A G R A M M A R

O F

R E S Í G A R O

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V O L U M E I I

Chapter 4

GROUP LEVEL

The Group is set up as a level of construction above the Word and below the Piece, for describing certain structures in the Verb hierarchy. Strictly speaking, it may be termed a sub-level, since it is not relevant to the other classes.

Types are set up within the Group on the basis of internal structure, and sub-classes are set up on the basis of distribution in the Verb Piece and in other structures.

4.1. Verb Group.

4.1.1. Contrast.

The Verb Group (VG) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its Head is filled by a verb word.

ii) In its complex form, the periphery is filled by a Basic filler (cf. below), an adjective stem, a Noun Phrase, a Concomitant Phrase, an Instrument Phrase, or a relator.

4.1.2. Variation.

Two types of Verb Group are set up on the basis of internal structure.

VG_i = +H:$Vb_{1/2}$

VG_{ii} = +Periph:Basic/AjSt/NP_2/CP_2/IP/relr +H:Vb_1

When the filler of the Peripheral slot is an NP, this does not have a greater expansion than ±Lim:Pn +H:Nn, and if the Limiter tagmeme occurs, assimilation between the two is obligatory. The pronoun does not necessarily refer to the same extra-linguistic entity as the Clause-level Subject of the verb in the Predicate.

In a dictionary check that produced 392 different verb groups, the numbers corresponding to each type and sub-type were as follows:-

Type i: 239

Type ii: 153

being, Sub-type i: 148

with khú : 101

with ǰú : 45

with tó? : 2

Sub-type ii: 5

4.1.2.1. Verb Group Type i, "Simple".

All verbs occur in Verb Group type i.

e.g. khú "to make, to do"

ǰú[1] "to be"

a?mitú "to eat"

[1] In the imperative, ǰú becomes iiǰú. cf. 3.1.2.6.1.1.(i), above.

4.1.2.2. Verb Group Type ii, "Complex".

Two sub-types are set up on the basis of structural differences of a finer degree of delicacy than those separating types i and ii.

4.1.2.2.1. Sub-type i.

This has the form indicated in the formula above, with the following two restrictions:

i. In the Peripheral slot, the Instrument Phrase does not occur.

ii. In the Head slot, only the following sub-class 1 verbs occur: khú "to make, to do"

ǰú "to be"

tó?(vú) "to obtain"

Verb Groups formed with khú, "to make, to do", refer to transitive actions, whereas those formed with ǰú, "to be", refer to intransitive actions, or to some states. However, this is not a structural or distributional difference at this level, and so separate types or sub-classes are not established.

Examples.

[See next page]

Head / Periph.	khú	ǰú
Basic	fǒo khú "to blow"	fǒo ǰú "to swell up"
NP_2	gi-veni khú its-pay make "to recompense"	gi-nifkǻ ǰú its-fruit be "to grow (of fruit)"
	núúhigǻ khú shelter do "to shelter (s.o.)"	núúhigǻ ǰú shelter be "to take shelter"
$AjSt_4$	ani khú "to heal (s.o.)"	ani ǰú "to heal oneself, to get better"
	ooǰa khú small make "to make smaller, to shrink (tr)"	ooǰa ǰú small be "to become smaller, to shrink (intr)"
CP_2	kainɛ̌e khú dead make "to kill"	kainɛ̌e ǰú dead be "to die"
relr	hivɛ̌? khú in_front make "to go in front of, to guide"	--- (No cases observed)

Table 4.1.: Verb Group ii.i. (khú/ǰú).

tó?(vú) appears to be no longer productive, being attested in only two Verb Groups:

manǻa tó?[2] "to know"

kavíi tó? "to hunt, to pursue, to pay attention to"

manǻa and kavíi are both Basic fillers.

[2]The -vú is always omitted unless the verb is suffixed. cf. 3.1.2.2.

manáa tó? is one of only two Verb Groups (the other being iíte khú, "to help") which always require an Object, even when the reciprocal suffix is added to the verb (this causes deletion of the Object with all other verbs -- cf. 3.1.2.2., above). Furthermore, the Object is in the majority of cases a pronoun, which must be assimilated to the filler of the Periphery slot (cf. assimilation, 3.3.2.1., above, and examples of an assimilated dummy Object with extraposition in 7.2.1.2.3.1.1., below).

e.g. na - manáa na - tóva?-kakávú
them know they get recip "They know each other"

4.1.2.2.2. Sub-type ii.

This has the form indicated in the formula at the beginning of the section, with the following two restrictions:

i. In the Peripheral slot, only the NP and the IP have been observed to occur.

ii. Only a few verbs (those indicated in examples below) may fill the Head slot, and then only in conjunction with the specified fillers of the Peripheral slot.

In some cases, the pronoun in the NP must refer to the Subject of the clause; in other cases, it may not. The restriction would appear to be semantic. Note the two possibilities:

1. Cross-reference between Subject of Clause and pronoun in NP in Peripheral slot of VG required:-

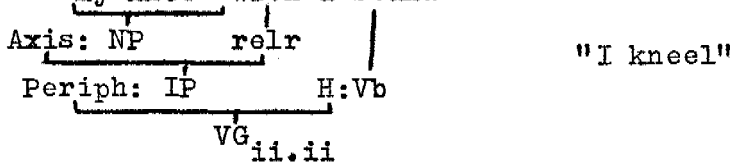
(i) -váfó hênotú "to think, to meditate"

e.g. no-vǎfǒ nǒnotǔ "I think"

(< -vǎfǒ, "interior, inside"; hǒnotǔ "to make the same")

(ii) -ho?dǒnaǔgí i?tǒnǔ "to kneel"

e.g. no?dǒnaǔ- gí no?tǒnǔ
my-knee with I-stand



"I kneel"

2. Cross-reference between Subject of Clause and pronoun in NP in Peripheral slot of VG not possible:-

(i) -híveǔ a?pithootǔ "to baptize"

e.g. číveǔ no?pithootǔ
his-head I-bathe-cstv "I baptize him"

(ii) -venǐ aa?nǐ "to buy, to pay"

Note that in this case the only pronoun observed in the NP is that for the third person singular masculine.[3]

e.g. gi-venǐ noo?nǐ
its-pay I-give "I buy it"[4]

The Verb Group -híveǔ pí?ko "to cut hair" has only been attested with different referents,

e.g. číveǔ do-pí?ko
his-head she-throws_away "She cuts his hair"

though presumably in the case of a person cutting his own hair, the pronouns would be co-referential (and the reflex-

[3] If the occasion were to arise in which one would wish to say "I bought you, her, etc.", one may assume that other person markers could occur.

[4] NB parallel between this and the sub-type i VG givenǐ khǔ, "to recompense". The meaning of givenǐ aa?nǐ is more specific, referring to giving of money or other goods to purchase something.

ive suffix would be added to the verb).

NP without pronoun:-

hoonî i?votű "to freeze"

e.g. hoonî fa?votű
water us-dry-cstv "It freezes"

On use of first person plural, inclusive in meteorological expressions, cf. footnote 17 to section 7.2.1.2.1., below.

No other cases of Verb Groups of type ii, sub-type ii have been attested, and this is a very little used structure.

4.1.2.3. Repetition of the Verb Group.

Repetition may be used to emphasize the gradual or progressive nature of an action. In the case of the Simple Verb Group, the entire Group may be repeated. In the case of the Complex Verb Group, only the filler of the Peripheral slot is repeated.

i) The Simple Verb Group.

e.g. dotsá?nu dotsá?nu "She continues coming"

gii?šű gii?šű "He gradually went up"

gi?pî gi?pî "He returned" (Lit.: "He went, he went")

ii) The Complex Verb Group.

e.g. ãc? ãe? nakhű "They pressed"

phá tuu tuu nokhátsî... "(I) cutting you in pieces..."

nagi nagi gižű "He becomes angry"

tsaa tsaa nežű "They shouted out"

4.1.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of Verb Groups are distributed in the Verb Piece and in Noun Stem type ii. Sub-classes of Verb Groups are set up on the basis of this distribution.

4.1.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This sub-class has three members, which may occur in the Head and Auxiliary slots of either type of Verb Piece.

i?pí "to go"

tsá?nu "to come"

khú "to do"

4.1.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This sub-class consists of all other Verb Groups, which may occur in all the contexts indicated for sub-class 1 except the Auxiliary slot in Verb Piece type ii, sub-type i.

e.g. a?mitú "to eat"

go? khú "to make a hole"

kainée ǰú "to die"

4.1.3.3. Sub-class 3.

This sub-class consists of those Verb Groups which, in addition to the above distribution, are also distributed in the Base slot of Noun Stem type ii.

e.g. a?mitú "to eat" tho? khú "to grind"

(?)támó "to cover" hooní i?votú "to freeze"

i?kanú "to vomit"

(On Noun Stem type ii, cf. 2.2.2.2., above.)

Chapter 5

PIECE LEVEL

The Piece is set up as a level of construction above the Group and below the Phrase, for describing certain structures in the Verb hierarchy. Strictly speaking, it may be termed a sub-level (like the Group), since it is not relevant to other classes.

Types are set up within the Piece on the basis of internal structure. It is not necessary to set up sub-classes at Piece level.

5.1. Verb Piece.

5.1.1. Contrast.

The Verb Piece (VbPce) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) It consists of a Head and (in type ii) an Auxiliary, both of which are filled by Verb Groups.

ii) When the Auxiliary occurs, the filler of the Head slot is marked with an auxiliary indicator.

5.1.2. Variation.

The Verb Piece may be simple or complex, and different types are established accordingly.

$VbPce_{i}$ = H:VG

$VbPce_{ii}$ (Composite formula)

= ±aux ind +H:VG ∓aux ind +Aux:VG

5.1.2.1. Verb Piece Type i, "Simple".

This consists of a sub-class 1 or 2 Verb Group only.

e.g. a?mitú "to eat"

khú "to do"

jú "to be"

kainée khú "to kill"

kainée jú "to die"

5.1.2.2. Verb Piece Type ii, "Complex".

Two sub-types of complex Verb Piece are established.

5.1.2.2.1. Sub-type i, "Positive Action".

$VbPce_{ii.i}$ = +H:$VG_{1/2}$ +aux ind:$\propto \begin{Bmatrix} -ne \\ -?ké \end{Bmatrix}$ +Aux:$\propto$ VG_{1}

where $\propto$ reads: -ne occurs with i?pí and tsá?(nu)

-?ké " " khú

The Verb Group filling the Head slot is modified in accordance with the following rules:-

i) Any final vowel except /i/ becomes /e/. /i/ remains unchanged.[1]

[1] cf. 3.1.2.4.(i) and 3.1.2.6.2.1.(xi), above.
The only exception to this rule is the verb group te?khí "to fetch", where final /i/ becomes /e/:
te?khéne no?pí "I go to fetch"
te?khéeké nokhú "I used to fetch"

ii) -ne "directional", or -?ké "habitual" is added to the subsequent form.

The appropriate verb is selected to fill the Auxiliary slot. This verb is marked for person in the normal way -- either with a separate Clause level Subject tagmeme, or an assimilated pronoun. In the examples that follow, to keep the structures as simple as possible, an assimilated pronoun is shown, and to facilitate comparisons, all examples are given in the first person singular. However, these constructions may of course occur with any person.

e.g. Hoaa a?miténe i?pí
John eat-dir goes "John goes to eat"

novígipíne do-tsá?
to_talk-dir she-comes "She comes to speak"

(a?mitú "to eat")

a?miténe no?pí "I go to eat"

" notsá? "I come " "

a?mitéeké nokhú "I used " "

(novígipí "to speak")

novígipíne no?pí "I go to speak"

" notsá? "I come " " "

novígipíké nokhú "I used " " "

((?)mêní "to play")

mê?níne no?pí "I go to play"

" notsá? "I come " " "

mê?níké nokhú "I used " " "

(kainẽe khũ "to kill")

kainẽe khẽne no?pí "I go to kill"

" " notsá? "I come " " "

" khẽekẽ nokhũ "I used " " "

(nũũhigá ǰú "to take shelter")

nũũhigá ǰẽne no?pí "I go to take shelter"

" " notsá? "I come " " " "

" ǰẽekẽ nokhũ "I used " " " "

In the case of Verb Groups containing a verb to which the reflexive suffix has been added, this usually <u>follows</u> the directional marker, but <u>precedes</u> the habitual marker, with a concomitant shortening of /aa/ to /a/ in the latter case.

e.g. (hipáphaavũ "to wash oneself"

odo?phaavũ "to work")

hipẽnephaavũ } { no?pí "I go } {to wash myself"
ode?nephaavũ } { notsá? "I come} {to work"

hipáphavẽekẽ } nokhũ "I used to { wash myself"
odo?phavẽekẽ } { work"

<u>5.1.2.2.2. Sub-type ii, "Negative Action".</u>

$VbPce_{ii.ii}$ = +aux ind:{ma-} +H:$VG_{1/2}$ +Aux:$VG_{1/2}$

The Head slot in this sub-type of Verb Piece is filled by a Verb Group whose Head is filled by a verb to which the inchoative suffix has been added, in accordance with the description in 3.1.2.3., above.

The auxiliary indicator in this case precedes the verb. It is the privative {ma-}, which is obligatorily assimilated to the verb in accordance with the rules stated in 3.3.2.1. for pronouns.[2]

The Auxiliary slot may be filled by any Verb Group (subject to normal semantic limitations).

Examples.

ma?mitâkaâ no?pí "Without eating I go"

manovígipíkaâ notsâ? "Without speaking I come"

kainêe makhâkaâ no-miâpaví "Without killing I hunt"

nûûhigâ mežâkaâ nômû[3] "Without taking shelter I sleep"

This construction may also be used to convey negative temporal sequence. Thus, ma?mitâkaâ no?pitû may mean "Without eating I have a bath", or "Before eating, I have a bath". Similar glosses could be given for the examples above.

This is particularly clear when the clitic -khê?, "Incompletive" is added to the verb after the inchoative.

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[2] Since assimilation is obligatory, the choice of base form is dependent on purely theoretical considerations. That form is chosen which permits the privative to be viewed as subject to the same rules as those governing pronoun assimilation, since the various forms parallel those attested for pronouns in the same environments.

[3] me- occurs here where ma- would be expected, due to the underlying initial ii- occurring with ǰû, but deleted in all but a few cases, as indicated elsewhere. Here /ii/ becomes /i/ in the proximity of /aa/, and this /i/ is assimilated to {ma-} in accordance with the normal rules.

e.g. aⁿepuu? ee?phi ma - khá - kaá-khé? - mí nií kaš̌oo?
much fish priv do incho-incomp rec not well
past

no?mitú
I-eat

"Before catching a lot of fish, I did not eat well"

This example also illustrates the Auxiliary verb in the negative.[4]

5.1.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of Verb Pieces are distributed in the Verb Phrase. Since all Verb Pieces equally share the same distributional possibilities, it is not necessary to establish sub-classes.

[4]For another way of expressing negative temporal sequences (i.e., "before"), cf. Dative Object Phrase, section 6.2.1.2., footnote 9, below. For positive temporal sequences ("after"), cf. 6.2.8.2. (Adjunct Phrase) and 6.2.9.2.1. (Directional Phrase), below.

Chapter 6

PHRASE LEVEL

The Phrase is set up as a level of construction above the Word[1] and below the Clause. "Phrase" is defined as a sequence or potential sequence of words which functions as a unit, as in Pickett:

> "By 'potential sequences' I mean a sequence of words or a single word which is potentially expandable to a unit of two or more words by addition of optional modifiers. Traditionally, phrases have been assumed to be composed of more than one word. [Here she refers to Bloomfield, 1933:178.] In descriptions with the tagmemic model, however, conciseness and simplicity of statement are gained by considering phrase to include those single words which are potentially expandable to full phrases.... In addition to providing conciseness, such a description also more accurately reveals the structural relationships, since when the single noun which is potentially head of a phrase occurs in the Subject slot, it is not a different kind of unit but a representative of the phrase unit." (1960:33)

Phrases are divided into classes on the basis of their distribution in Clause-level slots. Some classes of phrase are endocentric (consisting of a Head plus or minus various modifiers), while others are exocentric (consisting of an Axis and a relator). The endocentric phrases are described first, and then the Axis-Relator phrases.

Types are set up within most classes on the basis of

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[1] The Verb Phrase is a special case, coming as it does above the sub-level Piece in the verb hierarchy.

internal structure. Sub-classes of some phrase classes are set up on the basis of distribution in Clause level slots and in other structures.

6.1. Endocentric Phrases.

6.1.1. Verb Phrase.

6.1.1.1. Contrast.

The Verb Phrase (VP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its Head is filled by a Verb Piece.

ii) Its Modifier slot is filled by an Adverb or an Adjective.

6.1.1.2. Variation.

VP = ±Int:oo ±M:Adv/Aj_3 +H:VbPce ±Int:oo

It is not necessary to set up different types of VP, since the only variation at Phrase level is the presence or absence of the Modifier and Intensifier tagmemes, which are in consequence regarded as optional.

Modifier.

The following examples show the Modifier present, since ample examples of the unmodified Head tagmeme are to be found in section 5.1.2., on the Verb Piece, and the Modifier could in any case be omitted in any of the examples given here. Examples show the Modifier slot filled by and Adverb and by an Adjective.

With Modifier slot filled by an Adverb:-

i) Isabeel[2] kenee?ǰá é?ǰo
Isabel slowly runs
M:Adv H:VbPce
VP
"Isabel runs slowly"

ii) Peedró kenee?ǰáka odo?phaavú
Pedro slowly-emph works
M:Adv H:VbPce
VP
"Peter works very slowly"

With Modifier slot filled by an Adjective:-

When the Modifier slot is filled by a sub-class 3 Adjective, this may have the usual adjective suffixes (i.e., the nominal suffixes, which are also added to attributive adjectives to indicate concord between the adjective and the noun it qualifies). However, the Order 1 suffix -- the classifier -- is obligatorily absent, since the choice of classifier is dependent on the noun which the adjective qualifies when occurring in the NP, and in the VP there is no noun present. The Order 3 suffix -- number -- is similarly absent.

Only ooǰa- "small, little" has been observed in this slot, with the nominal Order 2 suffix -ǰá? (diminutive).

e.g. Hɔaa ooǰaǰá? é?ǰó
Juan little runs
M: Aj H:VbPce
VP
"John runs little" (i.e., infrequently)

[2]Spanish names do not necessarily conform to the phonology of the language.

For emphasis, the nominal Order 4 suffix -nǘ (restrictive) is used.

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e.g.  Hoaa oojǎjǎ?-nǎ  ě?ǰo
      Juan little-rest runs
             M:Aj      H:VbPce
                VP              "John runs very little" (i.e.,
                                  very infrequently)
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Intensifier.

The Intensifier tagmeme may occur initially or finally, or both initially and finally. It usually only occurs when the VP refers to an action in the past.

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e.g.  Hoaa-mǐ  oo  i?pǐ (oo)
      John rec int go   int
          past Int H:VbPce Int
                 VP              "John has already gone"
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6.1.1.3. Distribution.

The Verb Phrase functions as Predicate within the Clause. Different sub-classes of VP are set up on the basis of their function in different types of Predicate.

6.1.1.3.1. Sub-class 1. "Intransitive".

The members of this sub-class occur in type ii Predicate, "Intransitive".

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e.g.  Peedró  ímǘ
      Pedro sleeps    "Peter sleeps"
          Pii:VP1

      na?ǎ odo?phaavǘ
      they work        "they work"
         Pii:VP1
```

For further details, cf. 7.2.1.2.2., below.

These VP's may also occur in type iii Predicate, "Transitive", if the verb in the VP has the causative suffix. cf. 7.2.1.2.3., below.

6.1.1.3.2. Sub-class 2, "Transitive".

The members of this sub-class occur in type iii Predicate, "Transitive".

e.g. tsa - mí amoógí kainée khú
he rec past tapir kill — "He killed the tapir"
$P_{iii}:VP_2$

tsó maa?má emú
she cassava bites — "She bites the cassava"
$P_{iii}:VP_2$

For further details, cf. 7.2.1.2.3., below.

These VP's may also occur in type iv Predicate, "Ditransitive, if the verb in the VP has the causative suffix. cf. 7.2.1.2.4., below.

6.1.1.3.3. Sub-class 3, "Ditransitive".

This sub-class has one member, which occurs in type iv Predicate, "Ditransitive".

e.g. mo-mí ókóniigihú gi-ké aa?ní
I rec past rifle him Dat give — "I gave the rifle to him"
$P_{iv}:VP_3$

For further details, cf. 7.2.1.2.4., below.

aa?ní may also occur in type v Predicate, "Tritransitive", when it has the causative suffix. cf. 7.2.1.2.5., below.

6.1.2. Noun Phrase.

6.1.2.1. Contrast.

The Noun Phrase (NP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its Head tagmeme slot is filled by a noun, a pronoun, a name, or a relative clause.

ii) Other tagmemes which may occur are: Limiter, Quantifier, Attributive and Modifier.

iii) The order of its constituent tagmemes is relatively fixed, except for the few possible permutations detailed in section 6.1.2.2.1.5., below.

iv) There is concord in NP type i between the Head tagmeme and other constituent tagmemes, and details of this are given below.

6.1.2.2. Variation.

Four types of NP are set up on the basis of internal structure:

NP_i = +/-/$\pm\alpha$ $\overline{\text{Lim:NP}_2/\text{Dem}}$ $\pm$Q:NumP/Ig α $\overline{\pm\text{Att:Aj}_1}$ +H:Nn_3 α $\pm$M:RelCl

where α reads: when filler of H slot is from Category 1, Limiter is obligatory; when filler of H slot is from Category 2, or when filler of Q slot is an Interrogative, Limiter is obligatorily absent; when filler of H slot is from Category 3, Limiter is optional.

The tie bar indicates concord.

NP_{ii} = $\pm$Lim:Nn_1 $\overline{\pm\text{Q:NumP}}$ $\overline{+\text{H:Nn}_1}$

NP_{iii} = +H:RelCl/Pn

NP_{iv} = +H:name $\pm$M:RelCl

6.1.2.2.1. Noun Phrase Type i.

The structure of this Noun Phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph. There is concord with regard to all nominal suffixes (classifier, augmentative/diminutive, number and restrictive) within the NP between the Head and the Limiter (when filled by a Demonstrative), the Quantifier (when filled by a Numeral Phrase), and the Attributive.

In describing the variant manifestations of this Noun Phrase type, each constituent tagmeme is described in turn, in order to clarify which fillers may occur in each slot.

6.1.2.2.1.1. Head Tagmeme.

The occurrence of this tagmeme represents the minimal expansion of NP type i.

e.g. anoógí "tapir"

phaipíjé "old woman"

6.1.2.2.1.2. Limiter Tagmeme.

i) Occurrence of the Limiter tagmeme.

The Limiter tagmeme occurs either optionally or obligatorily, or is obligatorily absent, depending on the filler of the Head tagmeme slot:

$H{:}Nn_{3.1}$: + Lim

$H{:}Nn_{3.2}$: - Lim

$H{:}Nn_{3.3}$: ± Lim

e.g. i) + Lim

fa?mithoónú "our food"

phaigí hitáa "the old man's canoe"
old-man canoe
Lim H

ginígí "his face"

čiivú "its centre"

ii) - Lim

a?mithoótsí "food"

hiítú "canoe"

iii) ± Lim

va?agú "machete"

anoógí "tapir"

naikoogígí "shaman"

ii) Fillers of Limiter tagmeme slot.

The Limiter tagmeme may be manifested by an embedded Noun Phrase sub-class 2, or by a demonstrative. The NP indicates possession[3]; demonstratives normally indicate deixis (cf. below).

a) Noun Phrase, sub-class 2.

All types and sub-types of NP occurring in distributional sub-class 2 of the NP may occur.

i) Type iii.i; Relative Clause.

e.g. ee?phíkhovígí paánú
fish - Srel house
H:RelCl
Lim:NP iii.i H:Nn "The one who fishes' house"

[3]Changes in the form of the noun filling the Head slot when possessed are indicated in 3.2.3., above.

ii) Type iii.ii: Pronoun.

e.g. nó paánú
my house
H:Pn
Lim:NP$_{iii.ii}$ H:Nn "my house"[4]

nó hanígi
my father "my father"

In cases such as these, if no other tagmemes occur between the Limiter tagmeme and the Head tagmeme, assimilation usually occurs between the fillers of the two slots, as described in section 3.3.2.1., above.

e.g. nopaánú "my house"

nonígi "my father"

In this construction, the type ii pronoun gi?í/gi?ithé may function as a demonstrative, in addition to its normal use as a deictic possessive adjective. (This is talking in terms of traditional grammar; structurally, and tagmemically, it is always a pronoun. cf. footnote 4 hereunder.) Thus, for example, gi?í haádahí may mean "this one's land turtle" (i.e., "his land turtle"), or "this land turtle". Such ambiguity does not occur when the Head tagmeme slot in the NP is filled by a noun having a different form when possessed, as in the following examples:

gi?í panítsí "this house"

gi?í paánú "this one's house"

gi?ithé boe?khoótsigú "that paddle"

gi?ithé boe?khoónagú "that one's paddle"

[4]Thus, in traditional terms, the pronoun here functions as a possessive adjective, and not just a personal pronoun, as elsewhere.

iii) Type iv: name.

This is of minimal expansion, and the Modifier tagmeme does not occur.

e.g. Hosé paánú
José house

H: name

Lim:NP_{iv} H:Nn "José's house"

iv) Type i.

The form of the NP occurring in the Limiter slot is normally quite restricted, usually consisting of a Head only, or of a Head and a Limiter.

a) Head only.

e.g. phaigí paánú
old-man house

H:Nn

Lim:NP_i H:Nn "The old man's house"

b) Limiter and Head.

e.g. higí phaigí paánú
this old-man house

Lim:Dem H:Nn

Lim: NP_i H:Nn

NP_i "this old man's house"

If the embedded Limiter slot contains an NP consisting of a pronoun, this is assimilated to the noun in the Head slot of the same NP.

e.g. ʀ o n í g í paánú
my - father house

H:Pn

Lim: NP_{iii} · H:Nn

Lim: NP_i H:Nn

NP_i "my father's house"

Multiple embedding (e.g., "my father's house's roof's thatch") has not been observed in normal speech nor texts.

b) Demonstratives.

The occurrence of a demonstrative filler of the Limiter tagmeme slot indicates deixis.

e.g. hímí hiítú
this canoe "this canoe"
Lim:Dem H:Nn

hé?e?aamí té?aamí
that book "that book"
Lim:Dem H:Nn

iii) Concord in the Limiter tagmeme.

There is concord of all nominal suffixes between the filler of the Head tagmeme slot and demonstratives.

e.g. hí-m i i h í hiítá-m i i h í
this sx 1-sx 3 canoe sx 1- sx 3 "these canoes"

hé?e-gá-ǰaakú-ná va?a-gá-ǰaakú-ná
that sx 1 sx 2-sx 3 sx 4 machete sx 1 sx 2-sx 3 sx 4
"only those two knives"

6.1.2.2.1.3. Quantifier Tagmeme.

The Quantifier tagmeme slot is filled by a Numeral Phrase or by an Interrogative. There is concord of all numeral suffixes between the filler of the H tagmeme slot and the filler of the Numeral Phrase, affecting those numbers which may be modified (i.e., "one" and "two", and all Numeral Phrases of which these are components, viz., those that form 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 17 and 18).

e.g. i) With Numeral Phrase filler of Q slot.

sá - ga - ǰá? va?a - ga - ǰá?
one sx 1 sx 2 machete sx 1 sx 2 "one knife"
Q:NumP H:Nn

sá?osí hiítá - m i ih'í
five canoe sx 1-sx 3 "five canoes"

ii) With Interrogative filler of the Q slot.

Either of the Group 6 Interrogatives hê?e anepuu? or hidê? anepuu? may occur (cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., below, on Interrogative).

e.g. hidê? anepuu? va?agaǰaahí
how - many knives "How many knives?"
Q:Ig H:Nn

6.1.2.2.1.4. Attributive Tagmeme.

The Attributive tagmeme slot is filled by a sub-class 1 Adjective. There is concord of all nominal suffixes between the filler of the Head tagmeme slot and the filler of the Attributive tagmeme slot.

e.g. ǰiǰaa-gá - ǰ a a k u - ná va?a - gá - ǰ a a k u - ná
big sx 1 sx 2-sx 3 sx 4 machete sx 1 sx 2-sx 3 sx 4
Att:Aj_1 H:Nn
"only two big knives"

(For the Adjective, cf. 3.4.2., above.)

6.1.2.2.1.5. Modifier Tagmeme.

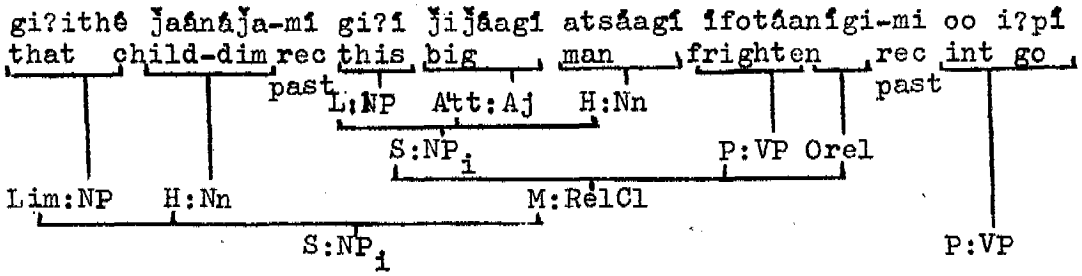
The Modifier tagmeme slot is filled by a relativized clause.

e.g. atsáagí-mí gífotáa - nígi - mí oo i?pí
man rec he-frighten-Orel rec int go
past past
H:Nn M:RelCl
NP
"The man he had frightened went away"

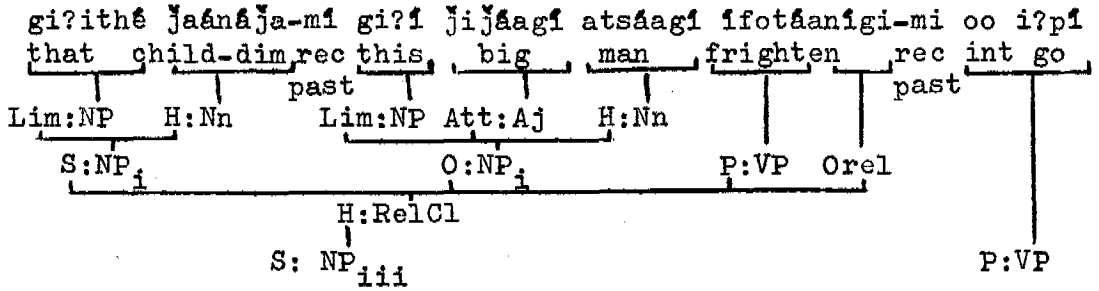
The Modifier tagmeme usually occurs after the Head tagmeme in the NP, although it may be permutated to the initial position in the NP, if ambiguity might otherwise result. For instance,

gi?ithé ǰaánáǰa-mí gi?í ǰijáagí atsáagí ífotáaníǵi-mí oo i?pí
that child-dim rec this big man frighten-Orel int go
past rec
past

could be understood as "That little child that this big man frightened went away" or as "This big man that that little child frightened went away" -- not as improbable an interpretation as may be imagined, since Pablo pointed out this ambiguity, unprompted. In Resígaro -- though not in English -- the whole of the underlined section in each case is a relativised clause. The meaning depends on the structures of the matrix and embedded clauses: (NB, here L = Lim)



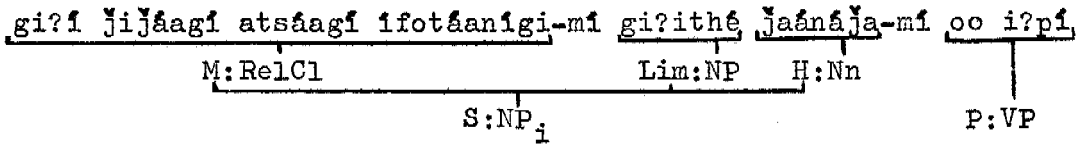
"That little child that this big man frightened went away"



"(That little child frightened this big man)$^{[-rel]}$ went away"

i.e., "This big man that that little child frightened went away"

If the second meaning is that desired, the structure and form indicated are appropriate (though this may be simplified, at Clause level, by extraposition). If the first meaning is that desired, ambiguity may be avoided by permutating the enitre Modifier tagmeme to initial position:



The above description and examples refer to relativized clauses having a restrictive (i.e., identificational) function. In Resígaro, relativized clauses may also have a non-restrictive (i.e., merely informative) function. In these cases, the following changes occur in the NP:

i) The relativized clause in question is preceded and followed by a pause.

ii) The entire structure has a distinctive intonation.[5] The contour rises immediately preceding each pause.

e.g. atsǻagi-mí --- gífotǻanígi-mí --- oo i?pí
man rec past he-frighten-Orel rec past int go

"The man, whom he had frightened, went away"

6.1.2.2.1.6. Co-occurrence of Tagmemes in NP Type i.

+Lim +H is probably the most frequent sequence of tagmemes

[5]Though a description of the intonation is beyond the scope of the present thesis, rudimentary details are given in this case, since in this structure intonation is one of the prominent distinguishing features.

in NP type i, followed in frequency by +Att +H and +Lim +Att +H. Q tagmeme occurs very infrequently, no doubt because most counting in Resígaro is in terms of "one", "two", or "several"[6], and this can be handled at word level by suffixes. M may occur in all the above sequences, though maximal expansion is quite rare.

[6]Though the number system extends to twenty.

6.1.2.2.2. Noun Phrase Type ii, "Temporal".

NP_{ii} = ±Lim:Nn_1 ±Q:NumP +H:Nn_1

e.g. aápaaá jakáde-kóo no?pí
tomorrow field-to I-go
H:Nn_1
NP_{ii}
"Tomorrow I am going to the field"

nokótsá naapí?é? sí-koomí-kóo gi?pí
yesterday morning other village to he-go
Lim:Nn_1 H:Nn_1
NP_{ii}
"Yesterday morning he went to the other village"

po?tsáávágaahí he?kóka no-náagí miáápaví
four days my-brother hunt
Q:NumP H:Nn_1
NP_{ii}
"My brother has been hunting for four days"

6.1.2.2.3. Noun Phrase Type iii.

NP_{iii} = +H:RelCl/Pn

i) Relativized Clause.

The relativized clause occurring in this NP type always has a restrictive (i.e., identificatory) function.

e.g. gífotáanígi-mí oo i?pí
he-frightened-Orel-rec int go
past
H:RelCl
NP_{iii}
"The one he frightened went away"

ii) Pronoun.

e.g. ʁó a?mitʉ́
I eat
H: Pn "I eat"
NP_{iii}

This pronoun may assimilate with a following verb, as indicated in 3.3.2., above.

e.g. no?mitʉ́ "I eat"

But, grammatically, a separate NP is still considered to be present, even though on the phonological plane it is partly fused with the filler of the following tagmemic slot.

6.1.2.2.4. Noun Phrase Type iv.

NP_{iv} = +H:name ±M:RelCl

e.g. Hoaa - mí oo i?pí
Juan rec int go "John went away"
past
H:name
NP_{iv}

The relativized clause occurring in the M slot in this NP type always has a non-restrictive (i.e., merely informative) function (with attendant pauses and intonation contour).

e.g. Hoaa-mí --- Manoel ífotáanígi - mí --- oò i?pí
Juan rec Manuel frighten rec int go
past past
H:name
S:NP_{iv} P:VP Orel
H:name M:RelCl "John, whom Manuel frightened, went away"
NP_{iv}

6.1.2.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of Noun Phrases are distributed in Clause and Phrase level slots. Two sub-classes of NP's are

set up on the basis of this distribution.

6.1.2.3.1. Sub-class 1, "Temporal".

This consists of all type ii Noun Phrases, which are distributed in the Temporal slot in the Clause, and in the axis slot in LP type ii, sub-type v.

e.g. aápaná sí - koomí - kóo ne?pí
tomorrow other-village-to they-go
T:NP$_1$ "Tomorrow they go to the other village"

(cf. 6.2.10., below, on LP.)

6.1.2.3.2. Sub-class 2.

All other NP types can be grouped in one sub-class. These Noun Phrases have quite a wide distribution, but since they all equally share the same distributional possibilities, it is not necessary to establish further sub-classes.

They may occur back-looped in the Peripheral slot in Verb Group type ii, sub-type i. (cf. 4.1.2.2.1., above.)

e.g. nûûhigá khû
shelter do
H:Nn
Periph:NP$_2$ H:Vb "to give shelter to s.o."
VG$_{ii.i}$

They may occur recursively in the Limiter slot of NP type i (cf. 6.1.2.2.1.2., above), and in the Axis slot of Axis-Relator phrases.

e.g. Hoaa - mí gi?ithé ǰaánaǰá - neé a?mitú
Juan rec past that child-dim with eat
Lim:NP H:Nn
Axis:NP$_2$ relr
CP$_i$

"John ate with that little child"

(For further examples, cf. section 6.2., below.)

They may also occur in the following Clause-level tagmemes: Subject, Object, Causative Object, and Predicate$_{i.ii}$.

e.g. Hoaa Manoel tshênî
Juan Manuel see "John sees Manuel"
S:NP$_{iv}$ O:NP$_{iv}$

Further examples are to be found in the preceding description of the NP, and in the description of the Clause, below.

6.1.3. Numeral Phrase.

6.1.3.1. Contrast.

The Numeral Phrase (NumP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) It may have a single Head tagmeme, or two Head tagmemes.

ii) These Head tagmemes are filled by numerals or by back-looped Numeral or Directional Phrases.

6.1.3.2. Variation.

Numeral Phrases are either simple or complex, and separate types are established on the basis of this difference.

6.1.3.2.1. Numeral Phrase Type i, "Simple".

NumP$_i$ = +H:Num$_1$

This consists of all sub-class 1 numeral words.

e.g. sagú "one"

po?tsáávágaahí "four"

6.1.3.2.2. Numeral Phrase Type ii, "Complex".

Composite formula:-

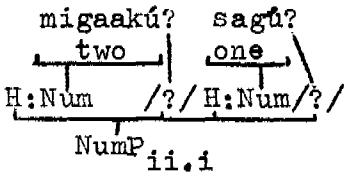
$NumP_{ii}$ = +H:Num_2/DP_1 +H:Num_2/$NumP_{ii.i}$

Three sub-types are set up on the basis of structural differences of a finer degree of delicacy than those separating types i and ii.

6.1.3.2.2.1. Sub-type i.

$NumP_{ii.i}$ = +H:Num ("two") + /?/ +H:Num ("one") + /?/

This sub-type has only one member:-



"three"

6.1.3.2.2.2. Sub-type ii.

$NumP_{ii.ii}$ = +H:DP_1 +H:Num

Three variants of DP_1 occur. Each is combined with the numerals for "one", "two" and "four", to create other numbers, and fee?pá-khó, "from our foot", is in addition combined with the numeral for "five", as indicated below.

a) sí - ?osí - khó sagú
other hand from one
H:DP_1 H:Num
$NumP_{ii.ii}$

"six" (Lit., "from the other hand one"[7])

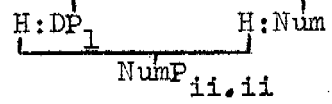
sí - ?osí - khó migaakú
other hand from two

"seven" (Lit., "from the other hand two")

[7]Numbers 6-9 are counted on the right hand, starting with the little finger.

sí - ?osí - khó po?tsáávágaahí "nine" (Lit., "from the other-hand from four other hand, four")

b) fee?pá - khó sagú "eleven" (Lit., "from our foot, one"[8])

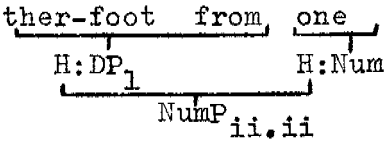


fee?pá - khó migaakú "twelve" (Lit., "from our foot, two")
our-foot from two

fee?pá - khó po?tsáávágaahí "fourteen" (Lit., "from our foot, four")
our-foot from four

fee?pá - khó sá-?osí "fifteen" (Lit., "from our foot, five")
our-foot from five

c) sí - tu?á - khó sagú "sixteen" (Lit., "from the other foot, one")



sí - tu?á - khó migaakú "seventeen" (Lit., "from the other foot, two")
other-foot from two

sí - tu?á - khó po?tsáávágaahí "nineteen" (Lit., "from the other foot, four")
other-foot from four

6.1.3.2.2.3. Sub-type iii.

$NumP_{ii.iii}$ = $+H:DP_1$ $+H:NumP_{ii.i}$

As in sub-type ii, the three variants of DP_1 occur. Each is combined with migaakú? sagú?, "three", to form the numbers for "eight", "thirteen" and "eighteen", respectively.

[8]Numbers 11-15 are counted on the left foot, starting with the little toe.

a) sí - ?osí - khó migaakú? sagú?
other-hand-from two /?/ one /?/
H:DP$_1$ H:NumP$_{ii.i}$
NumP$_{ii.iii}$
"eight" (Lit., "from the other hand, three")

b) fee?pá - khó migaakú? sagú?
our-foot from t h r e e
"thirteen" (Lit., "from our foot, three")

c) sí - tu?á - khó migaakú? sagú?
other-foot from t h r e e
"eighteen" (Lit., "from the other foot, three")

6.1.3.3. Distribution.

The Numeral Phrase is distributed back-looped in the Quantifier slot in NP typesi. and ii.

e.g. gi?í migaakú? sagú? va?agaahí
this t h r e e machetes
Lim: NP Q:NumP H:Nn
NP$_i$
"These three machetes"

(cf. NP, 6.1.2.2., above.)

6.2. Axis-Relator Phrases.

6.2.1. Dative Object Phrase.

6.2.1.1. Contrast.

The Dative Object Phrase (DOP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP$_2$, by a back-looped clause, which has been nominalized (cf. 7.2.-2.3.), or by an interrogative.

ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -ké, "dative marker"

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last con-

stituent of the axis.

6.2.1.2. Variation.

DOP = +Axis:NP/ig/NomCl +relr: -kɛ́ "dative marker"

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithɛ́ ǰijáagí ǰaána - kɛ́ - mí maa?má doo?ní
that big child dat rec cassava she-give
past
Axis:NP2 relr
DOP "She gave cassava to that big child"

ii) Isabeel-mí Hoaa náagi - kɛ́ iteevi?ɔ́ aa?ní
Isabel rec past Juan brother dat aguaje give
Axis:NP2 relr
DOP "Isabel gave an aguaje fruit to John's brother"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

kɛ́ení - kɛ́ - vá hamáaká doo?ní
whom dat fut hammock she-give
Axis:ig relr
DOP "To whom will she give the hammock?"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) anepuu? nodo?phaavaa - kɛ́, ní maa?tsá nɔ́
much I-work dat not tired I
Axis:NomCl relr
DOP "Although I work a lot, I am not tired"

ii) pímáa - kɛ́ nodo?phaavɨ́
you-sleep dat I-work
Axis:NomCl relr
DOP "While you sleep, I work"

From the above examples, it would appear that -kɛ́ is used with substantial differences of meaning when the axis slot of the Dative Object Phrase is filled with a nominalized

clause from when it is filled with an NP_2 or an interrogative, and, moreover, there is a possible difference of semantic relation between the clause-level tagmemes which the DOP manifests in each of the NomCl examples given, and the Predicate of the relevant clause. This difference of semantic relation may be indicated by the terms Concessive and Concurrent, respectively, and it gives rise to the possibility of viewing the relator in each case as representing two or even three homophonous but different morphemes: -kê, "Dative"; -kê, "Concessive"; and -kê, "Concurrent".

However, this suggestion is rejected for the following reasons:

i) The clause occurring in the axis slot is clearly nominalized in accordance with the pattern evidenced in other, non-ambiguous, contexts in the language, and thus has a relationship to the relator parallel to that of the NP's and interrogatives occurring in this slot.

ii) Almost all other axis-relator phrases in the language are unequivocally attested with NP and nominalized clause fillers of the axis slot, and this lends weight to the interpretation of doubtful cases in accordance with the established pattern. The existence of one or two cases which are of doubtful or ambiguous interpretation is not considered sufficient reason for establishing a separate pattern type --

one in which some A-R phrases only have an NP filler, while some others only have a nominalized clause filler -- especially when the relators are the same in each case.

iii) Though meaning is not rejected as a criterion in tagmemics (contrast Harris, 1951, for example), and is in fact always tacitly present in the recognition of differences, from morpheme level on up, it is not considered adequate for the establishment of different grammatical categories or types unless it co-occurs with at least one (Pike, 1967:471) or two (Longacre 1964a:18) formal differences.

iv) It may be that the apparently different meanings of -kẽ are no more than a consequence of our interpreting Resígaro in the light of English and Spanish structures, or, if such differences are taken to represent semantic differences in Resígaro, they may best be viewed as a consequence of the different contexts in which the DOP occurs, at clause level. It is to be expected that the relation of the Dative or Dative Object tagmeme to the Predicate tagmeme will vary with different fillers of the Predicate slot, and according to other similarities and differences between the nominalized and the matrix clause, such as when one is affirmative and the other negative, as in the first NomCl example, above.[9] Whether a relationship is inter-

[9] If the NomCl is negative, the DOP can be used to convey a negative temporal sequence. e.g. [Continued next page]

preted as concessive or not is in any case dependent on the expectations of the hearer, and though these may be reflected in different glosses, they are, in the final analysis, beyond the realm of the linguistic description.

All this is, in any case, a clause level variation, thus not affecting the establishment of types at phrase level. For this reason, it is also considered as not relevant to this level that when the Axis slot is filled by an NP or an interrogative, the filler of the Predicate slot at Clause level must be aa?nî, whereas when the filler of the axis slot is a NomCl, there is no such restriction.

6.2.1.3. Distribution.

The Dative Object Phrase is distributed in the clause, where it fills the Dative Object and Dative slots. Two sub-classes of DOP are established on the basis of this distribution:

6.2.1.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of all Dative Object Phrases with an NP_2 or an interrogative in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class are distributed in the Dative Object slot at clause

---

e.g. niî-mî-khê? aâ?pe ee?phi khaa-kê-mî niî kašoo? va?mitû
not rec incomp past my-father fish do dat rec not past well we-eat
Axis:NomCl
relr
DOP

"As yet my father didn't fish, we didn't eat well"
i.e., "Before my father fished, we didn't eat well"

Verb Piece ii.ii may also be used to convey "before". cf. 5.1.2.2.2., above. (cf. 6.2.8.2. and 6.2.9.2.1. for "after" temporal sequences.)

level (cf. 7.1.1.6., below).

e.g. i) gi - kɛ́ - mí šakoo?gí?ɔ́ noo?ní
him dat rec banana I-give
Axis:NP$_2$relr past
DO: DOP$_1$ "I gave the banana to him"

ii) kɛ́enî - kɛ́ - mí ɔ́kɔ́niigihú daa?ní
whom dat rec shotgun he-give
Axis: ig relr past
DO: DOP$_1$ "To whom did he give the shotgun?"

6.2.1.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of all Dative Object Phrases with a Nominalized Clause in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class are distributed in the Dative slot at clause level (cf. 7.1.2.1., below).

e.g. dómaa - kɛ́ - mí iteevi?ɔ́ gi-khú
she-sleep dat rec aguaje he-eat
Axis:NomCl relr past
Dat:DOP$_2$ "While she slept, he ate aguaje fruit"

6.2.2. Purposive Phrase.

6.2.2.1. Contrast.

The Purposive Phrase (PP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP$_2$, by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized, or by an interrogative.

ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by {-nɔ́}, "purposive marker".

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last con-

stituent of the axis.

6.2.2.2. Variation.

PP = +Axis:NP_2/ig/NomCl +relr: {-nó} "purposive marker"

-nó ~ -hó

-hó occurs with pronouns

-nó occurs elsewhere

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé ǰijáagí ǰaána - nó - mí domú "vée pi - tsá?"
that big child ppsv rec she-say here you-come past
Axis:NP_2 relr
PP
"She said to that big child, 'Come here'."

ii) gi - hó[10] - mí domú "vée pi - tsá?"
him ppsv rec she-say here you-come past
Axis:NP_2 relr
PP
"She said to him, 'Come here'."

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

kéhee - nó - mí pimú kamovii? nó
whom ppsv rec you-say drunk I past
Axis:ig relr
PP
"To whom did you say I was drunk?"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) ve?e gi-tsá? ináadó gi-minaá - nó
here he-come woman he-seek ppsv
Axis: NomCl relr
PP
"He comes here to seek a wife"

[10]The pronoun is assimilated to the relator, which in this case exceptionally has the same effect as a C-(other-than-h-)initial word or relator. cf. 3.3.2.1., above.

ii) kaašoǰa?i gi-khú do?mitaá - mó
want he-do she-eat ppsv
Axis:NomCl relr
PP
"He wants her to eat"

It may be argued that the above examples allow for different interpretations of the relation indicated by {-mó} when the axis slot is filled by a Nominalized Clause, from when it is filled by an NP or an interrogative.[11] However, these apparent differences of meaning may merely result from our giving too much weight to the structure of the English (and Spanish) glosses, when viewing Resígaro. It is certainly possible to gloss the first two examples above acceptably as "She said for that big child [to hear] ..." and "She said for him [to hear] ...", respectively, and this obviously corresponds more closely to the Resígaro view of the relationships involved.

A second and apparently correlated difference may be noted: when the axis slot is filled by an NP or an interrogative, the resultant PP occurs in a clause in which the Predicate may only be filled by kemú, "to say"; when the axis slot is filled by a Nominalized Clause, no such restriction is present. From this it may be argued whether it would not be preferable to establish two different types

[11] There is a further difference of meaning -- whatever the filler of the axis slot -- when the PP fills the Predicate slot. cf. 6.2.2.3., and 7.1.1.1., below.

of PP -- or even two totally different phrases, each with different (but homophonous) relators - {-nó}.

However, this suggestion is rejected for the reasons given in 6.2.1.2., above, when discussing a similar situation with regard to the Dative Object Phrase.

As regards the apparent distributional difference, while it is recognized that distributional differences often correlate with structural differences, it has been clearly established that in this description distributional differences are nowhere allowed to dictate typological divisions, which must be solidly based on structural differences relevant at the level in question (cf. 0.4.3.). Thus it is considered that insufficient evidence exists here for establishing different phrases, or even two types of PP.

6.2.2.3. Distribution.

The Purposive Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Purposive slot[12] or the Predicate slot. Two subclasses are established on the basis of this distribution:

6.2.2.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of all Purposive Phrases with an NP or inter-

[12]The clause level tagmeme Purposive may occur more than once in a clause, with the same or different types of filler of the axis slot in the PP in each case -- cf. 7.2.1.2.3., section 2, Peripheral Tagmemes, below.

rogative in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class are distributed in Purposive tagmeme type i (which only occurs when the Predicate slot in the clause is filled by a VP containing kemű "to say, to tell"), and in the Predicate slot in non-transitive clauses.

e.g. In type i Purposive tagmeme:

nonáva - nó - mí gimű "no?dá-ma?u"
my-mother ppsv rec he-say I-drink-desid
Axis: NP_2 relr past "He said to my mother, 'I want
$Ppsv_i:PP_1$ to drink'."

(For type i Purposive, cf. 7.1.2.2.1., below.)

In the Predicate:

i) kéhee - nó hiítú
who ppsv canoe "Who (has) a canoe?"
Axis:ig relr
P:PP_1 S:NP

ii) hiítá gi - hó
canoe him ppsv "He (has) a canoe"
Axis:NP_2 relr
S:NP P:PP_1

(For non-transitive Predicates, cf. section 7.1.1.1.1., below, especially sub-type iii.)

6.2.2.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of all Purposive Phrases with a Nominalized Clause in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class are distributed in Purposive tagmeme type ii (which has no occurrence restriction such as that for type i).

e.g. no?mitaá - nó no?pí
I-eat ppsv I-go "I am going in order to eat"
Axis: NomCl relr
$Ppsv_{ii}:PP_2$

(For type ii Purposive, cf. 7.1.2.2.2., below.)

6.2.3. Benefactive Phrase.

6.2.3.1. Contrast.

The Benefactive Phrase (BP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP_2, a back-looped clause, which has been nominalized, or an interrogative.

ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -pokâ?, "benefactive marker".

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.3.2. Variation.

BP = +Axis:NP_2/ig/NomCl +relr: -pokâ? "benefactive marker"

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithê ǰijáagí ǰaánâ-pokâ? - mí a?mithoótsí do-khú
that big child ben rec meal she-make
Axis: NP_2 relr past
BP
"She made a meal for (because of) that big child"

ii) do-tsâatê - pokâ? tsodâ?pú
her-brother ben she-sings
Axis: NP_2 relr
BP
"She sings for (because of) her brother"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

kêhee-pokâ?-mí a?mithoótsí do-khú
whom ben rec meal she-make
Axis:ig relr past
BP
"For whom did she make the meal?"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

```
i)  ve?e gi-tsấ? inấadố gimiaấ - pokấ?
    here he-come wife   he-seek   ben
                 Axis:  NomCl     relr
                          BP
```

"He comes here because he seeks a wife"

```
ii)  monígí aaepuu? ee?phi khaấ-pokấ?, kašoo? va?mitũ
   my-father much   fish   do     ben   well    we-eat
    Axis:NomCl                   relr
                  BP
```

"Because my father catches a lot of fish, we eat well"

As the above examples show, when the axis slot of the BP is filled by a NomCl, the meaning conveyed by this and the Predicate in the Matrix clause is one of Cause-Effect. Any apparent difference in meaning when the axis is filled by an NP or an interrogative is not doubt at least partly due to the forms of the English glosses, and in any case there is not sufficient structural difference between the forms with different fillers of the axis slot to justify the establishment of different phrases, and it is clear that in the language no emic contrast is felt.

6.2.3.3. Distribution.

The Benefactive Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Benefactive slot.

```
e.g.  no-novígipií-pokấ? gímũ
       I - speak       ben he-sleep
 Axis:  NomCl          relr
            Ben:BP
```

"Because I speak, he sleeps"

6.2.4. Instrument Phrase.

6.2.4.1. Contrast.

The Instrument Phrase (IP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP_2, by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized, or by an interrogative.

ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -gí, "instrument marker".

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.4.2. Variation.

IP = +Axis:NP_2/ig/NomCl +relr: -gí "instrument marker"

With NP filler of axis slot:

i) gi?ithé ǰijáagí va?aga - gí - mí onáʔko kainée gi-khí
that big machete instr rec snake dead he-make
past
Axis:NP_2 relr
IP
"He killed the snake with that big machete"

ii) Isabeel-mí Hoaa hitáa - gí i?pí
Isabel rec Juan canoe instr go
past
Axis:NP_2 relr
IP
"Isabel went in (i.e., by means of) John's canoe"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

kóhee - gí - mí avâanavuudí gimókhó
what instr rec log he-cut
past
Axis:ig relr
IP
"With what did he cut the log?"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

IP's with nominalized clauses in the axis slot are quite infrequent, though the following has been attested:-

gižaǎnú do?mǒtshoǒ - gí - mí ke?vígí nagínagí do-khotǔ
his-child she-hit instr rec chief angry she-do-cstv
Axis:NomCl relr past
IP
"By hitting his child she made the chief angry"

6.2.4.3. Distribution.

The Instrument Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Instrument slot.

e.g. maa?mǎ kio? do-khǔ va?agaǰá - gí
cassava cut she-do knife instr
Axis:NP2 relr
I:IP
"She cuts the cassava with a knife"

For further details, cf. Clause level, esp. 7.1.2.4.

The Instrument Phrase is also distributed in Verb Group type ii, sub-type ii. (cf. 4.1.2.2.2.)

6.2.5. Concomitant Phrase.

6.2.5.1. Contrast.

The Concomitant Phrase (CP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP_2, by a backlooped clause which has been nominalized, by an adjective, or by an interrogative.

ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by {-neé}, "with", {-ma?}, "without", or -kápo?, "alone".

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.5.2. Variation.

Three types[13] of Concomitant Phrase are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

CP_i = +Axis:NP_2/NomCl/Aj_1/ig +relr: {-neé}, "with"

CP_{ii} = +Axis:NP_2/NomCl +relr: {-ma?}, "without"

CP_{iii} = +Axis:NP_2 +relr: -kápo?, "alone"

6.2.5.2.1. Concomitant Phrase Type i: {-neé}.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph.

{-neé} : -neé ~ -né

-né occurs after nouns and interrogatives ending in ...VV.

-neé occurs elsewhere.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé jíjáagí jaáná - neé - mí do-tsá?
that big child with rec she-come
Axis:NP_2 relr past
CP_i "She came with that big child"

[13] The only difference between these three types -- that of filler of the relator slot, and consequent change of meaning and use -- is considered adequate for the establishment of three separate types within the Class of Concomitant Phrases (though not adequate for the establishment of different phrase classes, for which at least two structural differences would be required), since it leads to greater clarity in the description.

ii) atsáagí-?pe amoógí - neé pata?-kakávú
man rem tapir with look - recip
past
Axis: NP_2 relr
CP_i
"The man and the tapir looked at each other"

iii) In the example that follows, the NP_2 in the axis slot of the CP contains a subject-relativized clause as one of its constituents (cf. 6.1.2.2.1.5., above, on the Modifier tagmeme, and 7.2.2.4., below, on relativization).

ǰaána-mí gi - kéí tóóǰoví - neé ve?e tsá?nu
child rec his-fore- wounded-Srel with here come
past arm
Lim:NP H:Nn M:RelCl
Axis:NP_i relr
CP_i
"The child with the arm which is wounded came here"

iv) At the other extreme, the NP_2 may be of minimal expansion:

šoó - né
falsehood with
Axis:NP_2 relr
CP_i
"lying"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) pó?manú? tsadá?pá[14] - neé - mí dodo?phaavú
loudly he-sing with rec he-work
past
Axis:NomCl relr
CP_i
"Singing loudly he worked"

ii) gi-vitsóaá - ká[15] - neé - mí kio? na-khú
he-shout incho with rec cut they-do
past
Axis:NomCl relr
CP_i
"He beginning to shout, they cut (him)"

[14] -paá > -pá before -neé, to avoid two continguous syllables with sequences of two vowels.

[15] Previous footnote also applies here.

With Adjective filler of Axis slot:

Of all the Axis-Relator phrases, adjectives are only attested in the Axis slot of CP_i.

e.g. kai nêe[16]
death with "dead"
Axis:Aj_1 relr
CP_1

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

kêhee - nê - mí da?mitû
whom with rec he-eat "With whom did he eat?"
Axis:ig relr past
CP_i

6.2.5.2.2. Concomitant Phrase Type ii: {-ma?}.[17]

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in 6.2.5.2., above.

{-ma?} : -ma? ~ -ma

-ma? occurs finally in the phrase

-ma occurs elsewhere.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) ǰaáná - ma? - mí do - tsá?
child without rec she-come
Axis:NP_2 relr past "She came without the child"
CP_{ii}

[16] In this case the rising tone of -neé becomes a falling tone.

[17] Compare with Negative Imperative {-ma?u} in 3.1.2.6.1.2.1., above, and desiderative clitic {-ma?u} in 7.2.1.2.6.3.1., below. Note also the privative {ma-} in 5.1.2.2.2., above.

ii) gi-nǎagí - ma? - mí dodo?phaavú
his-brother-without rec he-work
past
Axis:NP$_2$ relr "He worked without his brother"
CP$_{ii}$

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) nǒfú no?mitaǎ - ma?
I-fear I-eat
Axis:NomCl relr "I am afraid to eat"
CP$_{ii}$

ii) do?vápaǎ - ma? dǒfú
she-swim she-fear
Axis:NomCl relr "She is afraid to swim"
CP$_{ii}$

Once again, there is an apparent difference in the meaning of the relator, depending on whether the filler of the axis slot is an NP or a NomCl, and earlier comments are relevant (cf. 6.2.1.2., 6.2.2.2.). The difference is not as great as at first appears, the meaning being in both cases basically "negative".

6.2.5.2.3. Concomitant Phrase Type iii: -kápo?.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in 6.2.5.2., above. To date, no cases of a nominalized clause filling the axis slot have been attested.

i) gi-kápo? gi-paǎnǎ-kǒo gi?pí
he-alone his-house-to he-go
Axis:NP$_2$ relr "Alone he goes to his house"
CP$_{iii}$

ii) gi - nâagí - kápo? tsú
his-brother-alone he

Axis:NP$_2$ relr

CP$_{iii}$

"His brother, he (is) alone"

6.2.5.3. Distribution.

The Concomitant Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Concomitant or the Predicate slot, and in Verb Group type ii. Two sub-classes are set up on the basis of this distribution.

6.2.5.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of all type ii CP's with a nominalized clause in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class are distributed in Concomitant tagmeme type i (which only occurs when the Predicate slot in the clause is filled by a VP containing ífú, "to fear").

e.g. dófú gi - neé do?pínaá - ma?
she-fear him with she-go

Axis:NomCl relr

Conc$_i$:CP$_1$

"She is afraid to go with him"

6.2.5.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of all other CP's, which are distributed in Concomitant tagmeme type ii (which has no co-occurrence restriction such as that applying in the case of type i), in the Predicate, and in VG$_{ii.i}$.

In the Concomitant slot (type ii):

e.g. Ñekañekaágí-musi o?doné ne i?pí giínó - neé
Ñekañekaágí-dual to-fish go his-wife with

Axis: NP_2 relr
$Conc_{ii}$: CP_2

"Ñekañekaágí went fishing with his wife"

(For further details, cf. 7.2.1.2.2.2. and 7.2.1.2.3.2., below.)

In the Predicate slot (type i):

e.g. do-náadó - neé tsó
her-sister with she

Axis: NP_2 relr
P_i: CP_2

"She (is) with her sister"

(For further details, cf. 7.1.1.1.1.3.(i), below.)

In the Periphery slot in Verb Group ii.i:

Only type i CP has been observed in this construction.

e.g. taa - neé jú
calm with be

Axis: Aj relr
Periph: CP_2 H: Vb_1
$VG_{ii.i}$

"to faint"

(For further details, cf. 4.1.2.2.1., above.)

6.2.6. Comparative Phrase.

6.2.6.1. Contrast.

The Comparative Phrase (CtvP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP_2 or by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized.

ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -ve?nái, "more

than", or -pee? "like, same as".

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.6.2. Variation.

Two types[18] of Comparative Phrase are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

$CtvP_i$ = +Axis:NP_2/NomCl +relr: -ve?ʉ́i "more than"

$CtvP_{ii}$ = +Axis:NP_2/NomCl +relr: -pee? "same as, like"

6.2.6.2.1. Comparative Phrase Type i: -ve?ʉ́i.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph.

With NP filler of the Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé ǰijáagí ǰaánáʔ - ve?ʉ́i dé?ǰo
that big child more-than he-runs
Axis: NP_2 relr
$CtvP_i$
"He runs more than that big child"

ii) pi - ve?ʉ́i tseinéé? tsí
you more-than tall he
Axis:NP_2 relr
$CtvP_i$
"He (is) taller than you"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) do?mitaʔ - ve?ʉ́i da?mité
she-eat more-than he-eat
Axis:NomCl relr
$CtvP_i$
"He eats more (i.e., more often) than she eats"

[18] cf. footnote 13 to section 6.2.5.2., above, on establishment of separate types.

ii) kapí či?vu dóǰoo? - ve?míi
quickly he-walk she-run more-than
Axis:NomCl relr
CtvP$_i$
"He walks more quickly than she runs"

6.2.6.2.2. Comparative Phrase Type ii:[19] -pee?.[20]

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in 6.2.6.2., above.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) amevíidó - pee? na-ke?ǰó
wild-boars like they-become
Axis:NP$_2$ relr
CtvP$_{ii}$
"They become like wild boars"

ii) iteevi?é - pee? gi-ke?ǰo
aguaje-tree like he-become
Axis:NP$_2$ relr
CtvP$_{ii}$
"He becomes like an aguaje tree"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) do?mitaá-pee? da?mitú
she-eat like he-eat
Axis:NomCl relr
CtvP$_{ii}$
"He eats like she eats"

---

[19] This type of Comparative Phrase is to be distinguished from the comparative clause (not a separate type) occurring when the Predicate is filled by hiivá? (a predicative adjective).
e.g. kedávíí? aatyádá?aamí hiivá?-mí tsú
red tree-leaves like rec past he
"He was like the red leaves of the aatyádá tree" (cf. Lexicon)

[20] -?é? has also been observed, with apparently the same meaning as -pee?.
e.g. hámáaka-?é?
hammock like "like a hammock"
However, this is of very rare occurrence.

ii) kapáadó vitsónaá-pee? phadá?pú
choro cry-out like you-sing
Axis:NomCl relr
CtvP ii
"You sing like the choro monkey calls"

6.2.6.3. Distribution.

The Comparative Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Comparative slot.

e.g. no-jíigí - ve?nfi dodo?phaavú
my-husband more-than he-work
Axis:NP2 relr
Ctv:CtvP
"He works more than my husband"

6.2.7. Conditional Phrase.

6.2.7.1. Contrast.

The Conditional Phrase (CondP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP_2 or by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized.

ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -tshí, "conditional marker".

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.7.2. Variation.

CondP = +Axis:NP_2/NomCl +relr: -tshí "conditional marker"

With NP filler of Axis slot:

This is attested far less frequently than NomCl fillers of the axis slot in Conditional Phrases. The following ex-

ample has been noted:

xuukhoótsi - tshí - vá nií nodo?phaavú
Sunday if fut not they-work
Axis: NP2 relr
CondP

"If it is Sunday they won't work"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) anepuu? aá?pe ee?phi khá - tshí - vá, kašoo? va?mitú
much father fish do if fut well we-eat
Axis:NomCl relr
CondP

"If my father catches a lot of fish, we shall eat well"

ii) nií fa?va-tshí - vá no?pí
not rain if fut I-go
Axis:NomCl relr
CondP

"If it does not rain, I will go"

It will be recognized that the above are examples of "simple" conditionals. Contrary-to-fact conditionals also occur, though these do not form a separate type of conditional phrase, as the differences are to be found at clause level -- though they are for convenience listed hereunder, with examples.

i) "Simple" Conditional Phrases may be and frequently are followed by the clitic -vá, "future".

ii) Contrary-to-fact conditionals, however, have to be followed by the clitic {-ma?} "unrealized"[21], which becomes -ma before the following clitic. -ma in turn may be followed by one of the clitics -mí "recent past" or -?pe

[21] cf. 6.2.5.2.2., above, where it is generally glossed as "without". (Type ii Concomitant Phrase)

"remote past". The clitic -vá "future" may not occur here (a logical, rather than a purely linguistic, restriction).

Examples of contrary-to-fact conditionals:-

i) With NP filler of Axis slot:

xuukhoótsi-tshí - ma - mí nií nodo?phaavú
Sunday if unreal-rec not they-work
ized past
Axis:NP relr
CondP

"If it had been Sunday, they would not have worked"

ii) With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

amepuu? aá?pe ee?phi kha-tshí - ma - mí kašoo? va?mitú
much father fish do if unreal-rec well we-eat
ized past
Axis:NomCl relr
CondP

"If my father had caught a lot of fish, we would have eaten well"

6.2.7.3. Distribution.

The Conditional Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Conditional slot.

e.g. aáne tso?vómu kávo? - tshí - vá va?mitú
mother fariña toast if fut we-eat
Axis:NomCl relr
Cond:CondP

"If mother toasts the fariña (grated manioc), we will eat"

6.2.8. Adjunct Phrase.

6.2.8.1. Contrast.

The Adjunct Phrase (AP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a back-looped clause

which has been nominalized.

ii) The verb in the Predicate slot in the nominalized clause typically bears the inchoative suffix (cf. 3.1.2.3.2., above).

iii) The relator tagmeme slot is typically filled by -tsí, "Adjunct Phrase marker".[22]

iv) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.8.2. Variation.

AP = +Axis:NomClR +relr: -tsí "Adjunct Phrase marker"

The restriction on the nominalized clause is that the verb manifesting its Predicate obligatorily bears the inchoative marker when the relator is omitted, and typically bears it when the relator is present.

The relator or the inchoative is on occasion omitted, but at least one of these must occur, and in the vast majority of cases, both do.

e.g. i) papókaá - tsí foo pi - khú
waking-up adct fire you-make
Axis: NomCl relr
AP
"Waking up, make a fire!"[23]

ii) do-tsatá?-kaá[p4] - Ø do?pí
she-carry-incho she-go
Axis: NomCl relr
AP
"Beginning to carry (it), she went"

[22] Lack of aspiration here distinguishes this relator from the Conditional marker, 6.2.7.1., above.

[23] This gloss is parallel to some that may be obtained for Resígaro clauses containing a Concomitant Phrase whose axis

iii) no?mitákaá - tsí no?pí
I-eat-incho adct I-go "Eating, I go"
Axis:NomCl relr OR "After eating, I go"
AP

A more specific way of expressing the temporal relation implied in the second gloss, above, is to be found in the Directional Phrase construction, in 6.2.9.2.1., below.

iv) no?mitákaá - Ø no-tsá?
I-eat-incho | I-come "Eating, I come"
Axis:NomCl relr OR "After eating, I come"
AP OR "I come from eating"

No difference is found between the use of this construction with the verb tsá?(nu) in the Predicate slot of the matrix clause and the use of the verbal suffix -kí (cf. 3.1.2.4.2.).

6.2.8.3. Distribution.

The Adjunct Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Adjunct slot.

e.g. phaa? - mí oo hamo? gi-khaá-tsí gi-khú
inter- rec int heat he-do adct he-eat
sent past
Axis:NomCl relr
A:AP

---

slot is filled by a NomCl and with -neé as relator. However, the Resígaro structure is clearly distinct, as indicated throughout this section and in section 6.2.5.2.1., above.

[24]Since nominalization reduplicates the final vowel of the verbm but the addition of a suffix with a reduplicated vowel (Inchoative) causes deletion of a geminate vowel in one of the two syllables involved (generally the first), the nominalized and non-nominalized forms become homophonous. However, unambiguous forms occur when the Inchoative is omitted, and this permits interpretation of homophonous forms.

"Then heating (it), he ate (it)"

On inter-sentential relator phaa? (here glossed "then"), cf. 7.2.1.2.6.1., below.

The Adjunct Phrase is also distributed recursively in the axis slot of the Directional Phrase. For further details, cf. 6.2.9.2.1., below.

6.2.9. Directional Phrase.

6.2.9.1. Contrast.

The Directional Phrase (DP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP_2, by a recursive Adjunct Phrase in which the axis slot is filled by a nominalized clause, by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized, or by an interrogative.

ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -khɔ́ "from", -kɔ́o "to" or -gikhɛ́ "out of".

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.9.2. Variation.

Three types[25] of Directional Phrase are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

DP_i = +Axis:NP_2/AP/NomCl/ig +relr: -khɔ́ "from"[26]

[25] cf. footnote 13 to section 6.2.5.2., above on justification for establishment of types.

[26] These phrase-level directional relators must be distinguished

DP_{ii} = +Axis:NP_2/ig +relr: -kǒo "to"

DP_{iii} = +Axis:NP_2/ig +relr: -gikhé "out of"

6.2.9.2.1. Directional Phrase Type i: -khó.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé ǰijáagí ǰaána - khó - mí do?pí
that big child from rec she-go past
Axis: NP_2 relr
DP_i
"She went from that big child"

ii) ǰakáde - khó no-tsá?
field from I-come
Axis: NP_2 relr
DP_i
"I come from the field"

With AP filler of Axis slot:

i) no?mitaá - tsí - mi - khó ǎopítǘ
I-eat adct rec from I-go-to-bed
past
Axis:NomCl relr
Axis: AP relr
DP_i
"After eating, I go to bed"[27]

ii) mitshá gižaá - tsí - mi - khó da?pitǘ
get-up he-be adct rec from he-bathe
past
Axis:NomCl relr
Axis:AP relr
DP_i
"After getting up, he has a bath"

from the word-level directional verbal suffixes (Order 3), -keé "to go to" and -kí "to come from". cf. 3.1.2.4.,above.

[27] When an AP or a NomCl fills the axis slot in DP type i, the resultant form carries a temporal, rather than a directional, meaning. However, the same cover term is retained, for structural reasons.

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

e.g. gi-pedo?-naá[28]- khó ñeke? tsű
he-lick rest, from get-better he
Axis:NomCl relr
DP$_i$
"From (after) licking (it), he got better"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

e.g. henéé - khó gi-tsá?
where from he-come
Axis: ig relr
DP$_i$
"Where does he come from?"

6.2.9.2.2. Directional Phrase Type ii: -kóo.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in 6.2.9.2., above.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé ǰiǰáagí ǰaána-kóo - mí do?pí
that big child to rec she-go past
Axis: NP$_2$ relr
DP$_{ii}$
"She went to that big child"

ii) ǰakáde - kóo no-tsá?
field to I - come
Axis: NP$_2$ relr
DP$_{ii}$
"I come to the field"

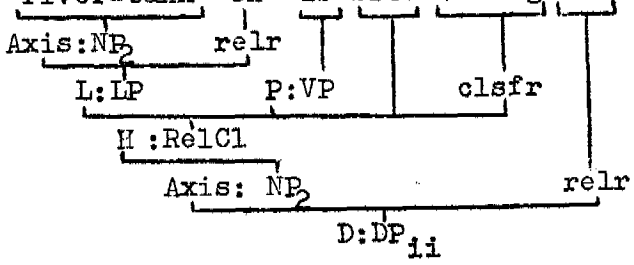
The lack of a nominalized clause filler of the axis slot for type ii Directional Phrases may be attributable to the availability of the complex Verb Piece (sub-type i) construction to convey relations of the type exemplified by "I go to eat" (cf. 5.1.2.2.1.), and the availability of the

[28] -naá < -ná "restrictive" (cf. 3.2.2.2.4.) The occurrence of this nominal suffix here confirms that the embedded clause is considered as truly nominalized.

Purposive Phrase for "I go in order to eat" (cf. 6.2.2.), or -- more fundamentally -- it may be because -kǒo (unlike -khǒ) is not used in a temporal sense.

A relativized clause may occur in the NP in the axis slot of the DP.

e.g. gi?pí teé?í?aavǐ - ná ǰo - vǐ - koomi - kǒo
he-go river-bank on is-Srel village-to



"He goes to the village which is on the river bank"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

e.g. heáé́ - kǒo - mí ǰaáná tsonápí
where to rec child she-take
past

Axis: ig relr

DP ii

"Where did she take the child to?"

6.2.9.2.3. Directional Phrase Type iii: -gikhé.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in 6.2.9.2., above.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) teé?í - gikhé fitsǒ? nožǘ
river out of withdraw I-be

Axis:NP2 relr

DP iii

"I come out of the river"

ii) ha?á váfoonǘ - gikhé ha?á matshívaa?náhaahí maméai i-khǘ
your inside out of your sins abandon you-do

Axis: NP2 relr

DP iii

"Out of your hearts abandon your sins!"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

e.g. hé?ee - gikhé - mí oovú ha?vanú
where(near) out of rec howler fall
past monkey
Axis: ig relr
DP iii
"Where did the howler monkey fall out of?"

6.2.9.3. Distribution.

The Directional Phrase is distributed in the Clause and in the Numeral Phrase. Sub-classes of DP are set up on the basis of this distribution.

6.2.9.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of three DP's:

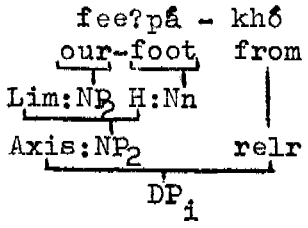
sí[29] - ?osí - khó
other hand from
E:NnSt Sx 1:clsfr
H:Nn
Axis:NP2 relr
DP i
"from the other hand"

sí - tu?á - khó
other- foot from
Axis: NP2 relr
DP i
"from the other foot"

[29] sí- is clearly a noun stem in Resígaro, even though the English gloss "other" is not. It also occurs elsewhere, with the appropriate classifier in each case.

e.g. sí - koomí
other village "the other village"
B:NnSt Sx 1:clsfr

sí - pekó
other-day "the other day" (i.e., "the day after tomorrow")
B:NnSt Sx 1:clsfr



"from our foot"

These are distributed in Numeral Phrase type ii, sub-types ii and iii(cf. 6.1.3.2.2., above).

6.2.9.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of all other Directional Phrases, which are distributed in the Clause, where they fill the Directional slot. Two sub-groups are established on the basis of this distribution.

6.2.9.3.2.1. Sub-class 2.1.

This consists of all sub-class 2 Directional Phrases with an NP or an interrogative in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class group are distributed in Directional tagmeme type i (which only occurs when the Predicate slot in the clause is filled by a verb of motion).

e.g. teě?ɨ - kǒo do-tsǎ?
river to she come
Axis: NP2 relr
Di:DP2.1

"She comes to the river"

6.2.9.3.2.2. Sub-class 2.2.

This consists of all sub-class 2 Directional Phrases with a NomCl or AP in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class group are distributed in Directional tagmeme type ii (which has no co-occurrence restriction such as that in the case of type i).

e.g. gi?daá - khó kamá - kaá tsú
he-drink from drunk incho he

Axis:NomCl relr

D_{ii}:$DP_{2.2}$

"From drinking, he got drunk"

6.2.10. Locative Phrase.

6.2.10.1. Contrast.

The Locative Phrase (LP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) It may consist of an Axis-Relator phrase, or of a locative word or an interrogative, alone. When consisting of the former, it has the following additional features:

ii) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP_2 or by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized.

iii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by one of the following clitics:-

i) -hií(±pó) "on, above"
ii) -náapí "under"
iii) -a?nú "beside"
iv) -ípe "in front of"[30]
v) -gí "in"
vi) -nú "in"[31]
vii) -gikó "inside"

iv) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

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[30] -hivó? also occurs on a few occasions, with the meaning "in front of". (cf. Verb Group ii.i -- 4.1.2.2.1.

[31] For the difference between this and the preceding relator, see examples below. It may be that -gí is basically used in clauses indicating motion, whereas -nú is basically used in clauses indicating states. -nú may thus be better rendered as "at".

6.2.10.2. Variation.

Two types of LP are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

LP_i = +H:loc word/interrogative

LP_{ii} = +Axis: $\propto$ NP/NomCl +relr: $\propto$ {One of the set of Locative relators}

$\propto$ reads: the choice of NP or NomCl is dependent on the choice of locative relator. cf. 6.2.10.2.2., below.

6.2.10.2.1. Locative Phrase Type i.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph.

i) Locative filler.

e.g. ve?e gi-tsá?
here he-come "He comes here"
H: loc
LP_i

neeí tsú
there he "He (is) there"
H:loc
LP_i

ii) Interrogative filler.

e.g. heêé tsú
where he "Where (is) he?"
H: ig
LP_i

6.2.10.2.2. Locative Phrase Type ii.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in 6.2.10.2., above. Cases of nominalized clauses filling the axis slot have only been observed to co-occur

with the relator -gikǫ́. (cf. section (vii), below.) Thus, all other relators are illustrated only with NP fillers of the axis slot.

Following the convention established in 6.2.5.2., above, seven sub-types of LP_{ii} are set up, each sub-type corresponding to a different filler of the relator slot. It is considered unnecessary to give two examples in every case, if the meaning and form is sufficiently clear with one.

i) Sub-type i: -hí(±pǫ́), "on, above".

i) gi?ithé ǰíǰáahú pagiʁoǫ́tsihá - hí tsǫ́
that big blanket on she
Axis:NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.i}$
"She (is) on that big blanket"

ii) kǫ́?píidá paníítsí - hí(pǫ́)
bird house above
Axis:NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.i}$
"The bird (is) above the house"

ii) Sub-type ii: -náapí, "under".

pagiʁoǫ́tsihá-náapí tsǫ́
blanket under she
Axis: NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.ii}$
"She (is) under the blanket"

iii) Sub-type iii: -a?nú, "beside".[32]

[32] There are two other forms which are occasionally glossed as "behind". However, structural analysis indicates that these are in fact examples of sub-types v and vi of Loc-

panítsí - a?ná tsó
house beside she "She (is) beside the house"
Axis:NP$_2$ relr
LP$_{ii.iii}$

iv) Sub-type iv: -ípe, "in front of".[33]

panítsi - ípe tsó
house in_front_of she "She (is) in front of the house"
Axis:NP$_2$ relr
LP$_{ii.iv}$

v) Sub-type v: -gí,[34] "in".

tsa-mí tébahú - gí kanámú
he rec past jungle in get-lost "He got lost in the jungle"
Axis:NP$_2$ relr
LP$_{ii.v}$

"Beside"

As indicated in sub-type iii, above, this relator may follow a noun bearing the classifier -?aaví, "side, edge", when the resultant meaning is "beside".

e.g. teé?í-?aaví - gí mó?vu
river-side in I-walk "I walk beside the river"
Axis: NP$_2$ relr
LP$_{ii.v}$ OR: "I walk on the riverside"

"Temporal" use

-gí may combine with an NP$_1$ consisting of temporal nouns, with a temporal meaning.

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ative Phrase type ii, and relevant examples are to be found in the appropriate sections.

[33]There is no separate relator for "behind". This is indicated in a structure using -nú. cf. sub-type vi, below.

[34]This relator is homophonous with the Instrument marker -- cf. 6.2.4., above.

e.g. aámé - ?pe kainée jú apáapí kámiiká - gí
my-mother rem dead be other year(dl) in
past
Axis: NP_1 relr
$LP_{ii.v}$

"My mother died in the other year" (i.e., "last year")

vi) Sub-type vi: -nú, "in, at".

This relator has a more widespread meaning and use than the preceding relator, as the following examples make clear.

pó?kónoomá - ná tsó
doorway in she "She (is) in the doorway"
Axis: NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.vi}$

As indicated in (iii) and (iv), above, this relator may indicate other locative relations, when co-occurring with certain items in the NP in the axis slot.[35]

"Beside"

e.g. teé?í-?aaví - ná té - koomí
river-side in that-village
Axis: NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.vi}$
"Beside the river (on the river-bank) (is) that village"

In this case there is no obvious difference between the use of -nú and the use of -gí, illustrated in the previous sub-type.

"Behind"

e.g. panítsí-vámi-ná tsó
house back in she
Axis: NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.vi}$
"She (is) behind (in back of) the house"

[35] It is not -nú that means "beside" or "behind", but the combination of -nú with other elements that gives these meanings.

As well as its use in obviously locative phrases (as in the above examples), this locative marker is also used in phrases which are not glossed as locatives in Spanish or English, though they refer to situations which are conceptualized as containing a locative relation in Resígaro.

e.g. vakhájakáatsí gi - ná
sickness him in
Axis:NP$_2$ relr
LP$_{ii.vi}$

"(There is) sickness in him" (i.e., "He is sick")

tapoógí Hoaa - ná
sleepiness Juan in
Axis: NP$_2$ relr
LP$_{ii.vi}$

"John is sleepy"

vii) Sub-type vii: -gikó, "inside".[36]

Though "in" is occasionally the best English gloss, the difference between this relator and the preceding two, and the appropriateness of the gloss "inside", is clearly seen in the examples which follow. With this relator, both the NP and the Nominalized Clause may occur in the axis slot of the Locative Phrase.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) teé?í - gikó tsó
river in she
Axis:NP$_2$ relr
LP$_{ii.vii}$

"She (is) in the river" (i.e., in the water, not on it)

[36] It may be that -gikó is derived from -gí, though *-kó is not attested elsewhere.

ii) panítsí-gikó tsó
house inside she "She (is) inside the house"
Axis: NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.vii}$

iii) kiítá-gikó tsó
canoe in she "She (is) in the canoe"
Axis: NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.vii}$

iv) hamáaká-gikó tsó
hammock in she "She (is) in the hammock"
Axis: NP_2 relr
$LP_{ii.vii}$

In all the above cases, -gikó is clearly a Locative relator. The following example raises the question whether it also occurs (or a homophonous relator occurs) in a Directional phrase.

e.g. teé?í - gikó nóka?phaavú
river in I-enter "I enter (go into) the water"
Axis: NP_2 relr
LP or DP ?

However, this appears to be no more than a consequence of the English gloss "I go into the water", overcome in the alternative gloss, "I enter the water". This is closer to the informant's Spanish gloss, "Entro en el agua". In both cases (and in the Resígaro) the phrase indicates the location in which the speaker entered. The different English gloss in this case is merely a consequence of the presence of a motion verb in the Predicate of the clause in which this LP occurs.

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

e.g. Isabeel-mí Maanoel tshêní maa?má da?mitáa-gikó
Isabel rec Manuel see cassava he-eat in
past
Axis:NomCl relr
LP ii.vii

"Isabel saw Manuel when he ate (the whole time he was eating) cassava"

This construction is used to refer to two co-extensive, as opposed to concurrent, events. This latter is conveyed (as was indicated in 6.2.1.2., above) by the Dative Object Phrase:

Isabeel-mí Maanoel tshêní maa?má da?mitáa-ké
Isabel rec Manuel see cassava he-eat dat
past
Axis: NomCl relr
DOP

"Isabel saw Manuel while he was eating cassava"

The difference between the two is that in the first case (co-extensive -- LP), Isabel saw the whole process from the beginning, whereas in the second, the DOP fills a function similar to the Imperfect tense of verbs in several languages of Latin origin -- setting the scene, against which an action occurs -- i.e., in the latter case, Isabel did not necessarily see the whole process. (cf. other examples in 6.2.1.2., above.

At this point it is also appropriate to indicate the difference between the above two constructions and the nominalized clause functioning as Object:

Isabeel-mí Maanoel tshéní maa?má da?mitáa
Isabel rec Manuel see cassava he-eat
past
S:NP_2 DummyO:NP_2 P:VP Extrap O:NomCl

"Isabel saw Manuel eat cassava"

Here, no temporal relation is specified at all. (For extraposition, cf. 7.2.1.2.3., below.)

6.2.10.3. Distribution.

The Locative Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it may fill the Predicate slot in non-transitive clauses, or the Locative slot in other clause types. Since all LP's (of both structural types) may occur in either clause-level tagmeme (subject to possible semantic restrictions), distribution sub-classes are not established.

In Locative slot.

e.g. Peedró ímú haméaká-gikó
Peter sleep hammock in
Axis:NP_2 relr
L:LP

"Peter sleeps in the hammock"

In Predicate slot.

e.g. Peedró haméaká - gikó
Peter hammock in
Axis:NP_2 relr
P:LP

"Peter (is) in the hammock"

Chapter 7

CLAUSE LEVEL

The Clause is set up as a level of construction above the Phrase and below the Sentence. All clauses consist of a Predicate, plus or minus certain other clause-level tagmemes, such as Subject, Object, Causative Object, etc., according to clause type.

Clauses are divided into classes on the basis of their distributional possibilities in sentence types and other structures. In Resígaro the Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative classes are distributed principally in the sentence, and the Nominalized and Relativized Clause classes are distributed recursively in the Declarative Clause and other lower-level structures.

Types are set up within each class on the basis of internal structure. These types correspond to varying degrees of transitivity, from non-transitive through to tri-transitive.

In the description which follows, the constituents of the Clause are described first, and the structure of each type of each Clause class is described next -- i.e.,

clause-level tagmemes are described one by one, and then the clauses in which these tagmemes function are described. This is followed by a description of the distribution of the Declarative clause.

After the description of the Declarative clause, Interrogative and Imperative clauses are derived by multiplication, and this section is followed by two which deal with dependent clauses: nominalization and relativization.

7.1. Clause-level Tagmemes.

In view of the varied structure and widespread distribution of clause-level tagmemes, it is advantageous to describe them consecutively before going on to the description of the clauses themselves, instead of describing them one at a time as they crop up in different clause types, which at the same time would have the disadvantage of overburdening the description of clause structure with detail not immediately relevant and liable to distract attention from this structure.

Clause-level tagmemes are either nuclear or peripheral. Nuclear tagmemes are diagnostic of clause types, while peripheral tagmemes are not.

For instance, if an Object tagmeme occurs in a clause, that clause must be at least transitive. If a Dative Ob-

ject occurs, it must be at least ditransitive. Likewise, if a clause cannot have an Object, it is intransitive (or non-transitive). Thus, the presence (or obligatory absence) of these tagmemes indicates (along with other tagmemes) the type of clause in question.

Non-diagnostic tagmemes, on the other hand, may occur in most -- and in some cases in all -- clause types, without affecting in any way the identification of the clause. Examples are the tagmemes that indicate the spatio-temporal context of an event or state described by a clause.

Non-diagnostic tagmemes are, by their very nature, optional.[1] Diagnostic tagmemes, however, are not always obligatory -- so long as they are understood in the context. A key example is the Object tagmeme, which is frequently omitted. But the very possibility of occurrence of a nuclear tagmeme in one construction, as opposed to its obligatory absence in another, is diagnostic.

A problem was encountered with the Dative or Dative Object tagmeme, which cannot occur in non-transitive and intransitive clauses when the DOP manifesting it contains an NP in the axis slot, but can occur in these clauses

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[1] Unless one analyses at levels beyond the sentence, when certain tagmemes here viewed as optional in certain contexts may be seen to be obligatory because of the broader context. However, in the present description, analysis does not go beyond the sentence.

(without in consequenoe making them transitive) when the DOP contains a Nominalized Clause in its axis slot.

This could have led to the separation of NomCl + relator from NP + relator, and to the establishing of a separate Axis-Relator clause (or a set of such clauses), parallel to the Axis-Relator phrases. But this alternative was rejected for the reasons given in chapter 6, and the retention of one DOP followed from this.

The problem concerning distribution has been overcome by the establishment of two sub-classes of DOP, the first of which (with an NP or an interrogative filler of the axis slot) is distributed in Dative Object tagmeme (DO), which is diagnostic, and the second of which (with a NomCl filler of the axis slot) is distributed in Dative tagmeme (Dat), which is non-diagnostic (and in consequence has a wider distribution).[2]

This solution also allows handling of the co-occurrence restriction on the filler of the Predicate slot in the case of Dative Object, and the same type of co-occurrence restriction is handled in identical fashion with the Purposive.

Contrast of clause-level tagmemes is dependent both

[2]This solution parallels the establishment of types of Predicate tagmeme.

on the possible fillers of the slot of each one, and the occurrence possibilities of each tagmeme, and is therefore not described separately, sufficient evidence being clear both in the description of phrases, above, and in the subsequent description of clause structure.

All nuclear tagmemes are identified by their constituents (this separates the majority of Predicates from all other nuclear tagmemes) and/or by their position in the clause (this separates all other nuclear tagmemes), having no marker (with the exception of the Dative Object tagmeme, which is filled by DOP_1, with the marker -kə). Thus, the order of these tagmemes is quite rigid, as is indicated in Clause Structure (7.2.), below.

All peripheral tagmemes are identified by a phrase-lever marker, and their positions are variable, subject to limitations indicated below. (The marker is occasionally omitted with Adjunct, as described in 6.2.8.2., above. However, identity is clearly established on the basis of constituents.)

Variation in clause-level tagmemes is indicated in the sections describing each tagmeme, which follow.

Distribution is summarized in matrices 7.1. (nuclear) and 7.2. (peripheral). These indicate the clause types in

which each tagmeme may occur. The actual position of the tagmeme within any given clause type (and any possible permutations of this) is indicated in the description of the clause in question.

7.1.1. Nuclear Tagmemes.

7.1.1.1. Predicate (P).

There are five types of Predicate tagmeme (three of which correspond to sub-classes of VP, plus Predicative Adjectives, etc., and a boosted VP). These result in five clause types.[3]

7.1.1.1.1. Type i Predicate: Non-transitive.

This is the only non-verbal Predicate. It may consist of an adjective, an NP_2, an A-R phrase, or an interrogative.

7.1.1.1.1.1. Sub-type i: Adjectival.

This is the principal filler of the type i Predicate slot. Adjectives of types ii and iii (i.e., distributional sub-class 2) may occur (level-skipping, since there is no Adjectival Phrase).

e.g. i) aaiii? nó
well I "I (am) well"
P_i: $Aj_{2(\text{type ii})}$

ii) aaí nó
better I "I (get) better"
P_i: $Aj_{2(\text{type iii})}$

[3] This is a case of the structural type corresponding almost exactly to the distributional sub-class in terms of the next level. If this were always the case, there would be no need to distinguish type and sub-class.

(When type iii adjectives occur, these may be followed by the inchoative suffix, as indicated in 3.4.2.3., above.

e.g. aní - kaá nó
incho "I am beginning to get better")

7.1.1.1.1.2. Sub-type ii: Nominal.

The NP_2 occurring here is of very limited expansion, generally consisting of a Head only, possibly prefixed by an assimilated pronoun indicating possession. The structure has an essive (or identificational) meaning.

e.g. i) inádoné fú
women we "We (are) women"
P_i: NP_2

ii) nó - na oo tsonígí
I rest int her-father "I (am) her father"
P_i: NP_2

In this second example, nó (which occurs in an NP functioning as Subject) bears the nominal restrictive suffix, while tsonígí co-occurs with the intensifier normally attested in the VP.

7.1.1.1.1.3. Sub-type iii: Axis-Relator.

Three different Axis-Relator Phrases have so far been attested in the Predicate slot: Concomitant, Locative, and Purposive.

(i) Concomitant.

Of the three Concomitant relators, two have so far been attested in this construction:-

i) -neé

e.g. i) do - neé tsú
her with he "He (is) with her"
P_i: CP_i

ii) kée - nő tsű
whom with he
P_i: CP_i "Whom (is) he with?"

ii) -kápo?

e.g. gi-kápo? tsű
he alone he
P_i: CP_{iii} "He (is) alone"

(ii) Locative.

Both types i and ii of the LP may occur in this construction.

i) LP_i.

e.g. i) ve?e tsű
here he
P_i:LP_i "He (is) here"

ii) heséé tsű
where he
P_i:LP_i "Where (is) he?"

ii) LP_{ii}.

Various locative markers have been observed in this construction.

e.g. i) ǰakádé-gikó nő[4]
field in I
P_i: $LP_{ii.vii}$ "I (am) in the field"

ii) kő?pídá paniítsí - hií
bird house above
P_i:$LP_{ii.i}$ "The bird (is) above the house"

iii) epíǰé pő?kőnoomá - nű
she doorway in
P_i: $LP_{ii.vi}$ "She (is) in the doorway"

---

[4]This relation may also be expressed by an intransitive clause, as in ǰakádé-gikó no-žű
field in I - be "I am in the field"
L:LP S:NP-P:VP

(iii) Purposive.

When the Purposive Phrase occurs as Predicate, the resulting construction indicates possession.[5]

e.g. i) ǰiǰaami hiitá gi - hó
big canoe him ppsv "He (has) a big canoe"
P_i: PP

ii) Hoaa - ʁó va?agaǰá?[6]
Juan ppsv knife "John (has) a knife"
P_i: PP

7.1.1.1.1.4. Sub-type iv: Interrogative.

This consists of an interrogative only.

e.g. kéhee phú
who you "Who (are) you?"
P_i: ig

7.1.1.1.2. Type ii Predicate: Intransitive.

This tagmeme consists of a sub-class 1 ("intransitive") VP.

e.g. Peedró ímú
Pedro sleep "Peter sleeps"
P_{ii}:VP_1

---

[5]The structure is quite different from that which indicates possession within the NP, as described in 6.1.2.2.1.2., above. Note the following grammatical "minimal pair":
Clausal possession: hapíitá no - hó
pig me ppsv "I have a pig"
S: NP_2 P_i: PP
Phrasal possession: ʁó hapíitsú
my pig "my pig"
Lim: NP_2 H:Nn
NP_2
This NP may of course occur without modification as Subject of a clause. e.g. ʁó hapíitsá no - hó
my pig me ppsv "I have my pig"
S:NP_2 P_i:PP
(Assimilation of the pronoun in the Limiter slot to the

gi?ɨ́ kašoo? é?ǰo
this-one well run
$P_{ii}:VP_1$

"This one runs well"

7.1.1.1.3. Type iii Predicate: Transitive.

This tagmeme consists of a sub-class 2 ("transitive") VP, or a sub-class 1 VP boosted one degree on the transitivity scale by addition of the causative marker.[7]

7.1.1.1.3.1. Sub-type i: with VP_2.

e.g. tsó maa?má a?mitʉ́
she cassava eats
$P_{iii.i}:VP_2$

"She eats cassava"

7.1.1.1.3.2. Sub-type ii: with VP_1 + causative.

e.g. tsá tsó ɨ́motʉ́
he she sleep-cstv
$P_{iii.ii}:VP_1$ + cstv

"He makes her sleep"

7.1.1.1.4. Type iv Predicate: Ditransitive.

This tagmeme consists of a sub-class 3 ("ditransitive") VP, or a sub-class 2 VP boosted one degree on the transitivity scale by addition of the causative marker.

7.1.1.1.4.1. Sub-type i: with VP_3.

e.g. tsá do - kɛ́ pišaanɨ́ aa?nɨ
he her dat meat give
$P_{iv.i}:VP_3$

"He gives the meat to her"

---

noun in the Head slot could reduce this to ɑopɨitsá nohó.

[6]This relation may also be expressed by an intransitive clause, as in

Hoaa-ɑó va?agaǰá? ǰʉ́
Juan-ppsv knife be
Ppsv:PP S:NP P:VP

"John has a knife"

[7]cf. Longacre, 1965b on "boosting".

7.1.1.1.4.2. Sub-type ii: with VP_2 + causative.

e.g. Isabeel Maanoel maa?mǻ a?mitotǘ
Isabel Manuel cassava eat-cstv
$P_{iv.ii}$: VP_2 + cstv

"Isabel makes Manuel eat cassava"

7.1.1.1.5. Type v Predicate: Tritransitive.

This tagmeme (which is of infrequent occurrence) consists of a sub-class 3 VP boosted one degree on the transitivity scale by addition of the causative marker. Only aa?nǐ, "to give", has as yet been attested in this construction.

e.g. tsǻ Isabeel pišaanǐ no-kǾ o?tǘ
he Isabel meat me-dat give-cstv
P_v: VP_3 + cstv

"He makes Isabel give the meat to me"

7.1.1.2. Subject (S)

This tagmeme consists of an NP_2, a nominalized clause, or an interrogative (for examples of the latter, cf. 7.2.2.-1.2.2., below, especially Group 1).

e.g. gi?ithǾ ǰijáagǐ ǰaánǻ ímǘ
that big child sleep "That big child sleeps"
S:NP_2

gi-va?aadégaǰǻ? tsǒǒ?ve gi-khaǻ mǒ ífotǘ
his-knife sharpen he-do-(nom) me feat-cause
S:NomCl

"That he sharpens his knife frightens me"

7.1.1.3. Object (O)

This tagmeme consists of an NP_2, a nominalized clause, or

an interrogative (for latter, cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., below, especially Group 1). It is distinguished from S tagmeme by its position in the clause, as indicated in 7.1., above, and in accordance with the details given in 7.2.1.2., below.

e.g. gi?ithé̂ ǰiǰáagí ǰaáná̂ gi?mótshó
that big child he-hits
O:NP_2
"He hits <u>that</u> <u>big</u> <u>child</u>"

gi-va?aadégaǰá̂? tsóó?ve gi-khaá do-tshéní[8]
his-knife sharpen he-do-(nom) she-see
O:NomCl
"She sees him <u>sharpen</u> <u>his</u> <u>knife</u>"

<u>7.1.1.4. Causative Object (CO)</u>

This tagmeme has only been observed to consist of an NP_2 or an interrogative (cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., Group 1). The NP is of limited expansion. This tagmeme is identified by its position in the clause, and by its co-occurrence with a Predicate in which the verb in the VP bears the causative suffix.

e.g. tsa - mí tsó i?píaotá
he rec she go-cstv
past CO:NP_2
"He made <u>her</u> go"

It may be suggested, on the basis of the above and similar examples, that there is no valid structural reason

[8] Long Objects such as this are generally placed (by extraposition) at the end of the clause, with a dummy Object preceding the Predicate. For details, cf. 7.2.1.2.3.1.1. and 7.2.1.2.3.1.2., below.

for distinguishing Object and Causative Object, especially in clauses where the former does not (or cannot) occur. However, this distinction is maintained for the following reasons:

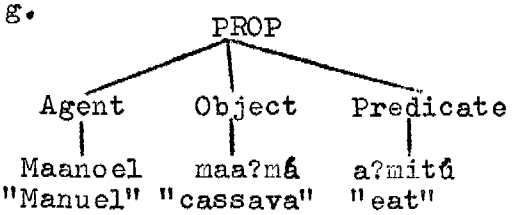
i) It is necessary to distinguish these two in Ditransitive clauses, where they co-occur, and thus it is desirable to retain the distinction elsewhere.

ii) As indicated above, the Causative Object co-occurs with a different type of filler of the VP in the Predicate slot.

iii) The Causative Object is not an Object in the same sense as the ("Direct" or "Simple") Object, as a study of the Deep Structure would reveal[9]: the ("Direct") Object

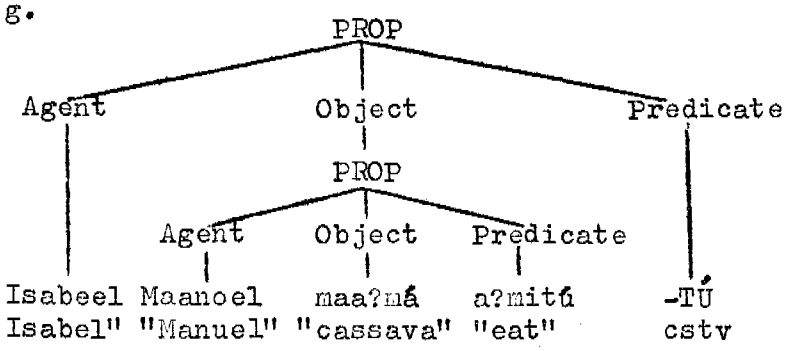
---

[9] In terms of generative semantics (as in, for instance, Franz, 1971), the ("Direct") Object may occur as an argument in a simple proposition with a single predicate.
e.g.



"Manuel eats cassava"

The postulated Causative Object, on the other hand, occurs in a semantically complex sentence consisting of two propositions, one governing the other.
e.g.



Isabeel Maanoel maa?má a?mitotú "Isabel causes Manuel to

is simply the object of the action described by the verb, whereas the Causative Object is the object of the causing, but the subject of the action described by the verb-minus-causative. Thus, the filler of the CO slot must be potentially an agent. For this reason, I have maintained the distinction between Object and Causative Object at all times, and have adopted the term Causative Object, in common with some other tagmemicists.[10]

7.1.1.5. Quotative Object (QO)

This tagmeme consists minimally of a clause or a nominalized clause, and maximally of a sentence, or, potentially, a higher level unit such as a paragraph or a discourse (the analysis of which is beyond the scope of the present description). The clause is used for direct quotations, and the nominalized clause is used in reporting the substance of what someone has said, with appropriate changes of person, etc.

---

eat cassava"

Here, Maanoel is the Agent of the action referred to in the lower predicate, but also part of the proposition which is the Object of the higher (causative) predicate. In the Surface Structure of Resígaro, these Agent and Object aspects are united in one tagmeme, creating an entity clearly distinct from the purely complemental maa?má ("cassava").

[10] e.g. Longacre, 1965b. Another possible term would be Wise's "Indirect Subject" (1963:108, 1968:17). This highlights the tagmeme's semantic status as subject of the action caused by the ("Direct") Subject of the clause. Other possibilities would be "Object-as-Patient" vs. "Object-as-Agent", or "Object Complement" vs. "Agent Complement".

e.g. Maanoel-mí kemú, ee?phi khêne no?pí[11]
Manuel rec say fish do-to I-go,
past
QO: Cl

"Manuel said, 'I'm going fishing'."

Maanoel-mí kemú ee?phi khêne gi?pínaá
Manuel rec say fish do-to he-go-nom
past
QO: NomCl

"Manuel said he was going fishing"

7.1.1.6. Dative Object (DO)

This tagmeme consists of a DOP, sub-class 1, which has an NP filler of the axis slot, or of an interrogative (for examples of the latter, cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., Group 1, below).

e.g. gi?ithé ǰaána-ké maa?ná daa?ní
that child dat cassava she-give
DO: DOP_1 "She gives cassava to that child"

Dative Object (DO) is distinguished from Dative (Dat) by its filler, and by its different distribution. DO only occurs when the Predicate of the clause is filled by aa?ní, "to give", and is diagnostic. No such restriction applies to Dat, which is non-diagnostic.

Nuclear Tagmeme Distribution Matrix.

The following matrix indicates the possibility of occurrence of clause-level nuclear tagmemes in each of the clause types. It does not indicate co-occurrence possibilities

[11] On this construction, cf. 5.1.2.2.1. (Verb Piece type ii, sub-type i.

between these tagmemes. Details are given below, in the description of clause structure.

Clause Types \ Nuclear Tagmemes	P	S	O	CO	QO	DO
i Non-transitive	/	/	---	--	--	--
ii Intransitive	/	/	---	--	--	--
iii Transitive	/	/	/	/	/	--
iv Ditransitive	/	/	/	/	/	/
v Tritransitive	/	/	/	/	--	/

Matrix 7.1.: Nuclear Tagmeme Distribution.

7.1.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

In the majority of the following tagmemes, identity is dependent on the particular phrase-level tagmeme which alone may fill the clause-level slot in question, and if there were no exceptions to this, there would be no need to describe clause-level peripheral tagmemes separately, since the result might merely be repetition, and circularity. However, this separate section enables us to handle such cases as that of the clause-level Temporal tagmeme, which is filled by a sub-class 1 NP or an interrogative, without introducing this complication into the description of any particular clause type.

Even where no such complications exist, the presence of this section avoids constant repetition of information

for each tagmeme in each clause type.

Thus, it is preferable to follow the same procedure for all peripheral clause-level tagmemes, even where no inherently new information is conveyed (though here the clause level slot is in focus, and not its filler, as in chapter 6, above).

In the matrix which concludes this section, the distribution of all peripheral tagmemes is summarized.

7.1.2.1. Dative (Dat)

This tagmeme consists of a sub-class 2 DOP, which has a nominalized clause filler of the axis slot.

e.g. gímáa - ké dodo?phaavú
he-sleep-dat she-work
Dat:DOP$_2$ "While he sleeps, she works"[12]

7.1.2.2. Purposive (Ppsv)

This tagmeme consists of a PP or an interrogative. Three types of Purposive tagmeme are established on the basis of these fillers.

7.1.2.2.1. Type i Purposive.

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 1 PP (in which the axis slot is filled by an NP or an interrogative), and only occurs when the Predicate slot is filled by a VP con-

[12]This could also be glossed, in appropriate circumstances, "Although he sleeps, she works". cf. discussion in 6.2.1.2.

taining kemú "to say, to tell".

e.g. phaipíǰé - ʁó - ?pe gimú[13] gi-tapoógí
old woman ppsv rem he-tell his-dream
past
Ppsv$_i$:PP$_1$ "He told the old woman his dream"

7.1.2.2.2. Type ii Purposive.

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 2 PP (in which the axis slot is filled by a nominalized clause), and is not subject to the above occurrence restriction.

e.g. gi?veʁoó - ʁó gi?pí
he-field-burn ppsv he-go "He goes to burn a field"
Ppsv$_{ii}$:PP$_2$

7.1.2.2.3. Type iii Purposive.

This tagmeme type consists of the interrogative kope?hee, "why?".

e.g. kope?hee gímú
why he-sleep "Why does he sleep?"
Ppsv$_{iii}$: ig

(An interrogative may also occur in the axis slot of PP sub-class 1, which is distributed in type i Purposive tagmeme.)

7.1.2.3. Benefactive (Ben)

This tagmeme consists of a Benefactive Phrase.

e.g. i) va-ke?vígí-pokâ? hiítâ gi-khú
our-chief ben canoe he-make
Ben:BP "He makes a canoe for our chief"

[13] The first syllable of kemú is deleted when a pronoun is assimilated to the verb

ii) nǎginǎgi-mí do - žǎ - pa
angry rec she- be - prog
past

tsó vatshoótsí?oohá-mí haama na-khaá-pokǎ?
her pot rec steal they-do ben
past

Ben:BP

"She was angry because they had stolen her pot"

7.1.2.4. Instrument (I)

This tagmeme consists of an Instrument Phrase.

e.g. tsǎ do?móotshó avǎanaí - gí
him she-hits stick - with

I:IP

"She hits him with a stick"

7.1.2.5. Concomitant (Conc)

This tagmeme consists of a Concomitant Phrase. Two types of Concomitant tagmeme are established on the basis of internal and external differences.

7.1.2.5.1. Type i Concomitant

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 1 CP (i.e., a CP in which the relator is -ma? and the axis is filled by a nominalized clause). This only occurs when the Predicate slot is filled by a VP containing ífú, "to fear".

e.g. dóffú tsǎ dophotaǎ - ma?
she-fear him she-awaken relr

$Conc_i:CP_1$

"She is afraid to awaken him"

7.1.2.5.2. Type ii Concomitant

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 2 CP, and is not subject to the above restriction.

e.g. do - neé gi?pí
her with he-go "He goes with her"
Conc$_{ii}$: CP_2

7.1.2.6. Comparative (Ctv)

This tagmeme consists of a Comparative Phrase, or an interrogative (for examples of the latter, cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., Group 3, below).

e.g. do - ve?ǽí pitsínuu? phû
she-more_than pretty you
Ctv: CtvP "You are prettier than her"

7.1.2.7. Conditional (Cond)

This tagmeme consists of a Conditional Phrase.

e.g. nií fa?va-tshí - va vodo?phaavú
not rain if fut we-work
Cond: CondP "If it does not rain, we shall work"

7.1.2.8. Adjunct (A)

This tagmeme consists of an Adjunct Phrase.

e.g. nóǽó - kaá tsí - mí nê?ǰo
they-spill-incho-adct rec they-flee
past
A: AP
"Spilling [the water], they fled"

7.1.2.9. Directional (D)

This tagmeme consists of a Directional Phrase. Two types of Directional tagmeme are established on the basis of internal and external differences.

7.1.2.9.1. Type i Directional

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 2.1. Directional Phrase (i.e., one in which the axis slot is filled by an NP or an interrogative). This only occurs when the Predicate slot is filled by a VP containing a verb of motion.

e.g. no-paáná-kóo do?pí
my-house - to she-go
D_i:$DP_{2.1}$ "She goes to my house"

7.1.2.9.2. Type ii Directional

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 2.2. Directional Phrase (i.e., one in which the axis slot is filled by a nominalized clause or an AP), and is not subject to the above restriction.

e.g. dómaá - khó - mí ãeke? tsó
she-sleep from rec get-stronger she
past
D_{ii}: $DP_{2.2}$ "After sleeping, she got stronger"

7.1.2.10. Locative (L)

This tagmeme consists of a Locative Phrase.

e.g. ve?e gi-tsá?
here he-come "He comes here"
L:LP

paníítsí-a?ná dodo?phaavú
house - beside she-work
L:LP "She works beside the house"

7.1.2.11. Temporal (T)

This tagmeme consists of an NP sub-class 1, an interrogative, or a nominalized clause. Three types of Temporal

tagmeme are established on the basis of these internal differences.

7.1.2.11.1. Type i Temporal

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 1 NP.

e.g. i) nokótsá naapi?é? - mí ǰakáde-kóo no?pí
yesterday morning rec field - to I-go
past
T_i:NP_1

"Yesterday morning I went to the field"

ii) aápaná naapi?é? ǰakáde-kóo no?pí
tomorrow morning field - to I-go
T_i:NP_1

"Tomorrow morning I shall go to the field"

7.1.2.11.2. Type ii Temporal

This tagmeme type consists of an interrogative.

e.g. hidee?tsíhee-?pe anoógí kainée pi-khú
when rem tapir dead you-make
past
T_{ii}:ig "When did you kill the tapir?"

(For more examples of interrogatives in the Temporal slot, cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., Groups 1 and 4, below.)

7.1.2.11.3. Type iii Temporal

This tagmeme type consists of a nominalized clause.

e.g. i) anepuu? nodo?phaava-vá maa?tsa nó
much I-work fut tire I
T_{iii}:NomCl

"When I work a lot, I get tired"

ii) aá?pe anepuu? ee?phi kháa - vá kašoo? va?mitú
my-father much fish do fut well we-eat
T_{iii}: NomCl

"When (each time that) my father catches a lot of fish, we eat well"

As the glosses indicate, when the Temporal slot is filled by a nominalized clause, the function is iterative.[14] In such cases, the future temporal clitic always occurs.

7.1.2.12. Vocative (Voc)

This tagmeme consists of a level-skipping vocative noun (Noun word sub-class 2), or a name.

e.g. i) aâme, no?mitâma?u
mother, I-eat-desid "Mother, I want to eat"
Voc:Nn_2

ii) Hoaa, vêe pi-tsâ?
Juan, here you-come "John, come here"
Voc:name

7.1.2.13. Negative (Neg)

This tagmeme consists of the negative work nií, "not", only, level-skipping, since there is no negative phrase.

e.g. nií na?tsanaâ ñó
not tired I "I am not tired"
Neg:neg

(The negative imperative is indicated by a verb suffix, and so no separate clause-level tagmeme occurs in that case. (cf. 3.1.2.6.1.2. and 3.1.2.6.2.2., above.) This also

[14] The difference between iterative and habitual is clear on both structural and semantic grounds in Resígaro: Structurally, iterative is indicated by use of a NomCl in the Temporal slot in the clause, while habitual is indicated by Verb Piece type ii, sub-type i (cf. 5.1.2.2.1.). Semantically, iterative refers to the inherent correlation between two events (working and getting tired, catching fish and eating well, etc.), which holds in any time-scale, whereas habitual refers merely to repeated action in the past.

applies to other negatives functioning as relators, etc. (cf. 5.1.2.2.2., 6.2.5.2.2.).)

Interrogative

One tagmeme not described here is Interrogative (Ig), which only occurs in a derived clause. It is described in 7.2.2.1., below.

Clitics

Clitics are structure-less constituents of the clause that are affixed to various tagmemes, without forming separate tagmemes of their own. Their occurrence is described in 7.2.1.2.6., below.

Clause Types \ Peripheral Tagmemes	Dat	Ppsv	Ben	I	Conc	Ctv	Cond	A	D	L	T	Voc	Neg
i Non-trans[15]	/	-	-	-	-	/	/	-	/	-	-	/	/
ii Intrans	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
iii Trans	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
iv Ditrans	/	/	/	/								/	/
v Tritrans	/	/	/	/								/	/

Matrix 7.2.: Peripheral Tagmeme Distribution

[15] Some phrase-level tagmemes may fill the Predicate slot in non-transitive clauses, instead of their usual slot (in L, Ppsv, etc.). However, this matrix is concerned with distribution of clause level tagmemes only, these atypical cases having been handled under distribution at phrase level, and in the description of the Predicate tagmeme at clause level (7.1.1.1.1., above).

It is immediately obvious from the above matrix that though all peripheral tagmemes are attested in Intransitive and Transitive clauses, there is a considerable fall-off in Ditransitive ahd Tritransitive clauses, which can probably be attributed to the following two reasons:-

i) These clause types are of relatively infrequent occurrence.

ii) As the number of nuclear tagmemes increases, the number of peripheral tagmemes diminishes, to avoid overloading structures. As the following sections indicate, overloading is relieved by measures such as replacement of an independent manifestation of the Subject tagmeme by a pronoun assimilated to the verb in the Predicate; extraposition; deletion of Object; relativization to embed phrases within phrases (cf., for instance, 6.2.-9.2.2., above), etc.

Information conveyed by non-nuclear tagmemes thus tends to be omitted from the more highly-complex clauses, being given instead in adjacent, less complex clauses, in the same or other sentences. A description of this distribution is dependent on the postulation of a level higher than the Sentence -- often called the Paragraph by tagmemicists. Since the scope of the present description is limited to the Sentence, no analysis of intersentential relationships is presented.

Where tagmemes have not been attested in Ditransitive and Tritransitive clauses, matrix cells have been left blank, to indicate that some of these tagmemes may possibly occur. Thus, one would expect Locative and Temporal tagmemes, at least, to be possible, though they have not yet been observed in these types.

Few peripheral tagmemes occur in Non-transitive clauses, either, since these are generally of quite limited expansion, apparently only permitting such peripheral tagmemes as are appropriate to the Predicate selected.

7.2. Clause Structure.

Five clause classes (Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative, Nominalized, and Relativized) are established on the basis of their distribution. Within each class, five types are set up on the basis of degrees of transitivity.[16]

Interrogative, Imperative, Nominalized and Relativized can be most economically described by means of multiplication operating on the Declarative, which is described first. As well as being more economical, this is also more illuminating than the original (now discard-

[16] In the Imperative, there are only four types, since non-transitive clauses cannot be imperative.

ed) practice of describing every class and type of clause exhaustively and independently, totally ignoring the forms already described, and thus introducing wholescale repetition.

Of these four derived clauses, Interrogative and Imperative are independent (i.e., they can fill the Base slot in simple sentences), while Nominalized and Relativized are dependent, being embedded in other structures at clause level and lower.

7.2.1. Basic -- The Declarative Clause.

7.2.1.1. Contrast.

The Declarative Clause (DeclCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) It consists minimally of a Predicate and a Subject tagmeme, the slots of which are typically filled by phrase-level units, most frequently a VP and an NP_2, respectively.

ii) The remaining constituent tagmemes are classified as either peripheral or nuclear (S and P are also nuclear), the number and nature of the latter determining the type of clause.

iii) The slots of these tagmemes are also typically filled by phrase-level units.

iv) As well as consisting of tagmemes, the clause may contain non-tagmeme elements -- clitics, which may be

affixed to any constituent tagmeme (the one chosen depending on the factors indicated in 7.2.1.2.6., below).

7.2.1.2. Variation.

Five types of Declarative Clause are set up on the basis of internal structure. These are dependent on which nuclear tagmemes may occur, and follow the distinctions of the Predicate types described in 7.1.1., above, reflecting varying degrees of transitivity in the clause.

7.2.1.2.1. Declarative Clause Type i, "Non-Transitive".[17]

7.2.1.2.1.1. Basic Structure.

Non-transitive declarative clauses have non-verbal predicates. They have two nuclear tagmemes, Subject and Predicate. The Subject slot may be filled by an NP_2 or a NomCl. When the filler is an NP type iii consisting of a type i pronoun only, the S follows the P. When the filler is any other manifestation of the NP, or a Nom Cl, the S precedes the P. This is indicated in the following composite formula (in which peripheral tagmemes are not indicated):-

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[17] There is no separate meteorological clause type in Resígaro, in contrast to some Mesoamerican languages (cf. Longacre, 1964a:57), and climatic conditions are described using various clause types.
e.g. ha?moo? fũ
hot we "It [the weather] is hot"
P: Aj S:NP (Clause type i)
A more "literal" gloss may appear to be "we are hot", and this would be possible, too, in appropriate circumstances. However, the first person plural inclusive is used in all meteorological statements, including some where a double

Cl_i = $\pm$S:NP-R/NomCl $+P_i$:Aj/NP/A-R phrase/ig $\overline{+}$S:NP_{iiiR}

In all cases, the NP or NomCl in the Subject slot tends to be of quite limited expansion.

e.g. i) depíitshí ooǰaǰá?
his-axe small "His axe (is) small"
S:NP_i P:Aj

ii) giva?aadégaǰá? tsóó?ve gi-khaá ooǰaǰá?
his-knife sharpen he-do(nom) small
O:NP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP
Cl
nom
S:NomCl P:Aj

"He sharpens his knife(nom) (is) small"

i.e., "His knife that he sharpens (is) small"

iii) ooǰagí tsú
small he "He (is) small"
P:Aj S:$NP_{iii(Pn)}$

Two exceptions to the above general rule are to be noted:

1) When the Predicate is filled by an NP, the NP filling the Subject slot is generally the variant of type iii consisting of a pronoun only, and the resulting construction has an essive, or identificational, function (cf. 7.1.1.-1.1.2., above). In this construction, the pronoun in

---

interpretation would be more difficult.
e.g. fá?vu "It is raining"
S:NP-P:VP (Clause type ii)

I understand that Bora makes meteorological statements in a similar manner (personal communication from Wesley Thiesen).

the NP functioning as Subject is frequently marked by the nominal suffix -ną́, "restrictive", which is usually followed by oo "intensifier" occurring initially in the Predicate. Thus, in this case, the Subject tagmeme precedes the Predicate.

e.g. tsó - ną́ oo nóótó
she-rest int my-daughter "She (is) my daughter"
S:$NP_{iii(Pn)}$ P:NP_i

2) When the Predicate is filled by an LP,[18] the NP filling the Subject slot has been observed to follow the Predicate, even when it contains a noun and not a pronoun (i.e., an NP_i and not an NP_{iii}).

e.g. gi - ná vakhájakáatsí
him-in sickness "(There is) sickness in him"
P: LP S:NP_i (i.e., "He is sick")

In this construction, the Subject may also precede, instead of following, the Predicate, in accordance with the general rule.

7.2.1.2.1.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

Negative, Dative, Comparative, Conditional, Directional, and Vocative tagmemes are attested in this clause type, though it is rare to find more than the Vocative, the Negative, and one other peripheral tagmeme occurring in any given non-transitive clause. Peripheral tagmemes occur either initially or finally in the clause -- never between S and

[18] For interrogatives in the LP in the Predicate slot, cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., Group 2, below.

P. Initial position is by far the most frequent.[19]

Dative, Negative.

The Negative always precedes the Predicate, though the Subject, and other peripheral tagmemes, may occur between these two tagmemes,

```
e.g.  anepuu? dodo?phaavaa-kė,  nií maa?tsá  tsú
      much    he-work     dat   not tired    he
             Dat:DOP2          Neg:neg P:Aj  S:NP2
```

"Although he works a lot, he is not tired"

Comparative, Vocative.

```
e.g.  čhomi, gi - ve?níi      tseinoo? phú
     sister him-more than   tall      you
   Voc:Nn2   Ctv:CtvP       P:Aj     S:NP2
```

"Sister, you are taller than him"

No tagmeme other than S may separate the Comparative and Predicate tagmemes, whether the former precedes or follows the latter. The Vocative is only attested in initial position.

Conditional.

```
e.g.  nodo?phaavaa-tshí-vá ma?tsanaá nó
      I-work            if fut tired   I
       Cond:CondP              P:Aj  S:NP2
```

"If I work, I shall get tired"

[19] Position of peripheral tagmemes is no doubt dependent on higher-level features, such as initial setting (with spatio-temporals), given versus new information, focus, and preserving the thread of discourse. However, analysis of this is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

<u>Directional.</u>

e.g. gi-pedo?ñaá-khó ñeke? tsṹ
he-lick from get-better he
$D_{ii}:DP_2$ $P:Aj$ $S:NP_2$
"From licking (it), he got better"

Other peripheral tagmemes can probably also occur in this clause type, especially L and T, which indicate the spatio-temporal axes of any action or state. However, Non-transitive clauses are generally of quite limited expansion, and no occurrences of such clauses containing these or other peripheral tagmemes have so far been observed.

7.2.1.2.2. Declarative Clause Type ii, "Intransitive"

7.2.1.2.2.1. Basic Structure.

$Cl_{ii} = +S:NP_2 +P:VP_1$

The Intransitive Declarative Clause has two nuclear tagmemes, S and P, both of which are obligatory. P is filled by an Intransitive VP (sub-class 1). S is filled by an NP (sub-class 2). If this consists of a pronoun, the phonological form of the two tagmemes may be fused, as the pronoun may be assimilated to the following verb (For assimilation, cf. 3.3.2.1.1., above). However, this fused form still manifests the two tagmemes, though it is sometimes difficult to indicate the boundary between the realizations of the two tagmemes.

e.g. tsa ímú
he sleep "He sleeps"
S:NP_2 P:VP

gímú
he-sleep "He sleeps"
S:NP_2-P:VP

No cases have been observed of a nominalized clause filling the S slot in the Intransitive Clause.

7.2.1.2.2.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

All peripheral tagmemes have been observed in the Intransitive Clause, though rarely do more than two or three co-occur in any given clause. For this reason, no formula is given, as this co-occurrence restriction and the possible permutations described below make it impossible to present a meaningful order of occurrence of all tagmemes.

Some tagmemes occur more than once in the Intransitive Clause. The following examples and comments account for those peripheral tagmemes which most frequently occur in the Intransitive Clause. Examples of the other tagmemes are to be found in the descriptions of these tagmemes (in section 7.1.2, above) and of their fillers (in section 6.2., etc., above).

Negative.

This tagmeme always comes near the beginning of the Intransitive Clause, only being preceded by Vocative and Temporal tagmemes, when these are present.

e.g. nií tsa ímú
not he sleep "He does not sleep"
Neg:neg S:NP_2 P:VP

Concomitant.

Since this tagmeme indicates accompaniment or associated action, it is always related to another tagmeme in the same clause -- the tagmeme manifesting the person, object or action which it accompanies or is associated with.[20] Its position in the clause is a consequence of this relationship: it normally immediately follows the tagmeme to which it is related. Variations on this basic position are described at the appropriate points in this and the following sections.

In the Intransitive Clause, the Concomitant may be related to the Subject.

e.g. Hoaa Maanoel-neé odo?phaavú
Juan Manuel-with work "John works with Manuel"
S:NP_2 Conc:CP_i P:VP

The Concomitant may also be moved by extraposition to clause-final position, and if this is realized, its relationship to the Subject is indicated by the addition of the dual marker -musi (f: -mupi) to the Subject.

e.g. Hoaa-musi odo?phaavú Maanoel-neé
Juan dual work Manuel-with "John works with Manuel"
S:NP_2 P:VP Conc:CP

[20] It may also indicate lack of accompaniment or negative action -- cf. 6.2.5.2., above.

Adjunct.

This would appear always to precede the Predicate, and generally to occur initially in the clause (unless Vocative is present). It occurs frequently in texts.

e.g. aváana niíká gi-khá-kaá - tsí no-ǰíigí
tree fruit he-eat-incho-adct my-husband
A:AP S:NP

iteevi?é-pee? ké?ǰo
aguaje-like become
Ctv:CtvP P:VP

"Eating the fruit of the tree, my husband became like an aguaje-tree"

Temporal.

When present, this tagmeme always occurs initially in the clause (except when Vocative is present, when T occurs in second position after Voc).

e.g. nokótsa - mí naapi?é? eéné novígipí
yesterday rec morning thunder speak
past
T:NP$_1$ S:NP$_2$ P:VP

"Yesterday morning the thunder spoke" (i.e., "Yesterday morning it thundered/there was thunder")

Locative.

This tagmeme occurs either after the T and before the S, or after the P.

e.g. nokótsa - mí naapí teé?í?aaví-ná Peedró ímú
yesterday rec night river-side-on Pedro sleep
past
T:NP$_1$ L:LP S:NP$_2$ P:VP

"Last night Peter slept on the riverbank"

In the same clause, the Locative may alternatively occur after the Predicate.

The Locative tagmeme may occur twice in the clause, both realizations occurring contiguously, either before the S or after the P, or one in each position. However, the most normal permutation is with both Locative tagmemes occurring contiguously, after the Predicate tagmeme, as in the following example:-

nokótsa - mí naapí Peedró ímú kašoo? hamáaká-gikó
yesterday rec night Pedro sleep well hammock - in
past
T:NP$_1$ S:NP$_2$ P:VP L:LP

gi-paáná-náapí
his-house-under
L:LP

"Last night Peter slept well in a hammock under (i.e., in) his house"

Directional.

This tagmeme normally occurs after the Predicate tagmeme, though it has been attested elsewhere, as may be seen in the Benefactive example, below.

e.g. aápaná nóokó - vá do?pí sí- koomi - kóo
tomorrow afternoon-fut she-go other-village-to
T:NP$_1$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP D:DP

"Tomorrow afternoon she is going to the other village"

The Directional tagmeme may occur twice in the clause, in which case the first occurrence usually indicates source,

and the second, destination or goal. Both occurrences are contiguous and follow the Predicate in the examples so far observed.

e.g. aápaaná nóokó - vá noónó i?pí
tomorrow afternoon-fut my-wife go
T:NP_1 S:NP_2 P:VP

hí - koomi - khó sí - koomi - kóo
this-village-from other-village- to
D:DP D:DP

"Tomorrow afternoon my wife is going from this village to the other village"

Benefactive.

This tagmeme may occur in various positions within the clause, as the following example and others elsewhere (cf. 7.2.1.2.3.2., below, etc.) illustrate.

e.g. tsanáva - pokáʔ gi-paána-kóo gi-tsáʔnu
his-mother-ben his-house-to he-come
Ben:BP D:DP S:NP_2-P:VP

"He comes home for (because of) his mother"

7.2.1.2.3. Declarative Clause Type iii, "Transitive"

7.2.1.2.3.1. Basic Structure.

Three sub-types of Transitive Clause are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

$Cl_{iii.i}$ = +S:NP_2/NomCl ±O:NP_2/NomCl +P_{iii}:VP_2

$Cl_{iii.ii}$ = +S:NP_2/NomCl +CO:NP_2 +P_{iii}:VP_1 + cstv

$Cl_{iii.iii}$ = +S:NP_2 +P_{iii}:(kemú / hetsaaotú) +QO:Cl/NomCl

(Peripheral tagmemes are not shown.)

7.2.1.2.3.1.1. Transitive Clause Sub-type i, "Basic"

This sub-type consists minimally of a Transitive Predicate filled by a transitive Verb Phrase (sub-class 2) and a Subject. As with the intransitive clause, the realization of the Subject may be fused with that of the Predicate.

e.g. tsó-?pe gi-vá?nu
her rem he-command "He gave her an order"
O: NP_2 past S:NP_2-P:VP

The Object is optional in terms of the structure of the clause (the "surface structure"), but is semantically obligatory -- i.e., an object is understood in the context. Thus, for instance, gi-tshéní "he sees" or da?mitú "he eats" are complete transitive clauses, but the object of his seeing or eating is implicit in the meaning, and may, of course, be made explicit by a linguistic (as opposed to an extra-linguistic) reference:

e.g. a?mithoótsí da?mitú
meal/food he-eat "He eats the meal/food"
O:NP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP

As in the case of the Subject, if the Object is manifested by an NP consisting of a pronoun only, this may in certain cases be assimilated to part of the filler of the Predicate slot -- this time to the filler of the periphery slot of a Verb Group type ii, sub-type i, as indicated in 3.3.2.1., above. (cf. 4.1.2.2.1. on the Verb Group.)

e.g. dóóte gi-khú
her-help he-do
O:NP$_2$- S:NP$_2$-P:VP[21] "He helps her"

(Contrast

ókógiígí gi-naníkaná iíte khú
young-man his-sister help do
S:NP$_2$ O:NP$_2$ P:VP

"The young man helps his sister")

A further example of this is to be found in the comments on extraposition (with manáa tó? "to know") which follow.

In the Transitive Clause, the order S O P is quite rigid (though other, peripheral, tagmemes may occur between these constituents). The Subject may only move from its position before the Object if its realization is fused with that of the Predicate. When extraposition of the Object operates, a "dummy" Object consisting of a pronoun (or occasionally of a name) fills the normal Object slot in the clause, and a second Object slot occurs after the Predicate, containing the Object moved by extraposition.

Extraposition may operate if the Object is of complex structure -- generally one manifested by an NP

[21]Since the Verb Group is discontinuous, with the phonological form of the Object fused with its first part, and the phonological form of the Subject fused with its second part, the indication of constituent tagmemes here does not attempt to show this detail.

containing a relativized clause, or by a nominalized clause functioning as Object. The pronoun filling the dummy Object slot is co-referential with the subject of the nominalized or relativized clause.

1. Object slot filled by NP containing a RelCl:-

e.g. ʁo - mí ífotovigí - mí gi?mótshó
me rec frighten-one-who rec he-hit
past past
O:NP$_{iii(RelCl)}$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP

"He hit the one who frightened me"

With extraposition, this becomes:

tsa - mí gi?mótshó ʁo - mí ífotovigí
him rec he-hit me rec frighten-one-who
past past
Dummy O:NP$_{iii(Pn)}$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP Extrap O:NP$_{iii(RelCl)}$

2. Object slot filled by a Nominalized Clause:-

e.g. da?mitaá no-tshéní
he-eat (nom) I - see "I see him eat"
O:NomCl S:NP$_2$-P:VP

With extraposition, this becomes:

tsá no-tshéní da?mitaá
him I- see he-eat (nom)
Dummy O:NP$_{iii(Pn)}$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP Extrap O:NomCl

A verb with which extraposition is widely used is manáa tó? "to know". Here, the Subject, if a pronoun, is assimilated to the filler of the Head slot in the Verb Group (tó?), and the dummy Object is assimilated to the filler of the Periphery slot (manáa) in the same Verb Group.

e.g. gi-manáa no-tó?[22] da?mitaá
it-know I - get he-eat (nom)
Dummy O:NP$_{iii}$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP Extrap O:NomCl

"I know that he eats"

kaašoǰa?i khú "to want"

When the Predicate is filled by kaašoǰa?i khú " to want", the Object may, as elsewhere, contain an NP or a NomCl.

e.g. i) maa?má kaašoǰa?i no-khú
cassava want I - do
O:NP$_2$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP "I want cassava"

ii) da?mitaá kaašoǰa?i no-khú
he-eat (nom) want I - do
O:NomCl S:NP$_2$-P:VP "I want him to eat"[23]

An alternative way of expressing the same idea as that contained in the second of the above examples is by embedding within a Purposive Phrase the nominalized clause referring to the action desired, in which case an Object does not occur in the clause, this being replaced by the Purposive tagmeme. (This may occur in various positions in the clause, as indicated in the paragraphs on the Purposive tagmeme in 7.2.1.2.3.2.

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[22] Again, with a complex Verb Group, the assimilated Subject occurs between the two constituent elements.

[23] If the proposed performer of the desired action is coreferential with the desirer of the action, the desiderative clitic is usually used on the verb.
e.g. da?mitá-ma?u
he-eat - desid
S:NP$_2$-P:VP "He wants to eat"
(cf. 7.2.1.2.6.3., below.)

("Peripheral Tagmemes"), below.)

7.2.1.2.3.1.2. Transitive Clause, Sub-type ii, "Causative"

When the Predicate slot is filled by an Intransitive VP (sub-class 1) to which the causative has been added, the Causative Object (cf. 7.1.1.4., above) must occur. This may not be omitted, and assimilation of a pronoun in the CO to the filler of the peripheral slot of a Verb Group has not been observed.

The comments on occurrence of the Subject tagmeme made in the preceding section apply equally in this case.

e.g. giva?aadégajá? tsóó?ve gi-khaá - mí nó i?pínotú
his-knife sharpen he-do (nom) rec me go-cstv
S:NomCl past CO:NP_2 P:VP_1+cstv

"His sharpening his knife made me go"

The order S CO P is rigid, though, as in the case of sub-type i, peripheral tagmemes may occur between the nuclear ones, and extraposition may occur, though few cases of this have been observed, since attested Causative Objects tend not to have very complex structure.

e.g. no-mí ífotovigí - mí gi?pínotú
me rec frighten-one-who rec he-go-cstv
past past
CO:$NP_{iii(RelCl)}$ S:NP_2-P:VP_1+cstv

"He made the one who had frightened me go"

With extraposition, this becomes:

tsa-mí gi?pínotú no-mí ífotovigí
him rec he-go-cstv me rec frighten-one-who
past past
Dummy CO:NP$_{iii(Pn)}$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP$_1$+cstv Extrap CO:NP$_{iii(RelCl)}$

7.2.1.2.3.1.3. Transitive Clause Sub-type iii, "Quotative"

When the Predicate slot is filled by kemú "to say, to tell" or hetsanotú "to ask", the Quotative Object may occur.[24] It follows the Predicate. The comments on the realization of the S tagmeme made for sub-type i apply equally in this case. Since only animate beings can speak or ask questions, nominalized clauses do not occur in the Subject slot. The QO is manifested by a clause or a nominalized clause.

e.g. domá - mí teé?í-kóo - má no?pí
she-say rec river-to-desid I-go
past
S:NP$_2$-P:VP QO: Cl

"She said, 'I want to go to the river'."

This is equivalent to English "Direct Speech". "Reported Speech" is also expressed by this sub-type

[24] Alternatively, an ordinary Object may occur, as in

do - ho - ?pe gimú gi-tapóógí
her ppsv rem he-tell his-dream
past
Ppsv:PP S:NP$_2$-P:VP O:NP$_2$ "He told her his dream"

But this is not then the Quotative sub-type, in which the QO must by definition occur.

As already indicated elsewhere, the initial syllable of kemú is deleted when a pronoun is assimilated to the verb. cf. 3.1.2.1., above.

of the Transitive Clause, the only changes being that the QO slot is filled by a nominalized clause, and appropriate changes of person are made, as indicated in 7.1.1.5., above.

e.g. domá - mí teé?í-kóo - má do?pínaá
she-say rec river-to-desid she-go-nom
S:NP$_2$-P:VP past QO:NomCl

"She said that she wanted to go to the river"

When the QO occurs with hetsaʉotú "to ask", there is the (logical) restriction that the clause in the QO is interrogative.

e.g. tsetsaʉotú haphá pamá?kaaní
he-ask ig you-are hungry
S:NP$_2$-P:VP QO:IgCl

"He asked, 'Are you hungry?'"

7.2.1.2.3.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

All peripheral tagmemes may occur in any sub-type of the Transitive Clause, though, as in the case of the Intransitive Clause, rarely do more than two or three co-occur in any given clause. Hence, no meaningful formula can be given. The following examples and comments refer to some of the peripheral tagmemes that are most frequently observed in the Transitive Clause. Further examples are to be found throughout the thesis.

Negative.

As always, this precedes the Predicate.

e.g. nií pišaaní gi-šú
not meat he-eat "He does not eat meat"
Neg:neg O:NP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP

Purposive.

This may occur in various positions in the Transitive Clause. Since it is of varied structure and frequent occurrence, examples are given for each sub-type.

In Sub-type i.

The Purposive tagmeme frequently occurs in sub-type i of the Transitive Clause when the Predicate is filled by kaašoǰa?i khú "to want" or vá?nu "to command".[25] Since in these cases it tends to express an action (with a NomCl in the axis slot of the Purposive Phrase), and is in consequence longer and more complex than when the axis slot is filled by an NP, it generally occurs after the Predicate.

e.g. i) kaašoǰa?i gi-khú do?mitaá - nó
want he-do she-eat (nom) ppsv
S:NP_2-P:VP Ppsv:PP

"He wants her to eat"

[25] It may also occur when other verbs fill the Predicate.
e.g. do - hó gimú do?mitaá - nó
her ppsv he-say she-eat - ppsv
Ppsv:PP S:NP_2-P:VP Ppsv:PP
"He speaks to her, so that she will eat", "He tells her to eat"
In this example, the Purposive tagmeme occurs twice, once with an NP in the axis slot of the PP, and once with a NomCl in the axis slot of the PP.

ii) tsó-?pe gi-vá?nu paniítsí boto? khaá-mó
her rem he-command house sweep do - ppsv
O:NP2 past S:NP2-P:VP Ppsv:PP
"He commanded (told) her to sweep the house"

In the second of the above examples, subject is not marked on the nominalized verb in the Purposive Phrase, since this is indicated in the Object slot.

In Sub-type ii.

Since the Causative sub-type of the Transitive Clause tends to be of more complex structure than the basic sub-type, less peripheral tagmemes generally occur, and the Purposive is no exception to this rule. When it occurs, it tends to follow the Predicate, as in sub-type i.

e.g. tsa-mí do?pínotú ee?phi gi-khaá-mó
him rec she-go-cstv fish he-do - ppsv
CO: NP2 past S:NP2-P:VP Ppsv:PP

"She made him go fishing"

In this case, subject is marked on the nominalized verb in the Purposive Phrase, since the tsa in the CO slot is object of the causative and (semantically) agent of the going, not the fishing (cf. description of Causative Object in 7.1.1.4., above).

In Sub-type iii.

In this sub-type, the long Quotative Object is final, and since this immediately follows the Predicate, peripheral tagmemes must occur earlier in the clause, and generally are quite short. This applies equally to the Purposive.

e.g. i) gi - hó - mí domú teé?í-kóo - má no?pí
him-ppsv rec she-say river-to - desid I-go
Ppsv:PP past S:NP_2-P:VP QO:Cl

"She said to him, 'I want to go to the river'."

ii) Hoaa - ná - mí domú no?pína-má?[26]
Juan-ppsv rec she-say I-go-desid
Ppsv:PP past S:NP_2-P:VP QO:Cl

"She said to John, 'I want to go'."

Concomitant.

See comments on this tagmeme in the section on the Intransitive Clause.

In the Transitive Clause, Concomitant tagmeme type i is related to the Predicate, which it immediately follows.

e.g. e.g. gífú tsó daphotaá - ma?
he-fear her he-awaken relr
S:NP_2-P:VP $Conc_i$:CP_1

"He is afraid to awaken her"

It is also occasionally attested to precede the Predicate.

e.g. tsokódoo?[27] - má - mí dófú
she-return relr rec she-fear
$Conc_i$:CP_1 past S:NP_2-P:VP

"She was afraid to return"

[26] On presence of -na (< -nú) when i?pí is suffixed, cf. 3.1.2.5.1., above.

[27] From hekó?do "to return". In the nominalization of this verb there is ?-movement one syllable to the right before suffixation. In this case the glottal of the relator is missing -- no doubt a joint consequence of the presence of the temporal clitic affixed to it, and the proximity of the glottal in the verb.

As indicated in 7.1.2.5., above, when type i Concomitant occurs, the VP filling the Predicate slot must contain <u>íʔí</u> "to fear". Furthermore, in this construction, the CP acts as a semantic object of the Verb in the Predicate, and no surface structure Object tagmeme is observed to occur.

Concomitant tagmeme type ii is related to other tagmemes in the Transitive Clause -- principally the Subject or the Object.

e.g. i) Hoaa-mí Maanoel-neé kaǰíigí haní
Juan rec Manuel-with yucca bring
S:NP_2 past $Conc_{ii}$:CP_2 O:NP_2 P:VP

"John and Manuel brought yucca"

ii) Hoaa-mí kaǰíigí šakoo?gí-neé haní
Juan rec yucca bananas-with bring
S:NP_2 past O:NP_2 $Conc_{ii}$:CP_2 P:VP

"John brought yucca with (i.e., "and") bananas"

In either case, above, the Concomitant may be moved by extraposition to clause-final position, in which case the dual marker <u>-musi</u> (f: <u>-mupi</u>) is added to the tagmeme to which the Concomitant is related, if the referent of the tagmeme in question is animate. (But since Concomitant ii is not considered as an Object, no dummy Object occurs with extraposition -- though the dual marker occurring in the case of animates could be viewed as a "Dummy Concomitant".)

e.g. i) Hoaa-musi - mí kaǰíigí haní Maanoel-neé
Juan-dual rec yucca bring Manuel-with
S:NP$_2$ past O:NP$_2$ P:VP Conc$_{ii}$:CP$_2$

"John and Manuel brought yucca"

ii) Hoaa - mí kaǰíigí haní šakoo?gí-neé
Juan rec yucca bring bananas-with
S:NP$_2$ past O:NP$_2$ P:VP Conc$_{ii}$:CP$_2$

"John brought yucca and bananas"

iii) Maanoel-musi - mí no-tshéní giíné - neé
Manuel - dual rec I - see his-wife-with
O:NP$_2$ past S:NP$_2$-P:VP Conc$_{ii}$:CP$_2$

"I saw Manuel with (and) his wife"

Temporal.

As in the Intransitive Clause, the Temporal tagmeme almost always occurs initially.

e.g. tsa-pekó - ?pe atsáa aaepuu? hapitsámá šú
that-day rem men many wild-boars meat-eat
T:NP$_1$ past S:NP$_2$ O:NP$_2$ P:VP

"That day the men ate a lot of wild boars"

In one case, the Temporal tagmeme is observed to be preceded by the Locative tagmeme, occurring clause-initially (this could alternatively occur finally in this clause):[28]

[28] The differences in position apparently correspond to differences of emphasis given to the various constituents of the clause, or to the introduction of new information, as opposed to information already given.

tébahú-gí	tsa-pekó	naapí-?pe		atsáa	aʉepuu?	hapitsámú
jungle-in	that-day	night	rem past	men	many	wild-boars
L:LP	T:NP_1			S:NP_2	O:NP_2	

kainée khú	"In the jungle that night the men
kill do	killed many wild boars"
P:VP	

Locative, Instrumental.

These tagmemes may occur in various positions in the clause. The following example shows one of the longest Transitive Clauses observed:

nokótsá naapi?é?	- mí	noónó	kadátá	mótshó	va?aga	- gí	
yesterday morning	rec past	my-wife	chicken	kill	machete-with		
T:NP_1		S:NP_2	O:NP_2	P:VP	I:IP		

panítsí-a?nú	"Yesterday morning my wife killed a
house-beside	chicken with a machete beside the house"
L:LP	

Benefactive.

This may occur in various positions within the clause.

e.g.	jakádé	himiítsí	do-khú	do - tsáaté-pokáʔ	
	field	cultivate	she-do	her-brother - ben	
	O:NP_2	S:NP_2-P:VP		Ben:BP	

"She cultivates the filed for her brother"

Adjunct.

This is of quite frequent occurrence in the Transitive Clause. It generally occurs initially.

e.g.	phaa?	- mí	oo	hamo?	gi-khaá-tsí	gi-khú
	inter- sent	rec past	int	heat	he-do - adct	he-eat
			A:AP			S:NP_2-P:VP

"Then heating (it), he ate (it)"

7.2.1.2.4. Declarative Clause Type iv, "Ditransitive"

7.2.1.2.4.1. Basic Structure.

Two sub-types of Ditransitive Clause are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

$Cl_{iv.i}$ = $+S:NP_2/NomCl$ $\pm DO:DOP_1$ $+O:NP_2$ $\overline{+}DO:DOP_1$ $+P_{iv}$: aa?nɨ

$Cl_{iv.ii}$ = $+S:NP_2/NomCl$ $+CO:NP_2$ $\overline{\pm O:NP_2 \quad +P_{iv}: \text{ c } VP_2 + \text{cstv}}^{\propto \pm/+}$ $+QO:Cl/NomCl$

Where the tie bar in $Cl_{iv.ii}$ indicates that either the Object occurs optionally or the Quotative Object occurs obligatorily, but both cannot occur, and where $\propto$ indicates that if the Predicate is filled by kemú "to say" or hetsaʁotú "to ask" + causative, the QO or the O may occur, but if the Predicate is filled by any other VP_2 + causative, only the O may occur.

Because of the more complex structure of this clause type, the constituents tend to be less complex. This shows itself in an almost total absence of recursive NomCls, except on rare occasions.

7.2.1.2.4.1.1. Ditransitive Clause, Sub-type i, "Basic"

The only verb attested in the Predicate of this sub-type of the Ditransitive Clause is aa?nɨ "to give".

The remarks concerning the Subject tagmeme made for

Intransitive and Transitive clauses apply equally here.

The Object can only consist of an NP_2 (i.e., no NomCl occurs in this slot in this sub-type). The Object has nowhere been observed to be assimilated to the verb in the Predicate (nor, indeed, would this be expected, since assimilation is to the filler of the Periphery in Verb Group type ii (complex) only). Nor has it been observed to be omitted. It is therefore regarded as obligatory in this construction.

The Dative Object tagmeme occurs either immediately before or immediately after the Object, generally in the latter position.

e.g. i) naikoogígí-mí ti?phoótsí phaipíǰe-ké aa?ní
shaman rec medicine old_woman-dat give
S:NP_2 past O:NP_2 DO:DOP_1 P:VP

"The shaman gave the medicine to the old woman"

do-ké-mí pišaaní daa?ní
her-dat-rec meat he-give
DO:DOP_1 past O:NP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP

"He gave the meat to her"

7.2.1.2.4.1.2. Ditransitive Clause, Sub-type ii, "Causative"

This sub-type of the Ditransitive Clause has the following distinctive characteristics:-

i) The Predicate is filled by a transitive verb to which the causative suffix has been added.

ii) As the formula and statement, above, indicate, if

the filler of the Predicate slot is kemú "to say", or hetsanotú, "to ask", + causative, the Quotative Object or the Object may occur.

iii) If the filler of the Predicate slot is any other transitive verb + causative, the Object may occur, though this may be omitted in the surface structure.

iv) The second object tagmeme in the clause is the Causative Object, which always follows the Subject (if this is not assimilated to the Predicate) and precedes the Object (if present).

e.g. i) tsa-mí tsó kemotú pí?pí
he-rec her say-cstv you-go!
S:NP_2 past CO:NP_2 P:VP QO:Cl

"He made her say, 'Go away!'"

ii) ná - ho - mí tsó do-tapógí gimotú
them-ppsv rec her her-dream he-tell-cstv
Ppsv:PP past CO:NP_2 O:NP_2 P:VP

"He made her tell them her dream"

iii) gi-nánikána jakádé himiítsí gi-khotú
his-sister field cultivate he-do-cstv
CO:NP_2 O:NP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP

"He makes his sister cultivate the field"

iv) tsó tsá a?mitotú
she him eat-cstv
S:NP_2 CO:NP_2 P:VP

"She makes him eat"

7.2.1.2.4.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

As indicated in the Peripheral Tagmeme Distribution Matrix and accompanying comments at the end of section

7.1.2., above, relatively few peripheral tagmemes are attested in Ditransitive Clauses. In fact, not even the Locative and Temporal tagmemes have been observed in this clause type, though no doubt they may occur. Some reasons for this are given in the comments following the matrix. Likewise, it is most probable that most other peripheral tagmemes potentially may occur in this clause type, though they have not yet been attested. Two examples of Ditransitive Clauses with peripheral tagmemes follow, and some other examples are to be found in section 6.2. (Axis-Relator Phrases), and elsewhere.

i)
```
   múubé  aaepuu?-mí  ee?phi gi-khaá-ké - mí
   brother much  rec  fish   he-do - dat-rec
                 past                    past
   Voc:Nn2           Dat:DOP2

   nií      do - ké   ámó   daa?ní
   not      her-dat  fish  he-give
   Neg:neg  DO:DOP1  O:NP2 S:NP2-P:VP
```

"Brother, though he had caught a lot of fish, he did not give her fish"

ii)
```
   do - ké - mí  pišaaní  daa?ní      tsonává - poká?
   her-dat rec   meat     he-give     her-mother - ben
   DO:DOP1 past  O:NP2    S:NP2-P:VP  Ben:BP
```

"He gave her meat for her mother"

7.2.1.2.5. Declarative Clause Type v, "Tritransitive"

7.2.1.2.5.1. Basic Structure.

This clause type, which is of infrequent occurrence, consists minimally of a Predicate containing the ditrans-

itive verb aa?ní "to give" + causative, Subject, and three Objects:

Cl_v = +S:NP_2 +CO:NP_2 +O:NP_2 +DO:DOP_1 +P_v: aa?ní + cstv

e.g. ao-mí naikoogígí ti?phoótsí phaipíje-ké o?tú[29]
I rec shaman medicine old woman-dat give-cstv
S: NP_2 past CO:NP_2 O:NP_2 DO:DOP_1 P:VP

"I made the shaman give the medicine to the old woman"

7.2.1.2.5.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

As with the Ditransitive Clause, very few peripheral tagmemes are observed to occur. In the Tritransitive Clause, never has more than the Negative and one other peripheral tagmeme been observed in any given clause, and then the Subject tagmeme has been fused with the Predicate.

e.g. nií-mí gi-náagí pišaaní do-ké do?tú
not rec his-brother meat her-dat he-give-cstv
Neg:neg past CO:NP_2 O:NP_2 DO:DOP_1 S:NP_2-P:VP

tsonáva-pokâ?
her-mother-ben
Ben:BP

"He didn't make his brother give meat to her for her mother"

7.2.1.2.6. Clitics.

There are five orders of clause-level clitics.[30] These

[29]The final syllable of aa?ní "to give" is omitted here, as on many occasions. The change of vowel from a to o is regular with the causative suffix, but the shortening of the vowel is not. This would appear to be an exception to the general rule.

[30]As clitics have no structure, distribution is the key fact concerning them. The distribution of these clitics is at clause level -- hence the description here.

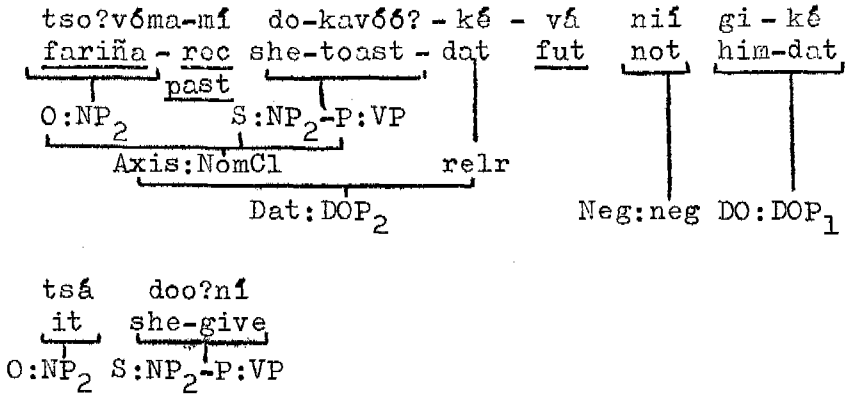
are suffixed to the first tagmeme after the Vocative in the clause. When the Predicate is the only separate tagmeme in the clause (i.e., when the Subject is fused to the Predicate, and no other tagmemes occur), there are two possible positions for the clitics: finally, and -- only if the Predicate contains a Complex Verb Group subtype i -- suffixed to the peripheral element of the Group (cf. 4.1.2.2.1., above).

e.g. boto? do - khá - pa? - mí
sweep she-do - frus - rec
past

OR boto? - pa? - mí do - khú "She wanted to sweep
sweep-frus - rec she - do (but didn't)"
past

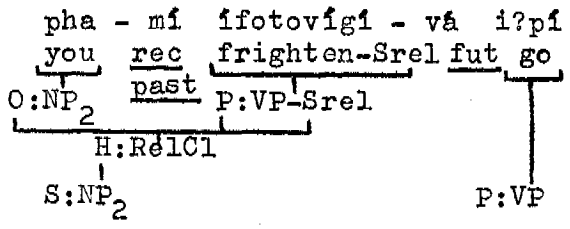
When one clauses is embedded within another (whether by nominalization or relativization), clitics may occur both in the matrix and the embedded clause.

e.g. i) With Nominalized Clause:-



"Though she has toasted the fariña, she won't give it to him"

ii) With Relativized Clause:-



"The one who frightened you will go away"

7.2.1.2.6.1. Clitic Order 1: Reportative: -tsá.

e.g. teé?i-kóo do?pí
river-to she-go "She goes to the river"
D:DP S:NP2-P:VP

teé?i-kóo-tsá do?pí
river-to-rep she-go "It is said that she goes to the river"
D:DP S:NP2-P:VP

This clitic is homophonous with the third person singular masculine pronoun in non-final position, though the very different distribution and positions in the clause of the two morphemes precludes confusion, as is illustrated in the following two examples:-

tsá - ?pe kemá ha?moo? nó
he rem say hot I "He said, 'I'm hot'."
S:NP2 past P:VP QO:Cl

gimá - tsá - ?pe ha?moo? nó
he-say - rep rem hot I "It is said that he said, 'I'm hot'."
S:NP2-P:VP past QO:Cl

Having the two morphemes in sequence is here avoided by assimilation to the verb in the Predicate of the pronoun manifesting the Subject tagmeme, though such a sequence may occur when the third person singular masculine pronoun functions as Object:-

tsá - tsá - ?pe do?mǒtshó
him rep rem she-hit
O:NP_2 past S:NP_2-P:VP "It is said that she hit him"

The first morpheme must be the third person singular masculine, since the reportative is a clitic suffix, and thus cannot occur initially. This becomes clear when the feminine tsǒ is substituted for tsá:-

tsǒ - tsá - ?pe do?mǒtshó
her rep rem she-hit
O:NP_2 past S:NP_2-P:VP "It is said that she hit her"

For a while it was thought that this clitic could occur initially in the clause, in an apparently variant form, phaa?tsá. This form is used very much in story-telling (cf. chapter 9).

e.g. phaa?-tsá-?pe foo na-khú
rep rem fire they-make
past S:NP_2-P:VP

"It is said that they made a fire"

However, it is now clear that phaa? is an inter-sentential relator, since it occurs sentence-initially or after a connector in a compound sentence, but never initially in a discourse.

7.2.1.2.6.2. Clitic Order 2: Frustrative: -pa?.

e.g. i) Hosé-tsá - pa? - mí a?mitú
José rep frus rec eat
S:NP_2 past P:VP

"It is said that José wanted to eat but didn't (couldn't)"

ii) gi?pí-pa? - mí
he-go frus rec
S:NP$_2$-P:VP past "He wanted to go but didn't (couldn't)"

The frustrative is often accompanied by the desiderative, but not obligatorily so.

e.g. gi?pí - pa? - ma - mí
he-go frus desid rec
S:NP$_2$-P:VP past "He wanted to go but didn't (couldn't)"

Negative tagmeme cannot co-occur in a clause with the frustrative.

Homophony may occur between the frustrative clitic and the verbal progressive suffix -pa (cf. 3.1.2.5.), if either of these is followed by a morpheme beginning with a glottal stop or a vowel, since if the former is followed by a glottal, its own final glottal is not distinguished from this, and if the latter is followed by a vowel, a glottal is interposed in accordance with the morphophonemic rules (cf. I.2.3.3.2., above).

e.g. da?mitá - pa? - ?pe
he-eat frus rem
S:NP$_2$-P:VP past "He wanted to eat but didn't (couldn't)"

da?mitá - pa - ?pe
he-eat - prog rem
S:NP$_2$-P:VP past "He was eating"

However, this homophony usually does not lead to ambiguity, since the desiderative is often present with the frustrative, and this begins with neither a vowel nor a

glottal. Also, if the reportative is present, it precedes the frustrative, but follows the progressive. Furthermore, the progressive may be followed by -nɑ́ (cf. 3.1.2.5.1., above).

e.g. da?mitɑ́-tsɑ́-pa?-ma-?pe
he-eat rep frus desid-rem past
S:NP$_2$-P:VP

"It is said that he wanted to eat but didn't (couldn't)"

da?mitɑ́-panɑ́-tsɑ́-?pe
he-eat-prog-rep-rem past
S:NP$_2$-P:VP

"It is said that he was eating"

The occurrence of the progressive is in any case very closely tied to the context, which precludes ambiguity.

7.2.1.2.6.3. Clitic Order 3: Desiderative/Stated Intention.

7.2.1.2.6.3.1. Desiderative: {-ma?u}.

The first and most obvious fact about this morpheme and its allomorphs is that it is (and they are) homophonous with the negative imperative clitic described in 3.1.2.-6.1.2., above. However, it has less allomorphs, and differences of distribution avoid ambiguity.

Allomorphs

{-ma?u}: -ma?u ~ -mɑ́[31]

-ma?u occurs finally on all verbs

-mɑ́ " elsewhere (i.e., non-finally on verbs,

[31] There is no allomorph *-mɑ́? of the desiderative -- contrast 3.1.2.6.1.2.1., above.

and finally anywhere else)

Distribution

Whereas the negative imperative clitic is applied only to verbs where the Subject of the clause is the second person (singular, dual, or plural), the desiderative is almost never applied to clauses where the Subject is in the second person;[32] it occurs principally with reference to the first person, though it may occur with reference to the third person, as examples in the preceding section illustrate.

A further difference between the negative imperative and the desiderative is that whereas the former can only be applied to a verb or the peripheral element in a complex verb group (sub-type i), the latter is suffixed to whichever clause-level tagmeme except the Vocative (or Interrogative, in an Interrogative Clause) that occurs initially in the clause, and only to the verb or the periphery of a complex verb group if there is no other separate tagmeme in the clause.

e.g. tsa - mâ ee?phi khû
he desid fish do
S:NP_2 P:VP

[32] This reflects on the general reluctance in Resígaro to make any statement involving the second person except a command or a question -- which is logical, since to tell a person what they are doing or what they want to do is of little if any information-value (though of course in some languages such statements form part of greetings procedures).

OR ee?phi gi-khá - ma?u
fish he-do desid
S:NP_2-P:VP

OR ee?phi - má gi-khú
fish desid he-do "He wants to fish"
S:NP_2-P:VP

The desiderative may only be used when someone wants to do something him- or her-self; it may not be used to indicate a person's desire that someone else do something. In this case, the verb kaašoǰa?i khú "to want" must be used (cf. 7.2.1.2.3.1.1., above).

Further examples of this clitic are to be found throughout this section on clitics, and elsewhere in this thesis.

7.2.1.2.6.3.2. Stated intention: -paǰakú.

e.g. i) phá-paǰakú no?mǒtshǒ
you intent I-kill[33]
O:NP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP
"I threaten to kill you"

ii) da?mitá - pa? - paǰaká - mí
he-eat frus intent rec past
S:NP_2-P:VP
"He said he intended to eat, but he didn't"

7.2.1.2.6.4. Clitic Order 4: Temporal.

This is the clitic order of most frequent occurrence, and

[33]This verb may mean both "to hit" and "to kill"

examples abound throughout the description. There are three temporal clitics:-

-mí "recent past"

-?pe "remote past"

-vá "future"

e.g. i) nó a?mitú
I eat "I eat"
S:NP_2 P:VP

ii) no-mí a?mitú
I - rec eat "I have eaten"
S:NP_2 past P:VP

iii) nó-?pe a?mitú
I rem eat "I had eaten"
S:NP_2 past P:VP

iv) no - vá a?mitú
I fut eat "I am going to eat"
S:NP_2 P:VP

v) tsa - nã oo no-náagí
he - rest int my-friend "He is my friend"
S:NP_2 P:NP_2

vi) tsa - nã - ?pe oo no-náagí
he - rest rem int my-friend "He was my friend"
S:NP_2 past P:NP_2

The future clitic is frequently followed by the Order 5 dubitative clitic:-

Hosé - vá - ekê?tsí a?mitú
José fut dub eat
S:NP_2 P:VP

"Perhaps José is going to eat"

7.2.1.2.6.5. Clitic Order 5: Dubitative/Incompletive

7.2.1.2.6.5.1. Dubitative: {-ekéʔtsí}.

{-ekéʔtsí}: -ekéʔtsí ~ -ekéʔ

This variation appears to be completely free.[34]

e.g. i) tsa - mí - ekéʔtsí tsaʔnú
he - rec dub come
past
S:NP$_2$ P:VP

"Perhaps he has come"

ii) nií gi - manáa no-tóʔ
not it know I - get
Neg:neg O:NP$_2$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP
Dummy

kehee-mí - ekéʔ ąnoógí kainée kháa
who rec dub tapir kill do
past
S:ig O:NP$_2$ P:VP
Extrap O:NomCl

"I don't know who could have killed the tapir"

7.2.1.2.6.5.2. Incompletive: -khéʔ.

e.g. noʔmitá - va - khéʔ
I-eat fut incomp
S:NP$_2$-P:VP

"I am still going to eat" OR "I am going to go on eating"

"Still" and "yet" are the best glosses for this (todavía in Spanish). This clitic frequently occurs with the negative.

e.g. nií - khéʔ daʔmitúʔ
not incomp he-eat "He hasn't eaten yet"
Neg:neg S:NP$_2$-P:VP

7.2.1.3. Distribution.

The Declarative Clause is distributed in the Base slot in simple and compound sentences, and in derived clauses (Interrogative, Imperative, Nominalized and Relativized). Since all Declarative clauses share the same distributional possibilities, it is not necessary to establish subclasses.

e.g. i) (In Sentence Base):

nodo?phaavú	mikɛ́	tso ímú
I-work	but	she sleep
B:DeclCl	conn	B:DeclCl

"I work but she sleeps"

ii) (Nominalized, and in Sentence Base):

a?mithoótsi-mí	do-kɛ́	noo?ní	nií	kainɛ́e	do-khaá	- ɛ́
food	rec past her-dat	I-give	not die		she-do	ppsv
			DeclCl		nom	
			Axis:NomCl			relr
O:NP_2	DO:DOP_1	S:NP_2-P:VP		Ppsv:PP		
		B:DeclCl				

"I gave her food so that she wouldn't die"

7.2.2. Derived Clauses.

There are four classes of derived clauses: Interrogative, Imperative, Nominalized and Relativized.

7.2.2.1. The Interrogative Clause.

7.2.2.1.1. Contrast.

The Interrogative Clause (IgCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its Base is filled by a Declarative Clause of any of the five types described in 7.2.1.2., above.

ii) An additional Interrogative tagmeme occurs, or an interrogative manifests one of the tagmemes of the Declarative Clause in the Base, or an interrogative occurs in the Quantifier slot in an NP manifesting one of the tagmemes of the Declarative Clause in the Base, or in the Axis of an Axis-Relator Phrase.

<u>7.2.2.1.2. Variation.</u>

Two types of Interrogative Clause are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

IgCl_{i} = +Ig: haphá +B:DeclCl

IgCl_{ii} = +B:DeclClR

where R indicates the restriction that one of the constituent tagmemes in the DeclCl must be manifested by or contain an interrogative.

<u>7.2.2.1.2.1. Interrogative Clause Type i: Corroborative.</u>

To form corroborative interrogative clauses from declarative clauses, the interrogative word <u>haphá</u> is preposed to the latter clause.

e.g. i) haphá ma?tsnaá phú
tired you "Are you tired?"
Ig:ig B:$\text{DeclCl}_{(i)}$

ii) haphá nií pišaaní gišápa
not meat he-eat-prog
Ig:ig B:$\text{DeclCl}_{(iii)}$

"Isn't he eating the meat?"

iii) haphá do - ké - mí tê?aamí paa?ní
her-dat rec book you-give
past

Ig:ig B:DeclCl(iv)

"Have you given her the book?"

7.2.2.1.2.2. Interrogative Clause Type ii: Information.

To form the Information Interrogative, various clause-level and phrase-level tagmemes are manifested by appropriate interrogatives. If a clause-level tagmeme containing an interrogative is one of those defined above as peripheral for the Declarative Clause, it is placed initially in the Interrogative Clause (unless Vocative or Temporal are present, since both may precede the tagmeme containing or manifested by an interrogative). If it is one of those defined above as nuclear, it occupies its usual place in the clause.

Tagmemes manifested by interrogatives have a portmanteau function, i.e., they are simultaneously interrogative and Subject, or Object, etc.

The interrogatives are best described in various groups.

Group 1.

kêe-ní[35]
ké-hee } "who?"/"whom?"

[35]The hyphens indicate apparent morpheme breaks, though a complete analysis of the structure of interrogatives is not attempted.

kóo-ní
kó-hee
hé?e[36] } "what?"

These interrogatives may fill Subject, Object, and Causative Object slots at clause level.

e.g. i) nokótsa — mí kéhee Maanoel tshéní
yesterday rec who Manuel see
T:NP$_1$ past S:ig O:NP$_2$ P:VP

"Yesterday who saw Manuel?"

ii) nokótsa - mí Maanoel kéhee tshéní
yesterday rec Manuel whom see
T:NP$_1$ past S:NP$_2$ O:ig P:VP

"Yesterday whom did Manuel see?"

iii) kéhee maa?má do?mitotú
whom cassava she-eat-cstv
CO:ig O:NP$_2$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP

"Whom does she make eat cassava?"

They may also fill the axis slot in DO, Benefactive, Purposive, Instrument and Concomitant phrases (which are distributed in DO, Ben, Ppsv, I, Conc and P slots at clause level).

e.g. i) kéení - ké - mí šakoo?gí?ó daa?
whom - dat rec banana he-give
Axis: ig relr past
DO:DOP$_1$ O:NP$_2$ S:NP$_2$-P:VP

"Whom did he give the banana to?"

ii) kéhee-poká? - mí tsá?votú
whom ben rec he-rain-cstv
Axis: ig relr past
Ben:BP S:NP$_2$-P:VP

[36] Related to demonstrative hé?e- "that", apparently. cf. 3.6.2., above.

"For whom did he make it rain?"

iii) kéhee - nó - mí gimú ee?phi khéne gi?pínaá
whom ppsv rec he-say fishing "to" he-go-nom
Axis: ig relr past
Ppsv:PP S:NP_2-P:VP QO:NomCl

"To whom did he say that he was going fishing?"

iv) kóhee - gí - mí tsó gi?mótshó
what instr rec her he-hit
Axis;ig relr past
I:IP O:NP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP

"What did he hit her with?"

v) kéhee - né odo?phaavámusi
whom with you-work-dual
Axis: ig relr
$Conc_{ii}$: CP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP

"With whom do you (dual) work?"

vi) kéhee - nó hapíitsú
who ppsv pig
Axis: ig relr
P_i:PP S:NP_2

"Who has a pig?" (cf. 7.1.1.1.1.3.(iii) and 7.2.1.2.1., above.)

Another form of interrogative apparently derived from kế-hee is

kế - (classifier) - hee "which?"

The classifier may refer to people or things (cf. 3.2.2.2.1., above).

e.g. i) kế - píjế - hee - mí kádatá kainée khú
woman rec chicken kill do
S:ig past O:NP_2 P:VP

"Which (of the women) killed the chicken?"

```
ii)  kê-pasi-hee kaašoǰa?i pi-khű
      ring        want       you-do
     O: ig        S:NP2-P:VP
```

"Which (of the rings) do you want?"

```
iii) kê-hugî-hee - vá  ve?pî
      path        fut  we-go
     L:LPi             S:NP2-P:VP
```

"Which (path) shall we take?"

Here, this interrogative is seen in the Head slot of LP type i. It may also occur in the Temporal slot, when the classifier is -pekó, "day":

```
iv)  kê-pekó-hee - vá  gi-tsá?
      day         fut  he-come
     T: ig             S:NP2-P:VP
```

"Which (day) is he coming?"

Group 2.

This consists of two interrogatives:-

hé?ee "where? (near)"

heńéé "where? (far)"

The first of these interrogatives is no doubt related to hé?e "what?" in Group 1. These occur in LP type i, which fills the Locative slot at clause level for clause types ii-v.[37]

```
e.g. i) hé?ee - mî  no-náagî     pi - tshénî
        where  rec  my-brother   you-see
        H:ig   past
     L: LPi         O:NP2        S:NP2-P:VP
```

"Where did you see my brother?"

[37] The LP may fill the Predicate slot in Clause type i. cf. 7.1.1.1.1.3.(ii), above.

ii) heⁿéé tsú
where he
H: ig
P: LP_i S: NP_2

"Where (is) he?"
OR
"Where does he live?"

These interrogatives also fill the axis slot in the DP (which is distributed in the Directional slot at clause level).

e.g. i) heⁿéé - khó - mí na-tsá?nu
where from rec past they-come
Axis: ig relr
D: DP_i S: NP_2-P:VP

"Where did they come from?"

ii) heⁿéé - kóo - vá ve?pí
where to fut we-go
Axis: ig relr
D: DP_{ii} S: NP_2-P:VP

"Where are we going to?"

Group 3.

This consists of two interrogatives:-

hidé?-hee
hidee?-gí-hee
} "how?"

They fill the Comparative slot at clause level.

e.g. i) hidé?hee i?dáká́atsí pi-khú
how yucca-juice you-make
Ctv: ig O: NP_2 S: NP_2-P:VP

"How do you make sweet yucca juice?"

ii) hidee?gíhee aⁿogímu na-miⁿápaví
how tapirs they-hunt
Ctv: ig O: NP_2 S: NP_2-P:VP

"How do they hunt tapirs?"

Group 4.

This consists of the interrogative

hidee?-tsí-hee "when?"

hidee?- is apparently related to the first element of the interrogatives in Group 3. -hee occurs also in interrogatives in Groups 1, 3, and 5.

This interrogative fills the Temporal slot at clause level.[38]

e.g. hidee?tsíhee-mí Isabeel Maanoel tshóní
when rec Isabel Manuel see
T:Ig past S:NP_2 O:NP_2 P:VP

"When did Isable see Manuel?"

Group 5.

This consists of the interrogative

kope?-hee "why?"

This fills the Purposive slot at clause level.

e.g. kope?hee jaánáʼ káníʼ
why child cry
Ppsv: Ig S:NP_2 P:VP "Why does the child cry?"

Group 6.

This consists of two interrogatives:-

hó?e aaepuu?
hidó? aaepuu? } "how much?"/"how many?"[40]

[38]For another interrogative filler of the Temporal slot, cf. last paragraph under Group 1, above.

[39]For another interrogative filler of the Purposive slot, cf. Group 1, above.

[40]These two interrogatives may be viewed as representing the only Interrogative Phrases in Resígaro, all other in-

hê?e is apparently related to interrogatives in Groups 1 and 2, and hidê? to interrogatives in Groups 3 and 4, above. These interrogatives fill the Quantifier slot in the Noun Phrase.

e.g. hê?e aaepuu? hiîtâmiihî-mî pi-tshênî
how - many canoes rec past you-see
Q: ig H: Nn
O: NP_2 S:NP_2-P:VP

"How many canoes did you see?"

\+ + +

From the above, it is clear that all clause-level slots except Vocative, Negative, Quotative Object, Adjunct and Conditional may be filled directly or indirectly by information interrogatives.

7.2.2.1.3. Distribution.

The Interrogative Clause is distributed in the Base slot in simple and compound sentences and in nominalized clauses.

e.g. i) (In the Sentence)

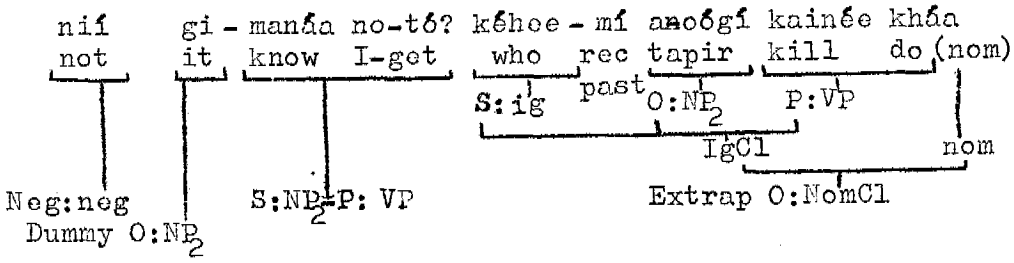
kôhee pi-khû
what you-do
O:ig S:NP_2-P:VP
B:IgCl

"What are you doing?"

---

terrogatives (i.e., those described in Groups 1-5) being interrogative words. However, since no detailed analysis of the interrogative is made, a separate Interrogative Phrase is not established.

ii) (In the Nominalized Clause)



"I don't know who killed the tapir"

7.2.2.2. The Imperative Clause.

7.2.2.2.1. Contrast.

The Imperative Clause (ImpCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its Base is filled by a Declarative Clause of any of the types described in 7.2.1.2., above, except type i, "Non-transitive".

ii) The performer (or proposed performer) of the action must be in the second person.

iii) There is no separate Subject tagmeme, as Subject is always manifested by an NP consisting of a pronoun, which is obligatorily assimilated to the verb in the Predicate.

iv) The verb filling the Predicate must have the appropriate imperative form, as described in 3.1.2.6., above.

7.2.2.2.2. Variation.

Few peripheral tagmemes tend to occur in the Imperative Clause. Temporal can only be filled by words referring to the present time or the immediate future, as indicated in example (i), below.

e.g. i) (Intransitive)

```
moohánấ teé?i-kóo  pí?pí
 today  river - to you-go        "Go to the river
T:NP1    D:DP     S:NP-P:VP          today!"
```

ii) (Transitive)

```
maa?mấ  pấ?mítấ
cassava you-eat            "Eat the cassava!"
 O:NP2  S:NP-P:VP
```

iii) (Ditransitive)

```
  no - kó  nanáanấ?ó  paa?ní
  me-dat   pineapple you-give   "Give me the pine-
DO:DOP1     O:NP2    S:NP-P:VP        apple!"
```

iv) (Tritransitive)

```
  tsấ nanáanấ?ó phanáva   -   kó  pó?tấ
  him pineapple your-mother-dat  you-give-cstv
CO:NP2  O:NP2       DO:DOP1       S:NP-P:VP
```

"Make him give the pineapple to your mother!"

If the Declarative clause is in the negative, the Negative tagmeme is deleted and replaced by the appropriate form of the negative imperative clitic, as indicated in 3.1.2.6.1.2. and 3.1.2.6.2.2., above.

```
e.g.i)nií  phấ  a?mitấ
      not  you   eat            "You do not eat"
  Neg:neg S:NP  P:VP
       DeclCl

 > pấ?mitámấ?
  you-eat-neg imptv             "Don't eat!"
    S:NP-P:VP

 ii)  ve?e   i-tsấna?-mấ?
      here you-come-neg imptv
      L:LP  S:NP-P:VP
```

"Don't (you (pl)) come here!"

7.2.2.2.3. Distribution.

The Imperative Clause is distributed in the Base slot in simple and compound sentences and in the Quotative Object slot in Declarative, Interrogative and Imperative Clauses.

e.g. i) foo pi-khee?ká nikó tso?vómu pi-kávó?-má?
fire you-make-come but fariña you-toast-neg imptv
B:ImpCl conn B:ImpCl (Sentence)

"Come and make a fire but don't toast the fariña!"

ii) gimá - mí tsá kainée pi-khú
he-say rec him kill you-do
S:NP2-P:VPpast QO:ImpCl (DeclCl)

"He said, 'Kill him!'"

iii) haphá tsa-mí kemú pi-paánà-kóo pí?pí
he rec say your-house-to you-go
Ig S:NP2past P:VP QO:ImpCl (IgCl)

"Did he say, 'Go to your house!'?"

iv) pímú pí?pí
you-say you-go "Say 'Go away!'!"
S:NP-P:VP QO:ImpCl (ImpCl)

7.2.2.3. The Nominalized Clause.

7.2.2.3.1. Contrast.

The Nominalized Clause (NomCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) It consists of a modified Declarative or Interrogative Clause (types ii-v).

ii) No tagmemes in this clause may follow the Predicate.

iii) There tend to be few if any peripheral tagmemes in this clause.

iv) Whereas previously-described derived clauses (i.e., Interrogative and Imperative Clauses) are independent, though derived, the Nominalized Clause is dependent. That is to say, it cannot stand on its own as a complete statement. While Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative Clauses have their principal distribution in the Sentence, the Nominalized Clause is distributed back-looped in lower-level structures (in the clause and the phrase -- details of its distribution are given in 7.2.2.-3.3., below).

7.2.2.3.2. Variation.

Clauses are nominalized by doubling the final vowel of the verb in the Predicate and adding to this a rising tone.[41] If the final vowel is u, this becomes a. No other vowels change their quality. A glottal closing the penultimate syllable of the verb moves right one syllable (cf. second example, below).

e.g. i) tsó gi-tshénî do-khonîi
her he-see she-laugh-nom
Dummy O:NP_2 S:NP_1-P:VP Extrap O:NomCl

"He sees her laugh" (from khonî "to laugh")

[41] This may change to a level low tone, or to a falling tone in some contexts, as may be observed in various examples, including (i), below.

ii) do - tsána?-mí tsodápaá? - nó
she-come rec she-sing-nom ppsv
past Axis:NomCl relr
S:NP-P:VP Ppsv:PP

"She has come in order to sing" (from hadá?pú "to sing")

Many cases of Nominalized Clauses are to be observed throughout the present description.

7.2.2.3.3. Distribution.

Nominalized Clauses are distributed in Subject, Object, Causative Object and Quotative Object slots at clause level, and in the Axis slot in Axis-Relator phrases.

e.g. i) Isabeel Maanoel tshóní maa?má da?mitaá
Isabel Manuel see cassava he-eat-nom
S:NP_2 P:VP Extrap O:NomCl
Dummy O:NP_2

"Isabel sees Manuel eat cassava"

ii) gi-paáná-kóo gi?pí ginaadó tsá maaáa - pokáʔ
his-house-to he-go his-wife him call-nom-ben
Axis:NomCl relr
D:DP S:NP_2-P:VP Ben:BP

"He goes to his house because his wife calls him"

7.2.2.4. The Relativized Clause.

7.2.2.4.1. Contrast.

The Relativized Clause (RelCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its Base consists of a Declarative Clause of limited expansion, containing no peripheral tagmemes

ii) No type i Declarative Clause ("Non-transitive") may be relativized,[42] and no intransitive clause may be object-relativized.

iii) The Relativized Clause is of minimal expansion, consisting only of a Predicate and a Subject or an Object.

iv) Either Subject or Object is deleted to form the Relativized Clause, depending on whether it is subject-relativized or object-relativized (cf. 7.2.2. .2., below).

v) Like the Nominalized Clause (but unlike the Interrogative and Imperative Clauses), the Relativized Clause is dependent as well as being derived. That is to say, it cannot stand on its own as a complete statement -- i.e., it cannot be distributed in the Sentence, but only back-looped in the NP. (For distribution, cf. 7.2.2. .3., below.)

vi) The Relativized Clause conveys the meaning "the one who did something", as opposed to "(I saw) him do something" in the Nominalized Clause.

7.2.2.4.2. Variation.

There are two types of relativization: Subject-relativization and Object-relativization.[43] Two English examples

---

[42] The information conveyed by non-transitive clauses may also be conveyed by intransitive clauses in which the Predicate is filled by jq "to be", as indicated in footnotes to section 7.1.1.1.1., above. The resulting clauses may be relativized.

[43] Since the distinctions in Resígaro between these two are seen more clearly by parallel treatment, I do not here describe each type in separate sections.

will clarify the distinction:-

i) "The one who frightened him ..."

Here the relativized clause refers to the one who did the frightening -- the Subject of the Predicate "frighten".

ii) "The one whom he frightened ..."

Here the relativized clause refers to the one who was frightened -- the Object of the Predicate "frighten".

In Resígaro, Subject-relativization is indicated by deleting the Subject of the clause being relativized, changing the final vowel of the verb in the Predicate of that clause to -o (except in the case of final -i, which becomes -íi), and adding the Subject-relativization (S-rel) indicator -ví, which is followed by the appropriate classifier and/or number indicator (cf. sections 3.2.2.2.1. and 3.2.2.2.3., above).[44]

e.g. tsa-mí ífotovígí
him rec frighten-one-who
O:NP past P:VP S-rel
S-rel Cl

"The one who frightened him"

Object-relativization (O-rel) is indicated by deleting the Object of the clause being relativized, changing the final vowel of the verb in the Predicate of that clause to -áa (except -i, which becomes -íi), and adding the Object-relativization indicator -ní, which is followed by the ap-

[44]For exceptions to the last two parts of this general rule, cf. the detailed description which follows.

propriate classifier and/or number indicator (cf. sections 3.2.2.2.1. and 3.2.2.2.3., above).[45]

e.g. tsa-mí ífotáanígí
he rec frighten-one-whom
S:NP past P:VP O-rel
O-rel Cl

"The one whom he frightened"

In the first of the above examples, the initial tsa "he/him" must be the object of the frightening, since the Subject is -o-ví, and a separate Subject tagmeme cannot occur. The emphasis is on the one who did the frightening -- the Subject. Whoever happened to be frightened is incidental (or at least linguistically peripheral to the structure in question).

In the second of the above examples, the initial tsa must be the Subject of the Predicate "frighten", since the Object is -áa-ní, and a separate Object tagmeme cannot occur. The emphasis is on the one who was frightened -- the Object. Whoever happened to do the frightening is incidental (or at least linguistically peripheral to the structure in question).

In this second example, a separate Subject tagmeme need not occur, since the Subject (which must be indicated) may be manifested by a pronoun assimilated to the verb. (In this case, the temporal clitic has to move to the end of

[45]The previous footnote applies equally here.

the Predicate.)

e.g. gífotáanígi - mí
he-frighten-one-who rec past
S:NP-P:VP O-rel
O-rel Cl

"The one whom he frightened"

In the Subject-relativized clause, if the verb is transitive, more specific information may be given about its object -- but not about the subject, which is indicated only by -o-ví.

e.g. gi?ithé ǰaáná - ǰa - mí ífoto - ví - gí
that child dim rec frighten one who
past
O:NP$_2$ P:VP S-rel
S-rel Cl

"The one who frightened that little child..."[46]

In the Object-relativized clause the converse is the case: more specific information may be given about the subject of the verb -- but not about the object, which is indicated only by -áa-ní.

[46] If it is desired to give more information about the subject in a subject-relativized clause, this is given in the NP in which the relativized clause is embedded, but the lexical items which express this information are not part of the relativized clause itself.

e.g. atsáagí gi?ithé ǰaáná - ǰa - mí ífoto - ví - gí
man that child dim rec past frighten one who
O:NP$_2$ P:VP S-rel
H:Nn M:RelCl
NP$_2$

"The man who frightened that little child"

For further details, cf. description of NP type i in 6.1.2.2.1.5., above.

e.g. gi?ithé atsáagi-mí ífotáa-ní-gí
that man rec past frighten-one-whom
S:NP$_2$ P:VP O-rel
O-rel Cl

"The one whom that man frightened ..." [47]

All the above examples have dealt with animate masculine subjects and objects in the singular, all based on the same verb, for ease of comprehension and comparison. We must now look at the changes that occur when the subject or object is feminine, or inanimate, or dual or plural, and some changes that occur with certain specific byt frequently-used verbs. Most of this information is best presented (and compared with what has already been described) in tabular form.

In the matrices that follow, the notation "(Cl)-o" and "(Cl)-áa" indicates that the final vowel of the verb

[47] If it is desired to give more information about the object of an object-relativized clause, this is given in the NP in which the relativized clause is embedded, but the lexical items which express this information are not part of the relativized clause itself.
e.g. ǰaáná-ǰá gi?ithé atsáagi-mí ífotáa-ní-gí
child-dim that man rec past frighten one whom
S:NP$_2$ P:VP O-rel
H:Nn M:RelCl
NP$_2$

"That little child whom that man frightened"
For further details, cf. description of NP type i in 6.1.2.2.1.5., above.

in the Predicate (except i, as indicated above) becomes o (S-rel) or áa (O-rel). It does not imply that this o or áa is something added to the Declarative Clause, but that it replaces a part of the latter.

The numbers in the matrices refer to the examples given subsequently.

		SINGULAR	NON-SINGULAR	
ANIMATE	M	(Cl)-o-ví-gí$_1$	(Cl)-o-ǰo-ví {-musi$_2$ / -?a$_3$}	Dual / Plural
	F	(Cl)-o {-ví-pijé$_4$ / -ts6$_5$}	(Cl)-o-ǰo-ví {-mupi$_6$ / -pijéhí$_7$}	Dual / Plural
INAN		(Cl)-o-ví$_8$	(Cl)-o-ǰo-ví {-clsfr-dl$_9$ / -pl sx$_{10}$}	Dual / Plural

Matrix 7.3. Subject-relativization Formation.

Matrix 7.3. is self-explanatory except for the middle left-hand cell. Here, -ts6 varies with -ví-pijé. The latter may occur with all verbs; the former is in free variation with this on khú "to make, to do" and ǰú "to be" only.

[For Matrix 7.4., cf. next page]

		SINGULAR	NON-SINGULAR	
ANIMATE	M	(Cl)-áa-ní-gí$_{11}$	(Cl)-áa-ní{-musi$_{12}$ / -?a$_{13}$}	Dual / Plural
	F	(Cl)-áa-ní-pijé$_{14}$	(Cl)-áa-ní{-mupi$_{15}$ / -pijéhí$_{16}$}	Dual / Plural
INAN		(Cl)-áa$_{17}$	(Cl)-áa-ní{-clsfr-dl$_{18}$ / -pl sx$_{19}$}	Dual / Plural

Matrix 7.4. Object-relativization Formation.

Matrix 7.4. is self-explanatory.

Examples relating to Matrices 7.3. and 7.4.

Subject-relativization.

1) (M.sg.) ǰaáná núúhigá kho-ví-gí
child shelter do - S-rel

"The one (m) who shelters (OR: shades) the child"

2) (M.dl.) ǰaáná núúhigá khoǰovímusi

"The ones (OR: the two (m)) who shelter the child"

3) (M.pl.) ǰaáná núúhigá khoǰoví?a

"The ones (pl - m) who shelter the child"

4) (F.sg.) a?mitovípiǰé

"The one (f) who eats"

5) (F.sg.) ǰaáná núúhigá kho{-tsó / -ví-piǰé}

"The one (f) who shelters the child"

6) (F.dl.) ǰaáná núúhigá khovímupi .

"The ones (OR: the two (f)) who shelter the

child"

7) (F.pl.) ǰaánáˊ núúhigáˊ khovípiǰéhíˊ

"The ones (f.pl.) who shelter the child"

8) (Inan.sg.) haa-ʔpe ǰo - víˊ
sink rem past be - S-rel

"The one that had sunk" (from haa ǰúˊ "to sink"(intrans))

9) (Inan.dl.) i) haa-ʔpe ǰo - ǰo - víˊ - miikúˊ
non-sg Srel canoe-dl

"The ones (the two canoes) that had sunk"

(-mi is the classifier for canoes; ÷ʔkúˊ is dual. cf. sections 3.2.2.2.1. & 3.2.2.2.3. ., above.)

ii) ha?vano - ǰo- víˊ - uuka - míˊ
fall non-sg Srel dl rec past round things

"The round things (dl) that fell"

(from ha?vanúˊ "to fall", -úˊ classifier for spherical objects, and ÷ʔkúˊ dual)

10) (Inan.pl.) i) haa-ʔpe ǰo-ǰo-víˊ-miihíˊ
pl

"The canoes (pl) that had sunk"

ii) ha?vano-ǰo-víˊ-uuhíˊ-míˊ

"The round things (pl) that fell"

Object-relativization.

11) (M.sg.) núúhigáˊ gi-khúa-ni-gíˊ
shelter he-do-Orel - m

"The one (m) whom he shelters"

12) (M.dl.) núúhigáˊ gikhúanímusi

"The ones (the two (m)) whom he shelters"

13) (M.pl.) núúhigáˊ gikhúaníˊ?a

"The ones (pl, m) whom he shelters"

14) (F.sg.) nûûhigá gi-khâa-ní-pi$\check{j}$é
shelter he-do-Orel-f
"The one (f) whom he shelters"[48]

15) (F.dl.) nûûhigá gikhâanímupi
"The ones (the two (f)) whom he shelters"

16) (F.pl.) nûûhigá gikhâanípi$\check{j}$éhí
"The ones (pl, f) whom he shelters"

17) (Inan.sg.) tsopâa
she-wash-Orel
"That which she washes"[49] (from hipû "to wash")

---

[48]Note that here the M or F refers to the object of the verb, as indicated in the object-relativization present in the structure, and not to the Subject (in this case, gi-, "he"), which may be of any person, number, or gender.

[49]In this case the singular inanimate form of Object-relativization is homophonous with the nominalized form of the same verb. However, the difference is clearly established by -ní in the dual and plural (exceptionally deleted in the inanimate singular), and elsewhere is generally indicated by distributional differences.

e.g. i) tsopâa oo$\check{j}$a$\check{j}$á?
H:RelCl small
S:NP(iii) P:Aj
"That which she washes is small"

ii) tsopâa no-tshéní
I-see
O:NomCl S:NP$_2$-P:VP
"I see her wash"

In addition to this, in certain contexts (cf. 7.2.2.3.2., and examples in Axis-Relator phrases) most NomCls are distinguished from RelCls containing the same verb by different tone. Note the following example, which is typical:-

do?pí tsopaá - ⱥ́
she-go she-wash ppsv
Axis:NomCl relr
S:NP$_2$-P:VP Ppsv:PP
"She goes to wash (something)"

18) (Inan.dl.) tsopáa-ní-ʔiǰókû
"The vessels (dl) that she washes"
(-ʔíǰó is the classifier for "earthenware container for liquid")

19) (Inan.pl.) tsopáaníʔiǰóhí
"The vessels (pl) that she washes"

When the verb in the Predicate bears the reflexive suffix -phaavû (cf. 3.1.2.2.1., above), one would expect only Subject-relativization to operate. However, this is not the case; both Subject- and Object-relativization may occur, thus yielding a difference of emphasis not paralleled in English, since the Subject and Object refer to the same person. The following examples illustrate this:-

i) Subject-relativization:

haaʔ- phoo - ví - piǰé
comb reflex Srel f

"The one who combs (herself)"

ii) Object-relativization:

daaʔ - phaavá - ní - piǰé
she-comb reflex Orel f

"The one (herself) whom she combs"

As these examples (and others not reproduced here) indicate, the normal Subject- and Object-relativization rules apply, with two modifications:-

i) In the case of Subject-relativization, the final syllable of -phaavû is deleted, and relativization therefore

operates on the now-final -aa.

ii) In the case of Object-relativization, the final syllable is not deleted, but neither is it lengthened, since the the preceding syllable is long, and sequences of two long syllables are generally avoided where possible. Apart from this, the usual Object-relativization rules apply.

7.2.2.4.3. Distribution.

The relativized clause (of either type) is distributed back-looped in the NP only, either as Modifier in NP_i or NP_{iv}, or as Head in NP_{iii}.

e.g. i) atsáagí tso-mí kainée khovígí
man her rec kill do-Srel
past
H:Nn M:RelCl
NP_i "The man who killed her"

ii) tso-mí kainée khovígí
her rec kill do-Srel
past
H:RelCl
NP_{iii} "The one who killed her"[50]

Further details are to be found in the description of the NP in 6.1.2.2.1.5., 6.1.2.2.3. and 6.1.2.2.4., above. NP's containing relativized clauses are attested in all the Clause-level and Phrase-level slots where other NP's may occur.

[50]There is no morpheme in the Resígaro here corresponding to the English "one". Thus, a more "literal" gloss might be: "The Ø who killed her". i.e., there is no Head for the Relativized Clause to modify, so this itself becomes the Head of a different type of NP. cf. 6.1.2.2., above, for further details.

Chapter 8

SENTENCE LEVEL

The Sentence is set up as a level of construction above the Clause and below the Paragraph. Sentences are either Simple or Compound.[1] A Simple sentence consists of a Base filled by an Independent Clause, and an intonation tagmeme. A Compound sentence consists of two or more Bases (each of which is filled by an Independent Clause), joined by connectors, plus an intonation tagmeme.

In the Distribution mode of the Sentence, details of distribution in terms of the Paragraph are not given, since the present description does not include an analysis of Paragraph structure.

8.1. Contrast.

The Sentence (Snt) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

[1] There are no complex sentences in Resígaro, since all "subordinate" (dependent) clauses fill Clause- or Phrase-level slots, as described in chapters 6 and 7, above, and thus form an integral part of the independent clauses in which they occur, without leading to the establishment of structurally different relationships from those present when the Clause- or Phrase-level tagmeme in question has a non-clausal filler. This is fully exemplified and explained in the chapters referred to.

i) It consists of one or more Bases, each of which is filled by an independent clause.

ii) It is marked by a supra-segmental Intonation tagmeme.

iii) If more than one Base occurs, each pair of Bases is joined by a connector.

8.2. Variation.

Two types of Sentence are set up on the basis of internal structure.

Snt_{i} = +B:Indep Cl +Inton:Intonation Contour

Snt_{ii} = +B:Indep Cl + (+conn +B:Indep Cl)^{r} +Inton: Intonation Contour

where r indicates that the part of the formula within brackets may be repeated an indefinite number of times.

8.2.1. Sentence Type i, "Simple".

The Simple Sentence may be Declarative, Interrogative, or Imperative, with a different Intonation Contour in each case. This leads to the establishment of three sub-types of Simple Sentence:-

$Snt_{i.i}$ = +B:DeclCl +$Inton_{i}$: "."

$Snt_{i.ii}$ = +B:IgCl +$Inton_{ii}$: "?"

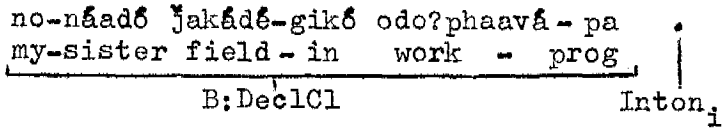
$Snt_{i.iii}$ = +B:ImpCl +$Inton_{iii}$: "!"

The different Clause Classes have been described in chapter 7, above. An analysis of the different intonation types falls outside the scope of the present descrip-

tion (cf. Introduction), though these types are distinguished by the intonation notation (punctuation conventions) indicated in the formulae above.

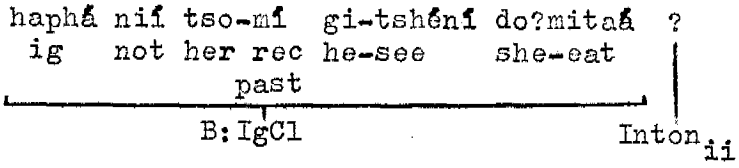
Absence of further distinguishing features between these three sub-types of the Simple Sentence renders separate treatment of each sub-type unnecessary. Three examples follow, and further examples of the Clause Classes filling the Base are to be found in chapter 7, above.

e.g. i) ($Snt_{i.i}$)



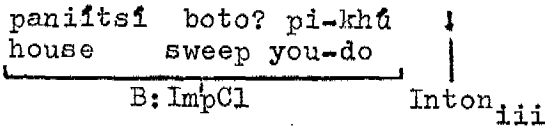
"My sister is working in the field"

ii) ($Snt_{i.ii}$)



"Didn't he see her eat?"

iii) ($Snt_{i.iii}$)



"Sweep the house!"

8.2.2. Sentence Type ii, "Compound".

Compound Sentences consist of two or more Independent Clauses joined by a connector or connectors, + an intonation contour. In theory, there is no limit to the num-

ber of clauses that may be joined in this way to form one sentence, though in practice sequences of more than two clauses joined by one connector are rare in normal speech, though more common in traditional stories.

There are five sub-types, each corresponding to a different connector and a consequential difference of relation (and meaning) between the Clauses filling the two Bases thus joined.

8.2.2.1. Sub-type i: "Co-ordinate".

The connector is hamee?nã "also" -- often equivalent to English "and" between clauses.

e.g. i) ǰakãdẽ-giko-mí nodo?phaavũ hamee?nã-mí
field in rec I-work also rec
past past
B:Cl conn$_i$

teẽ?í-gikõ ee?phi no-khũ .
river-in fish I-do
B:Cl Inton

"I have worked in the field and I have fished (with hook and line) in the river"

As this example indicates, the temporal clitic referring to the second clause may be suffixed to the connector.

ii) no-nãagí mẽnĩ-pa hamee?nã no-nãnikãna ĩmã-pa .
my-brother play-prog also my-sister sleep-prog
B:Cl conn$_i$ B:Cl Inton

"My brother is playing and my sister is sleeping"

8.2.2.2. Sub-type ii: "Temporal Sequence".

The connector is mineeíkhó "and then", which is derived from mi- "and", neeí "there" and -khó "from" (DP relator).

e.g. i)

ǰakáde-mí	vodo?phaavá	mineeíkhó-mí	vapaáná-kóo	ve?pí	.
field rec	we-work	and then rec	our-house-to	we-go	|
	past		past		
	B:Cl	conn$_{ii}$	B:Cl		Inton

"We worked in the field and then we went to our house"

ii)

no-khíigi - vá	no?vánó	mineeíkho-vá	no?mitó	.		
my-maternal fut	I-visit	and then fut	I eat	|		
uncle						
B:Cl		conn$_{ii}$	B:Cl	Inton		

"I shall visit my maternal uncle and then I shall eat"

8.2.2.3. Sub-type iii: "Alternative".

The connector is haphánakhé? "or". This is derived from three morphemes: haphá "Corroborative Interrogative", -ná "restrictive" and -khé? "incompletive clitic".[2] It is the only interrogative connector and the resulting sentence is interrogative, though its constituent clauses are declarative.

e.g. i)

fá?vu	haphánakhé?	há?í	hó?ku	?	
it-rains	or	sun	shines	|	
B:Cl	conn$_{iii}$	B:Cl		Inton	

"Is it raining or is the sun shining?"

ii)

vodo?phaava-vá	haphánakhé?	- vá	va?mitá	?		
we-work fut	or	fut	we-eat	|		
B:Cl	conn$_{iii}$	B:Cl		Inton		

[2] It is probable that the final syllable of hamee?ná is also identifiable with the restrictive.

"Shall we work or eat?"

8.2.2.4. Sub-type iv: "Adversative".

The connector is mikɛ́ "but", which is derived from mi- "and" plus -kɛ́ Dative relator.[3]

e.g. i) fá?vu mikɛ́ ha?moo? fú .
it-rain but hot we |
B:Cl conn$_{iv}$ B:Cl Inton

"It is raining but it is hot" (OR: "... but we are hot" -- cf. footnote 17 to 7.2.1.2.1., above.)

ii) peedɔ́ - koomi - ná -?pe no-kɛ́?ǰo mikɛ́
isango-village - in rem I - born but
past
B:Cl conn$_{iv}$

no-nánikána depɔ́o - koomi - ná kɛ́?ǰo .
my-sister upriver-village - in born |
B:Cl Inton

"I was born in Isango[4] village, but my sister was born in the village upriver"

---

[3] When the DOP has a nominalized clause in the axis slot, the relation between the embedded clause and the matrix clause is one of Concession or Concurrence. The former meaning is very close to the adversative function when -kɛ́ is part of the type iv connector at Sentence level, the difference being that the concessive relation shows the speaker's reaction to two contrasting propositions, whereas the adversative relation is neutral, merely stating the way thing are. (I am indebted to Dr. Mary Ruth Wise for this insight. Her article with Green (1971b) touches on this and other related points.)

[4] Isango is the local Spanish name for a very small insect that lives in the grass, and bites people and animals. The village of my main informant, Pablo Andrade, was notorious for these insects, and appropriately has the Spanish name Puerto Isango -- Isango Port. I have been unable to find this word in any Spanish or bi-lingual dictionary other than those produced in Peru and Colombia by S.I.L. for other Indian languages.

Whereas previous examples have frequently shown a temporal clitic on the connector, in this case, the second clause has no temporal clitic, though it refers to the past. Yet this is clear both from the previous clause and the particular verb in the Predicate of this clause.

8.2.2.5. Sub-type v: "Grounds-Implication".

The connector is mipoká? "thus, so", which is derived from mi- "and" and -poká? Benefactive relator.[5]

When the Grounds-Implication connector is used, the second clause frequently bears the dubitative clitic -ekó?tsí (cf. 7.2.1.2.6.5.1., above), or this may be suffixed to the connector itself, as is the case with other clitics referring to the second clause.

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[5]When the Benefactive Phrase has a nominalized clause in the axis slot, the relation between this embedded clause and the matrix clause is one of Cause-Effect. This is close to the Grounds-Implication function when -poká? is part of the type v connector at Sentence level, the difference paralleling that between Concessive and Adversative referred to in the footnote on miké, above: Grounds-Implication shows the speaker's reaction to a situation, whereas Cause-Effect merely states neutrally a causal relationship.

In relating the semantic to the syntactic difference, we see that the situation here is the reverse of that in the previous case: here, the speaker's reaction is shown at Sentence level, and the clause embedded in the BP is neutral, whereas Sentence-level Adversative is neutral, and Phrase-level Concessive is not.

e.g. i) anepuu?-mí dodo?phaavú
much rec she-work
past
B:Cl

mipoká? - ekê?tsí maá?tsa tsé .
thus dub tired she
conn$_v$ B:Cl Inton

"She has worked a lot, so I think she must be tired"

ii)

nií-mí da?mitú mipoká? damá?kaa - ekê?tsí .
not rec he-eat thus he-hunger - dub
past
B:Cl conn$_v$ B:Cl Inton

"He has not eaten, so I think he is hungry"

8.3. Distribution.

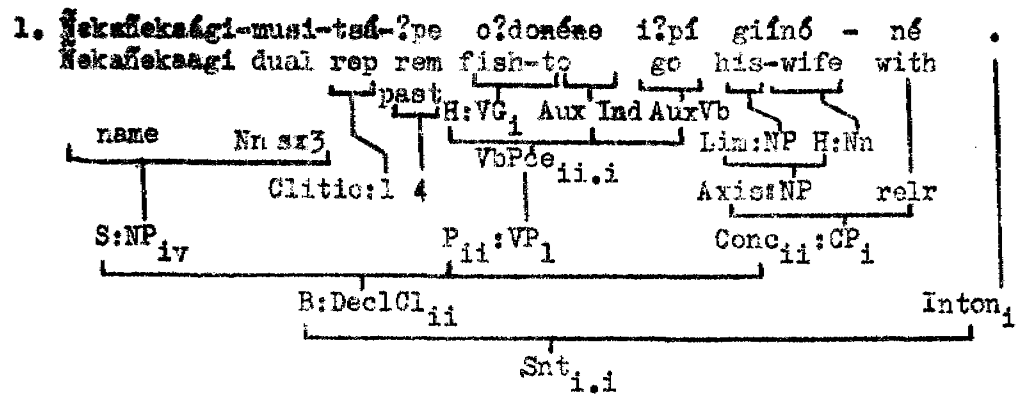
The Sentence is distributed in the Paragraph. Though an analysis of this level falls beyond the scope of the present description, the text in the next chapter gives some examples of the distribution of the Sentence.

Chapter 9

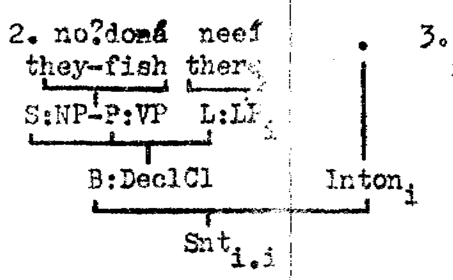
TEXT

A detailed analysis is now given of the first section of a text. This would in fact appear to correspond to what might be called the first paragraph, though no analysis of Paragraph level as such is carried out.

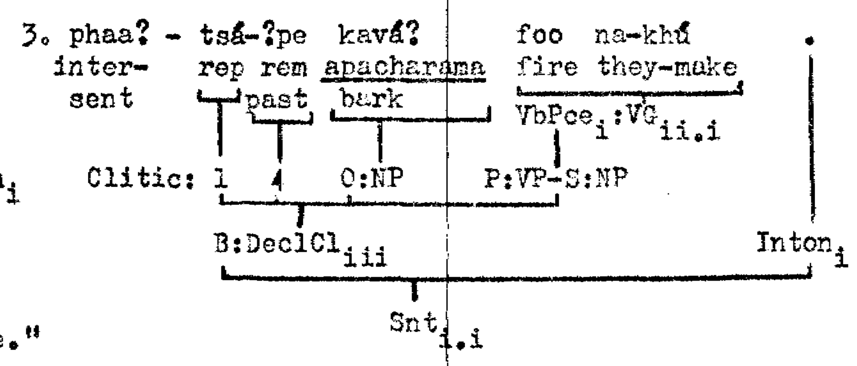
Inevitably, some features of the Paragraph appear in this, such as the "inter-sentential relator", and the presence of clitics on this, rather than on the first tagmeme in the clause.

1.


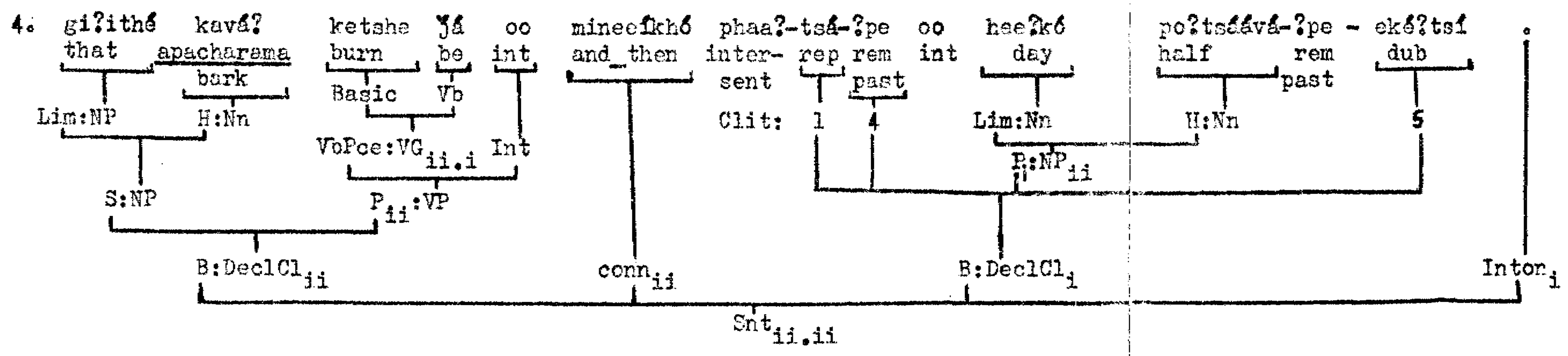
" It is said that Ñekañekaagi went fishing (with barbasco poison) with his wife."

2.


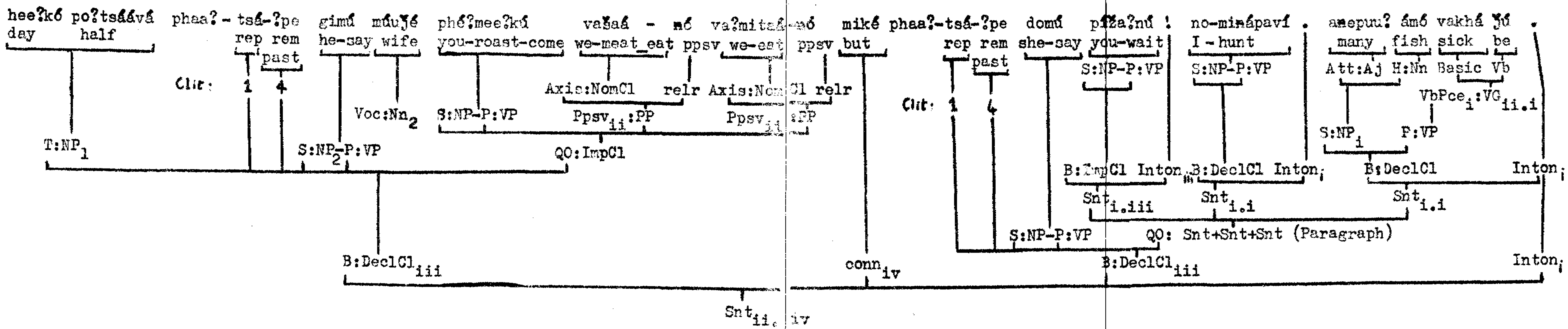
" They fish(ed) there."

3.


" Then it is said that they made a fire with the bark of the apacharama tree."

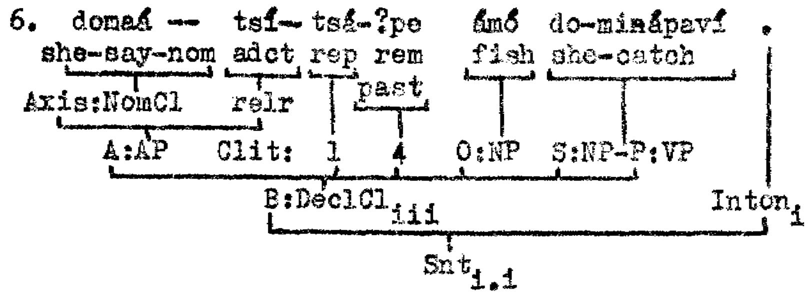
4.


" That apacharama bark burned and then it is said that it was already mid-day, I believe."

5.


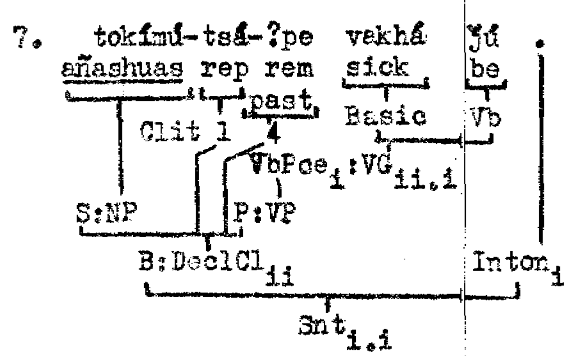
" At midday it is said that he said, 'Wife, come and cook, so that we may eat meat and other things!', but it is said that she said, 'Wait! I am hunting [i.e., fishing]. Many fish are getting sick'."

6.



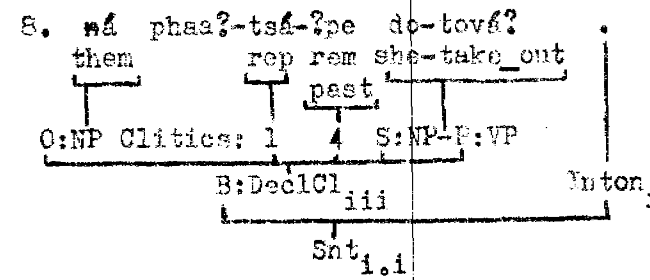
" So saying, she caught the fish."

7.



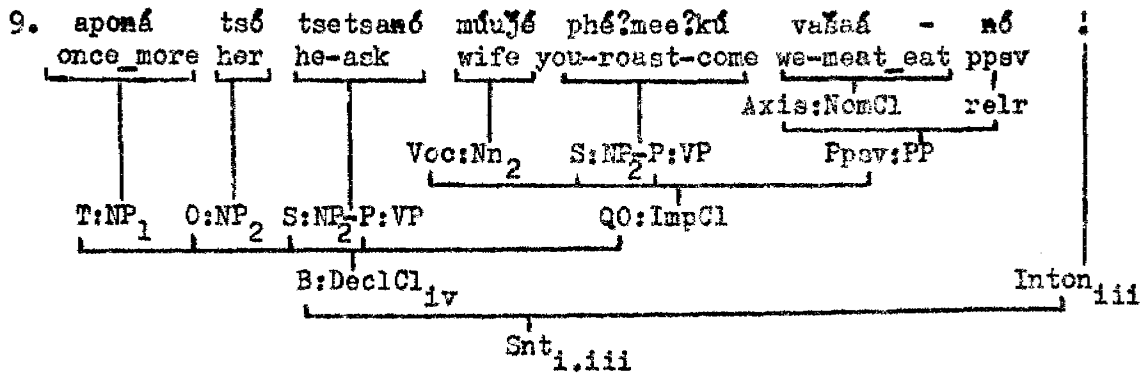
" The añashua fish got ill."

8.



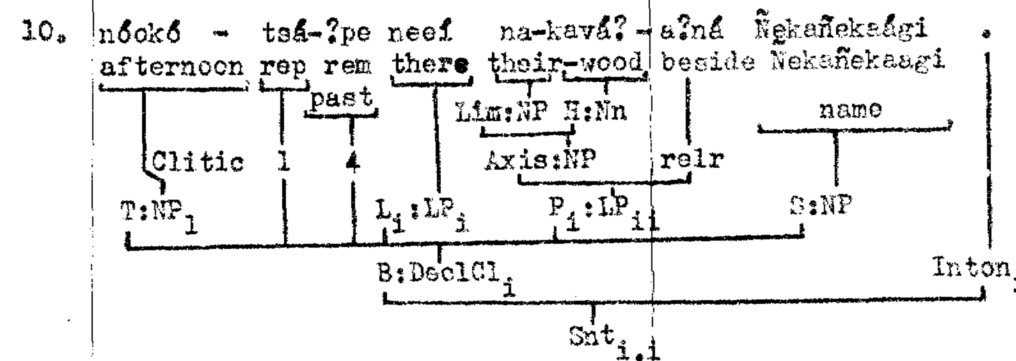
" Then she took them out."

9.



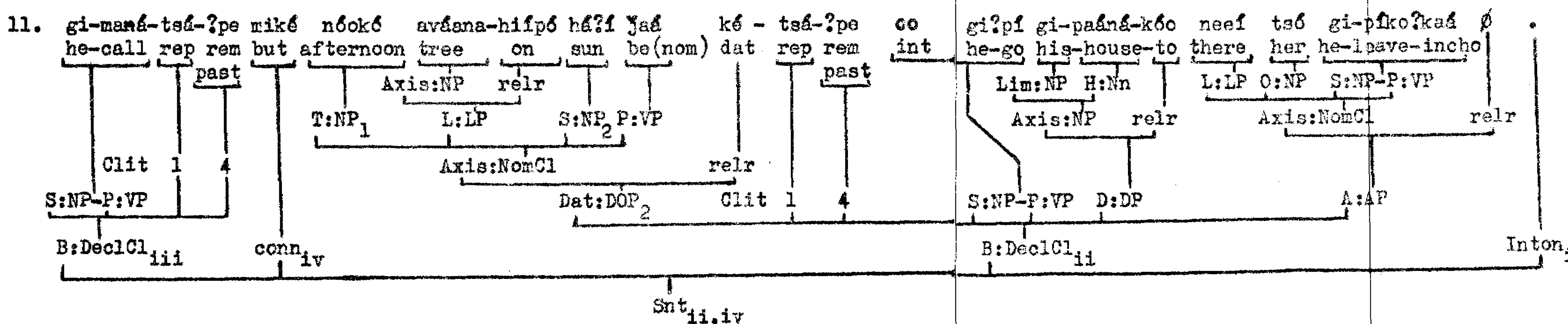
" Once more he asks her, 'Wife, come and cook so that we may eat meat!' "

10.



" (In the) afternoon, it is said that Ñekañekaagi was beside their apacharama-wood (fire) there."

11.



" It is said that he called her, but (in the) afternoon, while the sun was on the tree (-tops), it is said that he went to his house, leaving her there."