

Bound Person Markers of the Apalaí Verb Phrase

Preliminary Analysis

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0. Introduction

Apalaí person markers may be expressed as free or bound morphemes. epyno "I bathed." papa nytoase "Father went."

Bound subject, object, and possessor tagmemes are manifested by prefixes; whereas collectivizers, tense and aspects, etc. are manifested by suffixes.

The scope of this paper does not include a description of tenses and aspects, but only person marking affixes of the verb phrase especially those of inflected verbs and complement forms of verbs. Attention shall be focussed on the subject and object pronominal prefixes and their inter-relationships.

This presentation is based on the Tagmemic Theory developed by Kenneth L. Pike. An essential feature is the correlation between slot and filler which together constitute a tagmeme. The analysis is based on data gathered during three brief field trips among the Apalaí Indians on the Parú Este. The material includes over two hundred and fifty verb stems, a large portion of which were gathered from text material.

1. Bound Subject

The bound subject hypertagmeme consists of a basic paradigm of five persons, three of which may be involved in collective forms with the addition of the collectivizer suffix. First person inclusive, second person and third person may appear with collectivizers. First person individual and first person exclusive do not.

Throughout the various subject tagmemes there is enough similarity to make the subject hypertagmeme easily recognizable as separate from the object and possessor hypertagmeme even though there is some overlap of manifesting prefixes among the hyperclasses. (e.g. yoipyrypoko "my coming", jurakanano "I hunted.", jenenno "He saw me.")

Variations do occur within the subject hypertagmeme sometimes corresponding to verb stem classes and sometimes appearing within a verb stem class. Illustrating different classes: Intransitive stem class -- /s/ "we" sepukano "we (incl) fell." Stative stem class -- /set-/ "we (incl)" setase "we are". Illustrating differences within a class: /θ/ "I" epykano "I fell.", /j/ "I" jyxtano "I cried."

1.1. The Norm

Since there is a great degree of similarity between the subject markers of the various stem classes and since the differences do not all correspond to stem classes, it is simplest to describe the subject hyperclass as a basic norm with variations from that norm. The prefixes which occur with the immediate past, recent past and distant past tenses (3rd person is /kyn--~ kun-/ in distant past tense. kunuone "He killed it.")

1st person θ-- y-- ju- epyno "I swam.",
yko'mano "I called.", upuimase "I carried."

2nd person m-- my-- mu- mepyno "You swam.",
myko'mano "You called.", jupuimase "You carried."

3rd person n--ny--nu- neyyno "He swam.",
nyko 'mano "He called.", nupuimase "He carried."

1st person inclusive s--sy--su- sepyno "We swam.",
syko 'mano "We called.", supuimase "We carried."

1st person exclusive ynan--ynany--ynanu- ynanepyno "We swam.",
ynanyko 'mano "We called.", ynanupuimase "We carried."

The /y/ forms are phonological allomorphs which occur preceding consonants, with the /u/ alternate harmonizing with stem vowels.

1.2. Variants

Among the variant forms are some, which correspond to different stem classes, and some which are merely alternates within a class

1.2.1. Intransitive stem class has a /j--jy- / variant of the 1st person subject morpheme which occurs with /u/ or consonant initial stems. Some of these have an /o--a-/ variant of the second person subject morpheme occurring with the same stems.

j--jy- as 1st person individual subject
jurakanano "I hunted.", jypakano "I awoke."

j--jy- as 1st person with o--a- as 2nd person subject
jynykase "I slept", onykase "You slept."
juase "I danced.", awase "You danced."
juaⁿtase "I grew.", awaⁿtase "You grew."

Alternate possibilities for 1st and 2nd person subjects

jy-/y 1st person alternate (either variant or norm) with /o-/ as second person subject,
jyxtano "I cried." / yxtano "I cried.", oxtano "You cried"

θ/j 1st person alternate with o/m 2nd person subject alternate
jeremeano/ eremeano "I sang.", oeremeano/ meremeano "You sang."

1.2.2. The stative verb stem class of subject markers has several variants from the norm.

/set-/ is the 1st person inclusive subject throughout the tenses.
setase "We are." setakene "We were."

/mana/nase are alternates of 3rd person subject in the present-future auxiliary tense, and
kynako is the variant form of 3rd person subject in the imperfect preterite
auxiliary tense.
epyⁿko mana "He is swimming," ena 'noⁿko kynako "He was eating."

ʌ'-a, ʌ'm-a, ʌ'n-ae, \ ' set-ano, ʌ'y nan-ae are the interrogative emphatic
stative subject markers.
omise 'ma "Are you hungry?"

1.2.3. The quotative verb stem class subject markers overlap somewhat the stative verb stem class.

The distant past tense form of the quotative is the same as the imperfect preterite auxiliary of the stative verb, *moe'no kynako* " 'Hello,' he said." (distant past).

The recent past tense form of the quotative is the same as the present future of the stative verb except for the third person alternates *nase / mano*. *ose'ko xiaro mano* " 'Come here,' he said." (recent past)

The immediate past tense subject markers are the same as the norm.

1.2.4. The transitive verb stem class subject markers have a variant in the obligatory absence of third person subject when an object, whether bound or free, occurs. Also the second person subject has a variant when it occurs with first person object. These are discussed in detail under point 3.

2. Bound Object

The bound object tagmeme consists of a single class of prefixes filling the bound obligatory object slot of inflected transitive verbs.

Paradigm of bound object person pronouns:

j-~ jy- 1st person *jeneno* "He saw me"

aw-∞ o-~ a-∞ Vⁿ- 2nd person *oeneno* "He/I saw you."

θ- 3rd person *eneno* "I saw him."

ku-~ ky- 1st person inclusive *kyeneno* "He saw us(incl.)."

yna- 1st person exclusive *ynaeneno* "He saw us(excl.)."

There is one variant, the 1st person object when it occurs with 2nd person subject, described under point 3.

The obligatory occurrence of the object prefix is one of the clearest distinguishing features of the transitive verb from the intransitive. Even so the /θ/ 3rd person object leaves room for ambiguity.

3. Correlation of subject and object prefixes

The correlation of the subject and object prefixes within the structure of an inflected transitive verb presents further variations from separate subject and object norms.

3.1. The general pattern of subject prefix preceding object prefix follows throughout except in the case of the 1st person exclusive object. *yna meneno* "You saw us."

The 1st person exclusive object marker fills the slot of the free object instead of the bound object slot.

3.2. A second variation from the straightforward coupling of a subject and an object is the pattern of differential occurrence of the third person subject with any visible object whether bound or free. The occurrence of a non-zero object causes the obligatory non-occurrence of third person subject. neneno "He saw him." papa eneno "He/I saw father."

This of course opens up the possibility of ambiguity between first person and third person subjects which is only clarified by context. It also forms a test for determining transitive verbs.

3.3. Other differences from the norm are the second person subject and first person object relationship which becomes /w/. weneno "You saw me."

3.4. Chart of subject - object correlation:

Subject prefixes		Object prefixes				
		me j-	you o-	him θ-	us ky-	us(excl) yna-
I	θ-	-	θ- o-	θ- θ-	-	-
you	m-	w-	-	m- θ-	-	yna m-
he	n-	j-	o-	n- θ-	ky-	yna
we (incl.)	s-	-	-	s- θ-	-	-
we (excl)	yuan		yna o-	yna θ-	-	-

3.5 Summary

1. 1st person subj.- 2nd person obj.: (I-you) o- ∞ Vⁿ- ∞ a- oeneno 'saw'
2. 1st person subj.- 3rd person obj.: (I-him) θ- ~ vy- eneno
3. 2nd person subj.- 1st person obj.: (you-me) w- weneno
4. 2nd person subj.- 3rd person obj.: (you-him) m- ~ my- meneno
5. 2nd person subj.- exclusive obj.: (you-us) yna m- yna meneno
6. 3rd person subj.- 1st person obj.: (he-me) j- ~ jy- jeneno
7. 3rd person subj.- 2nd person obj.: (he-you-) o- ∞ Vⁿ ∞ a- oeneno
8. 3rd person subj.- 3rd person obj.: (he-him) n- ~ ny- neneno
9. 3rd person subj.-inclusive obj.: (he-us) ky- ~ ku- kueneno
10. 3rd person subj.- exclusive obj.: (he-us) yna yna eneno
11. Inclusive person subj.- 3rd person obj.: (we-him) s- ~ sy- seneno
12. Exclusive person subj.- 2nd person obj.: (we-you) yna o- yna oeneno
13. Exclusive person subj.- 3rd person obj.: (we-him) yna n- yna neneno

Whenever a consonant initial stem is preceded by a consonant final prefix, an allomorphic alternate of that prefix occurs with a vowel /y/ or /u/ final.

The second person object allomorphs divide the transitive verbs into sub-classes.

The second person subject and first person object combination is manifested by neither the normal subject nor regular object prefixes but by the variant /w/.

The first person exclusive subject appears as yna in its combination with 2nd person object.

4. Bound possessor

The bound possessor tagmeme consists of the possessor prefix slot manifested by a paradigm of possessor person markers which co-occur with the possession marking suffix /-ry/ on possessed verb stems.

Possessor prefixes occur with the past tense form of verb stems.

j- 1st person possessor joepyry poko "about my coming"

oⁿ- ~ o- 2nd person oepyry poko "about your coming"

a- ∞ e- ∞ θ- 3rd person aepyry poko "about his coming"

to- ∞ ty- ∞ tVⁿ- 3rd emphatic toepyry poko "about his own coming"

ky- ~ ku- 1st inclusive kyepyry poko "about our coming"

yna ~ ynany 1st exclusive yna epyry poko "about our coming"

The possessor tagmeme occurs with intransitive verb stems denoting the author of the action and with transitive verb stems denoting the recipient of action, jerimiary poko "about my singing" toworyme "its death (kill) like"

In syntax the possessed verb stem does not function as a verb but rather as a noun or descriptive.

5. Bound Complement Goal

The verb complement goal hypertagmeme is similar to the possessor tagmeme except that the goal only occurs with transitive stems, does not occur with the possession marking suffix, and has different collectivizing suffixes described in 6.2. kywose xine "to kill us all", juose "to kill me"

The third person goal is manifested by a number of allomorphs which serve to sub-classify transitive verb stems. They are

θ- ∞ i- ∞ t- ∞ z-. tuose - "to kill it"

za?kaⁿko - "burning it"

6. Related Affixes

A number of affixes manifesting various tagmemes are closely related to the person hypertagmemes described.

6.1. The Reflexives

The reflex tagmeme denotes action initiated by and directed toward the subject marker. The reflex slot occurs in place of the object slot of transitive verbs and is manifested by the reflex class of prefixes. (ot-) oturunō "I conversed."

The grammatical function of the reflex tagmeme is intransitivizing derivational prefix on transitive stems since the derived stems function as intransitive verbs. soturuase "We talked (among) ourselves." atako'no "I cut myself."

6.2. Collectivizers

The collectivizer hypertagmerne consists of collectivizer slots manifested by collectivizer suffix or clitic.

6.2.1. The subject-object collectivizer is a supertagmeme consisting of two subject-object collectivizer tagmeme. One tagmeme is the included person and the second person subject-object collectivizer slot manifested by collectivizer /-to/. The second is the third person subject-object collectivizer slot manifested by collectivizer /-toto/ with its /-to' -/ allomorph.

6.2.2. The stem possessor collectivizer tagmeme consists of collectivizer slot manifested by collectivizer /komo, -koⁿ/. kyxitarykomo "all our crying "

6.2.3. The complement goal collectivizer hypertagmeme consists of collectivizer slot filled by collectivizer classes /-tori, -toto/ and /xine/.

6.2.4. /xine/ fills the collectivizer slot of indirect objects and relationals also.

6.3. Possession markers

The verb stem possessor /-ry/ is a double function tagmeme acting as possessor and derivational nominalizing affix. /ry/ is the only filler.

6.4. Indirect objects

Indirect object personal markers act as grammatical particles or separate words in a verb phrase: ya "to me", oya "to you", eya "to him", kya "to us(incl.)", ynaa "to us(excl)".