

SOME RELATIONAL POST-POSITIONALS Of GUARANI¹

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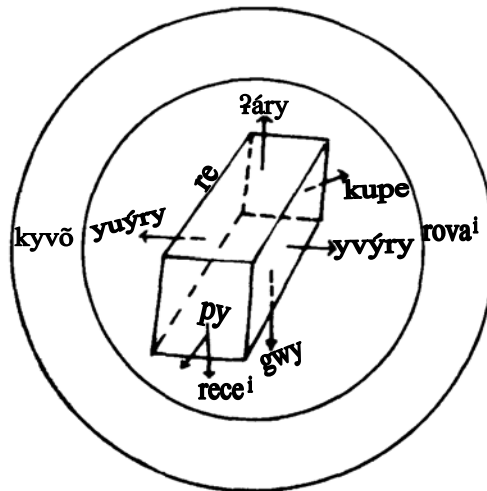
0. Introduction.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the relational post-positional clitics of Guarani in terms of the spatial model of the universe they seem to imply.³ Grammatically these clitics function as relators in axis-relator phrases of location or direction. Such phrases consist of an obligatory axis slot filled by a noun or noun expression followed by obligatory relator slot filled by a relational post-positional clitic which may be a single morpheme or a complex morpheme cluster.

The Guarani spatial model is here described in terms of three areas:

- (1) A core which includes two positions, 'inside of' and 'against or touching': /oo-py/⁴ 'house-in'; /oo-re/ 'house-at/against.
- (2) An extended core which includes five positions, 'above', 'below', 'behind', 'in front of', and 'beside': /oo-ʔary/ 'house-above'; /oo-gwy-py/ 'house-below'; /oo-kupe-py/ 'house-behind'; /oo-receⁱ/ 'house-in front of' and /oo-yvŷry/ 'house-beside'.
- (3) A third area which is defined in relation to both the core and the point of reference of the speaker. The speaker's point of reference may be specified in linguistic context; otherwise it is the speaker's physical position. Thus, /oo-kyvõ/ 'house-this side of' means between the house and the speaker's point of reference and /oo-rovaⁱ/ 'house-that side of' means beyond the house in relation to the speaker's point of reference.

A visual representation of this is:



Motion within the Guarani spatial model can be described as:

- (1) limited, as in /oo-py/ 'house-into' and /oo-re/ 'house-up to/to point of contact with'.
- (2) directed, as in /oo-gwi/ 'house-from' and /oo-katy/ 'house-toward'.
- (3) undirected, as in /oo-rupi/ 'house-by/through/along'.

The balance of this paper is a detailed description of the use of these morphemes of position and motion.

1. Position and Motion with Reference to the Core.

With reference to the core /py/ and /re/ express position when they co-occur with non-motion verbs and motion when they co-occur with verbs of motion. (Note that /py/ also occurs as the positional element with certain of the relational post-positional morphemes that refer to positions in the extended core. See section 2.1 below.)

1.1 Position.

/py/ indicates position within the core: /re/ indicates position at or on the core.

Examples with /py/ are:

/nhanhotỹ avaci yvy-py/
we plant corn earth-in
'We plant corn in the earth.'

|/haʔekwéry ikwai tetã-my/⁵
they live city-in
'They live in the city.'

/ceapekũ oĩ cejuru-py/
my tongue is my mouth-in
'My tongue is in my mouth.'

Examples with /re/ are:

|/nhaĩ kaʔagwy-re/
we are jungle-at
'We are at/against the jungle.'
(Said in reference to where they live; i. e.
in a clearing at the edge of the jungle.)

|/cenabi oõ ceakã-re/
my ear is my head-on
'My ear (orelha) is on my head.' (NB contrast
here with the last example above under
/py/.)

/avaʔi oĩ cekupe-re/
boy is my back-on
'The boy is on my back.'

1.2 Limited Motion.

When /py/ and /re/ co-occur with verbs of motion they indicate the limit of that motion. Thus, /py/ indicates motion into the core: /re/ indicates motion up to or to the point of contact with the core.

Examples with /py/ are:

/aju apy pedekoa-py/
I came here your place-into
'I came here, to (inside of) your area.'

/moã emoĩ tebiʔu-py/
medicine : put food-into
'Put the medicine in the food.'

/aa posto-py Raul aeca angvã/
I go post-into " I see in order to
'I am going to the post in order to see Raul.'

Examples with /re/ are:

/aju apy pedeyvy-re/
I came here your land-to
'I came here, to (but not inside of) your land.'
(Compare first example under /py/ above.)

/aa yvyra-re agwapy angvã/
I go tree-to I sit in order to
'I am going to the tree to sit down.'
(A fallen tree.)

1.3. Directed Motion.

/gwi/ 'from' and /katy/ 'toward' express the direction of motion relative to the core.

Examples with /gwi/ are:

/ava ou jevy posto-gwi/
man he came again post-from
'The man came again from the post.'

/cee apuʔã teda-gwi/
I I arose chair-from
'I got up from the chair.'

/apy-gwi jaa posto-py/
here-from we go post-into
'From here we are going to the post.'

Examples with /katy/ are:

/jaa posto-katy/
we go post-toward
'We are going toward the post.'

/haʔe oo avakwe a-katy/
he he went men place-toward
'He went toward the place of the men (i. e.
where the men were.)

/João oo baʔety-katy/
" he went field-toward
'João went toward his field.'

1.4. Undirected Motion.

/rupi/ expresses undirected motion; that is, it indicates neither the starting nor ending point of the motion, nor its direction.

Examples with /rupi/ are:

/haʔe ou tape gwacu-rupi/
he he came trail big-along
'He came by/along the big trail (road).'

| /jagwa oaca yy-rupi/
dog he pass water-through
'The dog passed through the water.'

/pytũ-rupi eregwata/
darkness-through you walk
'You walked through the darkness.'

2. Position and Motion with Reference to the Extended Core.

The five positions of the extended core correspond to the six sides of a cube. That is, an object may be above, below, in front of, behind, or beside the core. (The latter takes care of two sides with a single term.) Undirected motion and less frequently directed motion (but not limited motion) may occur with reference to the extended core.

2.1. Position.

Three of the positions are indicated by simple morphemes (/ʔáry/ 'above', /receⁱ/ 'in front of, and /yvýry/ 'beside'). The others are indicated by morpheme clusters (/kupe-py/ 'behind' and /gwy-py/ 'under').

Examples for these are consecutively:

/ava oo kavaju-ʔáry/
man he went horse-above
'The man went on horseback.'

| /yvyvovo oĩ yakã-□ary/
bridge is river-above
'The bridge is above the river.'

/Raul ro-receⁱ escola oĩ/
" house-in front of /parallel to school is
'The school is in front of Raul's house.'

| /cereceⁱ heʔã/
my front stand
'Stand in front of me'

/dee erevaẽ ceyvýry/
you you arrive my beside
'You arrived at my side.'

| /omaʔê oyvýry oeca angvã/
he look his side he see in order to
'He looked to his side in order to see.'

/ceraʔy oĩ cekupe-py/
my son is me behind
'My son is behind me,'

| /avaci anhotỹ cero-kupe-py/
corn I plant my house-behind
'I planted corn behind my house.'

/amoĩ kwacia rata-gwy-py/
I put paper can-under
'I placed the paper under the can.'

| /cakã oĩ cero-gwy-py/
firewood is my house-under
'The firewood is under my house.'

2.2. Directed Motion.

Only a few examples have been recorded of directed motion in the extended core.

/jagwa onha cero-gwy-gwi/
dog he ran my house-under-from
'The dog ran from under my house.'

/jagwa onha cero-receⁱ-gwi/
dog he ran my house-in front of-from
'The dog ran from in front of my house.'

/jagwa onha cero-gwy-katy/
dog he ran my house-under-toward
'The dog ran toward under my house.'

/jagwa onha cero-receⁱ-katy/
dog he ran my house-in front of-toward
'The dog ran toward the front of my house.'

2.3. Undirected Motion.

/rupi/ occurs with the simple morphemes of the extended core, and replaces the /py/ of the clusters.

Examples are:

/nhade yvy-ʔáry-rupi gwa/
we earth-above-along nominalizer
'We (are) those who (live) along the top of
the earth.'

/gwyraʔi oveve cero-ʔáry-rupi/
bird he flew my house-above-along/by
'The bird flew above my house.'

/haʔe oaca cereceⁱ-rupi/
he he pass my front-along
'He passed by my front (in front of me).'

/tapici onha cero-receⁱ-rupi/
rabbit he ran my house-front-along
'The rabbit ran by the front of my house.'

/...civi ovaẽ ijyvýry-rupi/
tiger he arrive his side-along
'... tiger arrived along by his side.'

/haʔe ogwata kavaju yvýry-rupi/
he he walk horse beside-along
'He walked along by the side of the horse.'

/haʔe oaca cekupe-rupi/
he he pass me behind-along
'He passed along behind me.'

/kavaju onha nhadekupe-rupi/
horse he ran our back-along
'The horse ran behind us.'

/háʔe omaʔẽ oo-gwy-rupi/
he he look house-under-along
'He looked along under the house.'

/yvy-gwy-rupi ikwai vaʔekwe ekwe anhoba nhoba/
earth-under-along exist that which I pull all
'I pulled out all of those which existed along under the ground.' (Said regarding roots.)

3. Position and Motion with Reference to the Speaker Related Area.

3.1. Position.

/kyvõ/ 'this side of' and /rovaⁱ/ 'beyond' (or 'that side of') indicate positions relative to both the core and the speaker.

Examples with /kyvõ/ are:

/posto -kyvõ Buriti oĩ/ post -this side " is 'Buriti is (located) this side of the post.'		/Capitão okaiagwe-kyvõ aroca-na/ " burn nom.- <u>this side</u> I roçar-fut. 'I will "roçar" this side of where the captain burned (i. e. his roça).
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Examples with /rovaⁱ/ are:

/cero-rovaⁱ Jango ro oĩ/
my house-beyond " house is
'Jango's house is beyond my house.'

/capyʔareⁱ-na rovaⁱ daepy vaipaⁱ-na/
maybe beyond cost much not-fut.
'Maybe beyond (it) won't cost very much.'

3.2. Motion.

There are relatively few examples of motion verbs co-occurring with /kyvõ/ and /rovaⁱ/ to indicate directed motion and with /rovaⁱ-rupi/ to indicate undirected motion. No example of limited motion has been found.

Examples with /kyvõ/ are:

/Aryka ro kyvõ-rupi aju jave ʔoky-ma/
" house this side-along I came while rain-punctiliar
'While I was coming this side of Aryka's house it rained.'

/emobo kyvõ-katy/
throw this side-toward
'Throw (it) this way (or toward me)!'

Examples with /rovaⁱ/ are:

/Pedro ro rovaⁱ-gwi ororoca
" house beyond-from we roçar
'From beyond Pedro's house we cut.'

Example with /rovaⁱ-rupi/ is:

/Pedro ro rovaⁱ-rupi aju jave ʔoky ojekwaa mobyry/
" house beyond-along I came while rain appeared far
'While I was coming beyond Peter's house the rain appeared in the distance.'

4. Figurative use of Relational Post-Positional Morphemes.

Certain of the relationals are used in a more figurative sense. For example, /rupi/, /katy/, /gwi/ and /py/ are used in the following ways.

Examples of /rupi/ are:

/derery-rupi cee oroeno ⁱ / your name- <u>by</u> I you call 'By your name I call you.'		/begweʔi-rupi cee anheboʔe vaʔena slowly- I I learn future 'Slowly I will learn.'
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/ikwai porã a-rupi cee ceayvu/ live well nom. - I I speak 'I told them to live well/right.'

Examples with /katy/ are:

/yvate-katy/ high - <u>toward</u> 'Up stream'		/yvy-katy/ earth- <u>toward</u> 'Down stream'
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Examples with /gwi/ are:

/kovaʔe tuvicave pevaʔe-gwi/ this big more that- <u>than</u> 'This is bigger than that.'		/dake porã ⁱ barigwi-gwi/ not I sleep well mosquito-because 'I didn't sleep well because of the mosquitoes.'
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/Guarani ayvu aikwaa dee-gwi/ " word I know you- <u>from</u> 'I know Guarani words from you.'		/tuja ete-gwi omano/ old very- <u>because</u> he died 'He died because he was very old.'
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Example with /py/ is:

/avaʔi dokeceⁱ ara-py/
boy not sleep want day-in
'The boy doesn't want to sleep in the day.'

FOOTNOTES

1. The language of this study is spoken by the Guarani Indians, located on the Pôsto Indígena Interventor Manuel Ribas, Rio das Cobras, Municipality of Laranjeiras do Sul, Paraná, Brasil. It is part of the Tupi-Guarani language family. The group among which this study was made is comprised of approximately 120 adult speakers.

2. The data for this paper were collected by Waldo M. Aaron in a series of field trips to the Pôsto Indígena Interventor Manuel Ribas, during the period September, 1962 to March, 1965. Sarah C. Gudschinsky shared in the analysis of the data and in the writing of the paper. Both authors are members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics working in Brazil in co-operation with the Museu Nacional and the Universidade de Brasília.

3. It should be noted that the list of relational post-positional clitics discussed in this paper is not exhaustive; rather, it is a representative selection from among the total possibilities of the language.

4. The phonemes of Guarani are:

Consonants

voiceless stops	p	t	k	kw	ʔ
pre-nasalized stops	b	d	g	gw	
nasais	m	n	nh	ng	
fricatives					
labial	v				
glottal					h
affricates					
voiceless		c			
voiced		j			
flap		r			

Vowels

front	i	ĩ	e	ẽ
central	y	ỹ	a	ã
back	u	ũ	o	õ

Stress

5. /my/ is the nasal allomorph of /py/ 'in'