

Paumarí Derivational Affixes

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Versão Preliminar - 1978
Versão Online - 2008

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ABSTRACT

Derivational affixes on Paumarí verbs serve a variety of functions, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes singly. They may change the character of a clause by increasing or decreasing the number of nominal elements, and by changing the participant roles represented by those elements. Derivational affixes are one of the speaker's tools to increase or decrease the conspicuousness of an element, bringing information into a prominent position, removing it from prominence, or deleting it altogether. Following a discussion of clause types and informational prominence, the remainder of the paper describes the specific affixes.

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0. Introduction

Derivational affixes on Paumari¹ verbs serve a variety of functions, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes singly. First, they can change the character of the predicate, from active to stative or from stative to active; or from one type of stative to another. For example, by means of a derivational suffix -ha 'process' a purely descriptive clause can be made into one that expresses a change of state.

abini-ki 'ida 'arakava
dead-margin² dem³ hen
'The hen is dead.'

abini-ha-ki 'ida 'arakava
dead-process-margin dem hen
'The hen is dying.'

This function of derivational affixes is simply a matter of maneuvering the meaningful elements, in order to achieve correct content, a matter of composing the clause to match the actual (or imagined) situation being described.

A second function of derivational affixes is to achieve what Chafe (1975: p27f) calls a certain kind of "packaging"; in this function, affixes would "have more to do with how the content is transmitted than with the content itself." Specifically, derivational affixes often make one nominal role in a clause stand out as more conspicuous than the others. In the terminology used in this paper, the choice of derivational affixes (or the choice not to employ any at all) gives informational prominence to a certain nominal element in the clause. Since this function of derivational affixes is quite widespread in Paumari, and since informational prominence is not a familiar concept, it is shortly to be explained in more detail.

A third function of derivational affixes can be seen from the viewpoint of both content and packaging. A nominal element which is either unknown or irrelevant, or both, can be eliminated from nuclear status in a clause, and from the clause altogether, by means of a derivational affix. Compare the following two examples.

mamai-a bi-soko-ki hida makari
mother-subj she-wash-margin dem clothes
'Mother is washing these clothes.'

soko-a-ki hida mamai
wash-intranser-margin dem mother
'Mother is washing.'

In the second clause, the filler of the role of patient simply was not at issue in the context of the clause, so this role does not appear.

The status of "unknown" is a matter of content, while "irrelevant" is a matter of packaging. But in practice these are hard to separate, and often both are applicable in a certain clause.

Following a brief discussion of clause types and informational prominence, the remainder of the paper describes the specific affixes.

0.1 Transitivity clause types

Transitivity clause types, or simply clause types, are categories of Paumarí clauses based on the number and roles of their nominal nuclear constituents, and on the semantic properties of their verbal element. Nuclear constituents are those that are either overtly stated or retrievable from context. In terms of surface grammar, verb, subject, object₁, and object₂⁴ are always nuclear constituents whenever they occur. Time, location, instrument, reason and purpose are generally peripheral constituents. It will be shown later that some peripheral constituents may be made nuclear by the use of derivational affixes.

The nuclear constituents of a clause can also be described in terms of semantic roles. Those used in this paper are basically those described by Halliday (1970, p. 146-155): actor, experiencer (of a mental process or a sense phenomenon; Halliday's "processor"), beneficiary, patient (Halliday's "goal"), source, referent (the delimitation of a predication to a certain field or object, Grimes, 1975, p. 125). The roles discussed in this paper are those that have been found to be related to derivational processes, and do not necessarily comprise all roles found in the Paumarí clause. It is possible to make several general syntactic statements if these roles are clustered into three larger groupings or macro-roles: +Actor (comprising just the role of actor), +Receiver (comprising experiencer and beneficiary), and -Actor, -Receiver (comprising all other roles).⁵ The macro-role of a nominal participant is never, or almost never, affected by verbal derivation,⁶ whereas the finer semantic roles may change. Moreover, it seems likely that no clause in the corpus has two participants in the same macro-role (at the same level, early in its derivation).

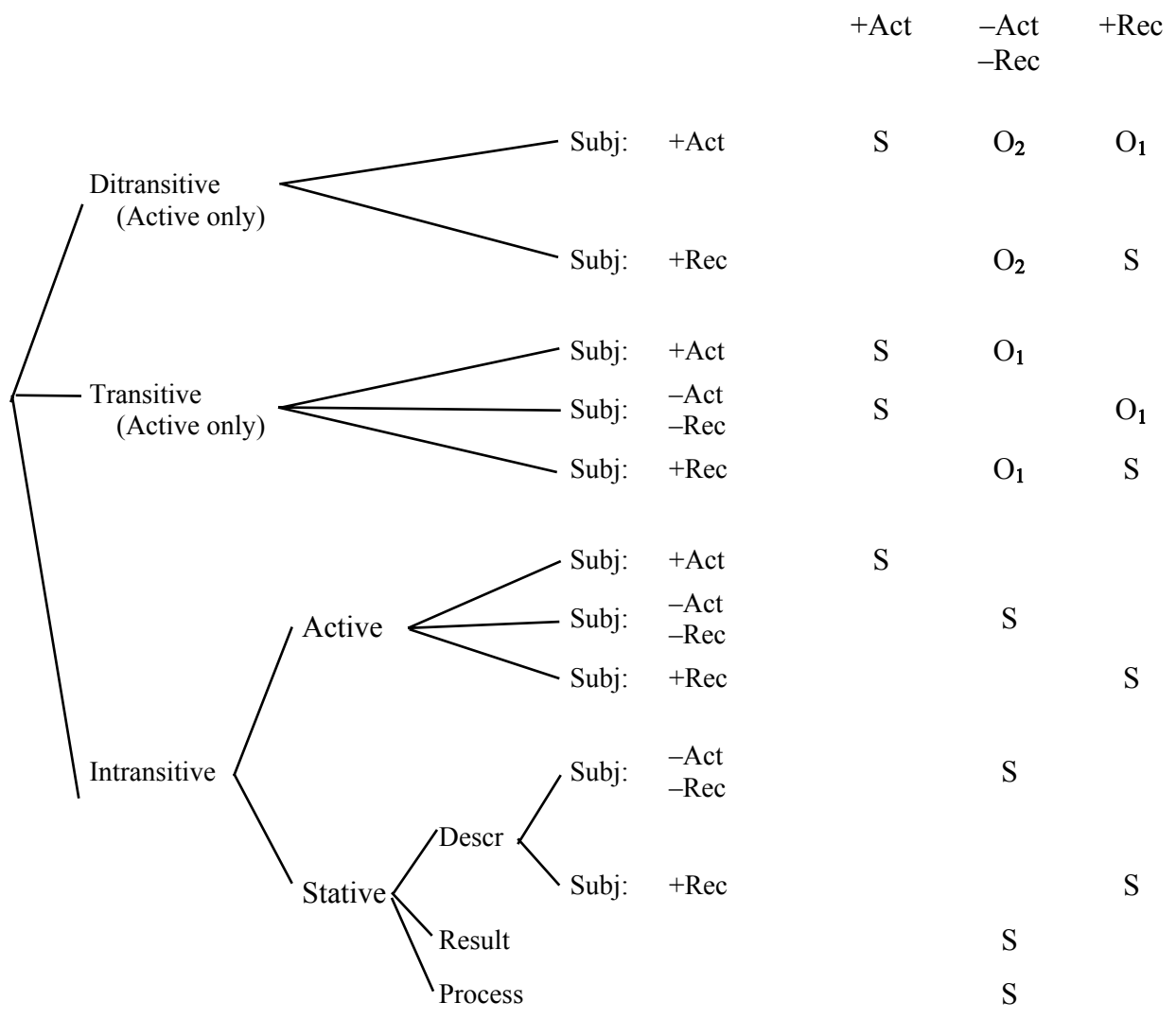


Figure 1. Clause Types

The transitivity clause types discussed in this paper appear in Figure 1. From this diagram it can be seen that all clauses are either active or stative. Active clauses describe an action; stative clauses describe attributive qualities or changes in them. Active clauses are sub-classified in two ways. The first way relates to how the participants are related to the action, and in particular, whether the subject is actor or experiencer. In the following three clauses the subject is actor.

o-kha-ki 'ada
 direction=away-motion-margin dem=masc
 'He went.'

bi-ha-ki 'ada abaisana
 he-eat-margin dem fish
 'He ate fish.'

ho-ra no'a-vini hi-ki abaisana-a
 me-obj₁ give-trans pro=verb⁷-margin fish-obj₂
 'He gave me fish.'

In the next three clauses the subject is +Receiver, either experiencer (as in the first two) or beneficiary (as in the last).

asara-ki 'ada
 cry-margin dem
 'He cried.'

bi-noki-ki 'ida gora
 he-see-margin dem house
 'He saw the house.'

gahina-ki 'ada hado-a
 receive-margin dem knife-obj₂
 'He received a knife.'

These two groups of three clauses serve also to illustrate the second subclassification of active clauses, according to the number of their nuclear constituents. The first example of each list has only one nuclear constituent beside the verb, hence is intransitive. The second example in each list has two nuclear constituents beside the verb, hence is transitive. The last of each list has three nuclear constituents besides the verb, hence is ditransitive.⁸ For transitive clauses with subject as actor, the role of the direct object (object₁) provides a basis for finer classification. In the example given above (the second example in the first list of three); the object is patient (–Actor, –Receiver); in the following example, the object is beneficiary (+Receiver).

'i-ra 'o-ka-paha-ha-ki
 you-obj₁ I-intranser-water-activiser-margin
 'I fetched water for you.'

Stative clauses, all intransitive, are subclassified in another way. Descriptive clauses attribute to their subject a quality that does not entail a previous action, such as:

jaha-ki 'ada
good-margin dem
'He is good.'

pahisiri-ki 'ada
cold-margin dem
'He is cold.'

Resultative clauses attribute to the subject a quality that does entail a previous action, such as:

oba-ki 'ida ava
chopped-margin dem tree
'The tree is chopped.'

siro-ki 'ida siri
killed=opened-margin dem tartaruga
'The turtle is opened.'

Process clauses describe a change of state between two attributive qualities, such as:

abini-ha-ki 'ida 'arakava
dead-process-margin dem hen
'The hen is dying.'

a-'bo'da-ki 'ida ava
process-old-margin dem wood
'The wood is aging.'

The subjects of stative clauses are all –Actor, –Receiver, except for a certain type of descriptive clause which is +Receiver (experiencer).

This paper employs one other classification of clauses. Except for the two examples of process clauses listed in this present section, all the other examples are underived clauses, that is, clauses whose verb contains no derivational affixes. Where derivational affixes are present, the clauses are called derived.

An underived transitive clause has two nominal elements, subject and object₁. In all of these clauses the object₁ is in the semantic role of patient or source, with the macro-role of –Actor, –Receiver. (In a few derived transitive clauses, the object₁ is +Receiver (beneficiary).) In the following examples the object₁ is patient.

jomahi-a bi-anani-hi ida isai
dog-subj it-bite-narra dem child
'The dog bit the child.'

koko-a bi-saka-ha ada makha
uncle-subj he-strike-narra dem snake
'Uncle struck the snake.'

In the following examples the object is source.

'o-noki-hi ida gora
I-see-narra dem house
'I see the house.'

isai-a bi-fini-hi ida jomahi
child-subj he-fear-narra dem dog
'The child fears the dog.'

A ditransitive clause normally has three nominal elements: subject, object₁ and object₂. The object₂ expresses the semantic role of patient. When the actor role occurs as the subject, a beneficiary role is expressed in the object₁.

For example:

Maria-ra 'o-no'a-vini hi-ki pitani-a
Maria-obj₁ I-give-trans pro=verb-margin part-obj₂
'I gave Maria a part.'

'i-ra 'o-kaathiri-ki sipatihi-a
you-obj₁ I-refuse-margin banana-obj₂
'I refuse you a banana.'

kodi-abi'i ho-ra ka'ojomo'i-vini jirihi-a
my-father me-obj₁ teach-trans writing-obj₂
'My father taught me writing.'

When the beneficiary role occurs as the subject, the object₁ element is obligatorily absent in surface manifestation. This may be considered as a type of defective ditransitive.

gahina-hi ida 'aaso adaki-a
receive-narra dem aunt potatoes-obj₂
'Aunt received potatoes.'

ihi'ai-a 'o-vahi'a-siaga-ki
fruit-obj₂ I-travelling=eating-follow-margin
'I followed behind eating fruit.'

0.2. Informational prominence

Grimes (1975, p. 130f.) cites the example x used y to break z, in which the nominal element y has more prominence than in the corresponding clause x broke z with y. The difference in prominence seems to be related to the fact that the element y is a nuclear constituent in the clause with the verb used, but not with the verb broke. Whereas in English this change of prominence may be typically effected by change of verb, in Paumarí it is effected by adding or removing derivational affixes on the verb. As pointed out earlier, this is not the only function of derivational affixes in Paumarí, but it is a major one. Moreover, derivational affixes are not the only way to effect this prominence; passivization and perhaps fronting can bring about informational prominence as well as other effects. An adequate treatment of informational prominence is beyond the scope of this present paper, but it seems to be related to derivational affixes at least in the ways listed below.

If by means of a derivational affix a nominal role becomes nuclear in a clause, the element in that role thereby acquires informational prominence. In Paumari, for example, a locative role changes from peripheral to nuclear status in a clause by the addition of a derivational affix.

Peripheral locative in underived clause:

igitha kapamoarihi kani-a va-a-kaikahi-ha
 animal peoples place-locative they-canoe-arrive-narra
 'At the animal people's place they arrived by canoe.'

Nuclear locative in derived clause:

va-ka-na-kaikahi-ha adani igitha kapamoarihi
 they-canoe-causativiser-arrive-narra dem animal people
 'They arrived by canoe at the animal people.'

The nuclear locative in the second example has informational prominence.

The same effect can be achieved by transitivisers or causativisers that add the role of actor to a clause.

Underived intransitive clause (without actor):

txina-ki hida café
 sweet-margin dem coffee
 'This coffee is sweet.'

Transitivised clause (with actor):

'o-na-txina-ki hida café
 I-causativiser-sweet-margin dem coffee
 'I sweeten the coffee.'

On the other hand, if by means of a derivational affix a nominal role ceases to be nuclear in a clause, some other nominal element thereby acquires informational prominence.

oba-ki 'ida ava
 chopped-margin dem tree
 'The tree was chopped.'

oba-ha-ki 'ada koko
 chopped-activiser-margin dem uncle.
 'Uncle chopped.' ('tree' is implicit from the context)

In underived clauses, the nominal element in the -Actor, -Receiver macro-role has informational prominence, if the clause has such an element. This element is the object₁, of transitive clauses and the object₂ of ditransitives.

Underived transitive clause

'o-noki-ki 'ida gora
I see-margin dem house
'I saw the house.'

Underived ditransitive clause

hado-a 'i-ra 'o-no'a-'i-ki
knife-obj₂ you-obj₁ I-give-compl=asp-margin
'I gave you a knife.'

The claims about nominal elements with informational prominence must rest upon empirical evidence, especially in languages in which the analyst does not have the intuitional feel that a native speaker would have. In Paumarí, a systematic exposition of this evidence must await a further paper. Briefly, however, the elements described above as having informational prominence are those that typically express the following three kinds of information: new information, regarding a participant or prop that is being introduced into the addressee's consciousness (Chafe, 1975, p. 30); contrastive information, a nominal that is being set out in opposition to another in the linguistic or extralinguistic context; and, in a few types of clauses, certain types of setting information when that setting actually takes effect in a discourse. The increased conspicuousness that informational prominence entails, occurs at points in a discourse where it is well motivated on contextual considerations.

1. Intransitive derivational affixes

There are some affixes which transform intransitive clauses of one type into intransitive clauses of another type. If the change is between two stative types the participant and role remain unchanged. If the change is from stative to active, the original participant is deleted and a new participant is added in a new semantic role.

1.1. Process a-

The prefix a-, 'process' changes a descriptive clause into a process clause. The verb root pahisiri- 'cold', which obligatorily has a verb suffix -ki, can function as an adjective.

paha pahisiri-ki
water cold-margin
'cold water'

With little change it becomes a descriptive clause.

pahisiri-ki 'ida paha
cold-margin dem water
'The water is cold.'

The prefix a- changes the descriptive clause to a process clause.

a-pahisiri-ki 'ida paha
process-cold-margin dem water
'The water is becoming cooler.'

Similarly, the noun phrase ava 'bo'da 'old wood' via the descriptive clause

'bo'da 'ida ava
old dem wood
'The wood is old.'

becomes a process clause with a- 'process'. The verbal suffix -ki must also be added.

a-'bo'da-ki 'ida ava
process-old-margin dem wood
'The wood is enduring.' That is, it becomes old; it does not rot quickly.

1.2. Process -ha

The suffix -ha 'process', applied to a descriptive clause, changes it into a process clause.

abini-ki 'ida 'arakava
dead-margin dem hen
'The hen is dead.'

abini-ha-ki 'ida 'arakava
dead-process-margin dem hen
'The hen is dying.'

The suffix -ha may also be applied to an adjective to make it into a process clause.

'o-'bo'da-ki-ho
I-old-margin-I
'I am old.'

'o-'bo'da-ha-ki-ho
I-old-process-margin-I
'I'm becoming old.'

1.3. Activiser -ha with verb roots

The suffix -ha 'activiser' applied to a resultative clause makes it into an active intransitive clause.

oba-ki 'ida ava
chopped-margin dem tree
'The tree was chopped.'

oba-ha-ki 'ida gamo
chopped-activiser-margin dem woman
'The woman chopped.' (No object₁ is permitted)

The subject following the derivation contains a new participant in a new role. The same transformation is seen in the following example.

siro-ki 'ida siri
(killed=opened-margin dem turtle)
'The turtle was killed and opened.'

siro-ha-ki 'ada papai
killed=opened-activiser-margin dem father
'Father killed and opened (it).'

Similarly, when the -ha 'activiser' is applied to a process clause it becomes an active intransitive clause.

a-ha'di-ki 'ida ava
process-burn-margin dem wood
'The wood is burning.'

'o-a-ha'di-ha-ki-ho
I-process-burn-activiser-margin-I
'I will light (it).'

1.4. Activiser -ha with noun roots

There is a type of descriptive clause, derived from a noun root, in which the subject is possessor. This type of clause is changed to an intransitive active clause when the -ha 'activiser' is applied.

'o-ka-paha-ki-ho
I-intranser-water-margin-I
'I have water.'

'o-ka-paha-ha-ki-ho
I-intranser-water-activiser-margin-I
'I am going to get water.'

Although the above clause is normally intransitive, a beneficiary role may be added without further derivational affixation. If the beneficiary and the actor are co-referential the reflexive form of the pronoun is used.

'o-abono 'o-ka-paha-ha-ki-ho
I-self I-intranser-water-activiser-margin-I
'I fetch water for myself.'

If the beneficiary is not co-referential with the actor the beneficiary is object₁.

'i-ra 'o-ka-paha-ha-ki
you-obj₁ I-intranser-water-activiser-margin
'I fetched water for you.'

The same suffix -ha can be applied directly to a few noun roots, as an intranser (2.6.).

The intransitive derivationals are illustrated in Figure 2. Their effect, as is the case for all derivational affixes under discussion, is to transform a clause of one type to a clause of another

type. Hence they can be thought of as being the arrows in the diagram. Each arrow is drawn between the participants with informational prominence, in the two clauses involved. The broken arrow in Figure 2 represents the addition of a beneficiary role without the use of a derivational affix (1.4.). In this and the following diagrams the grammatical slots for each clause type are listed under their appropriate macro-role: Subj stands for subject, Obj₁ for object₁ and Obj₂ for object₂.

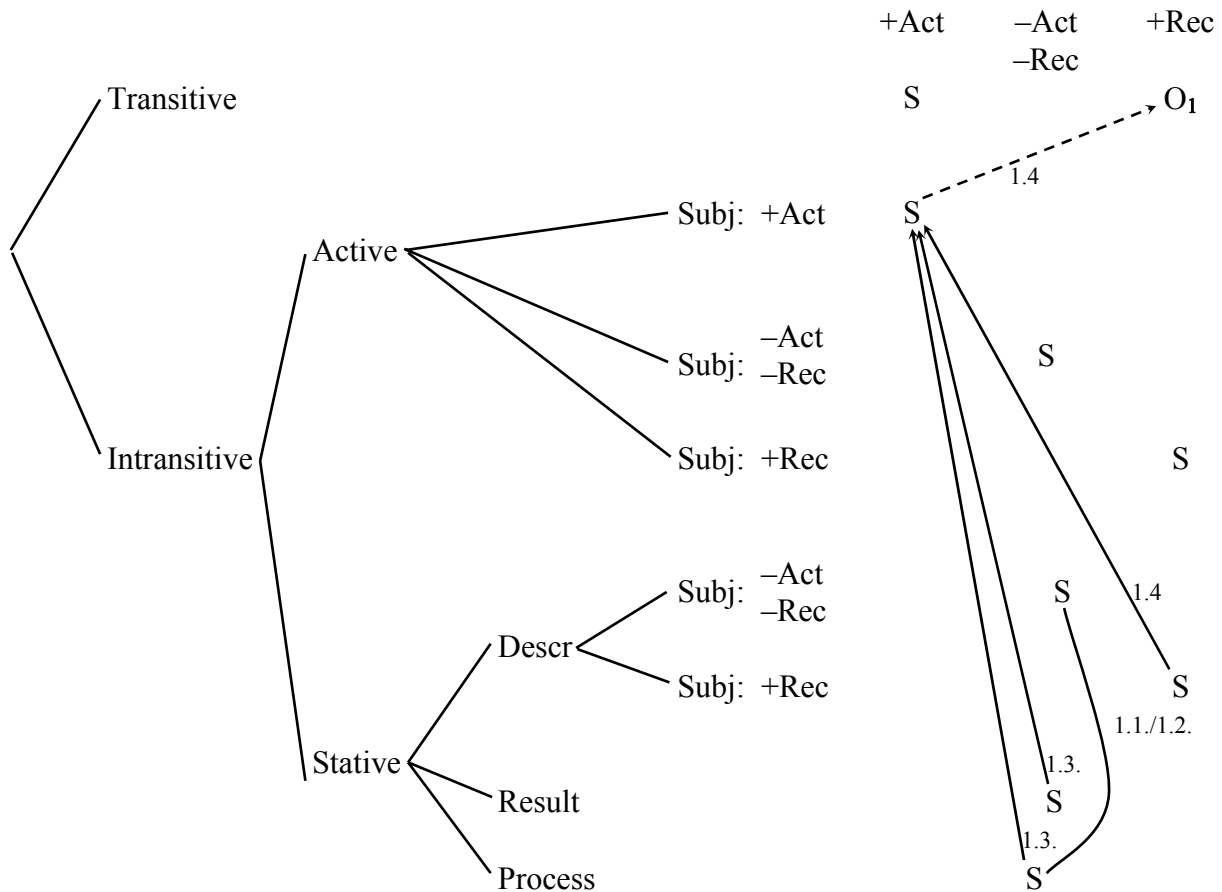


Figure 2 Intransitive-only derivational affixes

2. Intransitivisers

There are six intransitivising affixes, some of which have alternate forms. Each affix occurs with a certain class of verbs, which is not otherwise distinguishable from the other five classes.

2.1. Intransitiver -ha

This suffix changes a transitive clause with subject as actor into an intransitive clause, by deleting one of the two participant roles present in the transitive clause. The suffix -ha has variant forms -a and -jaha.⁹ Three examples of underived transitive clauses are given first.

mamai-a bi-soko-ki hida makari
mother-subj she-wash-margin dem clothes
'Mother is washing these clothes.'

jomahi-a bi-khori-ki hida nami
dog-subj he-dig-margin dem earth
'The dog is digging the earth.'

koko-a bi-rakhai-ki hida siroi
uncle-subj he-plant-margin dem field
'Uncle is planting this field.'

If the role present as object₁ is deleted, an active intransitive clause results, whose subject is the same as in the transitive clause. The subject is actor both before and after the derivation occurs.

soko-a-hi ida mamai
wash-intranser-narra dem mother
'Mother washed.'

khora-ha-hi ida jomahi
dig-intranser-narra dem dog
'The dog dug.'

rakha-jaha-ha ada koko
plant-intranser-narra dem uncle
'Uncle planted.'

If the participant role present as subject of the transitive clause is deleted, the product is a resultative clause whose subject is the former object₁.

soko-a-hi ida makari
wash-intranser-narra dem clothes
'The clothes are washed.'

khora-ha-hi ida nami
dig-intranser-narra dem earth
'The earth was dug.'

rakha-jaha-hi ida siroi
 plant-intranser-narra dem field
 'The field was planted.'

2.2. Intransitivisers -a and -vaha

These affixes appear on only a few verbs. The two most common ones are ha- 'to eat' and noki- 'to see'.

bi-ha-ki 'ida baimana
 he-eats-margin dem meat
 'He eats meat.'

bi-noki-ki 'ida gora
 he-sees-margin dem house
 'He sees the house.'

Each of these suffixes deletes the subject participant of a transitive clause, producing a descriptive clause whose subject is the former object₁ participant.

ha-vaha-ki 'ida baimana
 eat-intranser-margin dem meat
 'The meat is edible.'

noki-a-ki 'ida gora
 see-intranser-margin dem house
 'The house is visible.'

There is inadequate evidence to show that a difference between these two affixes can be made on the basis of subject as actor versus subject as experiencer.

2.3. Intransitiver -hi

This suffix changes a transitive clause with subject as actor into an intransitive clause by deleting the actor participant role and the object₁. The former patient role is transferred to the subject. The resulting clause may either be regarded as an intransitive active or a resultative clause, depending on the context. The suffix -hi has a zero variant form.¹⁰ Four examples are given, the first of each pair being the underived form and the second the derived form.

a) jomahi-a bi-anani-hi ida isai
 dog-subj he-bite-narra dem child
 'The dog bit the child.'

anana-hi-ni ida isai
 bite-intranser-intransitive dem child
 'The child was bitten.'

b) koko-a bi-saka-ha ada i'oa
 uncle-subj he-strike-narra dem tambaqui
 'Uncle harpooned the tambaqui.'

saka-hi-na 'ada i'oa
strike-intranser-intransitive dem tambaqui
'The tambaqui was harpooned.'

- c) koko-a bi-gathi-hi ida jomahi
uncle-subj he-catch-narra dem dog
'Uncle caught the dog.'

gatha-na 'ada jomahi
catch-intransitive dem dog
'The dog was caught.'

- d) mamai-a bi-kabasikha-ha ada bano
mother-subj she-smoke-narra dem piranha
'Mother smoked the piranha.'

kabasikha-ha ada bano
smoke-narra dem piranha
'The piranha was smoked.'

A syllable ending with the vowel /i/ becomes /a/ before this suffix.

2.4. Intransitiviser a-

This affix appears on only one verb 'dani 'to break'.

bi-'dani-hi ida ava
he-break-narra dem wood
'He broke the wood.'

When a- 'intranser' is applied the actor participant of the transitive clause is deleted. The clause becomes either an intransitive active clause with the subject as patient or a resultative clause, depending on the context. Both forms are identical.

a-'dani-ki 'ida ava
intranser-break-margin dem wood
'The wood broke.' or 'The wood was broken.'

2.5. Intransitiviser ka-

The prefix acts simultaneously as a verbaliser and may be applied to most noun stems. This is the most common way to indicate possession. The application of this prefix makes a noun into a descriptive clause. The beneficiary role is expressed by the subject. The item possessed is expressed by the verb root. The prefix ka- has a variant form ko-.¹¹

'o-ka-abi 'i-ki-ho
I-intranser-father-margin-I
'I have a father.'

'o-ka-paha-ki-ho
I-intranser-water-margin-I
'I have water.'

ka-paha-ki 'ida arabo
intranser-water-margin dem land
'The land has water.' ie 'The land is flooded.'

2.6. **Intransitiviser -ha**

This suffix, already discussed in 1.4. as an activiser, may be applied directly to a few nouns as a verbaliser. The application of this suffix makes the noun into an active intransitive clause. The subject is actor and the verb indicates some instrument.

'o-hado-ha- 'iana-hi
I-knife-intranser-again-narra
'I cut again.'

2.7. **Intransitiviser o-**

This prefix is only found on the verb fini- 'to fear'.

isai-a bi-fini-ki 'ada jomahi
child-subj he-fears-margin dem dog
'The child fears the dog.'

This prefix deletes the source (object₁) of a transitive clause with subject as experiencer making it into an intransitive clause. The same participant (experiencer) is subject before and after the derivation.

o-fini-ha ada isai
intranser-fear-narra dem child
'The child is afraid.'

The intransitivisers are illustrated in Figure 3.

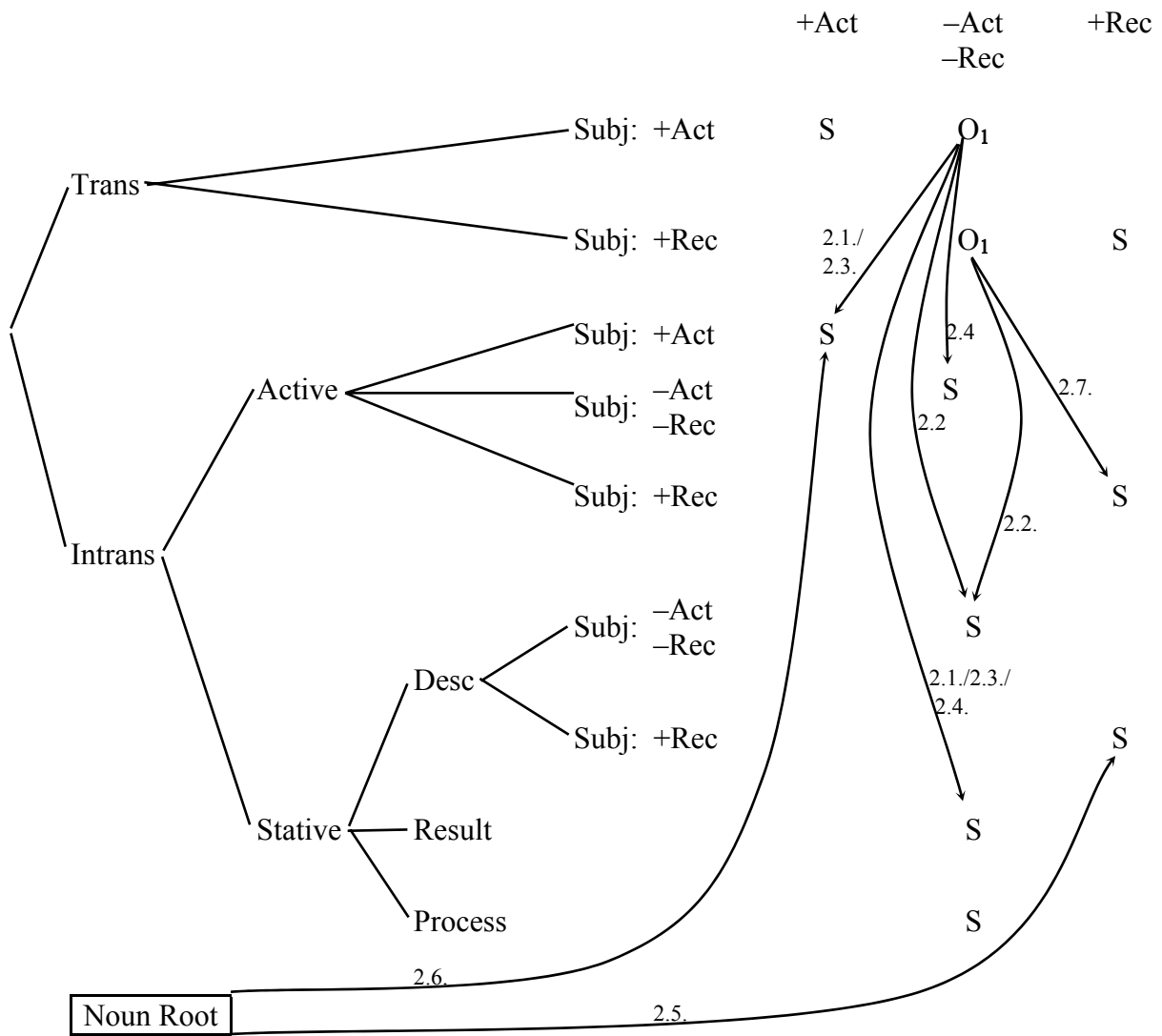


Figure 3. Intransitivisers

3. Transitivity

These affixes may be applied to a limited number of intransitive active roots and noun stems.

3.1. Transitivity ra-

This prefix may be applied to a few intransitive roots that have subject as actor, thus making the clause transitive. The actor role in the intransitive clause is retained in the transitive clause and the new participant role of patient is added in the object₁.

'o-o-ka-si-ki-ho
I-direction=away-motion-up-margin-I
'I go up.' (into a house or up a tree)

'o-a-ra-ka-si-ki 'ida hado
I-direction=away-transer-motion-up-margin dem knife
'I handed up the knife.'

3.2. Transitivity -'a

The suffix -'a 'transitivity' adds an object₁ participant to an intransitive clause with subject as actor, thus making the clause transitive. The suffix -'a has a variant form -ha.¹² Moreover, this suffix always occurs with the stem ni, whose functions must first be briefly explained.

First of all, ni can function as a pro-verb, following a root. Some of these roots can function as nominals in other contexts, but only with -ni suffixed to them: bada-ni 'work', vara-ni 'conversation'. When these stems function as part of an intransitive active verb phrase, ni becomes the nucleus for affixation.

bada 'o-ni-na
work I-pro=verb-intransitive
'I work.'

vara 'o-ni-na
converse I-pro=verb-intransitive
'I converse.'

Secondly, ni functions as a pro-verb with other roots, such as mitha 'listen', which do not occur as nominals. The subject of this verb is primarily actor, and only secondarily experiencer.

mitha 'o-ni-na
listen I-pro=verb-intransitive
'I listen.'

Finally, ni can function as a full-fledged verb stem meaning 'say'.

ni-hi 'ida gamo
say-narra dem woman
'The woman said.'

The suffix -'a can apply to each of the above intransitive clauses with ni, changing it to a transitive clause by adding a new participant as object₁. The role of this new participant depends on the verb stem involved.

The object₁ may be patient.

Okojoa-a bada bi-ni-'a-ha ada abaisana
Okojoa-subj work she-pro=verb-transer-narra dem fish
'Okojoa worked the fish.' i.e. 'She prepared it for cooking.'

The object₁ may be beneficiary.

ho-ra ni-'a-hi ida gamo
me-obj₁ say-transer-narra dem woman
'The woman said to me.'

vara ho-ra ni-'a-hi ida kodi-isai
converse me-obj₁ pro=verb-transer-narra dem my-child
'My child conversed with me.'

Most verbs of speech have a beneficiary as object₁.

Finally, the object₁ may be source.

mitha 'o-ni-'a-hi ida saani
listen I-pro=verb-transer-narra dem noise
'I listened to the noise.'

3.3. Transitiver ka-

Whereas -'a occurs with +Actor subjects, ka- occurs with +Receiver subjects. Both affixes add another role as object₁ to produce a transitive clause.

When the prefix ka- can be applied to intransitive clauses that have actor as experiencer, an object₁ is added with the role of source, as in the following three pairs of examples.

a) ihamahi-ha ada isai
angry-narra dem child
'The child was angry.'

ho-ra ka-ihamahi-ha ada isai
me-obj₁ transer-angry-narra dem child
'The child was angry with me.'

- b) 'o-asara-hi
I-cry-narra
'I cried.'
- 'o-ka-asara-ha ada isai
I-transer-cry-narra dem child
'I cried for the child. ' (the child was either absent or dead)
- c) mitha 'o-ni-na
listen I-pro=verb-intransitive
'I listen.'
- 'o-ka-mitha-hi ida saani
I-transer-listen=hear-narra dem noise
'I heard the noise.'

The final example shows clearly the difference between ka- and -'a. The root mitha 'hear' with -'a means 'listen' (actor subject, 3.2.) and with ka- means 'hear' (experiencer subject). Another stem that can take either affix is pavakari 'a thing for sale'. With -'a the subject is the seller, an actor role, and the verb then means 'sell'.

pavakari bi-ni-ha-hi ida siri
sell he-pro=verb-transer-narra dem turtle
'He sold the turtle.'

With ka- the subject is the purchaser, which here is considered basically a beneficiary role, and the verb means 'buy'.

'o-ka-pavakari-'i-hi ida va'a
I-transer-buy=sell-compl-narra dem thread
'I bought the thread.'

3.4. Transitivity ka-

When ka- is applied to a noun it acts simultaneously as a verbaliser. The subject expresses an actor role and the object₁ a patient role. The verb frequently expresses an instrument role. The form of this derivation is homophonous with the derivation described in 2.5. but the role relationships and subsequent derivations are different.

'o-'da'di-ra 'o-a-ka-mai'da-hi
my-head-object₁ I-noun=class-transer-comb-narra
'I combed my hair.'

ba'aroana-ra 'o-ka-siho-hi
turtle=shell-object₁ I-transer-fire-narra
'I cooked with fire the turtle shell.'

bari ka-ka-ahoi-hi ida prima Xina
 us noun=class-transer-vine-narra dem cousin Xina
 'Cousin Xina pulled us by a vine in a canoe.'

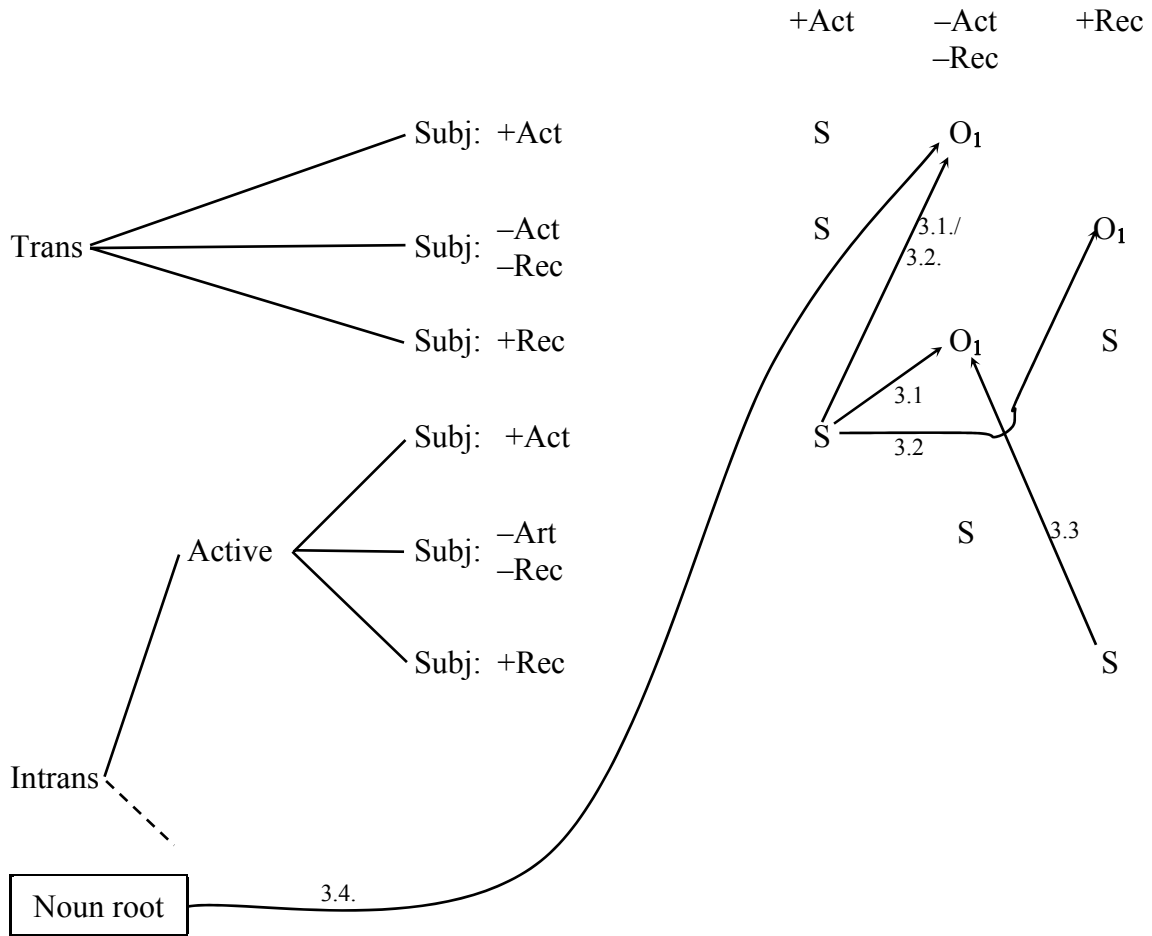
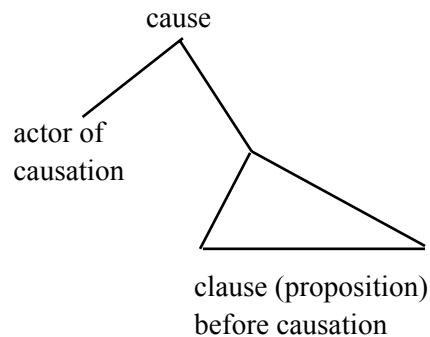


Figure 4. Transitivity markers

4. Causativiser na-

This prefix may be applied to all underived and some derived intransitive verb's, and to a few nouns. It introduces a new participant, who is the actor in what Grimes considers an abstract predicate of causation.¹³



Thus, there may be two actor roles in a clause with na- 'causative': the actor in the clause as it originally was before the causative derivation, and the actor of the abstract predicate of causation. The subject of the derived clause is the actor of the causation.

The prefix na- has variant forms ni-, no-, and n-.¹⁴

4.1. Applied to intransitive clauses with subject as actor

When na- 'causativiser' is applied to any intransitive clause it becomes transitive. An actor subject of the intransitive clause usually becomes an actor object₁ in the derived clause. This is seen in the following two pairs of examples.

a) kha-ha ada isai
 motion-narra demonst child
 'The child came.'

'o-a-ni-kha-ha ada isai
 I-direction=away-causativiser-motion-narra dem child
 'I fetched the child.' i.e.
 'I went to where the boy was and caused him to return with me.'

b) vithi-ha ada isai
 sit-narra dem child
 'The child sat.'

'o-na-vithi-ha ada isai
 I-causativiser-sit-narra dem child
 'I caused the boy to sit.'

A reason clause is frequently found filling the subject and acts as an inanimate actor in the causation.

'o-'oma-ki-ho
I-lie=down-margin-I
'I am lying down.'

'o-kavamoni-na ho-ra ni-'oma-ki
I-be=sick-intransitive me-obj₁ causativiser-lie=down-margin
'My being sick is causing me to lie down.'

4.2. Applied to intransitive active clauses with subject as experiencer

When na- 'causativiser' is applied to an intransitive active clause with subject as experiencer, the experiencer role is transferred to the object₁ of the derived clause. This is shown in the following pairs of examples.

a) ihamahi-ha ada isai
angry-narra dem child
'The child was angry.'

'o-na-ihamahi-ha ada isai
I-causativiser-angry-narra dem child
'I caused the boy to be angry.'

b) asara-ha ada isai
cry-narra dem child
'The child cried.'

'o-na-asara-ha ada isai
I-causativiser-cry-narra dem child
'I caused the child to cry.'

na- may also be applied to a derived intransitive clause with the same derivational changes which occur when applied to an underived clause.

o-fini-ha ada isai
intranser-fear-narra dem child
'The boy was afraid.'

jomahi-a bi-na-o-fini-ha ada isai
dog-subj it-causativiser-intranser-fear-narra dem child
'The dog frightened the boy.'

4.3. Applied to stative clauses

When na- 'causativiser' is applied to any stative clause it becomes a transitive clause. The relationship that existed between the subject and verb before the derivation is found between the verb and object₁ in the derived clause. The following two pairs of examples show descriptive clauses.

a) jaha-ki 'ida gora
good=clean-margin dem house
'The house is good.'

'o-na-jaha-hi ida gora
I-causativiser-clean-narra dem house
'I cleaned the house.'

b) abini-ki 'ida 'arakava
dead-margin dem hen
'The hen is dead.'

'o-na-abini-ki ida 'arakava
I-causativiser-dead-margin dem hen
'I killed the hen.'

Similarly, a derived descriptive clause may have the causative derivation applied.

noki-a-ki 'ida hado
see-intranser-margin dem knife
'The knife is visible.'

bi-na-noki-a-hi 'ida kidi-hado
he-causativiser-see-intranser-narra dem his-knife.
'He showed his knife.' i.e. 'He caused his knife to be seen.'

The following examples show the causativiser applied to a resultative clause.

a) oba-ki 'ida ava
chopped-margin dem tree
'The tree is chopped.'

'o-n-oba-hi 'ida ava
I-causativiser-chopped-narra dem tree
'I chopped down the tree.' i.e.
'I caused the tree to be in a chopped down state.'

b) siro-ki 'ida siri
killed=opened-margin dem turtle
'The turtle has been killed and opened.'

'o-na-siro-hi 'ida siri
I-causativiser-kill-open-narra dem turtle
'I killed and opened the turtle.' i.e.
'I caused it to be in a state of readiness for cooking.'

The following examples show the causativiser applied to a derived process clause.

a-ha 'di-ki 'ida lamparina
 process-burn-margin dem lamp
 'The lamp is alight.'

'o-a-na-ha 'di-hi ida lamparina
 I-process-causativiser-burn-narra dem lamp
 'I lit the lamp.' i.e. 'I caused the lamp to be burning.'

4.4. Making a peripheral element nuclear

The application of the causativiser on some intransitive verbs with actor subject is a means of making a peripheral element nuclear. In the following examples a locative has been transferred to the object₁ making the clause transitive. The application of na- has not added new information to the clause, as the locative is in the periphery of the underived clause, but has transferred the information to a more prominent position.

a) Inaviha 'o-araba-ha-hi
 Lake=Inaviha I-fished-distance-narra
 'At Lake Inaviha I fished.'

'o-na-araba-hi ida Inaviha
 I-causativiser-fished-narra dem Inaviha)
 'I fished at Inaviha.'

b) igitha kapamoarihi kani-a va-ka-kaikahi-ha
 animal people place-locative they-canoe-arrive-narra
 'At the animal people place they arrived.'

va-ka-na-kaikahi-hi ida igitha kapamoarihi
 they-canoe-causativiser-arrive-narra dem animal people
 'They arrived at the animal people place.'

The use of causatives to make a peripheral element nuclear is not frequent in text. When they occur they seem to highlight either a new incident, a new setting within an incident, a purposeful going to a location, or a contrast between locations.

4.5. Applied to intransitive active clauses derived from nouns

The causativiser may also be applied to intransitive active clauses that have been derived from nouns. When a derived intransitive clause, described in 1.3. and 2.5. has the causativiser applied, it becomes a transitive clause with the general meaning 'the subject (actor) causes the object₁ (patient) to become the item indicated in the verb root.' The following three examples show the progression in derivations from derived descriptive, to intransitive active by the application of the -ha 'activiser', and then to a transitive clause by the application of the causativiser.

'o-ko- 'bai-ki-ho
 I-intranser-food-margin-I
 'I have food.'

The new clause has the general meaning of 'The subject causes the object₁, to possess the item indicated in the verb root.' If an object₂ is present it is co-referential with the item in the verb root. Generally the item in the verb root is generic (for example, food) and the item in the object₂ is specific (for example, tambaqui meat). The following two pairs of examples show the causative affix making a descriptive clause into a transitive clause.

- a) ko-'bai-ki 'ada xoni
 intranser-food-margin dem younger=brother
 'Younger brother has food.'
- xoni-ra 'o-ka-no-'bai-vini
 younger=brother-obj₁ I-intranser-causativiser-food-trans
- hi-ki i'oa imana
 pro=verb-margin tambaqui meat
 'I caused younger brother to have food which was tambaqui meat.' i.e.
 'I gave food/tambaqui meat to younger brother.'
- b) ka-jorai-ki 'ida 'aaso
 intranser-mat-margin dem aunt
 'Aunt has a mat.'
- 'aaso-ra 'o-ka-na-jorai-hi
 aunt-obj₁ I-intranser-causativiser-mat-narra
 'I caused aunt to have a mat.' i.e. 'I lent aunt a mat.'

The choice of derivational affixes can be used to indicate fine areas of meaning. (As well as the progression of derivations which have been described in 4.5. and 4.6. there is also a contrast between the derived forms.) Consider the following two pairs of examples.

- a) 'i-ra 'o-ko-'bai-ha-ki-ho
 you-obj₁ I-intranser-food-activiser-margin-I
 'I prepare food for you.'
- 'i-ra 'o-ka-no-'bai-vini hi-ki i'oa imana
 you-obj₁ I-intranser-causativiser-food-trans pro=verb-margin tambaqui meat
 'I give you tambaqui meat (for you to cook).'
- b) 'i-ra 'o-ka-jorai-ha-ki-ho
 you-obj₁ I-intranser-mat-activiser-margin-I
 'I give you a mat.'
- 'i-ra 'o-ka-na-jorai-hi
 you-obj₁ I-intranser-causativiser-mat-narra
 'I cause you to have a mat.' i.e. 'I lend you a mat.'

4.7. Applied directly to noun roots

A few nouns may be made into transitive clauses with subject as actor by the application of the causativiser, which simultaneously acts as a verbaliser.

prato-a 'a-na-bavi-ronaha-ha ada bahina a'bana
 plate-locative we-causativiser-container-stay-narra dem bee juice
 'We stayed to put the honey on the plate.' literally
 'We staying caused the honey to be containered on a plate.'

i'oa-ra na-hado-ha ada kodi-abi'i
 tambaqui-obj₁ causativiser-knife-narra dem my-father
 'My father cut the tambaqui.'

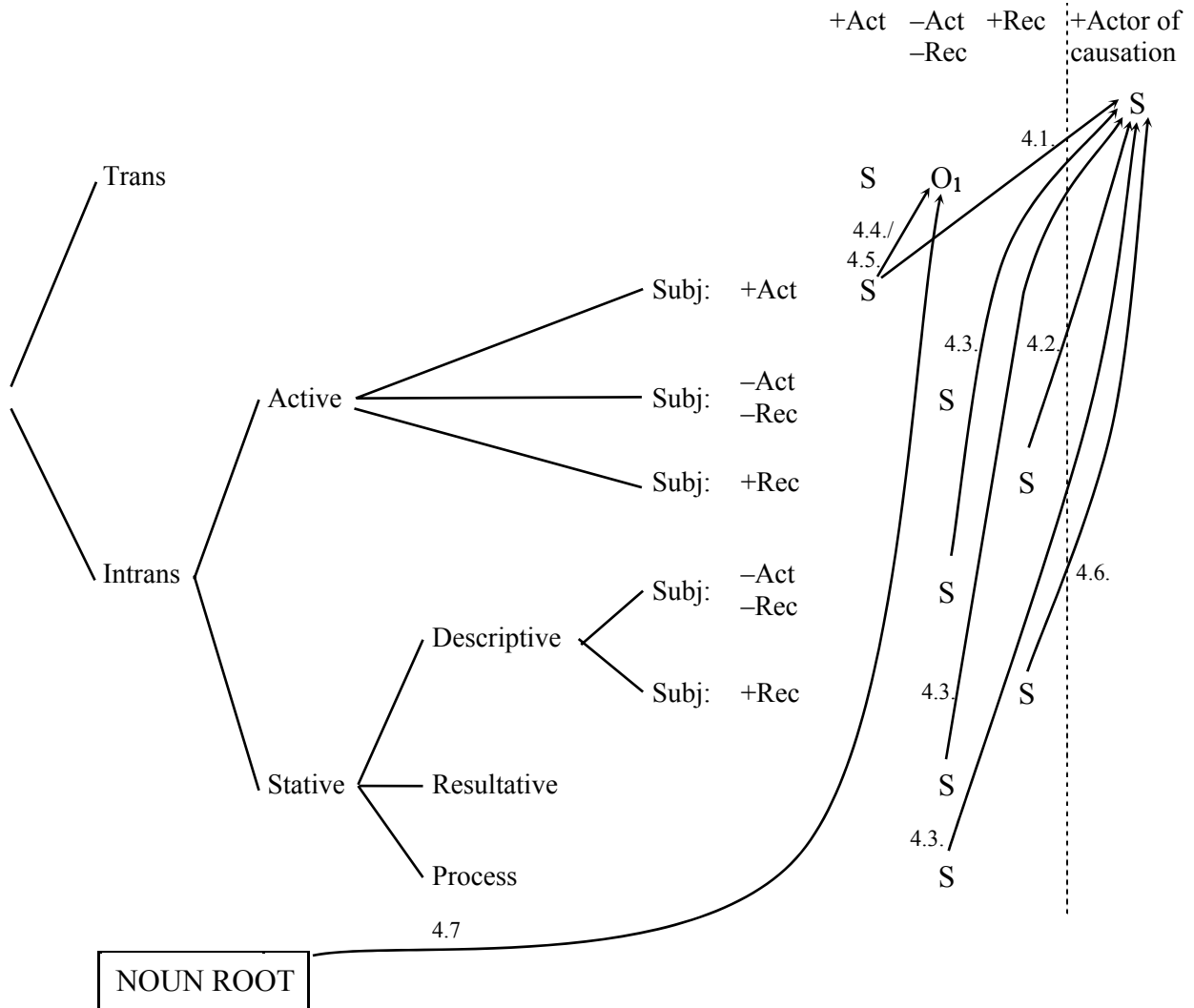


Figure 5. Causativisers

5. Comitative va-

This prefix may be applied to most underived and some derived intransitive verbs. The clause resulting from these derivations is always transitive. Some transitive clauses can also accept the comitative.

In several respects the Paumari comitative appears to arise from the consolidation of two underlying propositions, like the causative does (see 4.). Like the causative, the comitative can result in a clause with two participants in the same role (two actors 5.1., or two experiencers 5.2.; compare 4.1.); can shift a participant from subject to object₁, and add a new participant as subject (5.3.; compare 4.2.); can make a peripheral role nuclear (5.4.; compare 4.4.).

It is not clear however, what the deep structure would be before the consolidation.¹⁵

The prefix va- has a variant form vi-.¹⁶

5.1. Applied to intransitive active clauses with actor subject

When va- 'comitative' is applied to an intransitive active clause with subject as actor, the subject and the object₁, of the derived clause are co-actors.

- a) 'o-o-kha-ki-ho
I-direction=away-motion-margin-I
'I go.'
- 'o-a-vi-kha-ha ada isai
I-direction=away-comit-motion-narra dem child
'I took the boy.' i.e. 'I went and the boy went with me.'
- b) 'o-adaha-hi
I-journey-narra
'I journeyed.'
- 'o-va-adaha-ha ada isai
I-comit-journey-narra dem child
'I journeyed with the child.'

When the object₁, is inanimate the subject is actor and the object₁, is patient.

- 'o-a-vi-kha-hi ida kodi-hado
I-direction=away-comit-motion-narra dem my-knife
'I took my knife with me.'
- 'o-va-adaha-hi ida kodi-hado
I-comit-journey-narra dem my-knife
'I travelled with my knife.'

The comitative affix is not the only way to show accompaniment. An optional accompaniment phrase may be added to the periphery of an intransitive active clause without using the comitative affix and without any change of transitivity.

'ari-adaha-hi kodi-isai khama
 we-journey-narra my-child with
 'We journeyed, I and my child.'

5.2. Applied to intransitive active clauses with experiencer subject

When va- 'comitative' is applied to an intransitive active clause with subject as experiencer, the subject and the new object₁ are coexperiencers.

asara-ha ada isai
 cry-narra dem child
 'The child cried.'

'o-va-asara-ha ada isai
 I-comit-cry-narra dem child
 'I cried with the child.'

When the object₁ is inanimate, then the subject continues to be the experiencer and the object₁ is the source.

va-ihamahi-ki 'adani isai
 they-angry-margin dem child
 'The children were angry.'

'daroba bononi-ra va-va-ihamahi-vini
 fruit=name fruit-obj₁ they-comit-angry-trans
 'They were angry about the fruit.'

5.3. Applied to underived descriptive clauses

When va- 'comitative' is applied to a descriptive clause, the attribuant relationship, which existed between the subject and the verb in the underived clause, exists between the verb and the object₁, in the derived clause. The new participant in the subject is that of experiencer.

a) txina-ki 'ida ihi'ai
 sweet-margin dem fruit
 'The fruit is sweet.'

'o-va-txina-ki hida ihi'ai
 I-comit-sweet-margin dem fruit
 'I judge this fruit to be sweet (having tasted it).'

b) jaha-ki 'ida makari
 good-margin dem cloth
 'The cloth is good.'

'o-va-jaha-ki hida makari
 I-comit-good-margin dem cloth
 'I like the cloth.'

The opinion of the subject is always based on personal experience.

5.4. Making a peripheral element nuclear

The application of va- 'comitative' on some intransitive active verbs is a means of making a peripheral element nuclear. In the first set of examples an instrument has been made nuclear.

mamai-a bi-soko-ki hida makari sabão-a
mother-subj she-wash-margin dem clothes soap-instrument
'Mother is washing the clothes with soap.'

soko-a-ki hida mamai sabão-a
wash-intranser-margin dem mother soap-instrument
'Mother is washing with soap.'

mamai-a bi-vi-soko-a-vini 'ida sabão
mother-subj she-comit-wash-intranser-trans dem soap
'Mother is washing with soap.'

Similarly the application of va- may bring a time or location phrase from the periphery to the nucleus.

'bana-ki 'ida gamo Porto Velho-a
suffer-margin dem woman Porto Velho-location
'The woman suffered in Porto Velho.' i.e. 'She gave birth.'

bi-va- 'bana-ki 'ida Porto Velho
she-comit-suffer-margin dem Porto Velho
'She suffered in Porto Velho.'

A time phrase may equally be substitute for location in the above example. eg. 'She suffered in the afternoon.'

safini sohi-rari-na 'o-gora-na va-hoja-ha
sun straight-coming=down-intransitive my-house-1sg they-be=in=place-narra
'At midday they were at my house.'

safini-ra va-ka-va-sohi-rari-vini
sun-obj₁ they-canoe-comit-straight-coming=down-trans
'They being there at midday.'

5.5. Applied to transitive clauses

The comitative may also be applied to a few transitive clauses, either making them ditransitive or changing the role in the object₁. In the first pair of examples the comitative adds the object₂ which contains a referent, and the other roles remain unchanged.

vara 'i-ra 'o-ni-'a-hi
converse you-obj₁ I-pro=verb-transer-narra
'I conversed with you.'

vara 'i-ra 'o-va-ni-'a-ha ada Parajairo
 converse you-obj₁ I-comit-pro=verb-transer-narra dem Parajairo
 'I will converse with you about Parajairo.'

In the next pair of examples the object₁ role has been changed from beneficiary (of communication) to referent (of communication).

ho-ra vi-baranaha-hi
 me-obj₁ they-call-narra
 'They called me.'

nahina vahabini va-vi-baranaha-ja?
 What maybe they-comit-call-indep
 'What maybe are they calling about?'

5.6. Applied to descriptive clauses derived from noun roots

Va- 'comitative' may also be applied to derived descriptive clauses with subject as beneficiary, described in 2.5., making them into transitive clauses. The corresponding causative derivations were described in 4.6. The general meaning of this derivation is: 'The subject makes the item indicated in the verb to benefit the object₁ in some way.' This relationship is less easily definable. Several pairs of examples will be given to show the effect of the va- derivation.

- a) 'a-ka-bavi-ki-hari
 we-intranser-container-margin-we
 'We have a container.'
- 'a-ka-va-bavi-ri-'i-hi
 we-intranser-comit-container-neg-compl=asp-narra
 'ada bahina a'bana
 dem bee juice
 'We did not have a container for the honey.'
 literally 'We did not possess with which to contain the honey.'
- b) 'o-ka-vanami-ki-ho
 I-intranser-paddle-margin-I
 'I have a paddle.'
- ho-ra ka-va-vanami-ki 'ada Kahoina
 me-obj₁ intranser-comit-paddle-margin dem Kahoina
 'Kahoina gave me a paddle so that we both paddled.'
- c) 'o-ka-ihibaba-ki-ho
 I-intranser-fish=bait-margin-I
 'I have fish bait.'
- ... avida-ra 'o-ka-va-ihibaba-vini kaimoni
 type=of=fish-obj₁ I-intranser-comit-fish=bait-trans purpose
 '(I fetched many worms) for the purpose of fish baiting the fish.'

5.7. Applied to derived transitive clauses

A further comitative derivation may be applied to the transitive derivation described in 3.4. The application of va- to the derived transitive clause produces no informational change. The roles and participants also remain unchanged. It may be that there is some difference in prominence.

siri idani-ra 'o-ka-siho-hi
turtle back-obj₁ I-transer-fire-narra
'I cooked/fired the turtle back.'

siri idani-ra 'o-ka-va-siho-hi
turtle back-obj₁ I-transer-comit-fire-narra
'I cooked the turtle back with fire.'

5.8. Applied to derived intransitive clauses

Va- 'comitative' may also be applied to the derived intransitive clauses described in 2.5, and 1.4., making them into transitive clauses. The corresponding causative derivations were described in 4.5. The derived clauses have the general meaning of: 'The subject (actor) fetches the item indicated in the verb root and brings it into contact with the object₁.'

The following three examples show the progression in derivations from a derived descriptive, to an intransitive active by the application of -ha 'activiser', and then to a transitive clause by the application of the comitative.

'o-ka-paha-ki-ho
I-intranser-water-margin-I
'I have water.'

'i-ra 'o-ka-paha-ha-ki-ho
you-obj₁ I-intranser-water-activiser-margin-I
'I am going to fetch water for you.'

sibola-ra 'o-ka-va-paha-ha-hi
onions-obj₁ I-intranser-comit-water-activiser-narra
'I fetched water and watered the onions.'

The following pair of examples further illustrate this derivation.

ho-ra ka-misai-ha-hi
me-obj₁ intranser-perfume-activiser-narra
'She gave me perfume.'

ho-ra ka-va-misai-ha-vini
me-obj₁ intranser-comit-perfume-activiser-trans
'She fetched perfume and anointed me with it.'

Because the deep structure of the comitative is yet unclear, no attempt is made here to diagram the effects of the comitative.

6. Ditransitivisers ka- plus -ha

These two affixes are applied simultaneously to transitive or intransitive stems, either underived or derived, of which the subject is actor, and to certain stative stems. The clause becomes ditransitive. The subject remains in the actor role, the object₁ is beneficiary and the object₂ is patient.

The prefix ka- has variant forms ko-, and #-.¹⁵

The suffix -hi has variant forms -i and -#.¹⁶

6.1. Applied to underived clauses

These affixes may be applied to transitive clauses in which the subject is actor.

Maria-a bi-soko-hi ida makari ± kodi-moni
Mary-subj she-wash-narra dem clothes ± me-for
'Mary washed the clothes ± for me.'

Maria ho-ra ko-soko-hi-vini hi-ki kodi-makari-a
Mary me-obj₁ ditranser-wash-ditranser-trans pro=verb-margin my-clothes-obj₂
'Mary washed my clothes for me.'

They may be applied to an intransitive clause with subject as experiencer.

abini-hi ida 'arakava
die-narra dem hen
'The hen died.'

Gisi ho-ra ka-abini-hi-vini hi-ki 'ida 'arakava
Gisi me-obj₁ ditranser-die-ditranser-trans pro=verb-margin dem hen
'Gisi killed the chicken for me.'

They may be applied to a descriptive clause.

jaha-ki 'ida gora bodini
clean-margin dem house inside
'Inside the house is clean.'

Gisi ho-ra ka-jaha-hi-hi 'ida gora bodini
Gisi me-obj₁ ditranser-clean-ditranser-narra dem house inside
'Gisi cleaned inside the house for me.'

They may be applied to a resultative clause.

oba-ki 'ida ava
chopped-margin dem tree
'The tree was chopped.'

Chico ho-ra ka-oba-hi-vini hi-ki 'ida ava
 Chico me-obj₁ ditranser-chop-ditranser-trans pro=verb-margin dem tree
 'Chico chopped the tree down for me.'

6.2. Applied to derived clauses

The ditransitivisers may occur on clauses that have other derivational affixes, which are retained in the ditransitive clause. These affixes may be applied to a derived process clause.

a-ha 'di-ki 'ida papiña
 process-burn-margin dem paper
 'The paper is burning.'

Fatima ho-ra a-ka-ha 'di-hi-vini
 Fatima me-obj₁ process-ditranser-burn-ditranser-trans

hi-ki 'ida papiña
 pro=verb-margin dem paper
 'Fatima burnt the paper for me.'

They may be applied to a derived transitive clause.

bi-na-noki-a-ki 'ida ino-ni
 she-causativiser-see-intranser-margin dem tooth-her
 'She caused her teeth to become visible.'

ino-ni-a ho-ra #-na-noki-a- hi-hi
 teeth-her-obj₂ me-obj₁ ditranser-causativiser-see-intranser- ditranser-narra
 'She (onça) showed me her teeth.'

They can be applied to a derived transitive clause which has the transer ra-.

'o-a-ra-ga-ri-hi 'ida 'arakava
 I-direction=away-transer-go-down-narra dem hen
 'I handed down the hen.'

Gisi ho-ra a-ka-ra-ga-ra-hi-vini
 Gisi me-obj₁ direction=away-ditranser-transer-go-down-ditranser-trans

hi-ki 'ida 'arakava
 pro=verb-margin dem hen
 'Gisi handed down the hen for me.'

They can be applied to a derived transitive clause which has the causativiser na-.

Ofi-a bi-a-ni-ka-si-hi 'ida parai
 Ofi-subj he-direction=away-causativiser-go-up-narra dem açai
 'Ofi went up to fetch açai.'

Ofi ho-ra a-ka-ni-ka-sa-hi-vini
 Ofi me-obj₁ direction=away-ditranser-causativiser-go-up-trans
 hi-ki 'ida parai
 pro=verb-margin dem açai
 'Ofi went up and brought down açai for me.'

They can be applied to a derived transitive clause which has the comitative va-.

Fatima-a bi-vi-kha-hi 'ida hado
 Fatima-subj she-comit-motion-narra dem knife
 'Fatima brought the knife.'

Fatima ho-ra ka-vi-kha-#-vini
 Fatima me-obj₁ ditranser-comit-motion-ditranser-trans
 hi-ki 'ida hado
 pro=verb-margin dem knife
 'Fatima brought me the knife.'

6.3. Applied simultaneously with other affixes

The application of the ditransitivisers on some transitive verbs, simultaneously with either a causative or comitative affix, gives the speaker a choice of roles within the clause nucleus. The underived clause:

kodi-isai-ra 'o-akodia-vini
 my-child-obj₁ I-help-trans
 'I help my child.'

may have the causativiser and ditranser applied. The object₂ with the patient role is added and the other roles remain unchanged.

Sal va'o-ra ka-na-kakodia-hi-ha-vini
 Sal they-obj₁ ditranser-causativiser-help-ditranser-continuation-trans
 siroi khano=khano-ni-a
 field cleaning-intransitive-obj₂
 'Sal is helping them with field cleaning.'

Alternatively, the underived clause may have the comitative and ditransitivisers applied. The patient role occurs in object₁ and the beneficiary optionally occurs in the object₂.

boda-ra ka-va-kakodia-hi-ha-vini
 manioc-obj₁ ditranser-comit-help-ditranser-continuation-trans
 'He is helping with the manioc.'

These latter affixes may also be applied to the verb gahina- 'to receive'. In the underived form the subject is the beneficiary and the object₂ is the patient. Object₁ is obligatorily absent.

gahina-hi 'ida 'aaso adaki-a
 receive-narra dem aunt potatoes-obj₁
 'Aunt received potatoes.'

The application of the comitative and ditransitivisers simultaneously changes the beneficiary participant to actor. The patient is transferred from object₂ to object₁.

'o-ka-va-gahina-i-fia-'i-hi 'ida siri imani
 I-ditranser-comit-receive-ditranser-across-compl=asp-narra dem turtle meat
 'I gave away the turtle meat.'

A further example of the participant change in the object₁ with this derivation is seen in the verb honaria- 'to order'. In the underived clause the object₁ is beneficiary.

'i-ra 'o-honaria-ki (+ direct speech quotation)
 you-obj₁ I-order-margin
 'I order you, "...''

The simultaneous comitative and ditransitivising derivation puts the quotation into indirect speech in the object₁.

'o-#-va-honaria-hi-ha ada jomahi gatha-na
 I-ditranser-comit-order-ditranser-narra dem dog caught-intransitive
 'I ordered that the dog be caught.'

Because of the simultaneous application of various affixes, and the simultaneous addition of various participant roles, no diagram is attempted of the effect of ditransitivisers.

7. Order and co-occurrence of affixes

7.1. Affixes on verb roots

Figure 6. shows the order of verbal affixes. Each affix has been tagged alphabetically.

Figure 7. shows the possible co-occurrence of these affixes, giving the alphabetical tag and the reference to the section where examples are found.

Figure 8. shows in schematic form these co-occurrences. It should be noted that examples have not been found of verbs with more than two derivational prefixes or two derivational suffixes or with a total of more than three overt derivational affixes co-occurring.

4	3	2	1		1	2
A. <u>a</u> - 'process'	B. <u>ka</u> - 'ditransitiviser'	C. <u>na</u> - 'causativiser' D. <u>va</u> - 'comitative' E. <u>ra</u> - 'transitiviser' F. <u>ka</u> - 'transitiviser'	G. <u>o</u> - H. <u>a</u> -	VERB ROOT	I. <u>-hi</u> 'intransitiviser' J. <u>-a</u> 'transitiviser' K. <u>-ha</u> 'activiser' L. <u>-ha</u> 'intransitiviser' M. <u>-a</u> 'intransitiviser' N. <u>-vaha</u> 'intransitiviser' O. <u>-ha</u> 'process'	P. <u>-hi</u> 'ditransitiviser'

Figure 6. Verb affix order

A	1.1.	ABP	6.2.
C	4.	AC	4.3.
D	5.	AO	1.3.
E	3.1.	BP	6.
F	3.3.	BCP	6.2.
G	2.7.	BDP	6.2.
H	2.4.	BEP	6.2.
I	2.3.	CG	4.2.
J	3.2.	CM	4.3.
K	1.3.	CMP	6.2.
L	2.1.	DJ	5.5.
M	2.2.	DM	5.4.
N	2.2.		
O	1.2.		

Figure 7. Co-occurrence of affixes on verbs

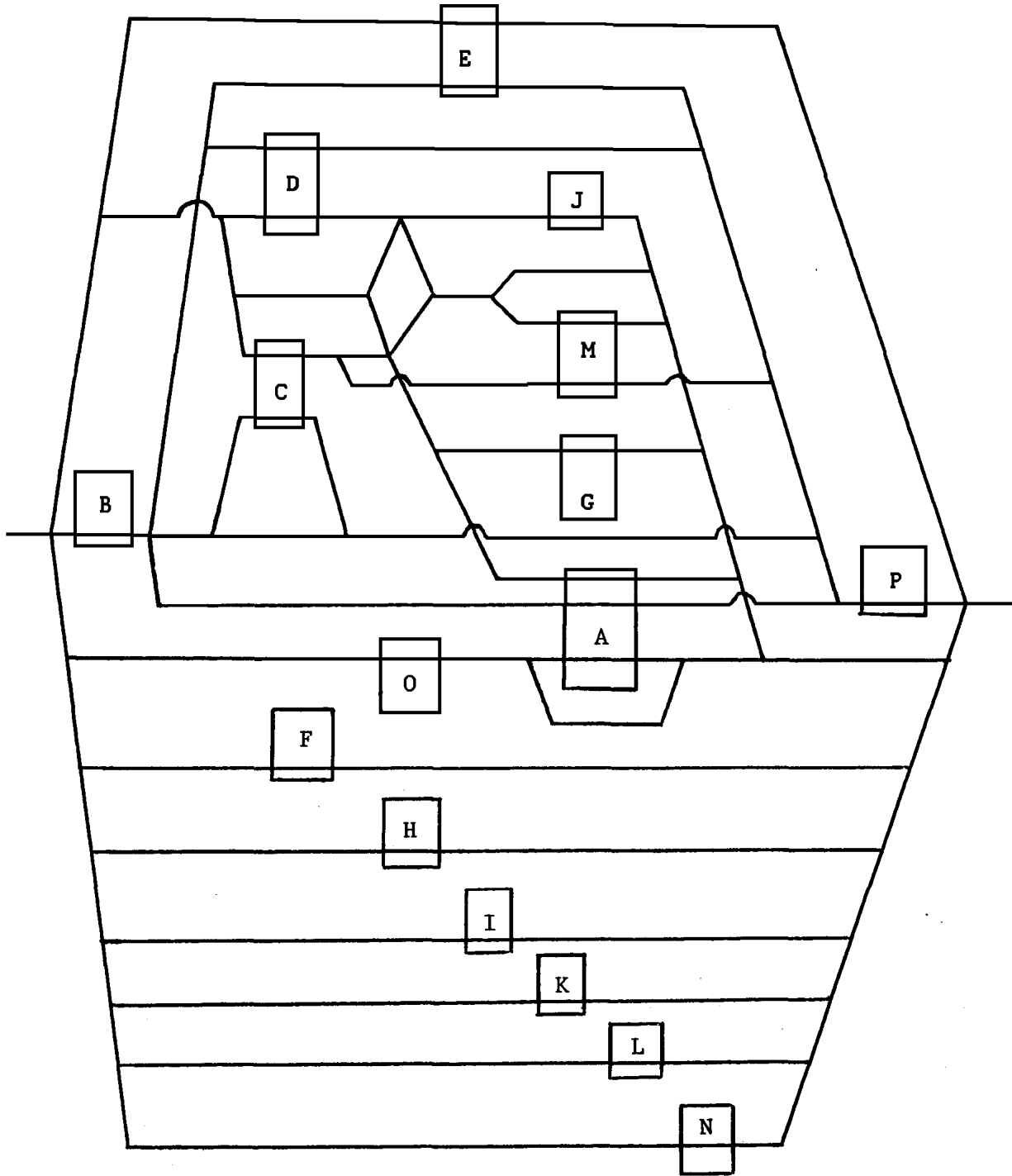


Figure 8.
Co-occurrence of affixes on verb stems (Follow lines from left to right)

7.2. Affixes on noun roots

Figure 9 shows the order of affixes on nouns.

Figure 10 shows the possible co-occurrence of these affixes, with references to the sections where examples may be found.

Figure 11 shows in schematic form the co-occurrence of derivational affixes on nouns.

2		1		1	
A.	ka-	C.	va-		
	'transitiviser'		'comitative'		
				NOUN	E. -ha
				ROOT	'activiser'
B.	ka-	D.	na-		
	'intransitiviser'		'causative'		

Figure 9. Order of affixes on nouns

A	3.4.	BC	5.6.
B	2.5.	BCE	5.8.
D	4.7.	BD	4.6.
E	2.6.	BDE	4.5.
AC	5.7.	BE	1.4.

Figure 10. Co-occurrence of affixes on nouns

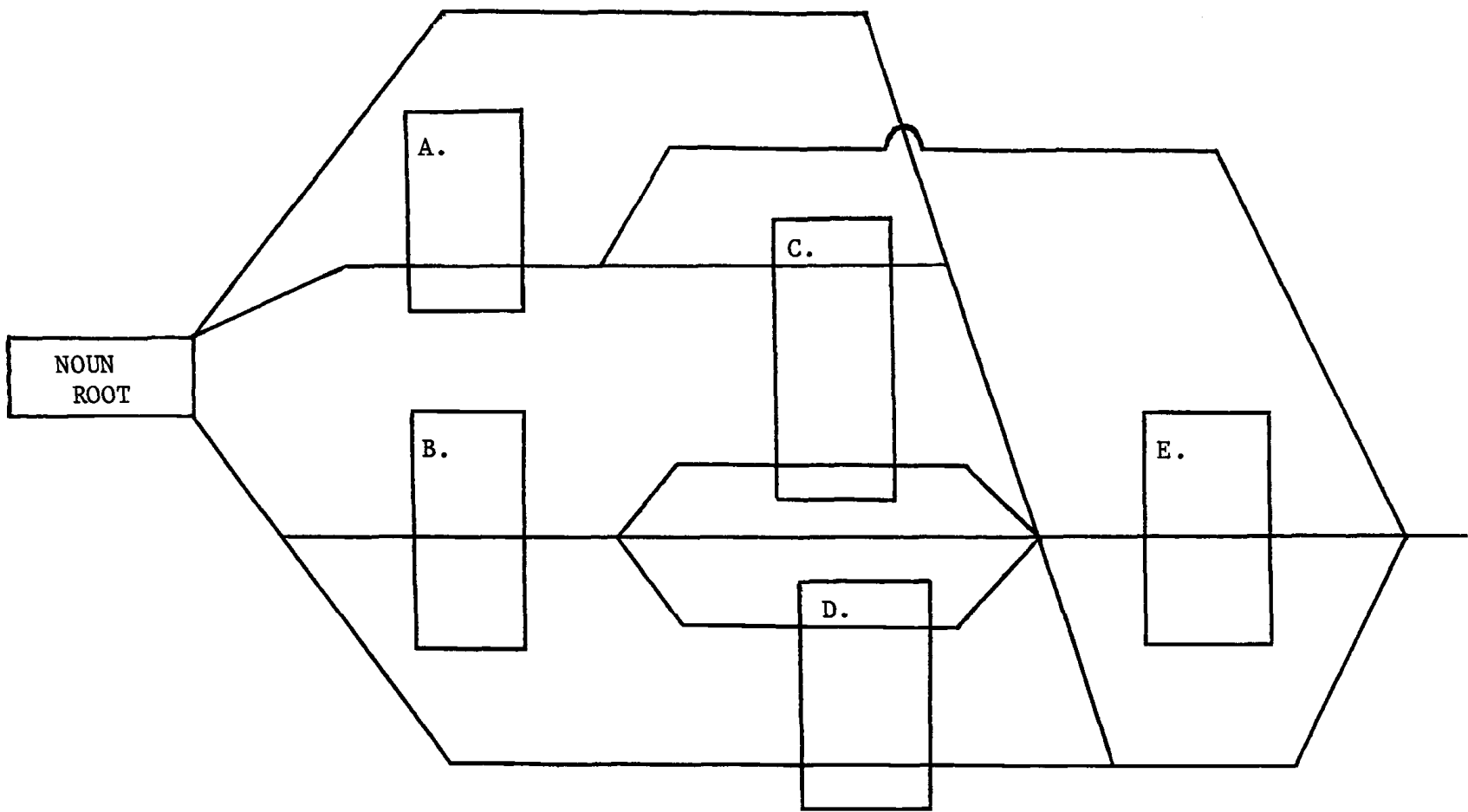


Figure 11. Co-occurrence of affixes on nouns
(Follow lines from left to right)

FOOTNOTES

1. The Paumarí language is spoken by a group of Arawakan Indians living on the Purus River in the State of Amazonas, Brazil. The field work on which this paper is based was carried out during the period 1964 - 1976. The Paumarí tribe number approximately 350 people. The data represented in this paper is restricted to a group living in the area of São Clemente, Rio Purus. Extended contact was made possible through contracts held between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Ministry of the Interior, the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) and the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro. Thanks are due to Robert Dooley and Ivan Lowe of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their assistance in the preparation of this paper.

2. Every verb has an inflectional affix which usually occurs in the final position and has elsewhere been called a margin. Each marginal affix carries several components of meaning. All of them employed in this paper are indicative. Only one semantic component was selected for the gloss. Some of the other components are:

-hi	-ha	'narrative'	- independent- fem/masc - remote
-ki		'margin'	- independent - descriptive - indefinite
-vini		'transitive'	- dependent
-ni	-na	'intransitive'	- dependent - fem/masc
-ja	-ra	'independent'	- fem/masc - dialogue - immediate

3. Demonstratives carry several meaning components, gender (fem/masc), number (sing/pl), spacial (here and/or now// not here and/or not now). When not modifying a noun, they function as third person personal pronouns. Only one demonstrative may occur in each clause.

4. With certain word orders, the surface structure items must be tagged with enclitics. When tagged, the subject takes -a enclitic, object₁ -ra and object₂ -a. Nominal constituents which might be regarded as direct or indirect objects may be found as both object₁ and object₂. The verb stem influences which constituents are possible.

5. These three macro-roles in Paumarí find a parallel in a common analysis of English. "It has been customary to recognise three participant functions in English, namely 'actor', 'goal' (or 'patient'), and 'beneficiary'." (Halliday, 1970, p.147.)

6. The suffix -ha 'activiser' (1.4.), when applied to derived clauses with noun roots, can change a participant from beneficiary to actor, hence from the +Receiver macro-role to +Actor. This phenomenon, however, is not systematic in the language.

7. There are two pro-verbs in Paumarí, ni and hi. The functions of ni have been described in 3.2. hi may function in a similar way with different verb roots. It may also serve as a linking device in ditransitive and complex sentences, but with limited affixation.

8. The verb gahina 'receive' in the preceding example is a kind of defective ditransitive, with only two nuclear participants in surface form. It differs from transitive verbs by having its direct object as object₂.

9. There is a combination of phonological and morphological conditioning in the form of the affix.

- jaha always follows the vowel cluster ai, of which the i is deleted,
- a always follows a Co syllable,
- ha occurs elsewhere. If it follows a Ci syllable the i becomes a.

10. The alternate zero form is morphologically conditioned. It occurs with gathi 'catch', kabasikha 'smoke' and certain other stems. -hi occurs elsewhere.

11. The alternate form ko- precedes most sV and implosive CV syllables, ka- occurs elsewhere.

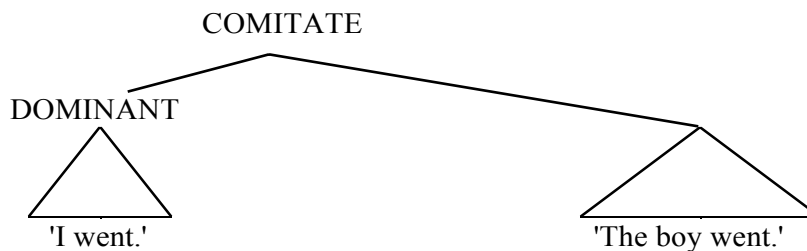
12. The alternate form -ha is morphologically conditioned. Its two most common occurrences are with pavakari 'sell' and 'ai -vani- 'depart with', -a occurs elsewhere.

13. "Causatives are analysed semantically into a predicate on the order of cause that takes two arguments: an agent of its own and a result argument which is itself a lexical proposition" (Grimes, 1975, p.127).

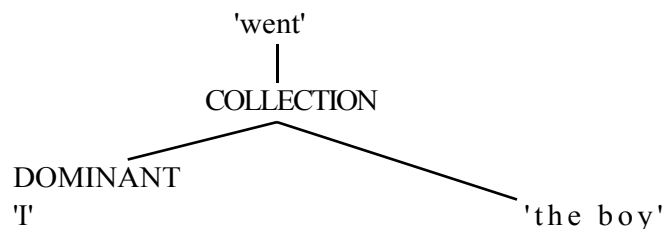
14. The alternate forms of the causative suffix are conditioned as follows:

- n- occurs with oba 'chopped' and ihimi 'finish',
- ni- occurs with kha 'motion' and its variant forms and precedes most implosive o syllables,
- no- precedes most sV and implosive CV syllables,
- na- occurs elsewhere.

15. Possibly an abstract predicate of the order "comitate" has two propositions as its arguments, one of which is dominant. Thus a sentence like I went and the boy went with me might be derivable from the following structures



Grimes, however, proposes a predicate "collection" with substantival arguments only, one of which is dominant (1975, p.220f.). Thus, his derivation would resemble the following:



There are also other possibilities, such as incorporating the abstract predicate CAUSE in the derivation of comitatives.

16. The alternate form vi- is morphologically conditioned. It occurs with kha 'motion', baranaha 'call', 'bai 'eat food, food' and certain other stems, va- occurs elsewhere.

17. ka- 'detransitiviser' has the same conditioning as ka- 'intransitiviser'; see footnote 11. The zero form occurs with noki 'see', honaria 'order' and certain other stems, ka- occurs elsewhere.

18. The alternate form -i occurs with gahina 'receive', no'a 'give' and certain other stems. The zero form occurs with kha 'motion' in its uninflected form. -hi occurs elsewhere.

ABBREVIATIONS

Aspect	(asp)	Narrative	(narra)
Comitative	(comit)	Negative	(neg)
Completive	(compl)	Noun class	(nncl)
Demonstrative	(dem)	Object	(obj)
Dependent	(dep)	Plural	(pl)
Ditransitiviser	(ditranser)	Singular	(sg)
Independent	(indep)	Subject	(subj)
Intransitive	(intrans)	Transitive	(trans)
Intransitiviser	(intranser)	Transitiviser	(transer)
Masculine/feminine	(masc/fem)	Verb	(V)

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