot filler
		3) semantic role expressed in that slot

(cf. Pike & Pike, 1977, p.35.)

Whereas the roles (Agent, Patient, etc.) are determined solely on semantic grounds, the surface slots (Subject, Referent, etc.) are determined largely by the word order within the clause, and by the presence of relator markers. Thus Subject always precedes the predicate, Object always follows the predicate, either directly or, as in some bitransitives, after a pronominal referent; Referent is usually clause final and introduced by a relator (ex; dj 'from', ke 'with'), but occasionally in bitransitives occurs as a single pronoun directly after the predicate and before the object; Predicate follows the subject where there is one. In the case of non-verbal predicate heads, the predicate may also be determined by its potential to take an initial negative marker pa.

2.2.1. Bitransitive

S P O R

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=V)	O	Nph	R	RAph/Nph
Ag		Ev/Exp		Pat		Sc	

mo / axte / de djize / dji u papa
 1s buy two egg from 2sP father
 'I bought two eggs from your father.'

Sc=source

mo / ke bay / de djize / pu u
 1s Tf give two egg to 2s
 'I will give you two eggs.'

Sc=goal

li / mete / so bagaj / la su tab
 3s put 3sP thing there on table
 'He put his things on the table.'

Sc=site

mun / bhase / ye kwak / ke un fakay
 person stir 3pP "farinha" with a spatula
 'People stir their "farinha" with a spatula.'

Sc=instrument

When the referent is manifested by a pronoun, it precedes the object. This may occur when the referent role is goal, and occurs when the referent is range for one or two particular verbs.

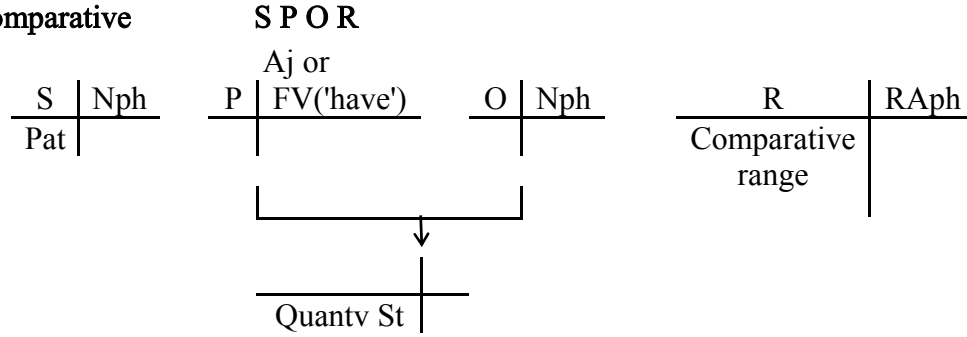
S P R O
 ye / k-ape / mo / bix
 3p Tpr=i-call 1s deer
 'They call me Deer.'

Sc=range

li / bay / mo / de djize
 3s give 1s two egg
 'He gave me two eggs.'

Sc=goal

2.2.2. Comparative



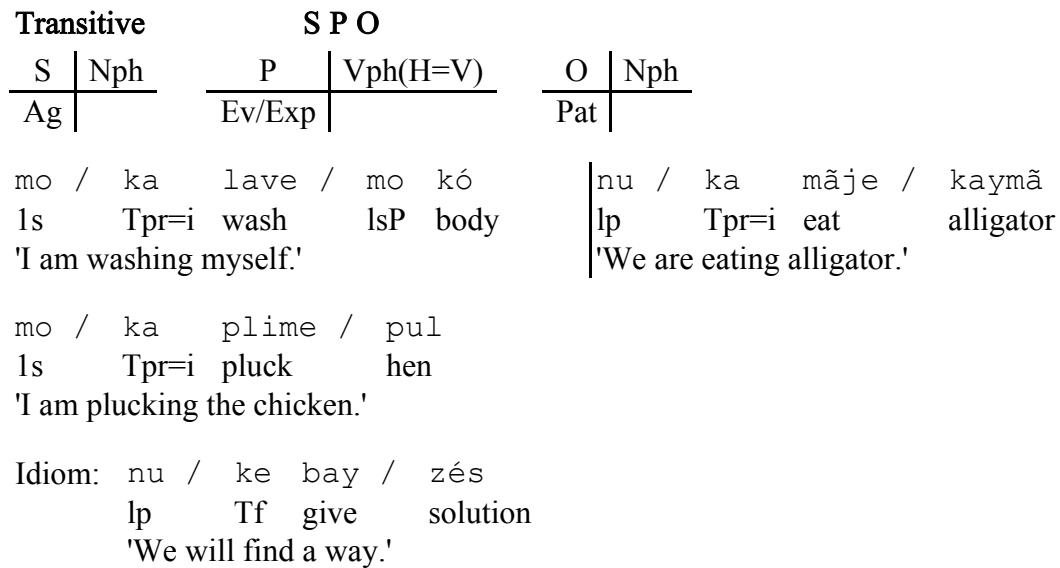
The formula shows that the surface structure SPOR is a manifestation of the underlying semantic structure: Patient – State – Range. In other words, the semantic predicate (State) is manifest in the surface structure as Predicate plus Object. (FV = Figurative Verb; see section 3.1.1)

ghāmun la // gā / wun mwa // la su-1
 old=person Ind have one month there on-3s
 'The old lady is one month older than him.'

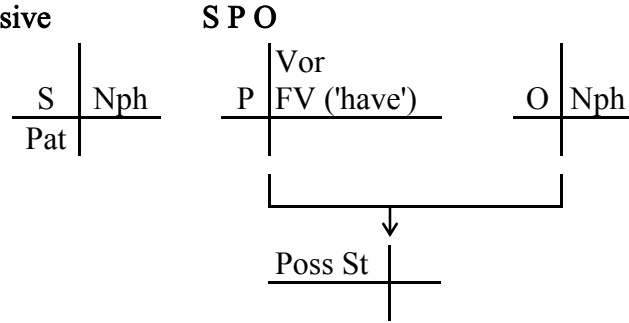
u // hot / de pam // dji mo
 2s tall two palm from 1s
 'You are two palms taller than me.'

The referent in this clause type is considered obligatory since its deletion, while appearing to form a possessive clause (see clause type 4), does not in fact convey the true meaning. For example, the first example would then read, 'The old lady is one month old.', which is clearly contrary to fact.

2.2.3. Transitive



2.2.4. Possessive



(Underlying semantic structure: Patient-State)

kadjinal // gā / tét huj cardinal (bird) have head red 'The cardinal has a red head.'	mo // gā / kat tximun 1s have four child 'I have four children.'
---	--

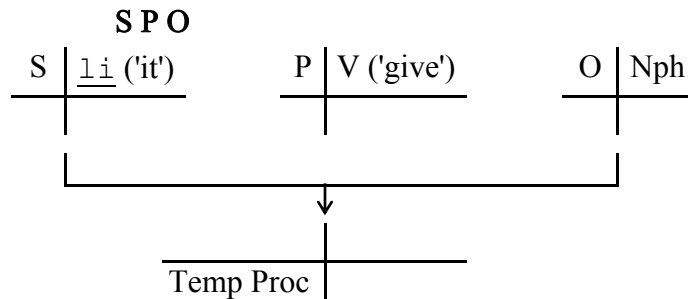
mo // gā / wun plē sódjé 1s have one full cooking=pot 'I have one potful.'	mo // gā / vêt ane 1s have twenty year 'I am twenty years old.'
--	---

li // te gā / thwa mét 3s Tp have three metre 'It was three metres (long).'	li // gā / thwa kilo 3s have three kilo 'It weighs three kilos.'
---	--

tximun // gā / lame ghate
 child have hand rasping
 'The child likes to touch everything.' (Lit. 'The child has a grating/rasping hand.')

See also section 2.4.

2.2.5. Occasional



(Underlying semantic structure: Process)

(Der) li bay / minwi
 3s give midnight
 'It became midnight.'

(This is derived from a temporal clause by the addition of an auxiliary verb.)

(Der) (ló) li / ka bay / aswé
 hour 3s Tpr=i give evening
 '(When) it becomes evening.' (i.e., 'When evening comes.')

(Der) li / bay / ló (pu ale)
 3s give hour to go
 'It became time (to go).'

Idiom: li / bay / mun
 3s give people
 'There were enough people (for the job).'

This clause type occurs almost exclusively as a subordinate time clause, or as a dependent result clause.

The members of the occasional clause type are said to be derived because of their use of an auxiliary verb. No basic members of such a clause type, i.e., having a surface structure SPO and a process predicate, have yet been found.

2.2.6. Semitransitive

S P R

S Ag	Nph	P Ev/Exp	Vph (H=V)	R Sc	RAph/Locph				
ye / 3p	sótxi / come=out	dji / from	lekól / school	Sc=source	nu tut / 1p all	k-ale / Tpr=i-go	ofõ / yonder	Sc=goal	
'They left school.'					'We are all going over there.'				
li / 3s	te asi / Tp sit	la / there	su bã / on bench	Sc=site	li / 3s	ka / Tpr=i	kólé / be=angry	ke mo / with 1s	Sc=range
'He was seated there on the bench.' (or: 'He sat on the bench.')					'He is angry with me.'				
mo / 1s	abitwe / be=accustomed=to		ke li / with 3s	Sc=range					
'I'm accustomed to it.'									

The semitransitives taking a range referent may in some sense be regarded as pseudo-transitive verbs since the referent may almost be regarded as a patient. However, the presence of the relator ke and the fact that the referent might be unaffected or even unaware of the action directed at it suggests that the referent expresses more the limits of the action, and is thus being considered as range.

2.2.7. Circumstantial S P R

(i)	S	Nph		P	Vph (H=V)		R	RAph/Nph
	Pat			Proc			Range	

so sulye / ka mele / ādā hadje
 3sP shoe Tpr=i mix in weeds
 'His shoes are getting tangled in the weeds.'

so lapo / ka bule / ādā djife
 3sP skin Tpr=i burn in fire
 'Its skin is burning in the fire.'

(ii)	S	Nph		P	Vph (H=V)		R	RAph
	Range			Proc			Pat	

(Der) li / ka plē / ke dlo
 3s Tpr=i full with water
 'It is filling with water.'

(This is derived from the Descriptive Clause type. cf. section 2.2.8.)

It will be seen that this derived type, while having the same basic surface structure (SPR) and roles (Pat-Proc-Range) as the basic type, exhibits a different role-surface mapping, the range and patient roles being reversed in relation to the surface subject and referent.

2.2.8. Descriptive S P R

(i)	S	Nph		P	Vph (H=Aj)		R	RAph
	Range			St			Pat	

pye kwi la / xaje / ke pitxit		so sódjé / plē / ke wasey
tree gourd Ind laden with offspring		3sP pan full with "açai"
'The gourd tree is laden with fruit.'		'Her pan is full of "açai".'

(ii)	S	Nph		P	Vph (H=verbal Aj)		R	RAph
	Pat			St			Sc	

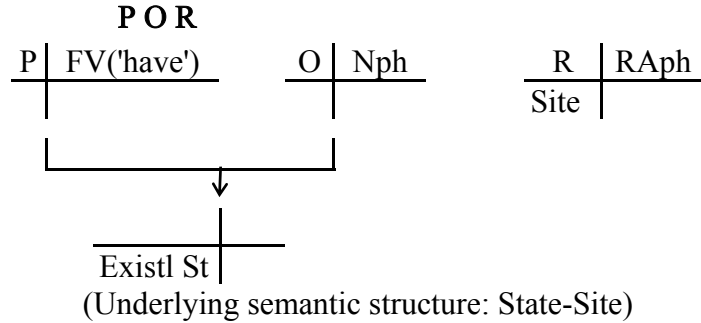
(Der) ye tut / mahe / ke kóð
 3p all tie with cord
 'The y are all tied with ropes.'

Sc=instrument

(This is derived from the Bitransitive Clause type. cf. section 2.2.1.)

As in the derived circumstantial clause type, the derived descriptive clause also shows a different role-surface mapping than the basic clause member, and the predicate head is a verb used here participially (and which may occur elsewhere as an adjective in a noun phrase).

2.2.9. Existential

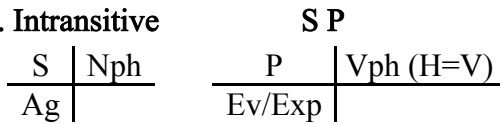


gã / mãyók // la batxi
 have manioc there field
 'There is manioc in the field.'

te gã / boku mun // la
 Tp have much person there
 'There were many people there.'

See section 2.4.

2.2.10. Intransitive



mun la / ka dāse
 people Ind Tpr=i dance
 'The people are dancing.'

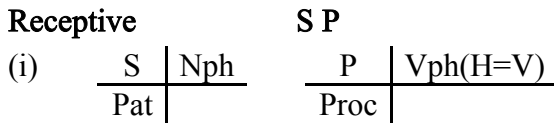
mo / dhómi
 1s sleep
 'I slept.'

u tximun / hōte
 2sP child shy
 'Your child is shy.'

Idiom: lohaj / ka ghōde
 thunder Tpr=i roar
 'The thunder is roaring.'
 (i.e., 'It is thundering.')

Idiom: suku / ka vin
 darkness Tpr=i come
 'Night is coming.'
 (i.e., 'It is becoming dark.')

2.2.11. Receptive



xē / ka xode
 dog Tpr=i heat
 'The dog is in heat.'

txi gasō / ka xofe
 little boy Tpr=i warm
 'The little boy is getting warm.'

li / fwedji (nanwit)
 3s chill (in=night)
 'He became chilled in the night.'
 (or: 'He had chills in the night.')

Idiom: batō / p-ka bay
 stick Neg-Tpr=i give
 'The cuttings are not proving sufficient
 (to plant the whole field).'

S	Nph	P	Vph(H=Aj)
Pat		Proc	

(Der) li / vin su
 3s come drunk
 'He became drunk.'

(This is derived from the Attributive Clause type. cf. section 2.2.12)

(Der) u / ka hive még
 2s Tpr=i arrive thin
 'You are getting thin.'

A rare derived form uses the adjective head with the processive present tense marker ka.

(Der) li ka mi
 3s Tpr=i mi
 'It will become ripe.'

2.2.12. Attributive S P

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=Aj)
Pat		St	

u muxe / su
 2s husband drunk
 'Your husband is drunk.'

mo lěj / te sék
 1sP clothes Tp dry
 'My clothes were dry.'

myél li / dus
 honey 3s sweet
 'Honey is sweet.'

2.2.13. Complementive S P

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=N)
Pat		Cpl St	

mo / sa mét
 1s Com teacher
 'I am a teacher.'

li / sa xofé dji aviõ
 3s Com driver of aeroplane
 'He is a pilot.'

(tã dji) txig ye / te sa mun
 (time of) jaguar 3p Tp Com people
 '(In the days when) jaguars were people.'

The noun head of the verbal phrase is preceded by an apparent demonstrative, but sa here has a restricted and specific function as a complement marker (rather than the normal demonstrative function), relating the subject to the predicate.

2.2.14. Locative

S P	
S	Nph
Pat	

P	Vph (H=Loc)
Loc St	

li / la 3s there 'He is there.' (or, idiom: 'He's alive.')	mo / dhét mitã 1s straight middle 'I am right in the middle.'	ye / pa te isi 3p Neg Tp here 'They were not here.'
---	---	---

2.2.15. Identificational

S P	
S	Eq
Pat	

P	Vph (H=N)
Idf St	

a / mopa Eq 1sPP 'It is mine.'	a / zót tximun? Eq 2pP child 'Is that your child?'	a / te sêk é Eq Tp five hour 'It was five o'clock.'
--------------------------------------	--	---

It is not clear whether the equative a is functioning here as a subject or as part of the predicate. It differs from the complementive marker in that it precedes the nuclear tense marker of the predicate. It is possible, however, (though uncommon) to state the subject. For example:

sa liv a mopa
 this book Eq 1sPP
 'This book is mine.'

In the above example, a is considered to be an appositional subject.⁴

Cf. sa tab, li hot
 this table 3s tall
 'This table is high.' (lit. = 'This table, it is high.')

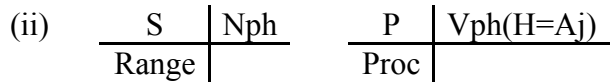
2.2.16. Progressive

S P	
S	Nph
Range	

P	Vph(H=V)
Proc	

lóminét / ka ghõfle omelette Tpr=i swell 'The omelette is puffing up.'	mo dwét / ka ghate 1sP finger Tpr=i itch 'My finger is itching.'
--	--

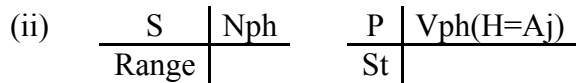
so jam / ghöfle
 3sP leg swell
 'His leg swelled up.'



(Der) so kaz / ka hive fwé
 3sP house Tpr=i arrive cold
 'His house is getting cold.'
 (i.e., because lacking occupants)

(This is derived from the Extensive Clause type. cf. section 2.2.17.)

2.2.17. Extensive S P

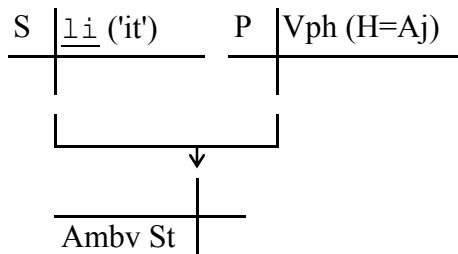


mo dwét / äfle
 1sP finger swollen
 'My finger is swollen.'

bom la / vid
 tin Ind empty
 'The tin is empty.'

u kaz / te fwé
 2sP house Tp cold
 'Your house was cold.'
 (i.e., while you were away)

2.2.18. Ambientive S P

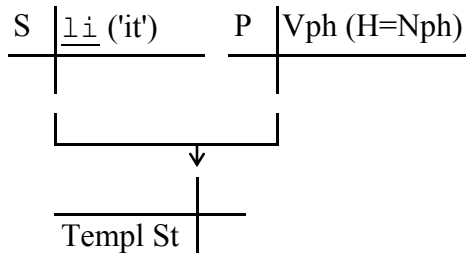


(underlying semantic structure: State)

li / te bonó
 3s Tp early
 'It was early.'

li / suku (deha)
 3s dark (already)
 'It is dark already.'

2.2.19. Temporal S P



(Underlying semantic structure: State)

Rows	Obligatory Role	Present Tense Marker	Predicate Nucleus	Modal Transform	Auxiliary Verb 'begin'
Event	+Ag	+ka	+V	+Impv	+
Experience	+Ag	-ka	+V	-Impv	+
Process	-Ag	+ka	+V	-Impv	+
State A	-Ag	-ka	-V	-Impv	-
State B	-Ag	-ka	+FV	-Impv	-

Figure 8.

It is considered that one difference in obligatory role structure is sufficient warrant for division of types. Thus it will be seen from Fig. 7 that the transitivity distinction of the columns is clear, and from Fig. 8 that events and experiences may be distinguished from processes and states.

The two differences between events and experiences (tense marker and modal transform), however, are not considered sufficient evidence for a separation of contrastive types. Thus both bitransitive events and bitransitive experiences are classified together as Bitransitive (etc). However, the three differences between processes and states (tense marker, predicate nucleus and auxiliary verb) are considered sufficient to contrast these two rows of the Fig. 2 matrix.

The predicate nucleus is said to be verbal (+V) or non-verbal (-V) on the basis of the Vph head of its basic members. Derived members of process clauses may have a non-verbal Vph head plus an auxiliary V, and the nucleus is thus considered verbal; whereas derived state clauses may have an apparent V head, but the V is used there in a participial/adjectival sense, and the nucleus is thus considered non-verbal.

It remains, therefore, to offer evidence for the contrasting types postulated in each column of the state rows (see Fig. 6). This is charted in Fig. 9, which shows two or more contrastive features for each pair of contrastive types within each column.

	Pred Head	Subj Role	Transform to process	Transform to Identificational	Special Particle
Descriptive	AJ	Sc	+	-	-
Comparative	FV+N	Pat	-	-	-
{ ()	Attributive	Pat	+	+	-
	Complementive	Pat	+	-	sa
	Locative	Pat	-	-	-
	Identification	Pat	-	(+)	(a)
Possessive	FV+N	Pat	-	-	-

	Pred Head	Subj Role	Transform to process	Transform to Identificational	Special Particle
Extensive Existential	AJ FV+N	Sc -	+ -	+ -	- -
{ Ambientive Temporal Durational	Aj	#	-	-	-
	N	#	+	-	-
	PV+N	-	-	-	-

Figure 9. Evidence for the separation of contrastive state clauses.

2.4. Idioms.

There are a few idiomatic expressions which must be treated separately since their semantic role-surface structure mapping relationships do not concur with the normal patterns outlined in sections 2.1 - 2.3. Where idioms have been of the same pattern as basic clause types, they have been indicated by examples in section 2.2.

- (1) li / aa bay / ke Pyé so gu
 3s Neg give with Peter 3sP taste
 'It was not to Peter's taste.'
 (i.e., 'Peter did not like/approve of it.')

Surface S P R
 Semantic Pat Exp Ag(Expcr)

- (2) li / pa thuve-1 / la / so gu
 3s Neg find-3s there 3sP taste
 'He did not find it to his taste.'
 (i.e., 'He did not like it.')

Surface S P O R
 Semantic Ag(Expcr) Pat
 Exp

Semantically each of these is a transitive experience, but the verb in the predicate takes the event form tense markers. Since no other transitive clauses map onto SPR or SPOR surface structures, these are not postulated as separate clause types.

There are a few expressions which appear to fit existing state clause types except for the use of processive tense markers. For example:

- (1) li // ka peze / thwa kilo
 3s Tpr=i weigh three kilo
 'It weighs three kilos.'

This appears to be a possessive clause except for the presence of ka, and will thus be considered a non-conforming member of the possessive clause type.

- (2) ka hete / de mil // la u köt
 Tpr=i stay two thousand there 2sP account
 'There are two cruzeiros in your account.'

This appears to be an existential clause except for the presence of ka, and will thus be considered a non-conforming member of the existential clause type.

2.5. Ditransitive Clauses.

The term ditransitive clause is here used to refer to clauses in which the surface object slot is normally filled by another clause (or group of clauses). Though it would be possible from some points of view to consider ditransitives as a further type of complex sentence, since they are composed of two or more clauses, nevertheless they are here being treated as a special clause type, since the second clause always fills a specific role slot in the main clause. There are three ditransitive clause types: Quotative, Cognitive-Desiderative, and Causative.

2.5.1. Quotative

		S P R O			
S	Nph	P	Vph (H=V)		
Speaker (agent)		Speech (event)			
		R	RAph/Nph	O	Clause
		Addressee (goal)		Quotn (range)	

There are four sub-types of quotative clause: direct, indirect statement, indirect command and indirect question. In the first three the referent slot is filled by a relator-axis phrase, and in the fourth by a noun phrase.

2.5.1.1. Direct.

The object clause may be of any type and any mode.

mo papa / dji / kote mo, / nu kamahad laba ofõ
 1sP father say to 1s 1p friend there yonder
 'My father said to me, "Our friends are over there!"'

Bõdje / dji / kote Pyé, / utxi sa ki mo te bay pu u?
 God say to Peter where Dem Rel 1s Tp give to 2s
 'God said to Peter, "Where is that which I gave you?"'

mo mãmã / dji kõ sa / pu li, / ale, hele tximun
 1sP mother say like this to 3s go call child
 'My mother said to him, "Go and call the child!"'

2.5.1.2. Indirect Statement.

The object clause may be of any type in the declarative mode.

Pyé / dji / pu ye / li pa ka vāde-1
 Peter say to 3p 3s Neg Tpr=i sell-it
 'Peter said to them (that) he was not selling it.'

li / dji / wi, li hepātxi
 3s say yes 3s sorry
 'He said (to him) that he was sorry.'

mo / ke dji / bay mo muxe / u le koze ke-1
 1s Tf say to 1sP husband 2s want talk with-3s
 'I will tell my husband that you want to talk with him.'

The object clause of the indirect statement may, rarely, be introduced by marker ki.

li / dji / ki li ka vin
 3s say that 3s Tpr=i come
 'He said that he would come.'

2.5.1.3. Indirect Command.

The object clause is a subordinate purpose clause.

ye / dji / pu mo / pu mo pa ke tóne
 3p say to 1s for 1s Neg Tf return
 'They said to me that I should not return.' (i.e., 'They told me not to return.')

u / dji / pu mo sabhe bakóv
 2s say for 1s clear banana
 'You said (to me) that I should cut down the bananas.' (i.e., 'You told (me) to clear the bananas.')

mo / ka dji / pu li hete ke tximun
 1s Tpr=i say for 3s stay with child
 'I'll tell (her) that she should stay with the child.' (i.e., 'I'll tell (her) to stay with the child.')

2.5.1.4. Indirect Question.

The object clause is a subordinate conditional clause.

Pyé / dumāde/ -1 / si li hepātxi
 Peter ask -3s if 3s sorry
 'Peter asked him whether he was sorry.'

mo / dumāde / u / si u ke le
 1s ask 2s/ if 2s Tf want
 'I asked you whether you would like (some bananas).'

ale dumãde / mãmã / si u puve ale
 go ask mother if 2s able go
 'Go and ask your mother if you may go.'

2.5.2. Cognitive-Desiderative S P O

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=V)	O	Clause
Expcr		Cog exp		Range	

The object clause is in the declarative or interrogative mode.

mo / save / u ka kólé ke mo		mo / khé / ye vini
1s know 2s Tpr=i be=angry with 1s		1s believe 3p come
'I know you are angry with me.'		'I believe they came.'

u / le / mo fé u mãmã jón?		li / kõtã / li hamase-1
2s want 1s make 2sP mother young		3s glad 3s gather-3s
'Do you want me to make your mother young again?'		'He is glad she picked him up.'

The object clause may, rarely, be introduced by marker ki or kumã.

Pyé / save / ki bét la ka vin dehiyé
 Peter / know / that beast Ind Tpr=i come behind
 'Peter knew that the beast was following.'

ye / ka majine / kumã ye ka txue-1
 3p Tpr=i think how 3p Tpr=i kill-3s
 'They think how they will kill him.'

2.5.3. Causative S P O

S	Nph	P	Vph('make')	O	Clause
Instig agent		Causative event		Range result	

li / fé / ye fãde bwa boku		soley / ka fé / mo lěj sék
3s make 3p chop wood much		sun Tpr=i make 1sP clothes dry
'He made them chop a lot of wood.'		'The sun is making my clothes dry.'

li / fé / mo mãje mo pitxit so fwa
 3s make 1s eat 1sP child 3sP liver
 'He made me eat my child's liver.'

2.5.4. Alternative.

Both negative indirect statement clauses and negative cognitive clauses may take a two-clause object expressing alternatives.

li pa-òkó save si li k-ale osue p-k-ale
 3s Neg-yet know if 3s Tpr=i-go or Neg-Tpr=i-go
 'He doesn't know yet whether he's going or whether he's not going.'

li pa dji si-l ka fé isi-la osue fé la wót bó
 3s Neg say if-3s Tpr=i make here or make there other side
 'He didn't say whether it would be held here or held over there.'

2.6. Mode.

Clauses may be expressed in six different modes, reflecting the relationship (or mood) between speaker and hearer as indicated in Fig. 10.

Mode	Relationship between Speaker A and Hearer B
Declarative	A tells B
Interrogative	A asks B
Imperative	A orders B
Hortatory	A exhorts B
Necessitative	A gives ultimatum to B
Advisory	A warns B

Figure 10. Modal relationship between speaker and hearer.

All clause types are found in both declarative and interrogative modes. All event clauses may occur with imperative and hortatory modes. The necessitative mode occurs most frequently with events, but may occur with some other clauses, while the advisory mode is found with most event and process clauses, as shown in Fig. 11. Each mode reflects the expectation of a different response from the hearer and carries a distinguishing intonation.

	Decl	Intrg	Impv	Horty	Necv	Advy
1 Bitransitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 Comparative	X	X				
3 Transitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
4 Possessive	X	X			X	
5 Occasional	X	X				
6 Semitransitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
7 Circumstantial	X	X			X	X
8 Descriptive	X	X			X	
9 Existential	X	X			X	
10 Intransitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
11 Receptive	X	X			X	X
12 Attributive	X	X			X	
13 Complementive	X	X				
14 Locative	X	X			X	
15 Identificational	X	X				
16 Progressive	X	X			X	X
17 Extentive	X	X			X	
18 Ambientive	X	X				
19 Temporal	X	X				
20 Durational	X	X				
21 Quotative	X	X	X	X	X	
22 Cognitive	X	X			X	
23 Causative	X	X	X	X	X	X

Figure 11. Occurrence of modes with each clause type.

2.6.1. Declarative Mode.

The declarative mode is the normal expression of a statement or fact. Clauses in declarative mode may overtly express all nuclear and peripheral slots and may take any tense.

ayé ye plāte kan la so batxi
yesterday 3p plant cane there 3sP field
'Yesterday they planted sugarcane in his field.'

djime li ke hive dji laho ke so fwé
tomorrow 3s Tf arrive from upriver with 3sP brother
'Tomorrow he will arrive from upriver with his brother.'

so māmā malad tu le ju
3sP mother ill all Dem day
'His mother is ill every day.'

Doubt or certainty as to the veracity of the statement may be indicated by the speaker by the addition of words such as 'perhaps', 'apparently', 'maybe'.

pitét mo ke puve ale
 perhaps 1s Tf able go
 'Perhaps I will be able to go.'

ye	hive	ayé	wakhé
3p	arrive	yesterday	apparently
'They arrived yesterday, apparently.'			

djivét li gā thwa ane
 maybe 3s have three year
 'Maybe (= probably) he is three years old.'

Since these dubitive and assertive forms do not carry distinguishing intonation nor expect a response different to that of a factual declaration, they have not been postulated as contrastive modes.

2.6.2. Interrogative Mode

2.6.2.1. Verificational.

The interrogative mode which merely questions the veracity of a statement or fact (i.e., which requires a 'yes' or 'no' type answer) takes the same form as the declarative mode and is distinguishable from it only by intonation. The most general intonation pattern of the declarative mode shows a higher pitch on the penultimate syllable of the clause, falling again on the ultimate syllable; whereas the pitch of the verificational mode generally begins to rise on the verb phrase and remains high or continues to rise until the end of the utterance.

ayé ye plāte kan la so batxi?
 yesterday 3p plant cane there 3sP field
 'Yesterday they planted sugarcane in his field?' (or: 'Did they plant sugarcane in his field yesterday?')

so māmā malad tu le ju?
 3sP mother ill all Dem day
 'His mother is ill every day?' (or: 'Is his mother ill every day?')

Rarely, this verificational type question may take a following tag question (expressing the speaker's conviction that it is so).

u ke fé bét māje, nō?
 2s Tf make beast food no
 'You will make food for the beasts, won't you?' (implies : 'I believe you will.')

2.6.2.2. Content Questions.

Interrogatives which question the content of a clause role or the cause or purpose of an action are formed by substituting a question word or phrase for that role or purpose, fronting it to the initial position in the clause. In the identificational clause only, the question phrase is not initial, but follows the equator a.

<u>List of basic questions</u>		<u>Role</u>
'How many?'	kōbyā	Range
'What?'	ki (sa)	Agent
'Which?'	ki lake	Patient
'Who?'	ki mun	Company
'When?'	ki tã	Time
'Where?'	kote	Location (Goal, Site)
'How?'	kumã	Manner
		Means
		Instrument
'Why?'	{ pu ki sa	Purpose/Reason
		{ ki sa ki fé

Figure 12. Relationship between question words and clause roles.

Other questions may be formed from these by the addition of a preposed relator (ex: dji ki mun, 'from whom?') or of a postposed noun (ex: ki kuló, 'what colour?').

(1) kōbyā 'how many?'

kōbyā u gã?

how=many 2s have

'How many do you have?'

|kōbyā ane li gã?

|how=many year 3s have

|'How old is he?'

kōbyā pam li long?

how=many palm 3s long

'How long is it?'

pu kōbyā 'for how much?'

pu kōbyā u vāde wun bóm?

for how=much 2s sell one tin

'For how much do you sell one tin?'

(i.e., 'What is your selling price for a tin?')

(2) ki (sa) 'what?'

a ki sa, sa?

Eq what that that

'What is that?'

|ki sa li dji?

|what that 3s say

|'What did he say?'

ki bwa, sa?

what wood this

'What (type of) wood is this?'

ki bét 'what?'
ki bét sa?
what thing this
'What is this?'

ki kuló 'what colour?'
ki kuló sa txizozo?
what colour that songbird
'What colour is that bird?'

(3) ki lake/ki lakél 'which?'
a ki lake liv pi joli?
Eq what which book more pretty
'Which book is nicest?'

a ki lakél ki txue-1?
Eq what which that kill-3s
'Which (of them) killed it?'

(4) ki mun/kin 'who?'
ki mun hive ayé?
what person arrive yesterday
'Who arrived yesterday?'

kin ki save?
who that knows
'Who knows?'

pu ki mun 'for whom?'

a pu ki mun sa bét la u gã?
Eq for what person that thing Ind 2s have
'For whom is that thing you have?' or: 'Who is that thing for that you have?'

dji ki mun 'from whom?/whose?'

dji ki mun sa?
from what person this
'Whose is this?'

dji ki mun u axte-1?
from what person 2s buy-3s
'From whom did you buy it?'

ke ki mun 'with whom?'

ke ki mun u ke ale?
with what person 2s Tf go
'Who are you going with?'

(5) ki tã 'when?'
ki tã u ke nathe-1?
what time 2s Tf plait-3s
'When will you plait it?'

ki tã zót ke ale?
what time 2p Tf go
'When are you (pl) going?'

ki ló 'when?'

ki ló ye ke sótxi dji lekól?
what hour 3p Tf leave from school
'When will they come out of school?'

dji ki tã 'from when?'
 dji ki tã li malad?
 from what time 3s ill
 'From when is he ill?'
 (i.e., 'When did he become ill?')

kõbyã tã 'how long?'
 kõbyã tã li te hete la?
 how=much time 3s Tp stay there
 'How long has it been there?'

(6) kote 'where?'

kote u k-ale?
 where 2s Tpr=i-go
 'Where are you going?'

kote u ka hete?
 where 2s Tpr=i live
 'Where do you live?'

dji kote 'from where?'
 dji kote li hive?
 from where 3s arrive
 'Where did he come from?'

utxi 'where?'
 utxi u sulye?
 where 2sP shoe
 'Where are your shoes?'

(7) kumã 'how?'

kumã u le mãje?
 how 2s want eat
 'How do you want to eat (it)?'

kumã li ke fé-1?
 how 3s Tf make-3s
 'How will he do it?'

kumã li kupe-1?
 how 3s cut-3s
 'How did he cut it?'

(8) pu ki sa 'why?'

pu ki sa li ale?
 for what that 3s go
 'Why did he go?' (Purpose)

pu ki sa u pa le?
 for what that 2s Neg want
 'Why do you not want (it)?' (Reason)

ki sa ki fé 'why?'
 a ki sa ki fé li khie?
 Eq what that what make 3s cry
 'What made him cry?'/ 'Why did he cry?' (Cause)

2.6.3. Imperative Mode.

The imperative mode expresses a command and is characterized by the deletion of both subject (except as a vocative) and tense particle. It occurs only with event clauses.

kupe-1!
 cut-3s
 '(You), cut it!'

bay mo!
 give 1s
 '(You), give (it) to me!'

vini, tximun!
 come child
 'Child, come here!'

gade kumã la xiko-bwa blese-1!
 see how there stump injure-3s
 'See how the stump injured him there!'

Occasionally the plural pronoun subject is retained:

zot ale!
 2p go
 'Go, all of you!'

2.6.4. Hortatory Mode.

The hortatory mode expresses an exhortation involving both hearer and speaker. It is characterized by the replacement of the subject of an event clause by the hortative particle *anu* 'let's/let's go'.

anu mãje! Hort eat 'Let's eat!'	anu laba! Hort over=there 'Let's go over there!'	anu dhómi! Hort sleep 'Let's go to bed!'	anu! Hort 'Let's go!'
---------------------------------------	--	--	-----------------------------

2.6.5. Necessitative Mode.

The necessitative mode expresses insistence upon, or the need for certain action. It is characterized by the presence of a preposed necessitative particle *fodha* 'it is necessary that' and the absence of overt tense markers.

fodha ghamun la ki kónét Nec old=person there that know 'There has to be an older person there who knows (how to do it).'	fodha u bwé, mãmã Nec 2s drink mother 'You have to drink it, Mother.'
--	---

fodha ye txue Pyé
 Nec 3p kill Peter
 'They had to kill Peter.' (i.e., 'It was needful that they should kill Peter.')

2.6.6. Advisory Mode.

The advisory mode expresses a warning. It is formed by the presence of a preposed advisory particle *veye* 'watch out (lest)' and the absence of a tense marker.

veye u tōbe! Avsy 2s fall 'Watch out, or you will fall!'	veye mux pitxe u! Avsy wasp sting 2s 'Careful lest the wasp sting you!'	veye lapli vin! Avsy rain come 'Look out, the rain is coming!'
--	---	--

2.7. Periphery.

The nuclear clause may take an optional preposed time word or phrase, and/or an optional postposed word or phrase filling an adjunct slot in the surface structure, manifesting one of the following roles: means, company, manner, goal, site, source.

Clauses with two postposed peripheral elements are extremely rare. Event clauses with preposed adjunct as time may also occur with postposed adjunct as goal, site, source, instrument or company. It is rare, however, for clauses to take more than one peripheral element. The most common peripheral elements are goal, site, source and time.

	Goal/ Site/ Source	Inst	Means	Company	Manner	Time
1 Bitransitive	X			X	X	X
2 Comparative						
3 Transitive	X	X		X	X	X
4 Possessive						
5 Occasional						
6 Semitransitive	X		X	X	X	X
7 Circumstantial						
8 Descriptive						
9 Existential				X		X
10 Intransitive	X	X		X	X	X
11 Receptive						
12 Attributive	X					X
13 Complementive						
14 Locative						
15 Identificational	X					
16 Progressive						
17 Extentive						
18 Ambientive						
19 Temporal						
20 Durational						
21 Quotative						X
22 Cognitive						
23 Causative						X

Figure 13. The occurrence of peripheral roles with each clause type.

The following are examples of clauses with peripheral elements:

Goal

li lese-1 pu óm la
3s leave-3s for man Ind
'He left it for that man.'

mo ke bay ye lahextã pu li
1s Tf give 3p remainder for 3s
'I will give them the rest for him.'

Source

mo ka mãje mi dji batxi nóv
1s Tpr=i eat corn from field new
'I'm eating corn from (my) new field.'

ye tut ale dji laho pu ãba
3p all go from up to down
'They all went downriver from upriver.'

Site

sa khapo la gã lét la so do
that frog Ind have letter there 3sP back
'That (type of) frog has a letter on its back.'

ye mahe-1 la higól kaz
3p tie-3s there gutter house
'They tied him up in the gutter by the house.'

Instrument

li ka bahe kaz ke hipã
3s Tpr=i enclose house with slat
'He is enclosing (his) house with slats.'

mo fwé hu-pitxe-1 ökó ke apõ la
1sP brother re-sting-3s again with harpoon Ind
'My brother poked it again with his harpoon.'

The role of instrument is more often expressed in an independent juxtaposed clause.

li phã so sab, li kupe-1
3s took 3sP machete 3s cut-3s
'He took his machete (and) he cut it.' (i.e., with his machete)

Means

ye ka maxe ke batō
 3p Tpr=i walk with stick
 'They were walking with (by means of) sticks.'

ye ale pa bato
 3p go by boat
 'They went by boat.'

Company

u ke voye-1 djivā ke mo fam
 2s Tf send=3s in=front with 1sp wife
 'You will send him ahead with my wife.'

ye hive ke so māmā
 3p arrive with 3sP mother
 'They arrived with her mother.'

Manner

bakóv tut sabhe plat
 banana all clear flat
 'All the bananas were cut down flat.'

li kuhi vitmā
 3s run fast
 'He ran quickly.'

Time

djime mo ka hāde u djisā
 tomorrow 1s Tpr=i return 2sP blood
 'Tomorrow I will avenge your blood.'

ju bomātē ye desan
 day early=morning 3p descend
 'At dawn they got down.'

A clause with two post nuclear peripheral elements is:

S	P	Adj(Manner)	Adj(Means)
li / ka	dhómi /	xwit /	ke lapli
3s	Tpr=i sleep	sweet	with rain

'He sleeps well in the rain.'

2.8. Clause Status within the sentence.

Within the sentence a clause may be independent, subordinate, dependent or relative.

2.8.1. Independent.

A clause is said to be independent when it may occur in isolation as the nucleus of a contrastive clause type or as the head of a complex sentence.

li ke vin
 3s Tf come
 'He will come.'

| si mo ka dumāde-1, li ke vin
 if 1s Tpr=i ask-3s 3s Tf come
 'If I ask him, he will come.'

li ke vin pu phā so bagaj
 3s Tf come to take 3sP thing
 'He will come to get his things.'

2.8.2. Subordinate.

A clause is said to be subordinate when it carries an obligatory subordinating marker and is thus related by it to another clause which is the head of a complex sentence, or to the predicate of a ditransitive clause.

<u>si</u> <u>li</u> <u>bõ</u> mo ke axte-1		li ka dumãde <u>si</u> <u>u</u> <u>le</u> <u>axte-1</u>
if 3s good 1s Tf buy-3s		3s Tpr=i ask if 1s want buy-3s
'If it is good, I will buy it.'		'He is asking whether you want to buy it.'

The subordinating marker denotes the role of the subordinate clause in the sentence.

si	- conditional	kã	} - temporal
pu	- purpose	ló	
kumã	} - comparative	xak	
kõ		avã	
kõsi		dji pi tã	
		aphe	
		juk tã	

Examples of subordinate clauses of all these types are found in section 1.2.2.2.

2.8.3. Dependent.

A clause is said to be dependent if it may not occur in isolation, being dependent on the presence (not necessarily overt) of another clause. It may be the head of a complex sentence. Dependent clauses occur as follows:

2.8.3.1. As the head of hypothetical conditional sentences.

si-1 te hive, mo teke koze ke-1
 if-3s Tp arrive 1s Tc talk with-3s
 'If he had come, I would have talked with him.'

si mo te gã boku lajõ, mo teke axte boku bagaj
 if 1s Tp have much money 1s Tc buy much thing
 'If I had had lots of money, I would have bought many things.'

2.8.3.2. As head of a non-feasible purpose sentence.

lajõ pa bay pu axte tut bagaj
 money Neg give to buy all thing
 'There was not enough money to buy everything.'

fey ka bay pu fini kaz
 leaf Tpr=i give for finish house
 'There is enough leafing to finish the house.'

2.8.3.3. As fillers of time adjunct slot.

hete bō tā ye tut sótxi
stay good time 3p all leave
'After awhile they all left.'

2.8.4. Relative.

A clause is said to be relative when it occurs with an obligatory relator marker within a noun or locative phrase, as an expansion of the phrase head.

Relator ki:

mo wé / sa fam ki te vini pase fét isi la
1s see that woman which Tp come pass holiday here
'I saw that woman who had come to spend the holiday here.'

u mém pa txue / as hē mux ki móde u
2s self Neg kill that only wasp which bite 2s
'You yourself did not kill only that wasp which bit you.'

utxi / sa ki mo te bay pu u póte pu mo?
where that which 1s Tp give for 2s carry for 1s
'Where is that thing which I gave you to carry for me.'

Relator pu:

mo pa-ōkó wé / kaho pu mo ale lādā
1s Neg-yet see car for 1s go there=in
'I had not yet seen the car which I was to go in.'

ka hete / wun pu bay pu li
Tpr=i stay one for give to 3s
'There is one over which you can give to him.'

Relator kote:

li ale / la kote ye teka bhiga
3s go there where 3p Tp=i fight
'He went where they were fighting.'

ye hive / dji kote ye fwé ka hete
3p arrive from where 3pP brother Tpr=i live
'They came from their brother's home.' (lit: from where their brother lives)

A relative clause used to expand the noun head of an identificational clause predicate is a common device for focussing attention on the noun phrase head it is related to (i.e., emphasizing that it is this noun head, and not another), rather than just conveying additional information about the noun head, as is the normal use of the relative clause elsewhere in the language.

so pitxit / a li ki fé-1
 3sP child Eq 3s which do-3s
 'It is his child who did it.' (lit: His child it-is he who did it.)

cf. so pitxit fé-1
 3sP child do-3s
 'His child did it.'

li dji /a ke Bōdje ki li teka koze
 3s say Eq with God who 3s Tp=i talk
 'He said it was with God that he was talking.'

cf. li dji li teka koze ke Bōdje
 3s say 3s Tp=i talk with God
 'He said he was talking with God.'

2.9. General Comments

2.9.1. Deletion of Clause Elements.

The deletion of nuclear clause slot fillers is common where the filler may be recovered from the context.

so fam tōbe malad, muhi
 3sP wife fall ill die
 'His wife became ill, (she) died.' (deleted subject)

ye fé, ye fé, li fé kasab kā ye ka fé fléx
 3p make 3p make 3s make pancake when 3p Tpr=i make arrow
 'They made (arrows), they made (arrows), she made pancakes while they were making arrows.'
 (deleted object) (i.e., 'While they kept on making arrows, she made pancakes.')

li peye
 3s pay
 'He paid (him the price).' (deleted goal referent and object)

si nu pa te ale, ēbé mo pitxit teka tōne invalid
 if 1p Neg Tp go then 1sP offspring Tp=i turn invalid
 'If we had not gone (there), then my daughter would have become an invalid.'
 (deleted goal referent)

2.9.2. Order of Clause Elements.

The normal order of elements in the declarative clause, as outlined previously, is:

(Time Adj), S, P, O, R

This order may be changed for reasons of mode, subordination or focus.

2.9.2.1. Mode.

Adjunct of time follows the clause nucleus in non-declarative clause.

Impv vini gade txizozo la ató
 come see songbird Ind now
 'Come now and see the bird.'

Horty anu mǎje ató
 Hort eat now
 'Let's eat now!'

Necv fodha u fé sa djime
 Nec 2s do that tomorrow
 'Tomorrow you have to do that.'

Intrg kote li ale ayé?
 where 3s go yesterday
 'Where did he go yesterday?'

Advy veye txig ka vin taló
 Avsy jaguar Tpr=i come soon
 'Watch out lest the jaguar comes soon.'

2.9.2.2. Subordination.

Adjunct of time follows the clause nucleus in a subordinate or relative clause.

li hive / pu koze ke mo djime
 3s arrive to talk with 1s tomorrow
 'He arrived to talk with me tomorrow.'

li pa puve vin / pase li malad tu le ju
 3s Neg able come because 3s ill all Dem day
 'He cannot come because he is ill everyday.'

mo wé sa fam / ki te vini pase fét wót ane isi-la
 1s see that woman who Tp come pass holiday other year here
 'I saw that woman who came last year to spend the holiday here'.

2.9.2.3. Focus.

Adjuncts of time may be backed in the clause, and other adjuncts, objects and referents may be fronted when they are the focal point of the speaker's attention.

de bóm li bay mo
 two tin 3s give 1s
 'Two tins he gave me.'
 - focus on 'two tins'

(object fronted)

ye hive ayé
 3p arrive yesterday
 'They arrived yesterday.'
 - focus on 'yesterday' (time adjunct backed)

laba bola ye ka hete
 over=there yonder 3p Tpr=i stay
 'They live over there.'
 - focus on 'over there' (site referent fronted)

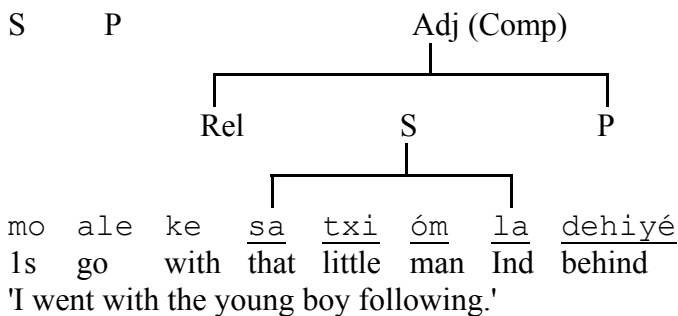
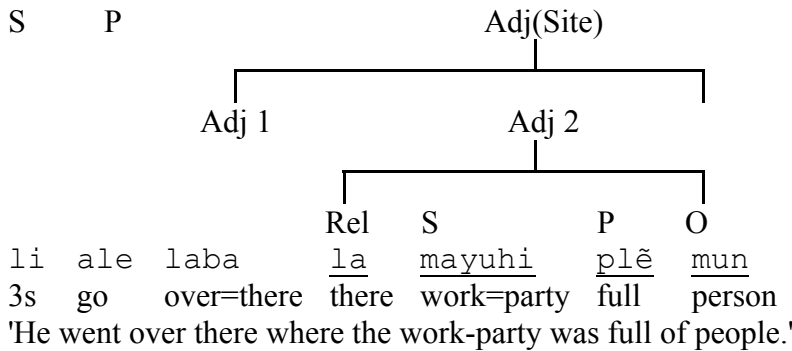
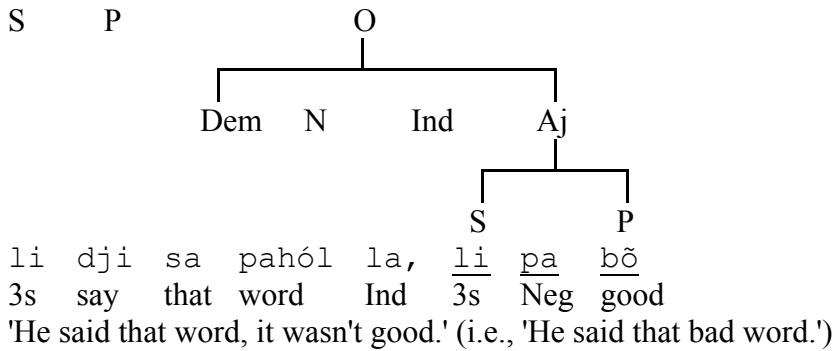
ke sa kalite mun fodha gǎ pasiēs
 with that quality people Nec have patience
 'With that type of person (one) has to have patience.'
 - focus on 'that type of person' (goal referent fronted)

NB The fronted focal element may also take the preceding equative a in an identificational clause construction for special emphasis.

a te de bóm li bay mo
 Eq Tp two tin 3s give 1s
 'It was two tins that he gave me.'

2.9.3. Embedding.

A clause may be embedded within a noun phrase or within a relator-axis phrase (where it substitutes for the noun phrase axis).



2.9.4. Passive Voice.

There is no passive form of the predicate in Event, Experience or Process clauses. All such utterances are in the active form.

'I was bitten by a wasp' must be expressed as:

mux móde mo
wasp bite 1s
'The wasp bit me.'

'All the bananas were eaten' must be expressed as:

nu māje tut bakóv or: pa hete bakóv
lp eat all banana Neg stay banana
'We ate all the bananas.' 'There were no bananas left.'

'The lard is being melted by the fire' is expressed as:

djife ka fun ghés la
fire Tpr=i melt fat Ind
'The fire is melting the lard.'

However a few verbs may be used in a passive sense in state clauses.

kaz la pētxihe
house Ind paint
'The house is painted.'

(But one cannot say, 'The house was painted by John'; this must be expressed actively as 'John painted the house.'). Verbs which may be used in this passive state sense are considered as being verbal adjectives in such clauses.

2.9.5. Reflexive.

There is no special reflexive construction, but the reflexive is indicated by a possessed body or body part (rather than by a pronoun, as for a non-reflexive object), or by the emphatic pronoun in a RA phrase.

mo bat mo kó
1s hit 1sP body
'I hit myself.'

li ka lave so kó
3s Tpr=i wash 3sP body
'He is washing himself.'

mo kupe mo dwét
1s cut 1sP finger
'I cut my finger.'

mo axte-l pu mo mém
1s buy-3s for 1s Emph
'I bought it for myself.'

3. THE PHRASE

Phrases are the normal fillers of clause slots. Five types of phrases are distinguished:

- (1) Verbal – fills Predicate slot
- (2) Nominal – fills Subject/Object slots, and functions in certain Verbal phrases
- (3) Adjectival – functions in Nominal phrase and in certain Verbal phrases
- (4) Locative – fills Referent and Adjunct slots, and functions in certain Verbal phrases
- (5) Relator-Axis – fills Referent and Adjunct slots

The general structure of each phrase type is:

Nucleus + Periphery

Characteristically, two or more simple phrases of a given type may be juxtaposed, linked only by intonation, to denote expansion, listing, emphasis or apposition.

3.1. The Verbal Phrase.

The verbal phrase consists of an obligatory nucleus and optional periphery (of pre-, in- and post- nuclear elements).

3.1.1. Nucleus.

The standard nucleus of a simple verbal phrase consists of a tense marker and the verbal head. The nucleus may be specified by the addition of an auxiliary verb.

i.e., Standard nucleus = T+H
 Specified nucleus = T+V_X+H

(T = Tense marker,
H = Head,
V_X = auxiliary verb)

Eventive – this functions as the predicate of all Event, Experience and Process
H = Verb clauses (except Occasional clause type).

Descriptive – this functions as the predicate of Descriptive, Attributive, Extensive and
H = Ajph Ambientive clause types.

Locative – this functions as the predicate of Locative clause type.
H = Locph

Equative – this functions as the predicate of Complementive, Identificational,
H = Nph Occasional and Temporal clause types.

Figurative – this functions as the predicate of Comparative, Possessive, Existential
H = FV+Nph and Durational clause types.

(FV indicates one of three verbs (gã, hete, pase) or an adjective used in a special figurative sense.)

3.1.2. Tense.

There are five overt tense markers and another in which the absence of an overt marker indicates the tense.

Tense	Marker	Symbol	Example
Future complete	ke	Tf	mo ke vin 'I will come.'
Present incomplete (or near future)	ka	Tpr=i	mo ka vin 'I am coming.'
Present complete	#	(T#)	mo kōtā 'I am glad.'
Past complete	#	(T#)	mo vin 'I came.'
Past complete	te	Tp	mo te kōtā 'I was glad.'
Past incomplete	teka	Tp=i	mo teka vin 'I was coming'
Hypothetical conditional	teke	Tc	mo teke vin 'I would have come.'

Figure 14. Tense markers.

The use of each tense marker is restricted to certain clause types as indicated in figure 15.

	Fut.	Pres.	Past compl.	Past incompl.	Conditional
Events and Processes	ke	ka	#	teka	teke
Experiences and States	ke	#	te	-	teke

Figure 15. Use of tense markers within clause types

The present tense marker ka elides with the initial vowel of verbs beginning with a non-back vowel, to form a prefix k-; for example, mo ka ale becomes mo k-ale, 'I am going.'

The zero tense marker has not normally been indicated in examples in this paper.

3.1.3. Verbal Phrase Types

3.1.3.1. Eventive Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + V

mo <u>ke</u> <u>ale</u>	xē la <u>ka</u> <u>xode</u>	lapli <u>tōbe</u> tu nanwit
1s Tf go	dog Ind Tpr=i heat	rain (T#) fall all in=night
'I will go.'	'The dog is in heat.'	'It was raining all night.'

3.1.3.2. Descriptive Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + Ajph

mo kó	<u>xo</u>		u	<u>tho</u>	<u>pitxi</u>		li	<u>te</u>	<u>suku</u>	
1s	body (T#)	hot	2s (T#)	too	small	3s	3s	3s	3s Tp	dark
'I am hot.'			'You are too young.'			'It was dark.'				

3.1.3.3. Locative Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + Locph

so fwé	<u>te</u>	<u>la</u>	osi		li	<u>la</u>	<u>ba</u>	<u>ofõ</u>
3sP	brother	Tp	there also	3s (T#)	there	over	yonder	
'His brother was there too.'				'He is way over there.'				

3.1.3.4. Equative Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + Nph

txig	<u>te</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>mun</u>		li	<u>midji</u>	<u>deha</u>		a	<u>mo</u>	<u>liv</u>
jaguar	Tp	Com	person	3s (T#)	midday	already	Eq (T#)	1sP	book		
'Jaguars were people.'				'It is already midday.'			'It is my book.'				

3.1.3.5. Figurative Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + FV + Nph

li	<u>gã</u>	<u>de</u>	<u>mét</u>		<u>te</u>	<u>gã</u>	<u>boku</u>	<u>kaymã</u>	la	lag
3s (T#)	have	two	metre	Tp	have	much	alligator	there	lake	
'It is two metres.'				'There were lots of alligators in the lake.'						

hete wun ane
(T#) stay one year
'One year passed.' / 'One year later.'

3.1.4. Auxiliary Verb.

The auxiliary verb, placed between the tense marker and the verbal phrase head, is used to express a certain phase of an occurrence.

li /	ka	<u>kumase</u>	fé,	/	so	nak		kwi	la /	pa-õkó	<u>kumase</u>	mi /
3s	Tpr=i	begin	make	3sP	bow	gourd	Ind	Neg-yet (T#)	begin	ripe		
'He is beginning to make his bow.'							'The gourd has not begun to ripen yet.'					

sa	simén	ye /	ke	<u>fini</u>	bahe /	kaz		li /	<u>vini</u>	még
Dem	week	3p	Tf	finish	enclose	house	3s (T#)	come	thin	
'They will finish putting up the walls of the house this week.'							'She became thin.'			

Whilst the verb a1e 'go' is commonly used in conjunction with other verbs in the same position as the auxiliary verb, this is considered to be a merging of two clauses, and has been dealt with in section 1.2.2.3.

Similarly, the desiderative verb 1e 'want' appears to be used in an auxiliary sense in examples such as:

mo 1e gade-1
 1s want see-3s
 'I want to see it.'

This, however, is a Cognitive-Desiderative clause type with deleted subject and tense marker in the embedded object clause (since the subject of this clause is the same subject as that of the main clause):

mo/1e/(mo ka) gade-1
 'I want that I should see it./'I want (me) to see it.'

There are a few idiomatic uses of verbs as auxiliary verbs.

li hete majine
 3s stay think
 'He thought for a while.' / 'He was thinking.'

3.1.5. Periphery.

The verbal phrase nucleus (standard or specified) may take a pre-nuclear negative, in-nuclear degree qualifier (between the tense marker and head), and a post-nuclear aspect qualifier, as shown in the following examples:

Negative

/ <u>pa</u> tuxe!/ Neg touch 'Don't touch!'	li/ <u>pa</u> te bõ 3s Neg Tp good 'It was not good.'	li/ <u>pa-õkó</u> hive/ isi-la 3s Neg-yet arrive here 'He has not yet arrived here.'
---	---	--

Degree

li/ te <u>phóx</u> muhi 3s Tp near die 'He had nearly died.' or, 'He was nearly dead.'	salakul/ ka <u>hẽ</u> póte/ xévwét wader=bird Tpr=i only bring shrimp 'The wader only brings shrimps.'
--	--

Aspect

zohãj la/ vyat <u>tuju</u> / orange Ind/ green still 'The oranges are still green (i.e., unripe).'	zót/ k-ale <u>deha?</u> / 2p Tpr=i-go already 'Are you going already?'
--	--

A verbal phrase normally includes only one peripheral item, though two may occur.

li / pa vini <u>ōkó</u> / isi-la	li / te <u>phóx</u> muhi <u>deha</u> /
3s Neg come again here	3s T _p near die already
'He did not come here again.'	'He was nearly dead already.'

The post nuclear qualifier may be fronted for emphasis, and is normally backed disjointly to follow an object or referent.

li / <u>deha</u> bay sēk é /	li / gā / -l lasu-l <u>tuju</u>
3s already give five hour	3s have -3s there=on-3s still
'Already it is five o'clock.'	'He still has it on him.'
	(i.e., 'He still is ill.')

The in-nuclear qualifier may, rarely, be backed to a post-nuclear position.

li fwé ki li / pa puve <u>phóx</u>
3s cold that 3s Neg able near
'He was (so) cold he almost could not (do anything).'
(i.e., 'He could hardly (do anything) as he was cold.')

3.1.6. Complex Verbal Phrase.

A complex verbal phrase with two juxtaposed verb nuclei is used to express emphasis or certainty.

li <u>kólé</u> <u>te</u> <u>kólé</u>	ye <u>ka</u> <u>jue</u> <u>ke</u> <u>jue</u>
3s be=angry T _p be=angry	3p T _{pr=i} play T _f play
'He was really angry.'	'They are certainly having fun.'

lese mun <u>thavay</u> <u>ka</u> <u>thavay</u>
leave person work T _{pr=i} work
'Leave people alone to get on with the work.'

It will be noted that the tenses of the two phrases are not the same. The following combinations have been observed.

1st Verbal Phrase	2nd Verbal Phrase
T#	T _p
T#	T _{pr=i}
T _{pr=i}	T _f

Occasionally the subject may occur between the two verbal phrases, in which case the two tenses are the same (T#).

muhi li muhi
die 3s die
'He died indeed.'

	<u>axte-1</u>	li	<u>axte-1</u>
	buy-3s	3s	buy-3s
	'He certainly bought it.'		

3.2. The Nominal Phrase.

There are three basic nominal phrase types, Minor, Personal, and Simple, as described below. Each may function as the subject or object of a predicate, as the head of a relator-axis phrase, and as head of nominal and figurative verbal phrases.

3.2.1. Minor Nominal Phrase.

The nucleus is a Personal, Possessive, or Demonstrative Pronoun.

<u>mo</u> / ka gade mun la	
1s Tpr=i look=at person Ind	
'I am looking at those people.'	(Subj/Pers pronoun)

mux teka pitxe / <u>ye</u>	
wasp Tp=i sting 3p	
'The wasps were stinging them.'	(Obj/Pers pronoun)

xê pa te le ale / ke <u>li</u>	
dog Neg Tp want go/ with 3s	
'The dog did not want to go with him.'	(RAph/Pers pronoun)

a / <u>sa</u> ki mo le	
Eq Dem which 1s want	
'That is what I want.'	(Vph/Dem pronoun)

a / <u>mo-pa</u>	
Eq 1sPP	
'It is mine.'	(Vph/Poss pronoun)

(For a complete listing of pronouns, see section 4.1.2.1.)

3.2.1.1. Periphery.

The Minor Nominal Phrase nucleus may take a post-nuclear emphatic qualifier mém 'indeed'/'self'.

a / li <u>mém</u> / ki fé-1	
Eq 3s Emph which make-3s	
'It is he himself who made it.' (i.e., 'He made it himself.')	

The plural person pronouns may take a postposed numerical qualifier.

nu	<u>tut</u> / ale		ye	<u>de</u> / hive
1p	all go		3p	two arrive
'We all went.'			'The two of them arrived.'	

The nuclear pronoun does not take more than one peripheral qualifier.

3.2.2. Personal Nominal Phrase.

The nucleus is a personal name.

<u>Pyé</u>	ãbete	ke	so	mãmã		mo	k-ale	kote	<u>Tõ</u>
Peter	tired=of	with	3sP	mother		1s	Tpr=i-go	to	Wasp
'Peter was tired of his mother.'						'I'm going to Wasp's house.'			

3.2.2.1. Periphery.

The Personal Nph nucleus may take a preposed titular qualifier.

<u>tan</u>	Eliét		<u>muxe</u>	Koku		<u>ghamun</u>	Jój
aunt	Elliette		mister	Coconut		old=man	George
'Aunt Elliette'			'Mr. Coconut'			'Old Mr. George.'	

(For full classification of titles and kin terms see Fig. 18, section 4.1.2.1.)

3.2.3. Simple Nominal Phrase.

The standard nucleus is a noun: N. The specified nucleus is a noun head followed by an auxiliary qualifying noun, or a verb (used participially); i.e., H + Q (Q = N or V).

(1) Standard nucleus:

<u>kaymã</u>	ka	ghõde		mo	ka	wé	<u>txizozo</u>	la
alligator	Tpr=i	roar		1s	Tpr=i	see	little=bird	there
'The alligator is roaring.'				'I see a songbird there.'				

mo wé-1 la su pye-bwa
 1s see-3s there on tree
 'I saw it on the tree.'

(2) Specified nucleus:

pedas	lapót	H + Q	(Q = N)		thip	mutõ	(Q = N)
piece	door				innards	sheep	
'a piece of the door'					'the sheep's innards'		

nõ jue (Q = V)
 name play
 'nick-name'

The qualifier of the specified nucleus indicates the species or substance of the noun head.

3.2.3.1. Periphery.

The Simple Nph may take both pre-nuclear and post-nuclear periphery.

The pre-nuclear peripheral elements are:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| (1) | qualifier of age or size | q ₁ |
| (2) | qualifier of appearance | q ₂ |
| (3) | quantifier or specifier | q ₃ |
| (4) | demonstrative or possessive adjective | q ₄ |

These precede the nucleus in the order:

±q₄ ±q₃ ±q₂ ±q₁ +H.

Not more than two qualifiers occur together, however.

<u>mo</u> <u>txi</u> só	q ₄ q ₁ H	<u>sa</u> <u>joli</u> kaz	q ₄ q ₂ H
lsp little sister		Dem pretty house	
'my little sister'		'that nice house'	
<u>joli</u> <u>txi</u> kaz	q ₂ q ₁ H	<u>de</u> <u>jun</u> fam	q ₃ q ₁ H
pretty little house		two young woman	
'nice little house'		'two young girls'	
<u>nót</u> kalite héméd	q ₃ HQ		
other type medicine			
'another kind of medicine'			

The post-nuclear peripheral elements are:

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| (1) | qualifier of colour, relative time, newness, length, etc. | q ¹ |
| (2) | Indicator | q ² |
| (3) | RAph of possession, or generics | q ³ |

These succeed the nucleus in the order: H ±q¹ ±q² ±q³ Usually only one qualifier is postposed, though two may occur.

ane pase
 year pass
 'last year'

Hq¹ | xemiz blã la
 shirt white Ind
 'that white shirt'

Hq¹q²

hibã dji sēt Antonyo
 ribbon of saint Anthony
 'a ribbon (from the statue) of St. Anthony'

Hq³

A Simple nominal phrase may take both preposed and postposed periphery.

mo jip ble
 1sP skirt blue
 'my blue skirt'

q₄hq¹

However, expansion of the head with more than two peripheral elements is usually formed by the juxtaposition of separate nominal phrases or clauses, rather than by the multiplication of qualifiers in one nominal phrase.

laba mo wé letóf, joli letóf, letóf ble, jón, huj
 over=there 1s see cloth, pretty cloth, cloth blue, yellow, red
 'There I saw pretty blue, yellow, and red cloth.'

ye fé gho djife, ye fé ye djife, un gho djife ye fé
 3p make big fire 3p make 3pP fire, a big fire 3p make
 'They made their big fire.'

3.2.4. Complex Nominal Phrase.

Nominal phrases may be linked and expanded in various ways.

3.2.4.1. Conjoined Nph: two or more nominal phrases linked by a conjunction.

sē Pyé ke so fwé		ghãgoje ke aha ble
saint Peter with 3sP brother		heron with macaw blue
'St. Peter and his brother'		'the heron and the blue macaw'

3.2.4.2. Juxtaposed Nph: two or more nominal phrases linked by intonation and timing, to express:

(1) listing:		(2) expansion:
zohāj, sithō, bakóv		un pye-bwa, un gho pye-bwa,
orange lemon banana		a tree a big tree
'oranges, lemons, and bananas'		'a big tree'

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(3) emphasis:
 patxi djisã, djisã
 much blood blood
 'lots and lots of blood'</p> | <p>(4) reprise:
 so fwé la, li (kuhi)
 3sP brother Ind 3s (run)
 'His brother, he (ran).'</p> |
| <p>(5) apposition:
 Mahi, mo só, mo pahén so pitxit
 Mary 1sP sister 1sP godfather 3sP offspring
 'my sister Mary, my godfather's daughter'</p> | |

3.2.4.3. Expanded Nph: a nominal phrase expanded by a postposed relative clause.

kaho/ pu mo ale lãdã car for 1s go in 'the car which I was to go in'	sa/ ki pa bõ Dem which Neg good 'that which is no good'
--	---

3.2.5. Elliptic Nominal Phrase.

The deletion of the noun head of a nominal phrase may occur, leaving a qualifier as apparent head of the phrase and filler of the subject/object slot. This only occurs where the noun head may be recovered from the context.

mo gã <u>tut</u> 1s have all 'I have all (the books).'	li bay mo <u>de</u> <u>hu</u> <u>j</u> 3s give 1s two red 'He gave me two ripe (bananas).'
--	--

3.3. The Adjectival Phrase

3.3.1. Nucleus.

The nuclear adjective is a qualifier of a nominal phrase or the head of a verbal phrase, expressing the colour or attribute of a noun.

mo <u>joli</u> kaz 1s <u>pretty</u> house 'my nice house'	li <u>ble</u> 3s <u>blue</u> 'It is blue.'
---	--

3.3.2. Periphery.

The nucleus may be qualified by either a pre-nuclear quantifier (q) or a post-nuclear intensifier (i).

<u>tho</u> pezã too heavy 'too heavy'	<u>may</u> <u>ẽ</u> blã medium white 'more or less white'	q + H
---	---	-------

fahux mém
 wild Emph
 'really wild'

|bö boku
 |good much
 |'very good'

H + i

An adjective does not take both pre- and post-nuclear qualifiers.

When the adjective is itself a preposed qualifier in a nominal phrase, it does not take the postposed intensifier. This modification must be expressed by a separate juxtaposed adjectival phrase.

joli txi kaz, joli mém
 pretty little house pretty Emph
 'a really nice little house'

Similarly, a postposed adjective in a nominal phrase does not take a preposed qualifier.

mo xemiz blā, djimi blā
 1sP shirt white half white
 'My shirt is a kind of white.'

Occasionally, a nuclear adjective functioning as head of a verbal phrase may take two preposed qualifiers.

li te tho tho pezã
 3s Tp too too heavy
 'It was much too heavy.'

3.3.3. Juxtaposed Adjectival Phrase.

Two or more adjectival phrases are linked by intonation and timing for the following reasons:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>(1) listing:
 ble blā huj
 blue white red
 'blue, white and red'</p> | | <p>(2) expansion:
 wun, sél wun
 one only one
 'only one'</p> |
| <p>(3) uncertainty
 huj jón
 red yellow
 'reddish-yellowish' (i.e., orange coloured')</p> | | <p>wun de
 one two
 'one or two'</p> |
| <p>(4) emphasis:
 pal, pal, pal
 pale pale pale
 'extremely pale'</p> | | |

Emphasis of adjectives to form a superlative is also accomplished by intonation and lengthened vowels or consonants.

3.4. The Locative Phrase

3.4.1. Nucleus and Qualifier.

The locative phrase consists of a locative word nucleus, with either preposed or postposed qualifier.

la <u>ba</u> .	la <u>ho</u>	H + q (qualifier underlined)
there far	there high	
'over there'	'upriver'	
<u>bo</u> isi	<u>dhét</u> mitã	q + H
side here	right middle	
'here'	'right in the middle'	

3.4.2. Juxtaposed Locative Phrase.

Two or more locative phrases may be juxtaposed for expansion.

la ba, bo la	bo la, ba ofõ
there far side there	side there far yonder
'over there on the other side'	'a long way over there'

3.4.3. Expanded Locative Phrase.

The locative phrase may be juxtaposed to a nominal phrase or a relator-axis phrase for expansion.

<u>bo</u> <u>la,</u> bo lahivyé	Locph + Nph
side there side river	
'over there at the river's edge'	

<u>la</u> <u>ba,</u> āba pye-bwa	Locph + RAph
there far under tree	
'over there under the tree'	

Certain locative phrases are now used as a single-word utterance.

la-ba	'there'
bo-la	'over there'
bo-isi	'here'

3.5. The Relator-Axis Phrase

3.5.1. Nucleus.

The nucleus of the relator-axis phrase consists of a relator, and a nominal phrase axis or a locative phrase axis.

ãba	tab		ke	mo	papa		pu	de	ju		dji	la
under	table		with	1sP	father		for	two	day		from	there
'under the table'			'with my father'				'for two days'				'from there'	

Locative relator-axis phrases are often juxtaposed to an initial locative word and thus appear to have a compound relator.

la /	ãdã	bwét	(becomes: lãdã bwét)		la /	djivã	lapót
there	inside	box			there	in=front	door
'inside the box'					'in front of the door'		

3.5.2. Periphery.

Peripheral elements are rare in the relator-axis phrase, but the nucleus may take a preposed quantifier or a postposed aspect qualifier.

<u>tu</u>	na	nwit		dji	Kayén	õkó
all	in	night		from	Cayenne	again
'all through the night'				'again from Cayenne'		

3.5.3. Embedded Relator-Axis Phrase.

An embedded relator-axis phrase may take the place of the nuclear nominal phrase, especially in locative source phrases.

dji	ãba	Buxu
from	under	'Waters-meet'
'	from further down river than	'Waters-meet'

3.5.4. Elliptic Relator-Axis Phrase.

An elliptic relator-axis phrase occurs when the nuclear nominal phrase is deleted. (This most commonly occurs in locative source phrases.)

dji	ãba
from	under
'	from down river'

3.5.5. Juxtaposed Relator-Axis Phrase.

These phrases denote expansion.

bo-dji aswé, aphe midji deha
 towards evening after midday already
 'in late afternoon'

3.5.6. Clause Slot Role and Relator Relationship.

Relator-axis phrases function as fillers of adjunct and referent clause slots. The relationships between the semantic role and the relators of the relator-axis phrase are set out in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Relationship between relator-axis phrase relators and clause roles.

<u>Role</u>	<u>Relator</u>	<u>Example</u>
Goal (beneficiary)	pu 'to'	bay pu mo 'Give (it) to me!'
	bay 'to/for'	ye te kupe fey bay li 'They had cut thatch for him.'
Source (donor)	dji 'from'	mo axte-l dji mo tōtō 'I bought it from my uncle.'
Goal (locational)	pu 'to'	li ale pu so kaz 'He went to his house.'
	a 'to'	guyav la tōbe a té 'The goiaba fell to the ground.'
	la 'to'	mo k-ale la legliz 'I'm going to the church.'
	kote 'to'	u k-ale kote u só? 'Are you going to your sister's?'
Source (locational)	dji 'from'	ye hive dji laho 'They arrived from upriver.'
Site (locational)	la 'at'	ye ka xāte la legliz 'The are singing at church.'
	kote 'at'	li ka hete kote so māmā 'She is staying at her mother's.'
	ãdã 'in/inside'	mete-l ãdã bóm la 'Put it in the tin.'
	deho 'outside'	ale jue deho kaz 'Go and play outside the house.'
	ãba 'under'	ye hive ãba pye-bwa 'They arrived beneath a tree.'
	ãle 'above/up'	li mete-l ãle kaz 'He put it up in the house (roof).'

Role	Relator	Example
	djivã 'in front'	mo k-ale djivã 'I'm going ahead (of you).'
	dehiyé 'behind'	wun dehiyé wót 'one behind the other'
	hake 'next to/ beside'	gã buji hake so pye 'there is a candle next to its feet.'
	su 'on'	li k-asi su bã 'He is sitting on the bench.'
Goal (animate)	kote 'to'	li ale kote tan Mahi 'She went to Aunt Mary.'
	bo-dji 'towards'	li hale bo-dji papa lit. 'He pulls towards father.' (i.e., 'He takes after his father.')
	dehiyé 'after/in search of'	li ale dehiyé kaymã 'He went after alligator.'
Source (animate)	dji 'from/of'	a hibã dji mo txi só 'It is the ribbon of my little sister.' (i.e., 'It is my little sister's ribbon.')
Instrument	ke 'with'	li bat lapót ke mato 'He hit the door with a hammer.'
Means	ke 'with'	li ka maxe ke batõ 'He walks with (i.e., by means of) a stick.'
	pa 'by'	ye ale pa kanu 'They went by canoe.'
Company	ke 'with'	mo hive ke mo papa 'I arrived with my father.'
	sã 'without'	mo ke ale sã mo fam 'I will go without my wife.'
Manner	wakhé 'like'	li ka jue la djilo wakhé txi kana 'He plays in the water like a little duck.'
	sãble 'like'	li ég sãble sithõ 'It is sour like a lemon.'
Time (goal)	a 'to'	a pi ta 'Until later.' (i.e., 'Goodbye!')
	bodji 'towards'	bodji aswé ye hive 'Towards evening they arrived.'

<u>Role</u>	<u>Relator</u>	<u>Example</u>
Time (source)	dji pi 'from/ since'	dji pi wót ju li malad 'Since the other day he has been ill.'
Time (site)	avã 'before'	avã midji nu ale 'Before noon we went.'
	aphe 'after'	aphe midji nu hive 'After noon we arrived.' (i.e., 'We arrived in the afternoon.')
	dehiyé 'after'	li pa gã wót tximun dehiyé-l 'She didn't have another child after him.'
	na 'in'	li te gã lafyév na-nwit 'He had a fever in the night.'
	ãdã 'in/during'	ãdã tut sa li sótxi 'During all that he left.'
Time (duration)	pu 'for'	bwé sa héméd pu thwa ju 'Drink the medicine for three days.'

It will be seen from Figure 16 that certain relators are used in a variety of roles. For example,

dji denotes source - whether locational, animate, time or donor;

ãdã denotes locational and time site:

pu denotes goal - whether beneficiary or locational, and time duration:

etc.

3.6. The Comparative Modifier.

The comparative marker pi 'more' may be used to modify verbal, adjectival, locative and relator-axis phrases, together with adverbial and aspective words.

Vph

li pi kónét
he more know
'He is more knowledgeable.'

Ajph

mo gã wun pi bõ
1s have one more good
'I have a better one.'

Locph

mete-l pi bo la
put-3s more over there
'Put it further over.'

RAph

ye mete-l pi ãle pye-bwa la
3p put-3s more up tree Ind
'They put it higher in the tree.'

Aspect

fé-1 pi ōkó
do-3s more again
'Do it once again.'

Adverbial

li ka khie pi dusmā
3s Tpr=i cry more quietly
'He is crying more quietly.'

This comparative is commonly used, as above, with an unexpressed object of comparison, understood (and recoverable) from the context.

The full comparison is expressed, however, by the use of pi 'more' and pase 'than' (lit. 'pass').

li pi bō pase sa
3s more good than Dem
'It is better than that.'

mo tximun pi hot pase u-pa
1sP child more tall than 2sPP
'My child is taller than yours.'

u pi kōtā jón pase huj?
2s more like yellow pass red
'Do you prefer yellow to red?'

The comparative may also be used in a causal-effect sense.

pi li lō, pi li bō
more 3s long more 3s good
'The longer it is, the better!'

pi mi, li duhé
more ripe 3s last=long
'The riper it is the longer it will keep.'

4. THE WORD.

The majority of words consist of a simple root. A few nouns and locatives consist of two compounded roots, while possessive nouns and a few verbs and adverbs consist of a root and derivational affix. These will be further specified in the appropriate following sections. Words may be divided into two general categories: content words which may stand alone with semantic meaning, and function words whose meaning is only found in relation to other words.

4.1. Content Words

4.1.1. Verbs.

Verbs occur as the head of the Eventive verbal phrase, as an auxiliary in the verbal phrase nucleus, as the qualifying element in a specified nucleus of a Simple nominal phrase, and adjectivally as a postposed qualifier of a Simple nominal phrase. They may thus be classified as follows, where the term 'basic member' denotes words which normally or only function in the position described, and 'non-basic member' denotes words whose normal function is elsewhere, but which occasionally function in the specified position.

4.1.1.1. Auxiliary

<u>basic</u>		<u>non-basic</u>	
<u>kumase</u>	'begin'	<u>vini</u>	'come' (i.e., 'become')
<u>fini</u>	'finish'	<u>hive</u>	'arrive' ''
<u>puve</u>	'able'	<u>tóne</u>	'turn' ''

It will be noted that the three basic members may occur with any type of verbal phrase head, whereas the non-basic members are restricted to certain adjectival and nominal heads of the verbal phrase.

4.1.1.2. Figurative. There are no basic members.

<u>non-basic</u>	
gã	'have'
hete	'stay'
hot	'be tall'

4.1.1.3. Nuclear.

Members of each sub-class function as head of the verbal phrase in the clause type from which the class derives its name.

<u>Sub-class</u>	<u>basic members</u>	<u>non-basic members</u>
<u>Bitransitive</u>	bay 'give' mete 'put' aple 'call/name' etc.	bule 'roast/burn' plē 'fill'
<u>Transitive</u>	bat 'hit' mãje 'eat' mele 'mix' etc.	
<u>Semitransitive</u>	sótxi 'depart' ale 'go' abitwe 'be accustomed' etc.	
<u>Intransitive</u>	dãse 'dance' dhómi 'sleep' hõte 'be shy' etc.	

<u>Sub-class</u>	<u>basic members</u>	<u>non-basic members</u>
<u>Circumstantial</u>	bule 'roast/burn' plē 'fill'	mele 'tangle'
<u>Receptive</u>	xode 'heat' xofe 'warm' fwédji 'chill'	
<u>Progressive</u>	ghōfle 'swell' ghate 'itch'	
<u>Ditransitive</u>		
<u>Quotative</u>	dji 'say' dumāde 'ask'	
<u>Cognitive-</u>	save 'know'	
<u>Desiderative</u>	khé 'believe' kōtā 'be glad/ like' le 'want'	
<u>Causative</u>	(no basic member)	fé 'make'

4.1.1.4. Verb Classes.

Nuclear verbs may also fall into the following classes, for which there are no basic members.

Specifier - as the qualifier of a noun head forming the specified nucleus of a nominal phrase:

jue	'play'	(i.e., ' <u>nick</u> name')
batxize	'baptize'	('baptismal name')
muhi	'die'	('dead person')
etc.		

Adjectival - as a postposed qualifier to a nominal phrase nucleus:

pase	'pass'	(i.e., 'past')
mahe	'tie'	('tied')
dhómi	'sleep'	('food <u>caught at night</u>)')
etc.		

Participial - as an adjectival head of a Descriptive clause:

mahe	'tie'	('tied')
make	'mark'	('coloured/patterned')
etc.		

Nominal - occurring both as verb and noun:

māje 'eat/food'
 thavay 'to work/the work'
 pagay 'to paddle/a paddle'
 bukane 'to smoke food/smoking frame'
 etc.

4.1.1.5. Compound Verbs.

Some verbs are formed from a simple root verb and the addition of a derivational prefix denoting either the reversal of an action (prefix de- 'un-') or the repetition of an action (prefix hu- 're-').

defé	dekud	dekõthe
de-fé	de-kud	de-kõthe
un-make/do	un-sew	un-tie
'undo'	'unpick stitches'	'untie'
huphã	hutóne	hutxihe
hu-phã	hu-tóne	hu-txihe
re-take	re-turn	re-take out
'take back/take hold again'	'return/comeback again'	'remove again'
etc.		

4.1.2. Nouns.

Nouns occur as the head of the nominal phrase, head of the relator-axis phrase, and head of the Equative verbal phrase, and are classified below.

4.1.2.1. Specific Noun Classes

Pronouns

	Person	Singular		Plural	
Personal	1st	mo	'I/me'	nu	'we/us'
	2nd	u	'you'	zót	'you'
	3rd	li	'he/she/it/ him/her'	ye	'they/ them'
Possessive	1st	mo-pa	'mine'	nu-pa	'ours'
	2nd	u-pa	'yours'	zót-pa	'yours'
	3rd	so-pa	'his/hers/ its'	ye-pa	'theirs'
Demonstrative		sa	'this/that'	le	'these/ those'

Figure 17. Pronouns

The 3rd singular personal pronoun li sometimes takes the form i when used as subject; and often, as an object or in a relator-axis phrase, it elides with the preceding verb or relator as a suffix -l. (For example, li kupe li may become i kupe-l 'He cut it.')

Personal Pronouns occur as head of the minor nominal phrase filling subject and object slots, and as head of the relator-axis phrase filling referent (goal/site/source) and adjunct (company) slots.

Possessive and Demonstrative Pronouns occur as head of the minor nominal phrase filling an object slot (or, rarely, a subject slot) and as head of the verbal phrase in Identificational clauses.

Proper Names occur as head of the Personal nominal phrase and as vocatives in the clause periphery. For example: Mahi 'Mary', Kana 'Duck' .

Kin Names occur as vocatives, as titular qualifiers in the Personal nominal phrase, and as head of the Simple nominal phrase, as charted:

	<u>Name</u>		<u>Nph Head</u>	<u>Qual- ifier</u>	<u>Voca- ative</u>
Blood relatives	māmā	'mother'	x	—	x
	papa	'father'	x	—	x
	gāgā	'grandmother'	x	—	x
	ghāpapa	'grandfather'	x	—	x
	fwé	'brother'	x	—	x
	só	'sister'	x	—	x
	mānu	'brother' (rare)	—	—	x
	māna	'sister' (rare)	—	—	x
	kuzē	'cousin, male'	x	—	—
	kuzin	'cousin, female'	x	—	—
	nyés	'niece'	x	—	—
	nive	'nephew'	x	—	—
	tan	'aunt'	x	x	x
	tōtō	'uncle'	x	x	x
	pitxit	'son/daughter'	x	—	—
	gasō	'son' (rare)	x	—	—
fi	'daughter' (rare)	x	—	—	
paru	'grandchild' (rare)	x	—	—	
Marriage relatives	óm/muxe	'husband'	x	—	—
	fam/madam	'wife'	x	—	—
	bopé	'father-in-law'	x	—	x
	bélmé	'mother-in-law'	x	—	x
	bofwé	'brother-in-law'	x	—	x
	bélsó	'sister-in-law'	x	—	x
	bofi	'son-in-law'	x	—	—
	bélfi	'daughter-in-law'	x	—	—

	<u>Name</u>		<u>Nph Head</u>	<u>Qual- ifier</u>	<u>Voca- ative</u>
Baptismal relatives	pahén	'godfather'	x	—	x
	yeyén	'godmother'	x	—	x
	fiól	'godchild'	x	—	—
	kõpé	'father of one's godchild' or 'godfather of one's child'	x	x	x
	kõmé	'mother of one's godchild' or 'godmother of one's child'	x	x	x
Titles	muxe	'mister'	x	x	x
	madam	'madam'	x	x	x
	ghamun	'old-man/lady'	x	x	x
	defén	'deceased/the late'	x	x	x

Figure 18. Kin names.

Temporal Nouns occur as head of the nominal phrase or relator-axis phrase filling a temporal slot in clauses, and as head of the predicate in Occasional, Temporal, and Identificational clauses. For example:

djimãx	'Sunday'	minwi	'midnight'
jě	'June'	simén	'week'

Generic Nouns occur as head of the Simple nominal phrase filling subject and object slots in the clause, and as head of the predicate in the Complementive clause. For example:

mun	'people'	jibye	'game birds'
-----	----------	-------	--------------

Quantitive Nouns occur as head of the predicate in Possessive and Comparative clauses, and as head of the specified nucleus of a Simple nominal phrase. These measurement terms are listed below:

dwét	'finger's width'
xav	'thumb to index finger span'
pam	'thumb to little finger span'
bhas	'span of outstretched arms'
twéz	'foot to upstretched arm tip span'
mét	'metre'
kilo	'kilo'
tón	'1000 kilos'
lit	'litre'

ju	'day'
simén	'week'
mwa	'month'
ane	'year'

4.1.2.2. General Noun Classes.

All nouns which do not occur in the other noun classes described above are termed general nouns, and occur as the head of nominal phrases and relator-axis phrases filling subject, object, instrumental, and means slots in the clause, and as head of the Existential and Identificational clause predicates. For example:

xat	'cat'	kaz	'house'
-----	-------	-----	---------

4.1.2.3. Compound Nouns.

Some nouns are formed from the compounding of an adjective root and a noun root. For example:

tximun	hosiél
txi-mun	ho-siél
little person	high sky
'child'	'heaven'
bélsó	ghāpapa
bél-só	ghā-papa
pretty sister	big father
'sister-in-law'	'grandfather'

4.1.2.4. Articled Nouns.

A large number of nouns, now mono-morphemic, are seen etymologically, to be derived from the French noun stem and merged preposed article; but the stem is never found now in isolation. For example:

taking French article 'la':			
lasup	'soup'	(Fr. soupe)	
lapót	'door'	(Fr. porte)	

taking French article 'les' (as an initial <u>z</u>):			
zozo	'bird'	(Fr. oiseau)	
zohé	'ear'	(Fr. oreille)	

taking French partitive 'de'
 djipê 'bread' (Fr. pain)
 djisã 'blood' (Fr. sang)

taking French partitive article 'de la' or 'des':
 djilo 'water' (Fr. eau)
 djize 'egg' (Fr. oeuf)

4.1.2.5. Adjectival Nouns.

Some nouns are occasionally used as adjectives. For example:

butxe 'flower'
 cf. letóf butxe butxe
 cloth flower flower
 'floral patterned cloth'

4.1.3. Adjectives.

Adjectives occur as qualifiers in the nominal phrase and as head of the Descriptive verbal phrase, and may be classified according to their aspect of quantity, possession, colour, etc.

4.1.3.1. Specific Adjective Classes

Possessive Adjectives occur as preposed qualifiers (q₄) of the nominal phrase. They are as follows:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	mɔ 'my'	nu 'our'
2nd	u 'your'	zót 'your'
3rd	sɔ 'his/her/its'	ye 'their'

Figure 19. Possessive adjectives.

Demonstrative Adjectives occur as preposed qualifiers (q₄) of the nominal phrase.

as 'this/that' le 'these/those'

Numerals occur as preposed qualifiers (q₃) of the nominal phrase. For example:

de 'two' pwómiyé 'first'
 duz 'twelve'

Quantifiers occur as preposed qualifiers (q₃) of the nominal phrase. They are:

tut	'all'	boku	'many'
yāpwē	'none'	hě/sél	'only'
xak	'each'	nempót	'any'
wót/nót	'other'	pyés	'none'
tahot	'lots'		

Qualitative Adjectives occur as preposed qualifiers (q₂) of the nominal phrase and as head of the predicate in Attributive and Extensive clauses.

bō	'good'	mal	'bad'
joli	'pretty/nice'		

Adjectives of size/age occur as preposed qualifiers (q₁) of the nominal phrase and as head of the predicate in Attributive and Extensive clauses. They are:

jun/jén	'young'	txi	'small'
vye	'old'	gho	'big'
ghā	'old'		

Colours occur as postposed qualifiers (q¹) of the nominal phrase and as head of the predicate in Attributive clauses. They are:

blā	'white'	jón	'yellow'
nwé	'black'	san	'grey'
ble	'blue'	violét	'mauve'
vyat	'green (unripe)'	huj	'red (ripe)'

4.1.3.2. General Adjectives

Adjectives generally occur as postposed qualifiers (q²) of the nominal phrase and as head of the predicate in Attributive clauses, expressing length, texture, newness, etc. For example:

kut	'short'	dus	'sweet'
-----	---------	-----	---------

4.1.3.3. Verbal Adjectives.

Some adjectives are used as verbs. For example:

li	<u>sal</u>	so	fléx		li	<u>plě</u>	so	sódjé
3s	dirty	3sP	arrow		3s	full	3sP	pan
'He dirtied his arrow'					'She filled her pan'			

4.1.4. Adverbs

Adverbs occur as qualifiers of the verbal phrase nucleus and as clause periphery filling the adjunct as manner slot. They express degree, aspect and manner.

4.1.4.1. Specific Adverb Classes

Adverbs of Degree occur as in-nuclear qualifiers of the verbal phrase.

phóx	'nearly'	tho	'too much'
hě	'only'		

Adverbs of Aspect occur as postnuclear qualifiers of the verbal phrase.

tuju	'still'	ōkó	'again'
deha	'already'		

Adverbs of Manner occur in the adjunct of manner slot in clauses. For example:

dusmā	'quietly'	vitmā	'quickly'
-------	-----------	-------	-----------

4.1.4.2. Compound Adverbs.

Some adverbs of manner are formed from an adjective root and derivational suffix -mā denoting adverbialization. For example:

vitmā
vit-mā
quick-ly
'quickly'

Notice, however, that the meaning of the adjective root may change when adverbialized. For example:

dus	'sweet'	dusmā	'quietly/slowly'
-----	---------	-------	------------------

4.1.5. Locatives.

Locatives occur as the head of the locative phrase and of some locational relator-axis phrases.

la	'there'	tupatu	'everywhere'
isi	'here'	kote	'there/place'
ofō	'yonder'	phóx	'near'
mitā	'middle'	lweng	'far'

4.1.6. Ejaculations.

Ejaculations occur as preposed sentence periphery. For example:

wi	'yes'	oho	'I don't know'
nō	'no'	djivét	'perhaps'

4.1.7. Adjectival Qualifiers.

Adjectival qualifiers occur as qualifiers of the head in an adjectival phrase, and are listed here.

Preposed		Postposed:	
tho	'too much'	boku	'much'
mayě	'more or less'	mém	'indeed/really'
djimi	'half/medium/mid'	hě/sél	'only'

4.1.8. Interrogatives.

Interrogative words occur clause initially in replacement of particular clause slots, in the interrogative mode. For example:

kote	'where?'	kumã	'how?'
------	----------	------	--------

(See section 2.6.2.2. for complete list and usage.)

4.2. Function Words

Tense Markers (ex: te 'completed past', ka 'incomplete present') occur as nuclear elements of the verbal phrase. (See Fig.14, section 3.1.2. for complete list of markers.)

Negatives (pa 'not', pa-ōkó 'not yet') occur as preposed periphery to the verbal phrase nucleus.

Equative (a) occurs as equative marker (in the position of nuclear subject) in the Identificational clause.

Complementive (sa) occurs as the relator between the subject and the complement predicate in the Complementive clause, in the position of a preposed qualifier to the nominal phrase head of the predicate.

Indicator (la) occurs as a postposed qualifier (q^2) of a nominal phrase head, its function being akin to a definite article or demonstrative adjective.

Emphatic Marker (mém) occurs as postposed qualifier to personal pronouns in a minor nominal phrase, and as postposed qualifier to the head of an adjectival phrase.

Relators (ex. dji 'from', ke 'with') occur as nuclear relators in relator-axis phrases. (The complete list of relators is found in Fig. 16, section 3.5.6.)

Subordinate Markers (ex. si 'if', pu 'in order that') occur clause initial in the subordinate clause of a subordinate complex sentence. (See section 2.8.2. for the complete list.)

Relative Markers (ex: ki 'who/which/that', kote 'where') occur clause initial in a relative clause, relating the clause to the head of a nominal phrase or locative phrase. (See section 2.8.4.)

Conjunctions (ke 'with', maz/mẽ 'but', pase 'because'). Conjunction ke occurs as the conjoiner of two nominal phrases in the conjoined nominal phrase. Conjunctions mẽ and pase occur as the conjoiner of two clauses in the conjoined sentence.

There are also a few function words that operate only at levels higher than the sentence in the grammatical hierarchy. Since this grammar does not cover these levels, those words are also not considered here.

5. THE MORPHEME.

There are two basic morpheme types: root and derivational affix. Almost all words are monomorphemic roots. A few are bi-morphemic consisting of either two roots or a root with a derivational affix. Examples of these have been described in the appropriate sections of section 4.

A few verb roots appear to be formed from a derived stem (taken from a noun or adjective root) and a verbalizing suffix -e. For example:

fléx	'arrow'	nét	'clean'
flexe	'to shoot an arrow'	netxe	'to clean'
klu	'nail'		
klue	'to hammer in a nail'		

However, though many verb roots do end in -e, the majority do not show a derivable stem preceding it. Indeed for some, what might on this basis be postulated as a stem is clearly unrelated to the morpheme when it appears in isolation. For example:

	kute	'to listen'		sale	'to salt'
but,	kut	'short'	but,	sal	'dirty'
(cf.	zohé	'ear')	(cf.	djisél	'salt')

No stem level is therefore being postulated. The few related verb and noun or adjective roots are considered merely to be cognate roots.

6. GENERAL COMMENTS.

It will be noted that certain features are characteristic in the language at almost all levels.

6.1. Reduplication.

Reduplication is most commonly used to emphasize the degree or quantity of that which is reduplicated, usually the nuclear element. For example:

Clause:

li maxe li maxe li maxe ...
3s walk 3s walk 3s walk
'He walked a long way / for a long time.'

li fwé li fwé li fwé
3s cold 3s cold 3s cold
'He was very very cold.'

Verbal Phrase:

li ka kólé ke kólé
3s Tpr=i angry Tf angry
'He is very angry.'

Nominal Phrase:

patxi djisã djisã
lots blood blood
'lots and lots of blood / blood everywhere'

Adjectival Phrase:

li te blã blã
3s Tp white white
'It was as white as snow / very white.'

Adverb:

dusmã dusmã li hele
quietly quietly 3s call
'He called very quietly.'

Temporal:

tunanwit tunanwit li teka khie
all=in=night all=in=night 3s Tp=i cry
'He was crying all night long.'

Adjectival Qualifiers:

mo pé boku boku
I fear much much
'I am really afraid.'

6.2. Discontinuity.

Clauses and phrases may be discontinuous, interrupted by another clause or phrase. For example:

Main Clause:

ló ye hive, ye hive aswé ke txi suku, Bōdje gade
when 3p arrive 3p arrive evening with little dark God look

ādā so malét
in 3sP case

'They arrived in the evening, at dusk. When they arrived, God looked in his suitcase.'

Noiminal Phrase:

sē Pyé ke so māmā, li pi pa te gā papa òkó,
St. Peter with 3sP mother 3s more Neg Tp have father again

ke so fwé
with 3sP brother

'St. Peter and his mother and his brother; he hadn't got a father any more.'

Verbal Phrase:

li fini fé khukhu la tut
3s finish make basket Ind all

'He completely finished making the basket.'

Adjectival Phrase:

de gho hōx blā, gho mém
two big rock white big Emph

'Two very big white rocks.'

FOOTNOTES

1. The data on which this analysis is based were collected by the author during the period November 1975 to December 1976, whilst resident at Vila Espírito Santo, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), by permission of the Fundação Nacional do Índio. The present paper was written at a field workshop in linguistics held under the auspices of SIL at Belém, Pará, Brazil from February to April 1977, directed by Carl Harrison. I wish to thank Eunice Burgess and Joan Richards for their valuable advice at that time. My thanks go also to Eunice Burgess and George Huttar for help with subsequent revisions.

2. The orthography used throughout the paper is based on the phonemic analysis by the present author of which a brief statement is included in this volume.

The symbols used here which differ from those in the phonemic statement are the following:

j represents /ž/ dj represents /j/ é represents /ε/
x represents /š/ tx represents /č/ ó represents /ɔ/

w and y represent semivowels, interpreted as consonants.

' represents glottal /ʔ/ which occurs only in interjections, ideophones, etc., and is not considered to be a phoneme.

Stress is not predictable, but has not been symbolized in the orthography of this paper.

3. A derived clause must have the same surface structure and same predicate role as the basic clause type. The other roles of the derived clause are generally the same as the basic, (though one may be different), but the role-surface mapping may differ from that of the basic type, or the predicate slot filler may differ in form from that in the basic type. Most of the derived clauses are process clauses, being derived from state clauses by the use of an auxiliary verb (cf. sections 2.2.11 and 2.2.16). Sometimes a state clause is derived from an event/experience clause by the use of a verbal adjective and the deletion of the agent (cf. section 2.2.8).

4. The equative a is also used in discourse to focus attention upon a given clause or phrase.

a pu leve mo kaz mo ka hive
Eq for arise 1sP house 1s Tpr=i arrive
'It is for building my house that I am coming.'
(i.e., 'I have come specially to build my house.')

ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	Adjunct	Neg	Negative
Ag	Agent	Nph	Nominal Phrase
Aj	Adjective	O	Object
Ajph	Adjectival phrase	P	Predicate
Ambv	Ambientive	1s, 2p	Personal Pronoun (1st person singular -2nd person plural; etc.)
Att	Attributive	3sP	Possessive Adjective (3rd person singular; etc.)
Advy	Advisory	1pPP	Possessive Pronoun (1st person plural; etc.)
Avsy	Advisory particle	Pat	Patient
Bitr	Bitransitive	Pers	Personal
Cog	Cognitive	ph	Phrase
Com	Complement marker	Poss	Possessive
Cpl	Complementive	Pr	Progressive
Decl	Declarative	Proc	Process
Dem	Demonstrative	Q,q	Qualifier
Der	Derived	Quantv	Quantitative
Emph	Emphatic marker	Quotn	Quotation
Eq	Equative	R	Referent
Ev	Event	RA	Relator-Axis
Existl	Existential	Raph	Relator Axis phrase
Exp	Experience	S	Subject
Expcr	Experiencer	Sc	Scope
FV	Figurative Verb	Semtr	Semitransitive
H	Head	St	State
Hort	Hortative particle	T	Tense marker
Horty	Hortatory	Tc	Conditional marker
i	Intensifier	Temp	Temporal
Idf	Identificational	Tf	Future tense
Impv	Imperative	Tp	Past tense
Ind	Indicator	Tp=i	Past incomplete tense
Inst	Instrument	Tpr=i	Present incomplete tense
Instig	Instigative	Tran	Transitive
Intr	Intransitive	V	Verb
Intrg	Interrogative	Vph	Verbal phrase
Loc	Locative	Vx	Auxiliary verb
Locph	Locative phrase		
N	Noun		
Nec	Necessitative particle		
Necv	Necessitative		

Morpheme with no semantic meaning

Hyphen ' - ' is used to indicate elision of morphemes with subsequent loss of a vowel, or the compounding of two words into one other word.

APPENDIX A

BRIEF PHONEMIC STATEMENT OF KARIPUNA CREOLE

The phonemes of Karipuna consist of 22 consonants, 7 oral vowels and 3 nasal vowels, as seen in the following charts.

Consonants:

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal
Plosives	voiceless	p	t	č	k
	voiced	b	d	ǰ	g
Fricatives	voiceless	f	s	š	h
	voiced	v	z	ž	
Liquids		w	l	r	y
Nasals		m	n		ŋ

Vowels:

		Front	Central	Back
Oral	High	i		u
	Mid	e		o
	Low	ɛ	a	ɔ
Nasal		ẽ	ã	õ

DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES

Plosives occur both voiceless and voiced at four points of articulation: labial (p, b), apical (t, d), laminal (č, ě), and dorsal (k, g).

/p/ [p] voiceless bilabial stop /pã/ 'peacock', /pat/ 'paw'

/b/ [b] voiced bilabial stop /bã/ 'bench', /bat/ 'to hit'

p and b may precede all vowels, liquids and h.

They occur syllable and word initial and final.

/t/ [t] voiceless dental stop /tã/ 'time', /kut/ 'short'

/d/ [d] voiced dental stop /dã/ 'tooth', /kud/ 'to sew'

t and d may precede liquids, h, and all vowels except i.

They occur syllable and word initial and final.

/k/ [k] voiceless velar stop /kã/ 'when', /kute/ 'to listen'

/g/ [g] voiced velar stop /gã/ 'to have', /gute/ 'to taste'

k and g may precede all vowels, h, and all liquids except y.

They occur syllable and word initial and final.

/č/ [tš] voiceless palatal affricate /bači/ 'field', /čo/ 'heart'

/ě/ [dž] voiced palatal affricate /maĵi/ 'Tuesday' /ĵo1/ 'animal's muzzle'

č and ě usually occur preceding i, but may also precede w and oral vowels,

except a and o. They occur syllable and word initial.

Fricatives occur voiceless at four points of articulation and voiced at three: labial (f, v), apical (s, z), laminal (š, ž), and dorsal (h). All fricatives occur syllable and word initial; all except h occur syllable and word final also.

/f/ [f] voiceless labiodental fricative /fã/ 'tame', /sufhi/ 'to suffer'

/v/ [v] voiced labiodental fricative /vã/ 'wind', /kuvhi/ 'to cover'

f and v may precede all vowels, h, and liquids except r.

/s/ [s] voiceless alveolar fricative /sɛ1/ 'only', /pase/ 'because'

/z/ [z] voiced alveolar fricative /zɛ1/ 'wing', /poze/ 'to come to rest'

s and z may precede all vowels; s may also precede semivowels, t and k.

/š/ [š] voiceless palatal fricative /šis/ 'kerosene', /goš/ 'left (hand)'

/ž/ [ž] voiced palatal fricative /žis/ 'correct', /gož/ 'throat'

š and ž may precede all vowels; š may also, rarely, precede w and t.

- /h/ [h] voiceless glottal fricative /pahe/ [pahe] 'ready'
 /ghɛn/ [ghɛn] 'seed'
 /phã/ [phã] 'to fetch'
 May precede all vowels syllable and word initial; follows t, d, k and g before all vowels;
 and follows p, b, f and v before central vowels
- [ɸ] voiceless velar fricative /phi/ [pɸi] 'price'
 Follows p and b before non-central vowels.
- [w̥] voiceless bilabial frictionless continuant /fhi/ [fw̥i] 'fruit'
 Follows f and v before front vowels.

Liquids occur voiced at four points of articulation: labial (semivowel w), apical (lateral l), laminal (vibrante r), and dorsal (semivowel y).

- /w/ [w] voiced rounded bilabial semivowel /wun/ 'one', /tawahu/ 'turtle'
 /šwɛt/ 'owl', /mamãgaw/ 'bumble bee'
 Occurs syllable and word initially before all vowels. It may be preceded by all plosives,
 voiceless fricatives (except h), and by m and n; and occurs very rarely syllable final
 after a.
- /l/ [l] voiced alveolar lateral /lule/ 'to hem', /fil/ 'cotton thread',
 /plim/ 'feather'
 Occurs syllable and word initial and final. It may precede all vowels, and may follow
 labial plosives and fricatives, and dorsal plosives.
- /r/ [r] flapped voiced palato-alveolar vibrant /gwarib/ 'guariba monkey'
 /krav/ 'clove'
 Occurs syllable initially intervocalically (not word initially) or preceded by labial and
 dorsal plosives and t.
- /y/ [y] voiced spread palatal semivowel /pey/ 'homeland', /peye/ 'to pay',
 /pye/ 'foot'
 Occurs syllable and word initial and final. It precedes all vowels and may be preceded by
 labial and laminal plosives, labial fricatives, and by s and n

Nasals occur voiced at three points of articulation: labial (m), apical (n), and, rarely and in very limited distribution, dorsal (ŋ).

- /m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal /mɛt/ 'owner', /mwa/ 'month'
 Occurs syllable and word initial and final; may precede all vowels and semivowels.
- /n/ [n] voiced dental nasal /nɛt/ 'clean', /nwɛ/ 'black'
 Occurs syllable and word initial and final; may precede all vowels and semivowels.

[ɮ] half-open central spread vowel /lɑŋ/ [lɮŋ] 'tongue'
Occurs in closed syllables ending in ŋ.

NB Where [a] is the nucleus of an open syllable not preceding silence, but followed by a closed syllable with nucleus [æ], the [a] tends to be fronted to a point between [a] and [æ]. For example: /bagaž/ [b̩agæž] 'baggage'

Nasals

- /ɛ̃/ [ɛ̃] or [ɛ̃̄] front spread nasal vowel varying between half-open and half-close positions /bɛ̃/ [bɛ̃̄] 'bath'
/čɛ̃be/ [čɛ̃̄be] 'to grasp'
Occurs in open syllables, and occasionally in closed syllables (preceding t, k and ž).
- /ã/ [ã] open (slightly raised) central spread nasal vowel /ãthe/ [ã̄the] 'to enter'
/plãš/ [plã̄š] 'board'
Occurs in all syllable types.
- /õ/ [õ] half-open back rounded nasal vowel /bõ/ 'good', /mõte/ 'climb up'
Occurs in open syllables.

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

1. Utterance final consonants are unreleased.
2. Plosives following \tilde{V} within a word exhibit pre-nasalization, the effect being akin to the insertion of the homorganic nasal consonant (N) between the \tilde{V} and the plosive.

Ex: /ãba/ [ãmba] 'below'

Similarly other consonants exhibit pre-nasalization with the insertion of n:

/ãlɛ/ [ãnlɛ] 'above'

3. All vowels adjacent to N exhibit slight nasalization, especially where V precedes N, producing the onset of nasalization in the preceding V. Where V is juxtaposed between two nasal consonants in the same word, V appears as \tilde{V} .

Ex. /mɛnɛ/ [mẽnɛ] 'to lead/take'.

Thus /numɛ/ 'to call/name' appears to have a \tilde{u} vowel: [nũmɛ]; but there is no contrastive \tilde{u} in a non-nasal environment.

4. There is a further nasalization feature found in one specific grammatical context, where the direct object /li/ becomes contracted to a suffix /-l/ on the verb. In such a case, where the final consonant of the verb is N, the nasalization of the N is carried over onto the following V and suffix l.

Ex: /li fime li/ → /li fime-l/ [li fimẽĩ] 'he smoked it'.

5. An initial \tilde{i} has been found in one or two Portuguese loan words, but not elsewhere.

Ex: /ĩžesõ/ 'injection'

Examples of contrast between V and \tilde{V} .

/šɛ/	'expensive'	/šaže/	'laden'	/bo/	'side'
/šẽ/	'dog'	/šãže/	'to change'	/bõ/	'good'
/sɛk/	'dry'	/pat/	'paw'	/lo/	'when'
/sẽk/	'five'	/pãt/	'steep'	/lõ/	'long'

APPENDIX B

WORD LISTS FOR KARIPUNA CREOLE

NOUNS

aha	macaw	flěš	arrow
ahěye	spider	fomi	ant
alimɛt	match	ghɛn	seed
amak	hammock	gɔž	throat
asyɛt	plate	gu	taste/flavour
bači	field	haɣe	weeds/grass
bag	ring	hat	mouse
bakɔv	banana	hoho	twins
bato	boat	hol	wheel
bɛk	beak	hoš	stone
bha	arm	kaka	faeces/anything left over
biš	deer	kan	sugar cane
buče	flower	kanu	canoe
bwa	wood/stick	kay	fish scale
čig	jaguar	kaymā	alligator
čilɔt	trousers	kaz	house
čimun	child	kɔ	body
čo	heart	koki	shell
dā	tooth	kulɛv	boa constrictor/manioc squeezer
dābwa	forest	kuto	knife
duhi	rice	kwak	manioc meal
dwɛt	finger	lačo	tail
ǰife	fire	lafimi	smoke
ǰilo	water	lafyɛv	fever/malaria
ǰisā	blood	lahivye	river
ǰisɛl	salt	lalin	moon
ǰize	egg	lame	hand
fahin	flour/grated manioc	lan	tongue
fey	leaf	lapli	rain
fizi	shotgun	lapo	skin

lašɛ	flesh/meat
lešɛl	ladder
lěž	clothes
lohaž	thunder
lōbhi	navel
mahaka	rattle
mak	mosquito
manahɛ	sieve
māš	handle
māyɔk	manioc
mun	people
nak	bow
nik	nest
nwaž	cloud
nwit	night
ɔm/wɔm	man/husband
pagay	paddle
pay	husk
pičit	child/young
pikā	sting/thorn
plim	feather
pothin	chest (anat.)
pul	chicken
pwasō	fish
pye	foot

VERBS

abitwe	be accustomed to
akuše	give birth
aple	call/be named
asi	sit
ašte	buy
āthe	enter
bake	embark/get into
bat	hit (with instrument)

sab	machete
savan	swamp
seapā	snake
sinal	flute
soley	sun
suku	darkness
susuhi	bat
šat	cat
šě	dog
tawahu	turtle
tɛt	head
thas	track/footprints
thě	noise
tōči	tortoise
vā	wind
van	belly
wey	eye
yan	vine
zɛl	wing
zo	bone
zohāž	orange
zɔŋ	finger nail
žam	leg
žunu	knee

bay	give
běye	bathe
bhiga	fight
blaže	chat
blese	injure
bwɛ	drink
čihe	take off/out
čue	kill

dāse	dance
dhomi	sleep
ji	say
fāde	tear
fε	make/do
fini	finish
fleše	shoot arrow
gade	look at
gā/gāye	have
ghaže	grate
glise	slip
hale	pull
hele	shout
hete	live/stay
hive	arrive
ide	help
khoše	peel
koze	talk
kōtā	like
kuhi	run
kumase	begin
kupe	cut
kute	listen
lave	wash
le	want
mahe	tie
maše	walk
māže	eat

mōde	bite
muhi	die
obeye	obey
pagay	paddle
peše	fish
phā	fetch
puse	grow/push
puve	be able
save	know
soči	leave/come out
suse	suck
šāte	sing
šāže	change
šōže	miss/be homesick for
tāde	hear
thavay	work
thuve	find
tōbe	fall
tuse	cough
vāde	sell
vihe	turn/return
vin/vini	come
vole	jump/fly
wε	see
žite	throw (away)
žue	play
žuhe	curse

ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS etc.

asey	enough	byā	well
blā	white	či/piči	small
boku	many	dhεt	straight
bomaše	cheap	dhol	funny
bō	good	du	hard

dus	sweet
fačige	tired
fad	bland
fahuš	wild
fã	tame
fɛb	weak
fin	thin/fine
fu	mad
fwɛ	cold
gaya	healthy
ghã	old/grand
gho	big
hɛd	stiff
hiš	rich
hõ	round
hot	tall
huž	red/ripe
hẽ	only
khube	curved/bent
kle	clear/bright
las	tired
laž	wide
lõ	long
lis	smooth
make	patterned/marked
malad	ill
malize	difficult
mayẽ	sort of/quite
mɛg	thin/slim
mɛm	same
mi	ripe
move	bad
mu	soft
nɛt	clean/tidy

nɔv	new
pahe	ready
pezã	heavy
phoš	almost
plẽ	full
puhi	rotten
sal	dirty
sãble	like
sɛk	dry
solid	sturdy
som	clouded/opaque
sot	dim-witted
šak	each
šaže	laden
šɛ	dear
šo	hot
šwit	tasty
tahot	plenty/many
thãpe	wet
this	sad/quiet
tho	too
thɔp	too much
tukhi	raw
tut	all
tužu	still/yet
vid	empty
vilẽ	ugly
vit	fast
vye	old
vyat	green/unripe
wɔt/not	other/another
žoli	pretty
žon	yellow
žun	young

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