

Xavante Noun Phrases and Morpheme Classes

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SECTION I PHRASE LEVEL
 SECTION II MORPHEME CLASSES
 SECTION III SPECIAL FORM IN XAVANTE

I PHRASE LEVEL

1. Noun Phrase

A noun phrase manifests:

- a) a subject tagmeme
 ?ajbë te ?aj?aba?rɛ "The men go"
- b) an object tagmeme
 tete jari-jɛ te wapari?õdi "I didn't hear what he said"
- c) the head slot of a clause level relational tagmeme
 wabrõ-jɛb-rɛ te ?ajbãca "They stand near the broom"
- d) complement tagmeme of an equational clause
 waha waraju "I am a foreigner"

A noun phrase consists of an obligatory nucleus and five optional satellite tagmemes. This may be expressed in formulae as follows:

- Poss. Nucl. Descr. Dim. Restr.
 ?i·jibi-wapcã-?rãdë?ë-re-ci "Just my black doggy"
 datõbõ-?rãdë?ë-re-ci "Just my black eye"
- Nucl. Dim. Num. Restr.
 ?alici-re-dõri-ci "Just little Alice and others"

1.1 Noun Phrase Nuclear Tagmeme

There are three types of nuclei:

- i) Simple
 - a) free stems
 - b) bound stems (obligatorily possessed)
- ii) Compound
- iii) Complex

1.1.1 Simple nuclei

Simple nuclei consists of:

- aa) + Free noun stem
 ?ajbë "man"
- ab) (+ Poss.) + bound Noun stem
 datõ "person's eye"
- b) Proper Noun stem
 ?alici "Alice"

Simple nuclei of class b) must have a stem forming morpheme hV before being suffixed with suffixes other than -re "diminutive" or -dōri "number". The vowel in this stem-forming-morpheme is the same as the final vowel of the Proper Noun stem with which it occurs.

1.1.2. Compound nuclei

Compound nuclei consists of:

- a) + noun stem + descr.

pɔ•-wawē

animal-big

"cow"

wapcā-tetere

dog-little

"cat"

- b) + noun stem + verb stem

wede-wara

wood-run

"truck" or "cart"

- c) + noun stem + noun stem

-hēy-waʔu

breast-liquid

"milk"

- d) + verb stem + nominalizer

wabrō-jε

sweep-thing

"broom"

jōtō-jε

sleep-thing

"blanket"

rōbhuri-ʔwa

work-er

"worker"

1.1.3. Complex nuclei

Complex nuclei consist of: transforms of dependent Declarative class I and class II clauses, event and process types (see McLeod section). There are two types of transforms:

- a) by the addition of the nominalizing suffix -jε to the verb.

tete jāri-jε

he say-thing

"The thing he said"

In this type of transform emphasis is placed on the object of the clause of which it is a transform.

- b) by the addition of the prefix ʔi- to the verb.

tete ʔi•-bā ʔi-cōbrī

he me-to gave

"He who gave it to me"

ʔajbë jara-ʔu ʔi-ciʔabaʔre
 man other-side to go (pl.) "The man who went across the river"

piʔð tete ʔre ʔi-jãrijaʔrabðdð "The women who said"

In this type of transform the emphasis is placed upon the subject of the clause of which it is a transform.

1.2. Noun phrase satellite tagmemes

The noun phrase nuclear tagmeme may be modified by the addition of optional satellite tagmemes:

- i) Possession
- ii) Description
- iii) Diminutive
- iv) Number
- v) Restriction

1.2.1. Possession

There are two types of possession:

- i) alienable possession
- ii) inalienable possession

1.2.1.1. Alienable possession

Alienable possession is expressed by the occurrence of a complex tagmeme which may be expressed in formula as:

+ poss. + -jîp

The possessor slot may be filled by:

- a) person makers of the possessive set:

ʔi·- 1st sgl.
 ʔaj- 2nd sgl.
 ʔi- 3rd sgl.
 wa·- 1st non=sgl.

ʔi·-jîp-ʔri "my house"
 my house

- b) simple nuclei of types aa) and b):

ʔapito-jîp-ʔri "the chefe's house"
 chefe house
 ʔalici-jîp-ʔri "Alice's house"
 Alice house

- c) compound nuclei type a)
 pɔ·wawẽ-jĩp-ʔri
 cow house "cow's shelter"
 ci·a-jĩp-ʔri
 chicken house "chicken's house"
- d) simple nuclei types aa) or b) with compound nuclei types b) or c):
 wa·tu·hu-brð-dã-jĩp-ʔri
 watu wife mother house "Watu's wife's mother's house"

Alienable possession may not occur with nuclei of types simple ab) and b), and complex nuclei.

1.2.1.2. Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession is expressed by the obligatory occurrence of the possessive (see section 1.1.1.). The possessive may be any of the following set of person markers, or any of the other types of possession noted above:

da-	"indefinite possession"
ʔĩ·-	1st sgl.
ʔaj-	2nd sgl.
ʔĩ-∞ ti-	3rd sgl.
wa·	1st non-sgl.

The allomorph ti- occurs when the actor is the same person as the possessor.

da-tɔ	"person's eye"
ʔalicihi-tɔ	"Alice's eye"
wedewara-tɔ	
truck eye	"truck's headlights"
pɔ·wawẽ-tɔ	
cow eye	"cow's eye"

1.2.2. Description

Descriptive morphemes manifest the optional description tagmeme as follows:

wapcã-ʔrãdëʔë	
dog black	"the black dog"
wapcã-wawẽ	
dog big	"the big dog"

When the descriptive morphemes occur within a noun phrase they occur as follows:

wapcã-ʔrã-wawě	
dog	black big "the big black dog"

Normally, however, only one morpheme occurs within a single noun phrase. A second one may occur in a separate -hã clause (see McLeod section).

1.2.3. Diminutive

The optional diminutive tagmeme is uniquely manifested by the morpheme -re

While the morpheme may be used with certain noun-phrases to signify smallness as in ʔajbë-re "man-small" or "small boy", it is most often used stylistically, usually by the women, and especially when talking to children. It may not occur with complex nuclei.

buru-re	"small roça"
ʔalici-re	"little Alice"
datobõ-re	"person's small eye"

1.2.4. Number

The optional number tagmeme may occur following nuclei of simple type b) and is uniquely manifested by

ci-dõrĩ	"and others"
ʔalici-dõri	"Alice and others"

1.2.5. Restriction

The optional restrictive tagmeme may not occur following complex nuclei. It is uniquely manifested by -ci "only" or "just".

ʔajbë-ci	
man	only "only man"
rõbhuri-ʔwa	
worker	just "just the worker"

II. MORPHEME CLASSES - RELATIONAL MORPHEMES

1. Apart from the noun and verb classes implied as fillers of head slots in Noun and Verb phrases, the person markers described in detail by Burgess, and the person markers listed in section II 1.2.1, there is a class of morphemes which express relationship between nouns at clause level, when occurring with noun phrases (see section 11.1) and between verbs at sentence level, when occurring with dependent clauses (see McLeod section).

1.1. Types of relationships

The following types of relationship have been found:

- 1) Location in time and space
-wa "indefinite" -ʔabā "at" -ʔrata "beside"
-ʔrēwi "near" -ʔrowi "under" -jīci "on"
-jīciwi "upon"
- 2) direction
-ʔu "to" -tɛbɛ "to"
-hawi "away from" -bā "from"
- 3) purpose and benefactive
-da "purpose of" -jo "for, in order to bring"
- 4) instrument
-dā "by means of"
- 5) subjunctive
-ʔwaʔë "if" (I had but I hadn't)
- 6) exclusion / inclusion
-jabā "also" -ʔādā "without"
- 7) likeness
-dē "like" or "similar"
- 8) conjunctive
-jērɛ "although"

This leaves a residue whose meaning is not yet known: -ʔruja; ja; jadē;
dējā;

1.2. Combinations of relational markers

The following combinations have been observed

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| -wabda | "for=when" | ʔacōtō-wabda | "for when you sleep" |
| | | you=sleep-when=for | |
| -dē-jērɛ | "like-although" | tadē-jērɛ | "although it's like that" |

1.2.1. Occurrence of -ci or -hā with relationals

The morphemes -ci or -hā when following the relationals, or when following phrases occurring in the relational slot, must be preceded by the relational -wa. The meanings of the resultant forms -wabhā and -wapci are not yet clearly defined, though there is an element of time and/or place, The morpheme -ci may be the same morpheme as occurs following noun-

phrases occurring in other slots, but the morpheme -hã is not the same as the specifier morpheme since it stands in a different morphophonemic relationship to what precedes it.

1.3. Subclasses of the relational markers

The relational morphemes may be subclassed on the basis of their potential occurrence with person markers:

Subclass A never occur with person markers.

Subclass A consists of:

-ʔu	"to"
-da	"purpose"
-wa	"indefinite location"
-jẽrẽ	"although"
-ʔwaʔë	"if"
-ʔruja	
-ja	
-jadẽ	
-dẽja	

Subclass B may occur with person markers, and may be further subclassed as follows:

Subclass B.i may occur with person markers of the set:

ʔi·-	1st	sgl.
ʔaj-	2nd	sgl.
∅	3rd	sgl.

and consists of:

-ʔãbã	"at"
-co	"for"
cindõrõ	"astride"

Subclass B.ii may occur with person markers of the set:

ʔi·-	1st	sgl.
ʔaj-	2nd	sgl.
ʔti-	3rd	sgl.

and consists of:

-wi	"from"
-bã	"to, for or from"
-dẽ	"like"
-hawi	"from"

If the first vowel of the following morpheme is a high vowel the form ti- will occur, if it is not a high vowel, the form ta- will occur. Subclass B.iii may occur with person markers of the set:

ʔi·-	1st	sgl.
ʔaj-	2nd	sgl.
ʔi-	3rd	sgl.

and consists of:

-rɛ	"alongside"
-jīciwi	"upon"
-jīci	"on"
-tɛbē	"to"
-ʔrata	"beside"
-ʔrēwi	"near"
-ʔrowi	"under"

III SPECIAL FORMS

The relational marker -wa "indefinite location in time or space" is often suffixed by the forms -hā or -ci. When so suffixed the final consonant of the -wa is present:

-wabhā
-wapci

The morpheme -wa may contract when in this position to -b- or -p-

-bhā		
-pci		
aybōrīwamhā	→	ajbōrīmhā "you go - when"
te wīrīwapci	→	te wīrīpci "I kill when"

This relational marker may also contract in fused forms:

ʔēpte	dōbrō	or	te ʔēbdōbrō	"she lies in the water"
tiʔapte	jābrā	or	te tiʔabdābrā	"she sits on the ground"
prēpte	dōbrō			"it lies in the coals"

The syllable -wap- may contract in a similar fashion in words like:

dadāwaptɛ	dadāptɛ	"stepmother"
dabābāwaptɛ	dabaptɛ	"stepfather"