

# Karitiâna Clauses

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## 0. Introduction

The Karitiãna texts which have been gathered so far fall into three groups, historical narrative texts, folk tales, and speeches.<sup>1</sup> They are distinguished on the basis of the clauses and other elements, which occur in them. Narrative clauses are found only in historical narrative and folk tale texts. Folk tales are distinguished from other texts by their use of two modals, sarut 'they say' and õm 'it appears'.<sup>2</sup> The third type of text, speeches, is completely made up of ideophonic and reported speech clauses, with no narrative clauses. Ideophonic and reported speech clauses also occur in the other types of text. Narrative folk tale texts have been selected for study both because they form the bulk of the present corpus, and because they contain all clause types.

The three types of clauses already mentioned, narrative clauses, ideophonic clauses and reported speech clauses, are the ones most frequently observed, forming over seventy per cent of the folk tale texts. Each of these carries particular kinds of information within the text, each has its own typical structure, and there is some interlocking between the various types.

## 1. Narrative Clauses

Most event information is found within the narrative clauses of a text, that is, the narrative clauses are the ones that tell what actually happened. Ideophonic clauses also carry event information, but in a more vivid way. In contrast, reported speech clauses report as collateral information what people say they might do. Narrative clauses all contain the verbal prefix nã- 'narrative', which has the form nãka- preceding initially stressed verbs. A further distinguishing feature is that narrative clauses always use the past tense of the verb, thereby indicating that the event is past, and that the event really did take place.<sup>3</sup> Narrative clause boundaries are marked by a falling intonation contour. The nuclear form of the narrative clauses is a single verb with narrative past inflection, possibly supplemented by inflection to indicate repetition using the suffix -oko 'again'. This suffix is used where an action similar to one reported previously is carried out.

+nã(ka) + Verb Root ±Repetitive + Past Tense

nãka-hẽrẽn-oko-t

(narrative-depart-again-past)

'they departed again'

nãka-ho-t

(narrative-go-past)

'they went'

There are also optional pre- and postnuclear items in narrative clauses. The postnuclear items form two groups, modals and nominals. Conjunctions are prenuclear. The optional and obligatory elements of the narrative clause occur as follows:

± Conjunctions + Verb ± Modals ± Nominals

## 1.1 Modals

The two items which occur in the modal slot following the narrative verb are ōm 'it seems' and sarut 'they say'. These may occur singly or together in that order. Both carry the information that the speaker was not an eyewitness of the events in the story. In addition the former, ōm, states that this is only an impression of what happened. This particle occurs only in folk tales. (In other contexts there is a homophonous noun ōm that is used for a toy or model or photograph.) sarut states that the information is at least secondhand, and is used in giving contemporary secondhand information in speeches as well as in folk tales. A combination of the two modals indicates to the hearers that the story is a myth.

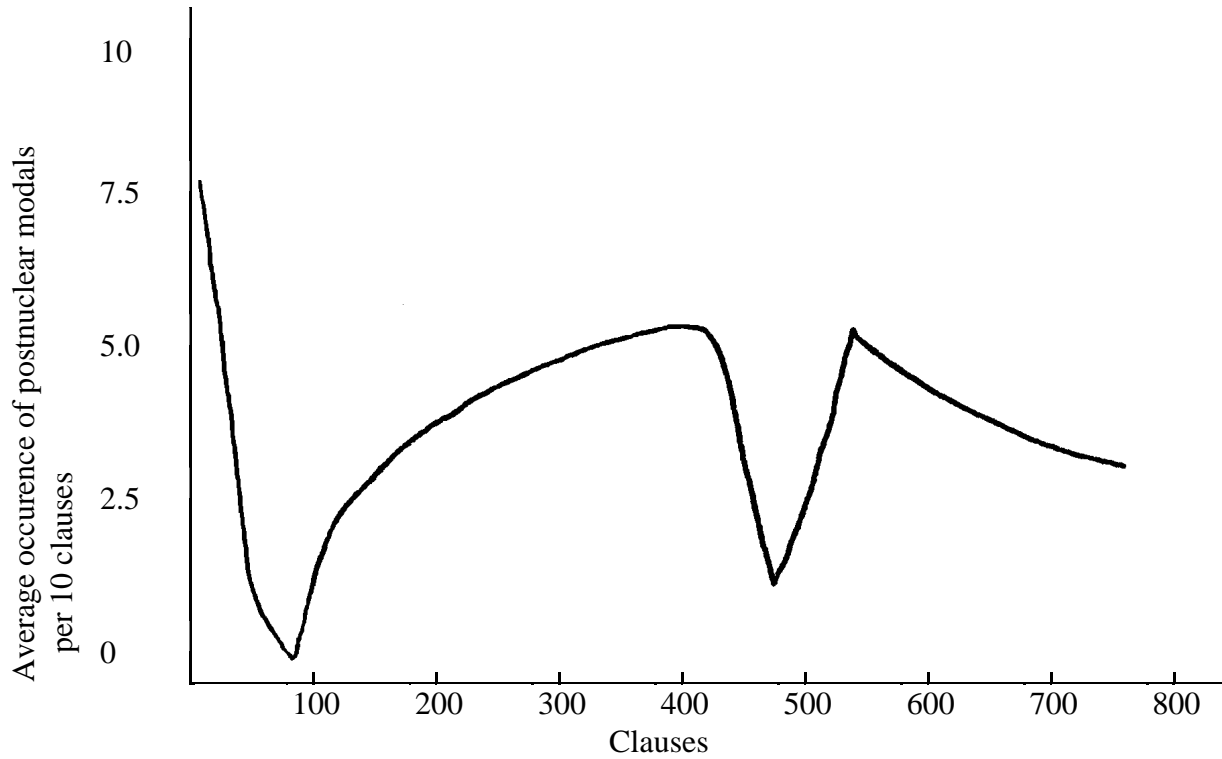


Figure 1

At the beginning of one folk tale of eight hundred clauses, during the first twenty clauses there are frequent uses of one or both of the postnuclear modals to establish that the text is a myth. In the next sixty clauses the frequency drops rapidly to zero, before rising to an intermediate level, as shown in Figure 1. The fall in frequency between lines 450 and 500 coincides with a description of an attack by another group of Indians, in which the speed of narration increases to indicate excitement and rapid action. The following examples illustrate use of modals:

nāka-tat-∅ ōm  
 (narrative-go-past it=seems)  
 'they went off, as the story goes'

nāka-pōn-oko-t sarut  
(narrative-shoot-again-past they=say)  
'they say he shot again'

nāka-mkokut-∅ ōm sarut  
(narrative-pass-past it=seems they=say)  
'as the story goes, they say he passed'

## 1.2 Nominals

Following the modals a variety of nominal elements occur, including noun phrases, nouns, and postpositional phrases, but never pronouns in narrative clauses. Our present data indicate that no more than two nominals may occur at the same time at the surface level.

It is in this part of the clause that the setting of the story is given by the use of locatives, and the scenes are changed by the further use of locatives and temporal phrases.

nāka-tat-∅ sarut Tatu petēm-pip  
(narrative-go-past they=say Tatu petēm-locative)  
'they say Tatu went to the petēm-fruit place'

māsōg nāka-ho-t kerēmnay.  
(and=so narrative-go-past early=morning)  
'and so they went in the early morning'

māsōg nāka-ho-t taso i-anikiy  
(and=so narrative-go-past men them-following)  
'and so the men went following them (i.e. the wild Indians)'

Participants are introduced into the story in narrative clauses by means of nominals that follow the modal, and it is in the same place that participant reference is maintained.<sup>4</sup>

apip nā-so'o-t sarut opokpita  
(and=then narrative-see-past they=say wild=Indian)  
'then, they say, a wild Indian saw him'

nāka-tat-∅ ōm Pohūwūmā  
(narrative-go-past it=seems Pohūwūmā)  
'it seems that Pohūwūmā went'

Props, that is, objects used by characters in the narrative, are put into the text in narrative clauses in the same way as participants.

apip nã-pusot-∅ sarut nukusu-kusop  
 (and=then narrative-get-past they=say ant-nest)  
 'then, they say, he got the ant nest'

The nominals follow the modals in the following order:

±Object ±Subject ±Temporal ±Locative

nã-uru-t sarut mokore-ohün-okopotu i-ota  
 (narrative-come-past they=say spear-broken-part (object) his-kinsman (subject))  
 'they say his kinsman came carrying part of a broken spear'

mãsõg nãka-ho-t kana-taso i-anikiy  
 (and=so narrative-go-past many-men (subject) them-after-(locative))  
 'so many men went after them (to catch them)'

mãsõg nãka-tat-∅ òm pētēm-kün  
 (and=so narrative-go-past it=seems petēm-direction (locative))  
 'so he went in the direction of the petēm-fruit trees, it seems'

### 1.3 Conjunctions

There are two groups of optional conjunctions, which function cohesively in the text at a level above the clause.<sup>5</sup> They occur as part of the clause structure, before the nucleus. These comprise:

Conj 1 apip 'and then'  
 Conj 2 mäsõg 'and so', amuk 'after that'

There is a further conjunction, Conj 3 atukit 'as a result', of which I have few examples; but as yet there are no co-occurrences with the other conjunctions. This gives us the full expansion of the narrative clause:

$$\pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\pm\text{Conj 1})(\pm\text{Conj 2}) \\ \text{Conj 3} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Nucleus } \pm\text{Modals } \pm\text{Nominals}$$

apip mäsõg nã-egu-t i-osopot  
 (and=then and=so narrative-vomit-past their-hairs)  
 'so then they vomited their hairs'

apip amuk nãka-ho-t  
 (and=then after=that narrative-go-past)  
 'then, after that, they went'

māsõg nãka-hap-∅ go  
 (and=so narrative-rise-past sun)  
 'so the sun rose'

atukit nã-oku-t sarut Motãnh.  
 (as=a=result narrative-kill-past they=say Motãnh)  
 'as a result, Motãnh killed him, they say'

#### 1.4 Narrative clause with complement

A special form of narrative clause occurs in which speech or ideophonic clauses are the complement in a narrative clause. The complement form of the narrative clause indicates that, for the purposes of the story, the speech act or the action conveyed by the ideophone actually happened. Thus, by use of a narrative clause, the narrator distinguishes between the speech act itself, taken as an event which did occur, and the content of the speech act, which may or may not have occurred.

In this main narrative clause, the dummy verb a 'do' is always used as main verb. There are restrictions as to the expansion of the clause in that only one nominal, the subject, may occur, and of the conjunctions, only māsõg 'and so'. The structure of the narrative clause with complement is:

+ { Reported Speech Cl  
 Ideophonic Cl } ±Conj +Dummy nucleus ±Modals±Subject

"ã" nãka-a-t õm sarut  
 (oh! narrative-do-past it=seems they =say)  
 ' "Oh!" he said, so it seems they say'

terek nãka-a-t tug-taso  
 (walk=noise narrative-do-past many-men)  
 'many men went walking'

"uy so'or nim" māsõg nãka-a-t  
 ("we look tomorrow" and=so narrative-do-past)  
 ' "Let's look tomorrow" they said'

## 2. Ideophonic clauses

Karitiãna uses a wide range of ideophones, as do many other Tupi languages. These express vividly and in a compact form, actions and events which could be more prosaically expressed in a narrative clause. Ideophones frequently occur following a normal narrative clause,

in which the verb indicates the same action as is conveyed by the ideophone which follows. However, ideophones should not be thought of as being part of the narrative clause. The evidence for considering ideophones to be a separate clause type is not conclusive, but certain factors suggest this view.

Firstly, ideophones have a characteristic rising intonation contour of their own. When the ideophone follows a narrative clause, the two contours are distinct and separate, with the falling intonation of the narrative clause being followed by a rising ideophonic contour. Secondly, ideophones often occur in texts away from the context of narrative clauses. At such times they retain the characteristic ideophonic intonation contour.

Ideophones are used to express many types of human activities. They are frequently used to describe travel: terek terek terek 'walking', ho ho 'walking', surup surup 'walking', te te te 'running', otām 'arrival'. The sounds of people and musical instruments also find ideophonic expression: turi turi turi ri 'flute noise', tūg tūg 'banging', piyō piyō 'warning signal', horororo 'shouting', harararara 'laughing'. And ideophones are also used for such activities as sāg sāg sāg 'cutting trees', satkip satkip satkip 'cutting palm leaves', nhuru yuru yuru 'rubbing arrow wound'.

As mentioned in the last section, ideophones are often the complement of a narrative clause with a dummy main verb. The normal intonation patterns for each type of clause occur.

Unlike ideophones in some other languages, those in Karitiâna follow the regular phonological patterns. The onomatopaeic forms used are standardised, however, not coined innovatively. Their general meaning is readily understood within the culture, but the specific meaning of the ideophonic clause is frequently filled out, say, by use of a locative phrase to denote the goal in the case of travel ideophones, or a nominal phrase object to denote the patient if the ideophone refers to the action of making something.

ho-ho-ho tōg-tōg ami-p  
 (walking-walking-walking arriving-arriving house-locative)  
 'they walked and walked and arrived at the house'

māsōg nāka-ma-t or'ep. non-non-non or'epe-tu. non-non-non  
or'epe-tu.  
 (and=so narrative-make-past bows. ready-ready-ready bow-object. ready-  
 ready-ready bow-object)  
 'and so they made bows. Lots of bows were made. Lots of bows were made.'

### 3. Reported speech clauses

It is in the area of reported speech in Karitiâna folk tales that the greatest variety of clauses is found. However, certain clause types in reported speech occur frequently and have been identified. Commands and statements are formed differently, and in reported speech a transitivity system is in operation, which is masked in narrative and ideophonic clauses. The transitivity system causes distinct differences in the way reported speech clauses are formed so

that there are both transitive and intransitive grammatical patterns for statements and commands. Moreover there are two classes of pronouns, one class functioning with transitive, and the other with intransitive verbs, as shown in Table 1. Pronouns do not occur in narrative clauses. Transitive clauses have two inherent participants and intransitive clauses have one, though these participants may not always be expressed. Additional non-inherent or peripheral participants are also found, but clauses, where these occur, have the same basic structure as the basic transitive or intransitive clauses.

	Intransitive prenuclear pronouns	Transitive prenuclear pronouns	Intransitive postnuclear pronouns	Transitive postnuclear pronouns
1st sing. 'I'	u-	ũn-	-ũn	-ũn
2nd sing. 'you'	ã-	ãn-	-ãn	-ãn
3rd sing. & plur. 'he, they'	∅	i- (or noun)	-i (or noun)	∅
1st plur. 'we'	uy-	uyya-	∅	∅
2nd plur. 'you'	ay-	ayya-	∅	∅

Table 1 Pre- and postnuclear pronouns

### 3.1 Statements

These express both event and collateral information.<sup>6</sup> The past tense is used by speakers to refer to event information, things which have already happened. When they refer to events in the future, the use of the future tense verb suffix -i 'close future' or -ay 'distant future' expresses uncertainty as to whether the event will take place or not. Future tense statements therefore give collateral information. Since in Karitiãna folk tales most of the reported statements refer to future intentions expressed by the participants, a large proportion of these clauses is collateral.

#### 3.1.1 Intransitive statements

Structurally, intransitive statements all have the verbal prefix ta- 'intransitive statement', which has the form taka- preceding initially stressed verbs. The one inherent participant, which is always the subject, finds expression in both the pre- and postnucleus of the verb, as shown in Table 1. Both the pre- and postnuclear elements co-occur obligatorily. These elements are always pronouns, except in the case of the third person, where a postnuclear noun may occur in place of the pronoun -i.

u-taka-tar-i-ũn  
(I-intransitive=statement-go-future-I)  
'I will go'

ta-tar-i gokup  
(intransitive=statement-go-future sun)  
'the sun will set' (with postnuclear noun)

ay-taka-a-y  
(you=plural-intransitive=statement-do-future)  
'you (plural) will do it'

ta-ho-t-i  
(intransitive=statement-go-past-they)  
'they went'

### 3.1.2 Transitive statements

These are similar in structure to intransitive statements, with the additional feature of a second inherent participant functioning as object of the verb. This is expressed at the end of the clause and is always in the form of a noun. All transitive statements have the verbal prefix nã- 'transitive statement' which has the form nãka- preceding initially stressed verbs. This prefix is the same in form as that found in narrative clauses, but in the reported speech context it is used to signal transitivity, which is not distinguished in narrative clauses. The pronoun subject of the verb obligatorily occurs in the prenucleus, and is optional in the postnucleus of the verb. As with intransitive statements the subject is always a pronoun (in this case a transitive pronoun), except for the third person, where a prenuclear noun may occur instead.

ũn-nãka-mhok-i-ũn puropeso tõmtõm  
(I-transitive=statement-play-future-I teacher guitar)  
'I will play the teacher's guitar'

i-nãka-tak-i mĩ'ĩ  
(he-transitive=statement-pound-future peanuts)  
'he will pound peanuts'

### 3.2 Emphatic statements

There is a special form indicating strong determination to do something, which combines the intransitive prefix ta- and the transitive set of prenuclear pronouns. This emphatic form is used for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

ũn-taka-mkokur-i gol  
(I-transitive-intransitive=statement-score-future goal)  
'I shall score a goal'

uyya-ta-pop-i  
(we-transitive-intransitive=statement-kill-future)  
'we shall kill'

### 3.3 Commands

Commands in reported speech are uninflected with respect to tense in Karitiâna. However, the very nature of a command suggests a future intention, and for this reason they express, collateral information. There are both intransitive and transitive commands.

#### 3.3.1 Intransitive commands

These are formed from the intransitive prenuclear pronoun prefixes given in Table 1: a- 'second person singular', uy- 'first person plural', ay- 'second person plural', together with an intransitive uninflected verb.

ay-põguwura  
(you=plural=intransitive-be=silent)  
'you (plural) be quiet!'

uy-so'ot  
(we=intransitive-look)  
'let's look!'

#### 3.3.2 Transitive Commands

These have a transitive prenuclear pronoun prefix from Table 1: ãn- 'second person singular', uyya- 'first person plural', or ayya- 'second person plural' in initial position. This is always followed by the prefix i- 'it, them'. Our present data do not yield examples of reflexive and reciprocal prefixes in this position, but it is likely that examples will be found. The verb is a transitive verb and uninflected. The object may also be expressed as a noun phrase following the verb in addition to the verb prefix i-.

uyya-i-oku  
(we=transitive-them-kill)  
'let's kill them!'

ãn-i-m'a kutoput  
(you=transitive-it make porridge)  
'make porridge!'

## FOOTNOTES

1. Karitiâna is a language of the Tupi stock and the Arikem family, according to Rodrigues. It is spoken by the seventy-eight Karitiâna Indians who live on the Posto Indígena Karitiâna, near Porto Velho, in the Territory of Rondonia, Brazil. The material for this paper was gathered under a contract between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) between 1972 and 1976.
2. Karitiâna phonology has a system of five oral vowels and their nasalised equivalents, which are symbolised a, e, i, o, u and ã, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ. The vowel symbolised u has the phonetic value [i]. There are thirteen consonants g, h, k, m, n, nh, p, r, s, t, w, y, '. The liquids h, r, w, y occur in a nasalised form adjacent to nasalised vowels. The nasal consonants m, n, nh, g have the phonetic values [m, n, ɲ, ŋ] adjacent to nasalised vowels, [mb, nd, ndy, ng] preceding oral vowels, and [bm, dn, ɲn, gn] following oral vowels. ' represents [ʔ]. Stress is not predictable, but has not been symbolised in the orthography.
3. Past time is indicated by the verb suffix -t with a zero allomorph where the verb has a stem final consonant. Future time is indicated by the verb suffixes -i (-y following a stem final vowel) 'immediate future' and -ay 'distant future', with the allomorph -tay following a stem final vowel.
4. For a full discussion of participant reference in Karitiâna folk tales, see R. Landin's unpublished paper 'Semantic features of Karitiâna folk tales' in the archives of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
5. For a full discussion of conjunctions see R. Landin's unpublished paper 'Higher level conjunctions in Karitiâna' in the archives of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
6. The term 'collateral' is used to refer to non-event information in texts such as intentions and negatives. The term is taken from Grimes 1975.

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