APALAI

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INTRODUCTION

Apalai is a language of the Carib family spoken in the Northern regions of the Maicuru, Paru and Jari Rivers of Para, Brazil. In the last three decades the tribe has been decimated by various diseases contracted through their contact with civilization. At present there are around 350 speakers of Apalai. Partly as a result of their depleted ranks and because of their proximity, the Apalai have integrated with the Wayana Indians (also Carib language family) to a considerable degree. There are very few "pure" Apalai. Although the material cultures are indistinguishable the linguistic culture is intact. The first language of the offspring of an integrated marriage is generally that of the mother, although a high degree of bilingualism is not uncommon.

The Carib family is scattered throughout northern and central South America. Apalai is not mutually intelligible with its nearest family neighbors: Wayana and Hixkaryana of Brazil and Tirio and Carib (Galibi) of Surinam.

Apalai-Portuguese bilingualism is limited to the use of bartering terms or "small talk" with transient rubber or jaguar hunters and government representatives. Apart from the Apalai-Wayana bilingualism in "mixed" families, referred to above, Apalai is spoken exclusively within the culture.

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE OR CLAUSE

1 Word order

The basic clause types of Apalai include: Intransitive, Transitive, Expressive, Copular, and Equative. The nuclear constituents of these clauses are described below in sects. 1.1 - 1.5, and peripheral constituents, which apply in general to all clauses, are treated in sect. 1.6.

1.1 Transitive clauses. The transitive clause has an object followed by a verb, and a subject which follows the verb or precedes the object: OVS or SOV.

(1)   kaikuxi   etapa-V̄   toto,   papa   tomo
       jaguar   kill- IP   3PL   father   3PL
       'They killed a jaguar, father's group.'

(2)   mame tamy matary   epekaty-ase
       then   tobacco   1+buy- RP
       'Then I bought tobacco.'

(3)   opi   t- yri- se   karapareta   a
         medicine   NF-make-CMPL   Karapareta   by
         'The medicine was made by Karapareta.'

(4)   mame n-epinopy-   ase   mose   rahkene
         then 3-treat medically- RP   this one   really
         'Then this person treated him medically.'

(5)   papa   kyn-uo- ne
         father   3- kill-DP
         'Father killed it.'

(6)   papa   ruka   kana- ry   apiro- ase
         father   Luke   canoe-POSSN   open up-RP

         mã
         THEME INTROD
         'Father opened up Luke's canoe.'

The basic order of the constituents of the transitive clause is shown as OVS
even though very few clauses include all three constituents. Those that do are
usually discourse initial sentences. One of the reasons for the lack of clause
level constituents in Apalai discourse is the use of devices for marking
thematic participants. Once a participant is identified he is referred to by
pronominal affixes bound to the verbs of the main or subordinate clauses.

In a sample of one hundred Transitive clauses in running text, forty of the
clauses have no free subject or object. Fifty of them have a free object
occurring before the verb but no free subject. Five of them are SV with the
subject occurring before the verb and no free object. Only three are OVS.
Another one is SOV. There is also an O clause with the subject and verb
understood.

This may not be a representative sample of all the possibilities since VS can
also occur (see (4)), but its occurrence is rare.

When a free object occurs in a clause it comes before the verb. When a
free subject also occurs it can appear before or following the OV with a 3:1
preference for the position following OV. Additional evidence suggesting that
this is the basic pattern is found in the order of constituents in subordinate
clauses. (See sect. 14.)

1.2 Intransitive clauses.   The intransitive clause has a subject and verb
which may occur in either order: SV or VS.

(7)   papa   n-otuh-no
         father   3-eat- IP
         'Father ate.'

(8)   moroto   ynan-oturu-   ase
        there   1+3-converse-RP
        'There we conversed.'

(9)   mame   t- ōnuh- se   papa   kakoxi
        then   NF-go up-CMPL   father   above
        'Then father went up above.'

(10)   berē   pona   t- oyto-se   konohno,   poeto
        Belem   to   NF-go CMPL   brother in law   child

        me   ty-   py- ty   a- htao
        DENOM   3RFLX-wife-POSSN   be-when
        'My brother-in-law went to Belem when his wife was a child.'

1.3 Expressive clauses. The expressive clause has an expression followed
by the verb *ka* 'say' or 'do' and the subject of that verb:

(11)   ȳ,   oeh-   no   ropa,   ty- ka- se   mokyro   i- py- ty
        yes,   1+come-IP   back   NF-say-CMPL   that one 3-wife-POSSN
        ' "Yes, I came back," said his wife.'

There is a variant form *a*, which occurs for certain tense-aspect categories (see
sect. 18.1 and (12) below).

   The expression may be an ideophone or series of ideophones representing an
action, the noise of an action, the noise of an animal, the words of a song, or
a direct speech quote. The following examples illustrate a song (12), direct
speech (13), and an ideophonic expression (14).

(12)   sakura, sakura, sakura,   a- V̌ko,   poet   ome
        the sweet manioc drink   say-CONT   child DENOM

        pitiko   j- a- htao
        small   1-be-when
        ' "Sakura, sakura, sakura," I sang when I was a little child.'

(13)   saih   saih   ka- ry   moro   ey-a
        go away   go away   say-NOMLZR   that   3- by
        ' "Go away! go away," she kept saying.'

(14)   koih   kaxi-ko,   a- V̌ko   aisore   hm-a   y-a
        paddle do- IMP   say-CONT Aisore   3- be+PRES   1-to
        ' "Paddle!," Aisore was saying to me.'

Ex. (14) has an embedded *ka* clause within another *ka* clause. The ideophone
is part of the embedded clause.

1.4 Copular clauses.   The copular clause has a subject, copular verb *exi* 'be,' and complement. The complement is expressed by a descriptive (adjectival-adverbial type) word or postpositional phrase. The verb may be deleted when it is recoverable from the preceding discourse. The normal order of constituents is: COMPL S V.

(15)   poeto   me   exi- ne   kama-   kuao
        child   DENOM 1+be-DP   Kama creek-at
        'I was a child at Kama creek.'

(16)   morara   oximome   toh   kyn-exi-ne
        like that together   3PL   3- be- DP
        '(The trees) were close together.'

(17)   moroto   yna   tapyi- Ṽ   kyn-exi-ne
        there   1+3   house-POSSN   3- be- DP
        'There was our house.'

(18)   aimo pyno   mana
        boy caring for 3+be+PRES
        'He cares for the boy.'

1.5 Equative clauses.   The equative is a nonverbal clause whose nucleus consists of two nominals, one of which may be a demonstrative pronoun. This is the preferred construction when a nominalized verb phrase is used. One nominal functions as subject (usually the first constituent) and the other as predicate complement: Subj PC.

(19)   mokyro   ituakyry
        that one jungle person
        'That man (is) a jungle person.'

(20)   a-yto-ry   moro
        3-go-NOMLZR   that
        'He was going.'

(21)   ikaponato   a-oryxi-ry
        the next one 3-sister-POSSN
        'His sister was the next one (born).'

1.6 Peripheral constituents.   Optional constituents of clauses are Indirect Object and various oblique objects which I will refer to here as Adjunct. Indirect object is a postpositional phrase with the relator *a* 'to, by'.

(22)   y-pyre   ekaro- ase   ey-a
        1-gun+POSSN   1+give-RP   3- to
        'I gave my gun to him.'

(23)   moky   ene- kose   aporo,   n-yka-V̄   toto   papa   a
        that one   look-IMP   briefly   3-say-IP   3PL   father to
        ' "There he is, look at him," they said to father.'

Adjuncts include all constituents which express semantic roles of location,
time, manner, cause, and purpose. They may be adverbials or postpositional
phrases. (See Derbyshire 1979:39). Usually not more than two adjuncts precede
a clause nucleus, one being an introducer and the other a time or location
word (28), whereas up to 3 or 4 adjuncts can follow the nucleus:

(24)   mame   oepy-   ase   ituh- taka
        then   1 +come-RP   forest-to
        'Then I came to the woods.'

(25)   mame t- oyto- se   ropa   t-   umy   a
        then NF-go- CMPL   again   3REFLX-father +POSSN   to
        'Then he went back to his father.'

(26)   j- eneh- ne   toto   taro-na
        3S1O-bring- DP   3PL   here-to
        'They brought me here.'

(27)   pina   ke   t-   uo-pỹ
        barbed arrow   with   GEN. PREF-kill-NEG +NOMLZR

        rohxo   t- yka-se
        INTNSF NF-say-CMPL
        ' "That's not what you kill with barbed arrows," he said.'

(28)   mame kokoro   yto-V̄ko   ase   kana anỹ- se
        then tomorrow go- CONT   1 +be +PRES   fish lift up-PURP
        'Then tomorrow I'm going to catch fish.'

2 Parataxis

The juxtaposition of phrases within the clause and of clauses within the
sentence is of frequent occurrence. The main clause constituents are usually
expressed first, followed by an expanded or modified form of one or more of
those constituents. Examples of juxtaposition of noun phrases, subject and
object, are the following:

(29)   mame yrokokoro   ituimano   t- oyto-se,   takyimano
        then next day   Ituimano   NF-go-CMPL   Takyimano
        'Then the next day Ituimano went, Takyimano.'

The two names represent the same person in a (discontinuous) appositional relationship.

(30) irukaira   t- aro- se   t-   ymeretamu- ru,
      Irukaira   NF-take-CMPL   3REFLX-father in law-POSSN

      irukaira
      Irukaira
      'He took Irukaira, his father-in-law.'

(31) paruru   enepy-ase   jake   tomo,   i-py- ty   maro
      banana   bring-RP   Jake   3PL   3-wife-POSSN   with
      'Jake's group including his wife brought bananas.'

Examples of juxtaposition of adverbial phrases are the following:

(32) t- oyto-se   nyh- se   iporiry   kuaka   apu
      NF-go- CMPL   sleep-PURP   creek   at,   Assai

      eukuru   kuaka
      drink   at
      'He went to sleep at the creek, at the Assai drink creek.'

(33) mõto-na   ke   onuh- to- ko   tapyi   mypatarã-naka
      there-to   POLITE   go up-PL-IMP   house   ridge- on to
      'You all go up over there on to the house ridge.'

The phrases of the foregoing examples are dislocated phonologically from the preceding constituents, each phrase having its own intonational pattern and pause between it and other phrases. The dislocation is rightward. Much more infrequent in Apalai speech are examples of leftward dislocation as in (34) and (35).

(34) te   se- ino   inikahpo-ino   a-   orih-
      PAUSE   there-from   up river-from   GEN. PREF-deceased-

      tyã   tapyi- V̌   kyn-exi-ne   mãka   myhto
      NOMLZR   house-POSSN   3- be- DP   mango   at foot of
      'Over there, up river, was the deceased one's house beneath the mango tree.'

(35) oty   ropa,   monohne   tōkehko,   oty keh   moro,
      what again   that kind PL, etc.   what else that

      ȳ   pape   morohne   poko   at-   amorepa-V̆ko
      oh yes paper   that kind   about   REFLX-teach- CONT
      'What next, all those things, what do you call them,
      studying paper and all those things.'

The sequence of phrases is often discontinuous, as in ((29), (30), and (33)), with only the first of the list appearing in the pre-verbal position. Other examples of discontinuous sequences show that the expansion phrase need not be sentence-final (36) and that constituents within a direct speech (complement) clause may be expanded by a phrase that occurs after the main verb of the sentence (37):

(36) tawapaira   t- aro- se   to- kono
      Tawapaira   NF-take-CMPL   3REFLX-brother in law

      urakana-se
      hunt- PURP
      'He took Tawapaira his brother-in-law to hunt.'

(37) arimi   wo-hpō   ase   t- yka-se
      monkey   kill-PAST+NOMLZR 1+be+PRES NF-say-CMPL

      y-meretamu- ru   zopa-hpono
      1-father in law-POSSN   feed-PAST+NOMLZR
      ' "I am a monkey killer" he said, "one who provides
      for my father-in-law." '

Phrase parataxis may function as a coordination mechanism (sect. 8), as a method of clarification ((30), (32), (33), and (36)), or as a means of modification or emphasis (31). No examples of parataxis occurring within subordinate clauses have been noted. As for juxtaposition of finite verbs, each verb is considered in our analysis to be a complete clause rather than a sequence of serial verbs within a clause.

(38) mame tokare pyra   t-   osa- ry   t- akoh-se.
      then openly NEG   3REFLX-place-POSSN   NF-cut- CMPL

      akoh-ko   opomo-   ko   paruru   arika-ko
      cut- HIS   plant(manioc)-HIS banana   plant-HIS
      'Then secretly he cut himself a field. He cleared it,
      planted manioc and he planted bananas.'

Another kind of series of verb phrases is the repetition of a verb phrase or ideophone indicating the passing of time or repeated action.

(39)   t-   yse   apori-   ry   enahka-se
        3REFLX-mother+POSSN   feather-POSSN   use up-CONT.PAST

        rahkene.   enahka-se   enahka-se
        really   use up-CONT.PAST   use up-CONT.PAST

        enahka-se   t- onahka-se   moro
        use up-CONT.PAST   NF-use up-CMPL   that
        'He really used up his mother's feathers.
        He used them and used them and used them till they
        were used up.'

(40)   mokyro   i-nio   pekã   pekã   pekã
        that one   3-husband+POSSN   flap   flap   flap

        pekã   tiwi
        flap   catch on
        'Her husband flapped (his wings, clumsily flying)
        then caught on (to the landing place with his beak).'

There is ample evidence of clause juxtaposition in Apalaí narrative and dialogue. Both main clauses (41) and subordinate clauses (42) occur juxtaposed, the function being coordination, modification, clarification or emphasis.

(41)   (1)   oeh-   no   papa,   u-mũku-ru   pyre
               1+come-IP   father   1-son- POSSN   arrow+POSSN

               apori-   ry   poko.
               feathers-POSSN   occupied with

        (2)   u-mũku-ru   t-   ypyre   apori-
               1-son- POSSN   3REFLX-arrow+POSSN   feathers-

               ry   poko   n-ase.
               POSSN   occ.with   3-be+IP

        (3)   j-uhpoty   enahka-Ṽko.
               1-feathers+POSSN   use up-CONT

(4) naeroro   oy-a   oeh-   no
     so   2- to   1 +come-IP
     ' "I've come, father, to get feathers for my son's arrows.
     My son has been occupied with making arrows, and he is using
     up all my feathers. That's why I've come to you." '

In (41), the main clauses (2), (3), and (4) clarify the first clause.

(42) zumo   pyra   ro   t-   a- htao   kyn-ety̆-   ne
      big   NEG   yet   3REFLX-be-when   3- become drunk-DP

      pitiko   ro   t-   a- htao
      small   still   3REFLX-be-when
      'When he was not yet big he got drunk, when he was still small.'

See sect. 22.5 for basic intonation patterns relating to phonologically dislocated
clauses and phrases.

3 Ellipsis

In Apalai clauses any or all nonverbal constituents can be omitted leaving
only the verb and its bound pronominal markers. The nominal subject can be
omitted once it has been expressed. As long as it remains the topic or main
participant it is only referred to by pronouns or indirect references.

(43) papa   tõ   kV̆-yto-ne   parahta   zupi-   se   repe.
      father group   3- go- DP   rubber   look for-   PURP   FRUST

      taro-ino   kV̆-yto-ne   toto   kãpo   pona
      here-from   3- go- DP   3PL   airstrip   to
      'Father and group went to look for rubber.
      From here they went to the airstrip.'

(44) õko   wo- ne   toto.   papa   kyn-uo- ne
      wild turkey   kill-DP   3PL   father   3- kill- DP
      'They killed a wild turkey. Father killed it.'

When the topic needs to be expanded or limited a full nominal may occur
as subject (44). The person involved as subject of a preceding clause may be
the indirect object of a following clause without any overt reference (45):

(45) zuaro-   hko   pyra   ase.   enaroro   zuaro
      3+know-quite   NEG   1+be+PRES   3PL   3+know

      na.   ekaro-V̆ko   rokē   toh   mon-exi-ano
      3+be+PRES   tell- CONT   only   3PL   3- be- RP
      'I didn't witness it. They know it (firsthand). They were
      telling it (to me).'

If the verb form is completive, the verb affixes refer to third person subject for intransitives, expressives and equatives, and to third person objects for transitives. When the action is thematic over the span of several clauses the verb can be deleted (46).

Often the ideophonic representation substitutes as a proform for its corresponding verb (47):

(46) te   ōko   tō   ynan-uo-   pito- ne   zumo   pyra
      PAUSE   turkey   3PL   1+3- shoot-begin-DP   big   NEG

      ro   yna- a- htao.   moroto-ino   arimi   tō   rahkene
      yet   1+3-be-when   that- after   monkey   3PL   really

      zumo-hxo   yna- a- htao   rahkene
      big- more   1+3-be-when   really
      'We began to kill wild turkeys when we were not yet big.
      After that (we killed) monkeys when we were bigger.'

(47) mame poko̅ poko̅ poko̅ poko̅ kae- hxo   repe
      then flap   flap   flap   flap   high-more   FRUST

      wewe   po toto
      tree   on 3PL
      'Then away they flew quite high up in a tree.'

There is a high occurrence of partial or incomplete sentences in Apalai discourse. One reason is the heavy use of direct speech quotes in narrative. Much of the dynamic of a story is carried along in the form of direct quotes, which include partial sentence responses. This extends to most cognitive processes, which are stated in the form of speech quotes. When the context, whether behavior or direct speech, provides part of the information load, the quote may be less than a complete sentence and still be semantically complete.

Another reason for incomplete sentences is the tendency to reduce redundancy by omitting overt markers for the participants once they have been established as "thematic." A "thematic" participant is one who has been introduced by name or descriptive statement and is central in that part of the

discourse. Clues such as kinship terms may be used to refer to related participants, while the main participant is not overtly expressed or may be indicated by means of a pronominal prefix.

(48) mokyro   kurumu   ke   ty-   py-   e
      that one   vulture   with   ADJVZR-wife- ADJVZR

      rahkene.   morarame   a-oryxi-ry   morara
      certainly   then   3-sister-POSSN   thus

      t- yka-se   O-eky-   hxo   hna   otyro
      NF-say-CMPL   2-pet+POSSN-INTNSF   3+be+PRES veg.food

      kyrỹkyry-V̆ko   hxo,   otyro   kutikutima-V̆ko
      get into-CONT   INTNSF   veg.food   mess-   CONT

      tõsẽ poko   hxo.   mame t-   okare   pyra
      meat occ.with INTNSF   then ADJVZR-tell   NEG

      t-   osa- ry   t- akoh-se.   akoh-ko
      3REFLX-place-POSSN   NF-cut-CMPL   cut- HIS

      opomo-   ko paruru   aryka-ko
      plant(manioc)-HIS   bananas   plant-HIS
      'This man married a vulture woman. It started with a complaint
      from his sister, ''Your pet bird keeps messing in the food
      I'm fixing.'' Then without telling (anyone) (he) made a
      clearing. (He) cut it down, planted manioc and planted bananas.'

Note that the story begins by introducing the hero in a descriptive statement in title or preview form: 'This man married a vulture woman.'

The next participant is introduced as his sister who, by speaking, creates a situation calling for a response. The only linguistic clue then that the series of actions to follow is attributed to the hero is the third person pronoun marker on the verbs. The cultural expectation provides additional support, the role of cutting a field being that of a man and not of a sister or bird-wife.

The sister's speech constitutes an indirect speech act, the form being declarative whereas the intent is imperative: ''Do something about the situation.'' The response to such forms is often behavioral instead of verbal. (See E. Koehn 1976 for description of behavioral dyads.)

4 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity and reciprocity are expressed by a verbal prefix: os-/ ot-/ at-/ e-. Reduplication of the first syllable of the verb indicates repeated action and always results in reciprocal meaning, as in (51):

(49)   n-os-   ereh- no
          3-REFLX-scare-IP
          'He scared himself.'

(50)   ynan-ot-   uru- ase   rahkene
          1+3- REFLX-tell-RP   really
          'We really conversed.'

(51)   at-   at-   apoi-V̌ko   toto
          REFLX-REDUP-grab-CONT   3PL
          'They (were) grabbing each other (fighting).'

(52)   e-   kurika-V̌ko   toh   mon-exi-ano
          REFLX-wash- CONT   3PL   3-   be-RP
          'They were washing themselves.'

(53)   ot-   uru-keh   xipo   nyh- se   ynan-yto-ase   ropa
          REFLX-tell-CESS   first   sleep-PURP   1+3-go- RP   again
          'Having stopped our conversing we went to sleep again.'

(54)   t-   õs-   etapa-se   toh   meku   tomo
          NF-REFLX-hit- CMPL   3PL   monkey   group
          'The monkey group stumbled.'

This prefix (os-/ ot-/ at-/ e-) functions as a detransitivizer, changing transitives into intransitive constructions.

Another way of detransitivizing transitive verb stems is to add the discontinuous sequence of prefix and suffix: n-...-ta 'detransitivizer'. The person-marking prefixes and tense-aspect suffixes are those used with intransitive verb stems:

(55)   oty   ka-toh   o-n-   epekah-ta-   no
          what   do-PURP   2-DETRANSVZR-buy-   DETRANSVZR-IP
          'Why did you shop?'

Reciprocals take the same form as reflexives except for the form which occurs with the postpositional pyno. In this case, two forms are used: ose- and oxi-. There is preference among some speakers to consider osepyno the reflexive 'care for oneself', and oxipyno the reciprocal 'care for each other'.

There is a possessive reflexive prefix t-, which occurs with nouns and certain postpositions. The phrase containing this prefix may function as object, indirect object, adjunct, or genitive of a possessed NP. It may occur with any constituent that can be inflected for person of the possessor other than when it is the subject of the main clause. It applies only to third person.

(56) t-   ōxi-   ry   z-uru-V̄ko   kyn-ako
      3REFLX-daughter-POSSN   3-tell-CONT   3- be+IP
      'He was talking to his own daughter.'

(57) ty-   tapyi-V̄   taka   t- oyto-se   ropa   ynororo,
      3REFLX-house-POSSN to   NF-go- CMPL   again   3PRO

      nyh- se
      sleep-PURP
      'He went back to his own house to sleep.'

(58) t-   urui   tupi   poko
      3REFLX-elder brother+POSSN   field+POSSN occ.with

      eroh- nōko   mokyro
      work-CONT   that one
      'He is working at his elder brother's field.'

(59) t- yka-CMPL   tyy-   a   rokene
      NF-say-CMPL   3REFLX-to   only
      'He said (it) to himself.'

(60) t-   ope   a   tV̄- ot-   uru- po-   se
      3REFLX-friend+POSSN   to   NF-REFLX-tell-CAUS-CMPL
      'He questioned his own friend.'

(61) t-   ōxi-   ry   maro   t- oyto-se
      3REFLX-daughter-POSSN   with   NF-go- CMPL
      'He went with his own daughter.'

The possessor reflexive is controlled by the subject of the main clause and may occur on the subject of a subordinate clause or other constituents in a subordinate clause:

(62) berē   pona   t- oyto-se   konohno,
      Belem   to   NF-go- CMPL   brother in law

      poeto   me   t-   ypy- ty   a- htao
      child   DENOM   3REFLX-wife-POSSN   be-when
      'My brother-in-law went to Belem when his wife was a child.'

(63) t-   ykana-ry   nery-topo--   V̄pyry
      3REFLX-canoe-POSSN   sink-NOMLZR(place)-PAST+POSSN

      pona   yto-V̄ko   mana
      to   go- CONT   3+be+PRES
      'He is going to the place where his canoe sank.'

The reflexive *t*- can occur in nonfinite clauses such as the purposive and certain adverbial type clauses. It may be controlled by the subject of the superordinate clause ((64)–(66) and (69)–(72)) or by the (underlying) subject of the nonfinite clause in which it occurs ((67) and (68)).

(64)   yto-v̆ko   mokyro   mana   t-   ōxi-   ry
        go- CONT   that one   3 + be + PRES 3REFLX-daughter-POSSN

        ene-se
        see-PURP
        'That one is going to see his (own) daughter.'

(65)   t-   ypy- ty   zuru-keh   xīpo   oeh- nōko
        3REFLX-wife-POSSN   tell- CESS   first   come-CONT

        ropa   mana
        back   3 + be + PRES
        'When he finishes talking to his wife he will come back.'

(66)   t-   oky   zupi-ry-   me   oeh- nōko
        3REFLX-pet + POSSN   look-NOMLZR-DENOM   come-CONT

        ropa   mana
        back   3 + be + PRES
        'He will be coming back looking for his pet.'

(67)   irukaira   t- aro- se   t-   ymeretamu- ru
        Irukaira   NF-take-CMPL   3REFLX-father in law-POSSN
        'His father-in-law, Irukaira, was taken (by him).'

(68)   eropa,   ōmy   aro- ko,   t- yka-se
        1 + 2 + go + IMP 2 + father + POSSN take-IMP   NF-say-CMPL

        t-   ypy- ty   a
        3REFLX-wife-POSSN   to
        ' "Let's go! And take your father," he said to his wife.'

(69)   t-   oh   wo- toīse   y-a   y-meretamu-
        3REFLX-meat + POSSN shoot-FRUST   1-by   1-father in law-

        ru   y-nomo-   no
        POSSN   1-abandon-IP
        'My father-in-law abandoned me for my almost having shot his meat.'

(70) seromaroro   at-   amorepa-v̆ko   ropa   mose   pape
      now   REFLX-teach-   CONT   again   this one paper

      mero- toh-   me   tyy-   a
      write-NOMLZR-DENOM   3REFLX-by
      'Now this person is studying again to write on paper himself.'

(71) poeto-me   t-   a- htao   tŭpa
      child-DENOM   3REFLX-be-when   Tŭpa

      kyn-e-   puru- ne
      3- REFLX-sting-DP
      'When she was a child Tŭpa was initiated (stung with ants).'

(72) mame kajama   epekah-se   n-oeh-   no   omise
      then manioc meal   buy- PURP   3-come-IP   hungry

      t-   oexi- ry-   ke
      3REFLEX-be- NOMLZR-REAS
      'Then he came to buy manioc meal because he was hungry.'

5 Passives

There are personal passives in Apalai. The bound person marking prefixes of the active verb are replaced by the prefix *t-* 'NONFINITE', and the tense and aspect marking suffixes of active verbs are replaced by *-se* 'COMPLETIVE'.

(73a) ku-   any̆-no   (73b) t- any̆-se   kymoro   ey-a
       3S1 +2O-lift- IP   NF-lift-CMPL   1 +2   3- by
       'He lifted us.'   'We were lifted up by him.'

Comparing the syntactic functions of the nominal constituents of an active clause with those of a passive one we find the following:

(i) The subject of the active intransitive remains the subject of the passive construction. It can precede or follow the verb.

(74a) Ituimano   n-yto-no   (74b) t- oyto-se   Ituimano
       Ituimano   3-go- IP   NF-go- CMPL   Ituimano
       'Ituimano has gone.'   'Ituimano has gone.'

(ii) The object of the active transitive becomes the subject of the corresponding passive clause while the subject of the active transitive becomes an agentive phrase adjunct marked by the postposition *a* 'to, by' (which is also the marker of indirect object). Any indirect object of the active construction remains an indirect object of the passive construction.

(75)   mame yna t- aomika-se   toto   a,   nohpo tomo
        then 1+3 NF-greet- CMPL   3PL   by   woman group

        a   roropa
        by   also
        'Then they all greeted us, the women folk also.'

The agentive phrase of the passive clause may occur before the verb, or
following it, or both.

(76)   aimo a   t- aro- se,   u-mūku-ru   a
        boy   by NF-take-CMPL   1-son- POSSN   by
        'It was taken by the boy, by my son.'

The clause constituent order in the passive construction is a matter of
prominence. The constituent which occurs first, whether a nominal or a verb,
is the more prominent. If a nominal is repeated or expanded, the first
occurrence of the constituent (generally the more generic form) is considered
nuclear and subsequent mention is its expansion.

As for tense and aspect possibilities, the passive form carries the meaning of
completed action. When accompanied by an auxiliary verb the passive form
functions as an adjectival (79):

(77)   moroto-ino   t- yarakah- se   t-   oky
        that- after   NF-cage- CMPL   3REFLX-pet+POSSN
        'After that (he) caged his pet.'

(78)   mame t-   yaramañ   t- ou- se
        then 3REFLX-feather suit+POSSN   NF-remove-CMPL
        'Then (she) removed her feather suit.'

In the above two examples the t- '3REFLX' is the same third person as the
underlying subject, which does not show up on the surface.

(79)   moroto-ino   t- ōnuh- se   toh   mana
        that- after   NF-go up-CMPL   3PL   3+be+PRES
        'After that they are gone up.'

The primary function of the t-V-se construction is to take the underlying
subject/agent out of focus and give prominence to the object or to the activity
or property that describes the object.

The Apalai t-V-se form resembles the Hixkaryana form of 'derived adverbial'
described in Derbyshire (1979:176), t-V-so, t-V-xe, but it seems to have a

different function. The Apalai form which corresponds to the function described for the 'derived adverbial' in Hixkaryana is *t-V-semy* as in:

tonahsemy   'edible vegetable to be eaten'

tòsemy   'meat to be eaten'

tyrohsemy   'pestilence, disease to be caught'

tarikasemy   'seedlings to be planted, seeds'

takohsemy   'jungle to be cut down'

   The differences are: (1) the Apalai *t-V-se* form occurs only with past completive meaning; (2) it functions as a verbal predicate of a clause or sentence; and (3) it can cooccur with the underlying subject of the transitive as in: *kaikuxi tonese eya* 'The jaguar (was) seen by him.'

   The Apalai *t-V-se* form sometimes occurs with the auxiliary (copular) verb and functions as an adjectival complement (see (79)). Not all verbs, however, cooccur with the copula in their *t-V-se* form; examples of those which do are:

toorihse 'it died'   *toorihse kynexine* 'it was dead'

tòse 'he ate it (meat)'   *tòse kynexine* 'it was eaten'

Examples of those which do not cooccur with the copula are:

tooehse 'he came'   * *tooehse kynexine*

tonese 'seen'   * *tonese kynexine*

tuenikehse 'forgotten'   * *tuenikehse kynexine*

tanoryse 'dried'   * *tanoryse kynexine*

6 Causatives

   The intransitive verb in Apalai is made causative by the derivational affixes *-ma*, *-nohpo*. When the intransitive construction is causativized the intransitive subject becomes the object of the causativized verb and a new subject, the causer, is introduced:

(80a)   poeto   otuh-nõko   mana
        child   eat- CONT   3+be+PRES
        'The child is eating.'

(80b)   poeto   otuh-ma-   V̌ko   mana
        child   eat- CAUS-CONT   3+be+PRES
        'He is feeding the child.'

(81a)   nyh- nõko   mana
        sleep-CONT   3+be+PRES
        'He is sleeping.'

(81b)   poeto   nyh- ma-   V̌ko   mana
        child   sleep-CAUS-CONT   3+be+PRES
        'He is putting the child to sleep.'

(82a)   tapyi   tae   nu-   tũta- no
        house   out of   3S3O-leave-IP
        'He left the house.'

(82b)   tapyi   tae   nu-   tũta-nohpo- no
        house   out of   3S3O-leave-CAUS-IP
        'He caused (him) to leave.'

(83a)   paru   tu- kuma-se
        water   NF-rise- CMPL
        'The river rose.'

(83b)   paru   tu- kuma-nohpo-se   ey-a
        river   NF-rise- CAUS-CMPL   3- by
        'He caused the river to rise.'

When a transitive construction is causativized the causer again becomes the subject, the subject of the basic transitive clause has the form of an oblique object, and the direct object remains the direct object (see (84b)). The transitive verb in Apalai is made causative by the suffix -po.

(84a)   pape   aro-   ase
        paper   3+take-RP
        '(He) took the paper (book, letter).'

(84b)   mame   pape   aro-   po-   ase   ropa   ey-a   rahkene
        then   paper 3+take-CAUS-RP   back   3- to or by   really
        'Then he sent the paper back to him again' or
        'Then he caused him to take the paper back again.'

(85)   y-mety   eneh- po-   ko   aja
        1-loincloth +POSSN   bring-CAUS-IMP   1 +mother +POSSN

        a, t- yka-se   papa
        by NF-say-CMPL   1 +father +POSSN
        ' "Get my mother to bring me a loincloth," my father said.'

Note the ambiguity in (84b), where *eya* may refer either to the recipient or to
the causee.

Some intransitive stems which have been causativized by the suffix *-ma* may
be causativized a second time with either the intransitive causativiser *-nohpo* or
the transitive one *-po*.

(86a)   aimo   otuh-ma- V̆ko   mana
        boy   eat- CAUS-CONT   3 +be +PRES
        'He is feeding the boy.'

(86b)   aimo   otuh-ma- po- V̆ko   mana
        boy   eat- CAUS-CAUS-CONT   3 +be +PRES
        'He is getting (someone) to feed the boy.'

(86c)   aimo   otuh-ma- nohpo-V̆ko   mana
        boy   eat- CAUS- CAUS- CONT   3 +be +PRES
        'He is overseeing the child's eating.'

The verb *ka* / *a* 'say, do' and the copula *exi* / *eh* / *a* 'be' both have the
causativized form *kamexipo* 'cause to be, say, or do'.

(87a)   koih   a- V̆ko   mana
        paddle do-CONT   3 +be +PRES
        'He is paddling.'

(87b)   koih   ny-kamexipo- no
        paddle 3- do +CAUS-IP
        'He caused (him) to paddle.'

(88)   tehme   ny-kamexipo- no
        quiet   3- be +CAUS-IP
        'He caused (him) to be still.'

(89)   epo   hnae   ny-kamexipo- no
        enough   3 +be +PRES   3- say +CAUS-IP
        'He made him say, "It's enough." '

7 Comparatives

There are three ways in which comparison is expressed:
(i) Juxtaposition of negative-positive clauses:

(90)   mopo   zumo   pyra   kyn-exi-ne,   akono
        Mopo   big   NEG   3- be- DP   3 +brother in law +POSSN

        zumo
        big
        'Mopo was not big like his brother-in-law.'

(91)   mokyro   zumo   n-exi-ase   apito-ry-   ma-   no
        that one big   3-be- RP   begin-NOMLZR-DENOM-NOMLZR

        okomino   exi-kety   zumo-hko   pyra
        after   be- NOMLZR   big- quite NEG
        'The first one was big. The next not quite so big.'

(ii) Successive positive clauses in which certain particles mark the degree of
the quality:

(92)   kure   akuri   n-ase,   poinoko   kure   kuhse,
        good   coati   3-be +PRES   wild pig   good   superlative

        tomepore
        delicious
        'Coati is good, wild pig (is) really good.'
        (i.e. 'The wild pig is better than the coati.')

(iii) Within the clause by use of a postpositional relator *motye*:

(93)   meri   motye   akuri   zumo mana
        squirrel   greater   coati   big   3 +be +PRES
        'A coati is bigger than a squirrel.'

8 Coordination

There are no exact equivalents for "and", "but", and "or" for expressing
coordination on the clause or phrase level. Coordination is accomplished by
juxtaposition of two or more clauses with nonfinal intonation on all but the
final clause of the series, or by the use of postpositional particles. (e.g.
tōkehko, kehko 'etc.' (Note: 'etc' is the meaning of the two Apalai words)).
Some additive type examples from texts are:

(94)   mame t-   okare   pyra   t-   osa- ry
        then ADJ-openly   NEG   3REFLX-place-POSSN

        t- akoh-se.   akoh-ko.   opomo-   ko.   paruru
        NF-cut-CMPL   cut- HIS   plant(manioc)-HIS   banana

        aryka-ko
        plant-HIS
        'Then (he) secretly cut himself a field.
        (He) cut it, planted manioc and bananas.'

(95)   senohne   ï- kyry-ry   tö- kehko   t- ye-   se.   paruru
        this +PL 3-food-POSSN   PL-etc   NF-cook-CMPL   banana

        t- ye- se   kehko.   t- upurihma-se.   t- ahpi- se
        NF-cook-CMPL   etc   NF-mash- CMPL   NF-strain-CMPL
        'She cooked his food. She cooked bananas, etc.,
        mashed and strained them.'

Both active and passive verbs can be coordinated as clauses but not an
active and passive in the one construction ((94) and (95)).

Adversative coordination is accomplished by juxtaposition of negative and
positive clauses with or without the presence of the conjunction *yrome* 'but':

(96)   morara   pyra   exi-ko.   a-ramari-   ny
        thus   NEG   be- IMP   2-feather suit-POSSN

        i-rumeka- ko.   senohne   kyry-ne-   me   exi-ko
        3-abandon-IMP   this +PL   do- NOMLZR-DENOM   be- IMP

        rahkene
        really
        'Don't be that way, but abandon your feather suit, and be my
        cook (and wife).'

(97)   morara   pyra   ke   exi-ko   kure
        like that   NEG   POLITE be- IMP   well

        at-   amorepa-ko
        REFLX-teach- IMP
        'Don't be like that but try to do it well.'

(98)   ytoyto   pyra   hxo   ywy repe.   yrome maixi
        go +REDUP   NEG   INTNSF I   FRUST   but   flu

        eneh- nöko   hxo   toto
        bring-CONT   INTNSF 3PL
        'I don't go anywhere but they bring the flu here.'

The alternative coordination is expressed as a proposition x and "if not x then y," or marked by a postpositional particle, such as *hkotano* ((99) and (100)), where there is a semantic component of "or":

(99) kure   hkotā   j-epe.   morara   a- htao
      well   rather   1-friend+POSSN   like that be-if

      mase   paxinêpo   potyry   emuhka-V̄ko
      2+be+PRES arrow   tip+POSSN   hit-   CONT

      mase
      2+be+PRES
      'You will have to do better my friend, or if you keep on that way
      (don't improve), you will be hit by an arrow tip.'

(100) eropa   hkotano   u-mūku-ru   ky- nomo- V̄ko
      1+2+go+IMP   rather   1-son- POSSN   1+2-leave-CONT

      mana
      3+be+PRES
      'Let's go faster (and not the way we are) or my son
      will leave us behind.'

In coordinated clauses all constituents except the verb can be omitted, with the subject and object being expressed only as verb affixes. The normal means used for coordinating phrasal constituents of the clause is juxtaposition in the expansion part of the clause ((101) and (102)).

(101) mame   kāpo   upi-   ko,   itamuru   kāpo,   maixipuri
      then   game   look-for HIS   much   game   tapir

      tō- kehko   kapau tō- kehko   emero
      PL-etc   deer   PL-etc   all kinds
      'Then he hunted game, a lot of it, tapir and deer, etc.'

(102) mame oyhto- to-ko   mokā   moromorori
      then descend-PL-HIS   those   vulture species

      tō- kehko,   ratoratori   tō- kehko,
      PL-etc   vulture species   PL-etc

      kurumu   tō- kehko   ayra   tō- kehko
      king vulture PL-etc   vulture species   PL-etc
      'Then they descended, the magot eaters, the knife bills,
      the king vulture group, and the blackheaded group.'

(103)   j-ene   j-ene   a- V̌ko   eremia-V̌ko   ywy
        1-see   1-see   say-CONT   sing- CONT   I
        ' "Someone sees me," I would say singing.'

The phrases being coordinated can be comprised of a single word.
Sometimes the comitative *maro* can mark coordination:

(104)   konohno   tõ   n-oepy-ase   jakiku   tõ
        brother in law   group   3-come-RP   Jakiku   group

        maro   etiino
        with   Pedrinho
        'My brother-in-law Pedrinho came with Jakiku and group'
        or 'My brother-in-law Pedrinho and Jakiku came.'

More complex nominalized constructions may also be coordinated by
juxtaposition:

(105)   aja   tõ   orih-topo-   V̌pyry
        1 +mother +POSSN   group   die- NOMLZR-PAST +POSSN

        papa   orih-topo-   V̌pyry   roropa
        1 +father +POSSN   die- NOMLZR-PAST +POSSN   also

        enara   sero   poko   nase
        these   this   occ.with   3 +be +PRES
        'This is about the death of my mother and father.'

9 Pragmatic and discourse characteristics

Certain types of discourse-conditioned phenomena are referred to in other
sections of this paper: ellipsis (sect. 3), anaphora (sect. 13), and discourse
particles (sect. 21.2). Other pragmatic and discourse characteristics are being
studied, but there is nothing definitive to report as yet.

10 Interrogatives

The yes-no questions are marked by question intonation: high pitch with
stress on the penultimate syllable, low pitch on the final syllable.

(106)
        ⌐‾‾‾‾‾‾
        m-oeh- no?
        2-come-IP
        'Hello!' or 'You have come?'

(107)   m-oeh- no   ropa?
        2-come-IP   again
        'Hello!' or 'You returned?'

(108)   tutuko   se   pyra   hm-a?
        Brazil nut   want   NEG   2- be +PRES
        'Don't you want Brazil nuts?'

(109)   omise   hm-a?
        hungry   2- be +PRES
        'Are you hungry?'

When the yes-no question is used as a greeting the expected response is affirmative unless the one making the response makes an attempt at humor. Other yes-no questions are neutral.

(110)   m-oeh- no   aimo?
        2-come-IP   boy
        'Hello, my boy' or 'You have come, my boy?'

(111)   ȳ,   oeh-   no   kene!
        yes,   1+come- IP   just now
        'Hello!' or 'Yes, I have just come.'

Question word questions are marked by the question word as well as by special word order, the question word generally coming at the front or near the front of the sentence. Any of the main clause constituents can be questioned:

(112)   onoky   n-oeh- no?
        who   3-come-IP
        'Who arrived?'

(113)   onoky   u-mūku-ru   ō- no?
        who   1-son- POSSN   eat-IP
        'Who ate my son?'

(114)   onoky   keh   sekere   a-V̌ko?
        who   POLITE   talk   do-CONT
        'Who is it that's talking?'

(115)   onoky   hm-a?
        who   2- be +PRES
        'Who are you?'

(116)   onoky   m-uo- no?
        who/what 2- kill-IP
        'What did you kill?'

(117)   onoky a   m-ekaro-no?
        whom to 2- give- IP
        'To whom did you give (it)?'

(118)   oty   ekaro-V̌ko   m-a   y-a?
        what give- CONT 2- be +PRES 1-to
        'What will you give me?'

Peripheral constituents (adjuncts) may be specific question words or may be general question words followed by a postposition or nonfinite verb form, depending on the precise semantic distinction being made.

(119)   otoko- ino   m-eneh- no?
        where-from 2- bring-IP
        'Where did you get it?'

(120)   oze   n-ae?
        which way   3-be +PRES
        'Which direction is it (from here)?'

(121)   otoko m-exi- ne?
        where   3- be- DP
        'Where were you?'

(122)   otoko nohpo n-a   aja?
        where   woman 3-be +PRES mother +POSSN
        'Where is my wife, mother?'

(123)   otara a- htao   oeh- nõko   ropa   n-ae?
        what   be-when come-CONT again 3-be +PRES
        'When is he coming back?'

(124)   tätahtao m-uo- no?
        what time 2- kill-IP
        'When did you kill it?'

(125) otãto   hxo   emỹpo- V̌ko   ahno?
       how   INTNSF   revenge-CONT   1+be+PRES
       'How am I going to get revenge?'

(126) oty   ka-toh   o-n-   etapa-tã,
       what   do-PURP   2-DETRANSVZR-kill-   DETRANSVZR+IP

       mopo?
       Mopo
       'Why did you murder, Mopo?'

(127) otãto   t- yri- se   ey-a?
       how   NF-do- CMPL   3- by
       'How did he do it?'

(128) oty   ka-se   yto-V̌ko   m-a?
       what   do-PURP   go- CONT   2- be+PRES
       'For what purpose are you going?'

The (verbal) action can be questioned in a nonspecific way by using either a postpositional question phrase with the copular verb or by using the verb *ri* 'to make':

(129) oty   poko   m-a?
       what   occ.with   2- be+PRES
       'What are you doing?'

(130) oty   hxo   ri- V̌ko   m-a   aja?
       what   INTNSF   make-CONT   2- be+PRES   1+mother+POSSN
       'What are you making, mother?'

The expression or quotation clause type can also be questioned:

(131) otara   n-ykã?
       what   3-say/do+IP
       'What did he say (or do)?'

(132) otara   a-   V̌ko   n-a?   toh   ereh- no
       what   say/do-CONT   3-be+PRES   surprise   1+startle-IP
       ' "What is it saying?" "Oh! I was startled." '

Certain constituents of subordinate clauses can be questioned as in the following sentences:

(133)   otoko   xixi   a- htao   erama-   V̆ko   ropa
         where   sun   be-when   turn back-CONT   again

         syt- a- tose?
         1 +2-be-PL +PRES
         'When will we all turn back?'

(134)   oty   ka xipo   apoto   t- uka- se   ey-a?
         what   do first   fire   NF-light-CMPL   3- by
         'What did he do before he lit the fire?' (literally,
         'After doing what did he light the fire?')

(135)   onoky   anỹ- se   n-ytō   toto?
         what   lift- PURP   3-go +IP   3PL
         'What did they go to catch?'

The possessor constituent of a noun phrase can be questioned but not the possession:

(136)   onoky   tapyi-V̆   sero?
         who   house-POSSN   this
         'Whose house (is) this?'

(137)   onoky   rato- V̆   m-ematonanoh-no?
         who   knife-POSSN   2-steal-   IP
         'Whose knife did you steal?'

The nominal constituents of a postpositional phrase can be questioned but not the postposition itself (129). Only one constituent of a sentence can be questioned.

The question word usually occurs in initial position in a question but can be preceded by an introducer (see sect. 1.6) or by information of greater prominence than the question. When the questioned constituent moves to the front of the sentence, any phrase level modifiers go with it. When other constituents precede the question word in a sentence they are usually phonologically dislocated.

(138)   mame oty   poko   m-a?
         then what occ.with   2- be +PRES
         'Then what are you doing?'

(139) xihxi,   kasuru   se,   otãto   rahkene?
       sister   beads   want   how many   really
       'Sister, (you) want beads, how many?'

(140) j-uru,   otoko   n-a?
       1-bread +POSSN   where   3-be +PRES
       'Where is my bread?'

(141) konohno   eky,   otoko   n-ae?
       brother in law   pet +POSSN   where   3-be +PRES
       'My brother-in-law's pet, where is it?'

Question words are also used in rhetorical questions. The intent of the
rhetorical question is not to ask for information but to give it or to express
surprise, frustration or annoyance.

(142) oty   ropa   rehta   moro?   axikaru
       what   again   FRUST   there   sugar cane
       'What else (was) there? Sugar cane.'

(143) onoky   j-ezuh- nõko   hxo   n-a   roropa
       who   1-answer-CONT   INTNSF   3-be +PRES   also

       ywy rokuh   os-   ezuh- nõko   ase
       I   DEDUCT REFLX-answer-CONT   1 +be +PRES
       'And who will respond (as I speak)? It looks like
       I will respond to myself.'

Answers to questions can be in the form of incomplete sentences, or simply
the response words ȳ 'AFFIRMATIVE' or arypyra 'NEGATIVE'.

(144) onoky   hm-a?   ywy
       who   2- be +PRES   I
       'Who are you?' '(It is) I.'

The response to a question can be a counter question:

(145) xihxi,   kasuru   se,   otãto   rahkene?
       sister   beads   want   how many   really

       otoko   hn-a?   otyh   se?
       where   3- be +PRES   what   this
       'Sister, you want beads, how many?'
       'Where are they?' 'What (are) these?'

The question intonation (see (106-111)) is obligatory only with yes-no type questions.

11 Imperatives

Imperative sentences are signalled by the morphology of the verb, the imperative intonation pattern, and the absence of a subject. Often they are accompanied by a vocative or other evidence of direct speech. The verb suffix which marks tense, aspect and number is affected and the particles *kěty* 'EMPHATIC' or *pahne* 'POLITE' may also occur.

There are special imperative forms for all person-number combinations. The complete paradigms for both motion and non-motion imperatives are given in sect. 18.3. Examples of non-motion imperative sentences follow:

(146)   i-kaparu   nymyry   apoi-ko   kono
         3-war club+POSSN genuine grab-2IMP   brother in law
         'Grab his war club, brother-in-law.'

(147)   i-   kuh-xi   rokene
         GEN. PREF-try- 1IMP   only
         'Let me just try it.'

(148)   ãpo   n-oeh- no
         IMP   3-come-IP
         'Let him come.'

(149)   s-   otuh-ne   ropa   y-pa-   ry
         1+2-eat- IMP   again   1-grandchild-POSSN
         'Let's eat again, grandchild.'

Examples of motion imperative sentences are:

(150)   nohpo   eneh- ta   aja
         woman   bring-MOT. IMP   mother
         'Go fetch me a wife, mother.'

(151)   ene-tamy
         see-MOT. IMP
         'Go and see.'

(152)   s-   epy- tase.   eropa
         1+2-bathe-MOT. IMP   1+2+go+IMP. DL
         'Let's go for a swim. Let's go.'

(153)   s-   epy- tatose.   ehmaropa
         1+2-bathe-MOT. IMP. PL   1+2+go+IMP. PL
         'Let's all go for a swim. Let's go.'

Negative imperatives require the use of the copula and do not have a motion category. The person, number, and imperative are signalled in the affixes of the copula.

(154)   yto-pyra   eh-to-ko
        go- NEG   be-PL-IMP
        'Do not go (you all).'

(155)   y-pyre   an-aro- pyra   eh-to- ko
        1-bow, arrows +POSSN   3- take-NEG   be-PL-IMP
        '(You all) do not take my bow and arrows.'

There is also a negative imperative prefix os- cooccurring with the suffix -no, although this is rarely used:

(156)   tupito   epery   os-   enah-no,   n-ase
        field   fruit   NEG-eat- IMP   3-say +PRES
        ' "Don't eat the fruit of the field," he said.'

As for degrees of imperative, the continuum from polite invitation through moderate to strong order is communicated by postpositional particles: se, ke, pahne, pápa, kěty, ty.

Polite:

(157)   otuh-ko se .   . 'You may eat' or 'Do eat'.

(158)   ene-ko ke .   . 'Look, ok?'

Moderate:

(159)   ene-ko pahne .   . 'Take a look at that, please.'

(160)   enah-ko pápa .   . 'Eat it and I mean that.'

Strong:

(161)   eroh-ko kěty .   . 'Get busy and work!'

(162)   t-yri-ko ty .   . 'Do it whether you want to or not!'

The usual response to an imperative is behavioral, whether reported or implied. Other responses are: affirmative or compliant, negative or noncompliant, and hesitant or requesting clarification.

(163)   eropa   ke   j-epe.   mame
        1+2+go+IMP POLITE 1-friend+POSSN   then

        oseh- to- ko   rahkene
        come-PL-HIS   really
        ' "Let's go, friend." Then they came.'

(164)   piu   a   j-oh   t-   uo- po-ko,
        son in law by 1-meat+POSSN GEN. PREF-kill-CAUS-IMP

        kuto.   se   reh   pina,   t- yka-se.
        frog   here   EXPECTANT arrow NF-say-CMPL

        pina   pona ka-ra   poko   m-a- tou   kuni
        arrow onto do-NEG occ.with 2- be-PRES grandmother
        ' "Get son-in-law to shoot me some game frog. Here is
        an arrow," she said. "That is not the kind of game
        you get with arrows, grandmother." '

(165)   tana   sā   eneh- ko   tam!   syryryry
        over here like   bring- IMP grandfather gliding

        mya   rahkene
        away really
        ' "Bring (the canoe) over here grandfather."
        He glided farther away.'

(166)   papa   z-oty   i- tohka- ko   okomo.
        father   3-food+POSSN   3-gather-IMP   larva

        nary,   a- V̌ko   pakero os- ereh- nōko
        doubt say-CONT   already REFLX-be afraid-CONT
        ' "Gather father's food, the larva." "I doubt," he (was)
        saying already, being frightened.'

(167) y-mety   eneh- po-   ko   aja
       1-cloth +POSSN   bring-CAUS-IMP   1 +mother +POSSN

       a,   t- yka-se   papa.
       by   NF-say-CMPL   1 +father +POSSN

       oty   ka-toh,   y-mety   eneh- po-   ko,
       what   be-NOMLZR   1-cloth +POSSN   bring-CAUS-IMP

       a- V̄ko   n-ae?   t- yka-se   j-eny
       say-CONT   3-be +PRES   NF-say-CMPL   3-mother +POSSN
       ' "Get my mother to bring me a loincloth," my father said.
       "Why is he asking for a loincloth?" said his mother.'

12 Negation

12.1 Sentence negation.   The negation of a sentence is accomplished by a
derivational suffix *-pyra* / *-ra* 'NEGATIVE' on the verb transforming it into a
negative adverbial complement of a copular verb. The distribution of the
allomorphs is phonologically defined (*-ra* occurring with all verb stems ending
with *a*, and *-pyra* occurring with all others. The form *-pyny* is a negative
nominalizing suffix 'one who does not do the action'). The person-marking
subject prefix and the suffixes marking tense, aspect, and number appear on
the copula. In the case of transitive verb stems the person object marker is
prefixed to the negative adverbial. The inflected copula is sometimes omitted,
as in (169b):

(168a) isapokara   ene- no
        jakuruaru lizard   1 +see-IP
        'I saw a jakuruaru lizard.'

(168b) isapokara   on-ene-pyra   a-ken
        jakuruaru lizard   3- see-NEG   1-be +IP
        'I did not see a jakuruaru lizard.'

(169a) morarame   n-otuh-no   i-pani-   ry
        then   3-eat- IP   3-son in law-POSSN
        'Then his grandchild ate.'

(169b) morarame   otuh-pyra   i-pani-   ry
        then   eat- NEG   3-son in-law-POSSN
        'Then his son-in-law did not eat.'

(170a) ywy exi-ase
        I   be- RP
        'It was I.'

(170b) ywy   ka-ra   n-exi-ase   repe
        I   be-NEG   3-be- RP   but
        'But it was not I.'

12.2 Constituent negation.

Adverbials and postpositional relators are negativized by the same form described above for sentence negation: *pyra*. When it occurs with constituents other than verb stems, it is written as a separate (postpositional particle) form, rather than a suffix.

(171)   mame   yto- ko   nakua-taka,   nakua-taka   pyra.
        then   3 +go-HIS   water-to   water-to   NEG

        aza   hkotoko   t- oyto-se   kyn-exi-ne?
        where perhaps   NF-go- CMPL   3- be- DP
        'Then he went to the river, not to the river. Where
        was it he went?'

(172a) axi   pyra   oeh-   no   (172b) axi   oeh-   no
        fast   NEG   1 +come-IP   quickly   1 +come-IP
        'I came slowly.'   'I came quickly.'

(173)   ynan-exi-ase   ameke pyra rahkene owô-   toh
        1 +3- be-RP   far   NEG   really   stand up- NOMLZR

        pona
        to
        'We were not far from the destination.'

(174)   i-pyty-   me   pyra mosero   a-oryxi- ry
        3-wife +POSSN-DENOM   NEG   that one 3-sister-POSSN
        'She is not his wife but his sister.'

(175)   mokyro   i-nio   pekã   pekã   kuatiwi
        that one 3-husband +POSSN   flap   flap   grab on

        t-   ypoty-ry   ae rokene   kae   pyra
        3REFLX-beak- POSSN   by only   high NEG
        'The husband flew clumsily and reached a low perch with his beak.'

For most simple adverbs the negative expresses the antonym: *mosa* 'tall', *mosa pyra* 'short', *tuhke* 'many', *tuhke pyra* 'few', *kure* 'good' or 'well', *kure pyra* 'unwell' or 'bad'.

When the constituent to be negativized is a subordinate clause, the verb stem is inflected by the negative derivational suffix *-pyra / -ra*.

(176)   yto-pyra   j-a- htao   kae-   ae   ãkorehma-V̄ko
         go- NEG   1-be-if   high+NOMLZR-by 2+help- CONT

         ase   sero   poko
         1+be+PRES   this   occ.with
         'If I don't go on the airplane, I'll help you with this.'

Nominal constituents can also be negativized with the resulting meaning that
there were none of that item around or that the participant in focus did not
own one, or that the identity of the nominal is in question: e.g. 'not a man
but a spirit.'

(177)   orutua   pyra
         man   NEG
         'There were no men around.'

(178a)   t-   onu-re-   my
         ADJVZR-eye-ADJVZR-NOMLZR
         'seeing person'

(178b)   t-   onu-rê   ka-ra   mokyro
         ADJVZR-eye-ADJVZR+NOMLZR   be-NEG   that one
         'That one is a blind person.'

(179)   rato   pyra
         knife   NEG
         'There was no knife.'

(180a)   wo-   tono
         shoot-NOMLZR
         'sharp shooter'

(180b)   wo-   tõ   ka-ra   mokyro
         shoot-NOMLZR   be-NEG   that one
         'That one is no hunter.'

The underlying form of wotõ is wotono (see sect. 22.6 for rules).

(181a)   onokyro   wo- ne
         animal   shoot-NOMLZR
         'one who shoots animals'

(181b)   onokyro   on-uo- pyny
         animal   3- shoot-NEG+NOMLZR
         'one who does not shoot animals'

(182a)   onokyro   wo-   ry   waro   exi-kety
         animal   shoot- NOMLZR know be- NOMLZR
         'one who is knowing how to shoot animals'

(182b)   onokyro   wo-   ry   waro-V̄   ka-ra
         animal   shoot- NOMLZR know-NOMLZR be-NEG
         'He is not one who knows how to shoot animals.'

Descriptives can be negativized by *pyra*:

(183a)   t-   ypy- e   (183b)   t-   ypy- e   pyra
         ADJVZR-wife-ADJVZR   ADJVZR-wife-ADJVZR NEG
         'married'   'single'

(184a)   t-   onu-re   (184b)   t-   onu-re   pyra
         ADJVZR-eye-ADJVZR   ADJVZR-eye-ADJVZR NEG
         'seeing'   'blind'

(185a)   maixi-hpe   (185b)   maixi-hpe   pyra
         cold- infected   cold- infected   NEG
         'sick with a cold'   'not sick with a cold'

   Some nominal negations follow:

(186)   enah-pyny
         eat- NEG +NOMLZR
         'fruit-type food not to be eaten' (see sect. 15.4 for
         discussion of *-pyny*).

(187)   t-   onah-sē   ka-ra
         GEN. PREF-eat- NOMLZR be-NEG
         'It is not edible food.'

   There can be not more than one negation element in a clause, but there can
be one in each main and subordinate clause in each sentence.

(188)   omise   pyra   j-a- htao   otuh-pyra   ase
         hungry   NEG   1-be-when   eat- NEG   1 +be +PRES
         'When I am not hungry, I do not eat.'

13 Anaphora

Anaphora is expressed by deletion under the following conditions:

(i) deletion of the quotation margin in direct speech sentences:

(189) to!   ohpa ere- ry   j-epe.
       oh!   fish liver-POSSN   1-friend +POSSN

       otoko   hn-a?
       where   3- be +PRES

       seny, ohpa ere- ry   ke   m-a   tomepore
       here   fish liver-POSSN   with   3-be +PRES   delicious

       j-epe.   tomepore?
       1-friend +POSSN   delicious

       ỹ,   t-   õ- ne   reh   ahse,   ohpa
       yes GEN. PREF-eat-NOMLZR   expect 1 +be +PRES fish

       ere- ry   õ- ne.   i-kuh-ko   pahne
       liver-POSSN   eat-NOMLZR   3-try-IMP   AMELIORATIVE

       j-epe.   ỹ.   mame t- õ- se   ey-a
       1-friend +POSSN   OK.   then NF-eat-CMPL   3- by

       ' "Oh! the fish liver, my friend."
       "Where is it?"
       "Here, the fish liver is delicious, friend."
       "(Is it) good?"
       "Yes, I'm an eater of it; I eat fish liver. Try it my friend."
       "OK." Then he ate it.'

The frequency of this deletion seems to vary with different narrators. In a
legend text of 139 quotes, 61 are marked with quote tags and 78 are not
marked. In another legend of 33 quotes (narrated by another Apalai) only 9 are
marked with the quote margin. In a text of made-up dialogue between a father
and son, there is not a single quote tag used.

(ii)   deletion of subject and verb in interrogative sentences:

(190)   eropa!   j-epe   m-a   i-tỹ- se
        1 +2 +go +IMP   1-friend +POSSN   3-be +PRES   3-poison-PURP

        yto-V̆ko,   t- yka-se.
        go- CONT   NF-say-CMPL

        otoko   na?   ikuhpo   kuaka?
        where   to   lake   to
        ' "Let's go! My friend is going to poison (fish)," he said.
        "Where (are we going)? (Are we going) to the lake?" '

(iii)   deletion of subject and verb in answers to questions:

(191)   azah   yto-V̆ko   syt- ah?   t- yka-se.
        where   go- CONT   1 +2-be +PRES   NF-say-CMPL

        ikuhpo   kuaka ...   t- yka-se.
        lake   to   NF-say-CMPL
        ' "Where are we going?" he said.
        "To the lake ...," he said.'

Deletion of subject and verb is very frequent in dialogue. Anaphora is also expressed by personal pronouns in the case of third person referents. Both deictic and nondeictic pronouns are used anaphorically. The free pronouns are also anaphorically related within the clause to the person marking prefix of the verb when they occur as subject or direct object.

(192)   s-   ytỹ-   tase   kokoro   j-epe,
        1 +2-poison fish-MOT. IMP   tomorrow   1-friend +POSSN

        t- yka-se.   i-py-   ty   se   ynororo
        NF-say-CMPL   3-wife- POSSN   want 3
        ' "Let us poison fish tomorrow, my friend," he said,
        but he was wanting his wife (the other man's).'

(193)   ohpa-   hko   s-   õ- tase,   t- yka-se
        sucker fish-EVAL   1 +2-eat-MOT. IMP   NF-say-CMPL

        moseh   ynoro.   otuh-kose   ke   j-epe.
        this one   3   eat- IMP   POLITE   1-friend +POSSN

        tukasere   potu
        fat   nice
        ' "Let's eat sucker fish," he said. "Here it is.
        Eat some, my friend. It seems nice and fat." '

(194) pãna   n-ae   sero   yro
       UNCERT   3-be +PRES   this   3INAN
       'This is the one.'

(195) mokyro   kurumu-ke   ty-   py-   e   rahkene
       that one   vulture-INST   ADJVZR-wife-ADJVZR   really
       'That one (was) married to a vulture (woman).'

(196) na   y-rato   rukuh   moro. kura
       INTROD   1-knife +POSSN   really   that   good +NOMLZR

       rukuku-hxo   moro
       really   that
       'That is my knife, yes. And it certainly is a good one.'

There is a third person reflexive prefix t- which occurs with nominals,
nominalized verbs and postpositional relators to signal the same referent as the
subject of the clause or of a superordinate clause. (See sect. 4 for details and
examples.)

Anaphora is also expressed by certain discourse particles, including *ropa*
'back again' and *roropa* 'additive' which relate the item they modify to
something that occurred earlier in the discourse. Also the particle *ro* 'still'
occurs with nominals, personal pronouns, actions and situations to identify
them as the same or similar to the antecedent.

(197) m-oeh- no   ropa?   t- yka-se.   oeh- no   ropa
       2-come-IP   back   NF-say-CMPL   1 +come-IP   back

       ke   papa   t- yka-se
       POLITE   father   NF-say-CMPL
       ' "Hello, you came back," (he) said.
       "I came back, Dad," (he) said.'

The particle *ropa* 'again' relates the return of the participant to the location
or setting from which he left to begin his travels.

(198) akoroka-ase-V̄tyky.   mame tapyi   zomye   roropa
       1 +clear-RP- finish   then house   around   also

       akoroka-ase   pitiko   ãtarika-hme   exi-ry-   ke
       1 +clear-RP   little   weedy-DENOM   be- NOMLZR-REAS
       'I finished clearing weeds. Then I cleared a little around
       the house as well because it was weedy.'

Other means of anaphoric reference include the particle *hro* 'in response to your question' and *ta* 'reported information'.

(199) m-epy- no?   ỹ,   epy   hro
       2-swim-IP?   yes,   1+swim+IP   RESP
       ' "Did you swim?"
       "Yes I swam." '

(200) i-meretamu- ruh   ta   n-ynomōka-no,
       3-father in law-POSSN   REPORT   3-reject-   IP

       t- yka-se   z-oh   wo- to-īse
       NF-say-CONT   3-meat+POSSN   shoot-PL-FRUST
       ' "He says his father-in-law rejected him," he said,
       because he missed his game.'

Within the clause there can be a sequence of anaphorically related items.

(201) tamuxi   mokyro   i-meretamu-   ru
       old man   that one   3-father in law-POSSN
       'There was the old man, his father-in-law.'

The deictic personal pronoun *mokyro* is a cataphoric reference to 'father-in-law' while the prefix *i-* 'his' is anaphoric, referring to Ituimano mentioned eight lines earlier in the opening sentence of the story.

(202) m-oeh- no   ropa? ỹ   oeh-   no   ropa   t- yka-se
       2-come-IP   back   yes, 1+come-IP   back   NF-say-CMPL

       mokyro   i-py- ty
       that one   3-wife-POSSN
       ' "Hello, you're back."
       "Yes, I came back," she said. She was his wife.'

In this quotation margin of a direct speech sentence there are two types of anaphora which overlap:
(i)   the anaphora within the clause, the antecedent being *ipyty* 'his wife' following the anaphor *mokyro*, and
(ii)   anaphora across sentence boundaries, *i-* 'his' being the anaphor relating to an antecedent *orutua* 'man' occurring earlier in the discourse.

Juxtaposition is the principal form of coordination, and the general rules relating to anaphora across sentence, clause, and phrase boundaries apply; however, the reflexive prefix *t-* cannot relate anaphorically across sentence boundaries.

(203) arimi   wowo   repe.   epuka-ra   kyn-ako
      monkey   1+shoot+REDUP+IP   FRUST   fall- NEG   3- be+IP
      'I shot the monkey repeatedly but it didn't fall.'

All subordinate clauses are nonfinite. Anaphora can occur between main and subordinate clauses with the antecedent occurring in the main clause. The subordinate clause may precede or follow the main clause and there may be anaphoric or cataphoric (i.e. "backward anaphora") reference. Where the subject of the main clause is the antecedent, the reflexive prefix *t-* is the anaphor in the subordinate clause (204).

(204) poeto-me   t-   a- htao   tūpa   kyn-epuru-ne
      child-DENOM   3REFLX-be-when   Tūpa   3- sting-DP
      'When she was a child Tūpa was initiated (stung with ants).'

(205) mame oepy-   ase ropa   kajama   aro- xïpo
      then 1+come-RP   again   manioc meal   take-first
      'Then I returned having first delivered the manioc meal.'

In (205) the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the first person subject of the main clause and is not overtly expressed. In example (206) the third person experiencer of the subordinate clause is the anaphor and its antecedent is *m-* 'third person subject' of the main clause.

(206) orih-pȳ   m-a   ro   repe
      die- NEG+NOMLZR   3-be+PRES   yet   FRUST

      t- ynahpa-se   exi- ry-   ke
      NF-poison-CMPL   3+be-NOMLZR-REAS
      'He should not have died but (he did) because of his
      being poisoned.'

A sequence of subordinate clauses can have anaphors that refer to the same antecedent in the main clause:

(207) at- amorepa-po- V̂ko   mo   makina-ponaka
      REFLX-teach- CAUS-CONT   that   machine-on

      t- āt- amorepa- toh-   me   moro poko
      3REFLX-REFLX- teach-   NOMLZR-DENOM   that   occ.with

      pape mero- toh- me   tyy- a
      paper write-NOMLZR-DENOM   3REFLX-by
      '(He is) causing himself to be taught on the machine in order
      that he learn, in order that he write on paper (a letter).'

14 Subordinate clauses

14.1 Subordinate constructions in general.   Only nonfinite verb forms occur in subordinate clauses. These clauses consist of nominalizations, often embedded in postpositional phrases, or some other construction, derived from a verb by the addition of affixes, and functioning as an adverbial constituent of the main clause. The nominalization or other derived form can be inflected for person of possessor and can contain clause elements such as adverbs, locatives, etc.

The subordinate clauses usually follow but can precede the main clause. Fronting of the subordinate clause, like other elements in a main clause, is used for emphasis or highlighting. If the main clause verb has a direct object or subject or some other element preceding it, then the adverbial clause will follow the main clause. Nominalized constructions that occur as the complement of a copula normally precede the copula, which is syntactically the main verb.

The following examples illustrate:

(i)   nominalization embedded in a postpositional phrase:

(208)   t-   ooriky-ry   se   pyra   j-epe
        3REFLX-die-   NOMLZR   want   NEG   1-friend+POSSN

        kyn-exi-ne   repe
        3- be-DP   FRUST
        'My friend did not want to die (but he died anyway).'

(209)   ywy   papa   ooriky-ry   a
        I   1+father+POSSN   die- NOMLZR   concerning

        t-   uaro   pyra
        GEN.PREF- know   NEG
        'I did not understand my father's death'

(210)   sero   n-ase   j-eroh- topo-   v̄pyry   poko
        this   3-be+PRES   1-work-NOMLZR-PAST+POSSN   occ.with
        'This is about the work which I have done.'

(ii)   other derived form:

(211)   moroto-ino   kV̄-yto-ne   jē   ekepyry
        there-   after   3- go- DP   3+mother+POSSN   body

        eseka- hpō-   kō   eahma- se
        bite-   PAST+NOMLZR-GRP   invite- PURP
        'After that he went to invite the ones who killed his mother.'

(iii)   subordinate clause following and preceding the main clause:

(212)   ōko   tō   wo- ne   zumo-hxo   j- a- htao
         wild turkey   GRP   1+kill-DP   big- INTNSF   1-be-when
         'I killed wild turkey when I was bigger.'

(213)   poeto-me   ro   j-a- htao   kana anỹ- pito- ne
         child-DENOM   still   1-be-when   fish 1+catch-begin-DP
         'When I was still a child I began to catch fish.'

The main clause with the finite verb has the primary tense marking. Derived
nominals may also have a more limited tense marking when they are
functioning as a subordinate clause.

The basic word order of finite clauses is OVS. In nominal constructions the
NP (i.e. possessor), which is the underlying S of an intransitive construction
and the underlying O of a transitive construction, always occurs preceding the
derived nominal. The underlying S of a transitive construction is most
frequently found occurring before the derived nominal and before the possessor
(object) NP, although it can also occur after the nominal. It is marked in the
nonfinite subordinate clause by the postposition *a* 'to, by', as in (69, 70)
which are repeated here as ((214) and (215)). In both these examples, this *a*
phrase follows the derived form.

(214)   t-   oh   wo- toĩse   y-a   y-meretamu-
         3REFLX-meat+POSSN   shoot-FRUST   I-by   1-father in law-

         ru   y-nomo- no
         POSSN   1-abandon-IP
         'My father-in-law abandoned me for my almost having
         shot his meat.'

(215)   seromororo   at-   amorepa-V̄ko   ropa   mose   pape
         now   REFLX-teach- CONT   again   this one   paper

         mero- toh-   me   tyy-   a
         write-NOMLZR-DENOM   3REFLX-by.
         'Now this person is studying again to write on paper himself.'

14.2 Relative clauses.   There is no regular finite form of relative clause.
There are various means used to obtain the same effect as a clause:
simple nominalization; placing NPs together in a paratactic relationship, with
intonational break; descriptive sentences usually involving an equative clause; or
some combination of these means.

(216)   mame   kanawa   aro- ko   repe   zakare   konôto   rokene
        then   canoe   take-HIS   but   alligator   large   only
        'Then he took a canoe which was only a large alligator but
        (it functioned as a canoe).'

(217)   ku-   akuoh- ko   tam,   t- yka-se
        2S1O-   take across-IMP grandfather   NF-say-CMPL

        mokyro,   kuto   n-akuoty-   hpyry
        that one   frog   3-take across-NOMLZR +PAST
        ' "Take me across the water, grandfather," said the one whom the
        frog had taken across.'

(218)   arimi   s- õ- tatose   t- yka-se   wo-
        monkey   1 +2-eat-MOT.PL.IMP   NF-say-CMPL   shoot-

        tõ   ka-ra   onokyro   on-uo- pyny
        NOMLZR   be-NEG   game   3- shoot-NEG +NOMLZR

        onokyro   wo- ry   waro-V̆   ka-ra
        game   shoot-NOMLZR know-NOMLZR   be-NEG
        ' "Let's go eat monkey," said the one who was not a shooter,
        who never shot game, who didn't know how to shoot game.'

(219)   mame   imepy̆   t- ooeh- se   makarita   samo,   imepy̆
        then   another   NF-come-CMPL   Margaret   like   another

        ropa   pone   samo
        again Pone   like
        'Then another one came, one like Margaret, and (there
        was) another one like Pone.'

In example (217) the nominalized form *kuto nakuotyhpyry* 'the one whom
the frog had taken across' follows the pronoun *mokyro* 'that one' in a
paratactic relationship, but it could stand alone as subject of the clause.

14.3 Time and conditional clauses.   In the adverbial time clause there is no
marking of tense distinctions. These are shown only in the finite verb forms of
the main clause. There are four forms of derived time adverbial distinguished
by their suffixes: *-htao* 'simultaneous action,' *-xipo* 'after, first' *tohto* 'before,'
-tane 'until'. All take the inflectional prefixes that mark the person of the
possessor.

(220)   serara-   no-   V̄po   ka-ra   ase
        like this-   NOMLZR-PAST   be-NEG   1+be+PRES

        nuase-   me   j- a- htao
        young person-DENOM   1-be-when
        'That's not the kind I was when I was young.'

(221)   moroto   kama-   kuao   j-ua-   ne   poeto-me
        there   Kama(river)-at   1-dance-DP   child-DENOM

        ro   j- a- htao
        still   1-be-when
        'I danced there at the Kama river when I was still a child.'

(222)   araiba   tō   oeh- nōko   m-a   nonoaty   akoh-xipo
        Araiba   GRP   come-CONT   3-be+PRES   tree bark   cut- first
        'After cutting the bark, Araiba and family are coming.'

(223)   papa   ruka   kana- ry   apiro-ase   t-   oyto-tohto
        father   Ruka   canoe-POSSN   open-RP   3REFLX-go- before
        'Father opened Luke's canoe before going on.'

(224)   senohne   akoroka-V̄ko   toto   t-   umy-   kō
        this+PL   clear- CONT   3PL   3REFLX-father+POSSN-PL

        oeh- tane   ropa
        come- until again
        'They are clearing this until their father returns.'

    The foregoing examples show that tense is marked only in the verb of the
main clause, the time adverbial always having the same form. There is no
distinction between time and conditional adverbials. The form -htao is glossed
'if' or 'when' depending on the context (225).

(225)   omise   aw-a- htao   otuh-ko
        hungry   2- be-if/when   eat- IMP
        'If you are hungry, eat' or 'When you are hungry, eat.'

14.4 Contrary to fact conditionals.   Contrary to fact conditionals also have
the form -htao (sect. 14.3) but in this case the main clause has a special
nominalized verb form:

(226) opotu   nymyry   a- htao   a- ry-   pyra   kahpyry
       fast water   genuine   be-if   be-NOMLZR-NEG   ugly

       exi-ry   toh   asakororo
       be- NOMLZR   3PL   both
       'If the water had been fast there would be nothing left of the
       two of them.'

14.5 Manner subordinate clauses.   Manner clauses take the form of derived
nominals followed by certain postpositions, including *me* 'DENOMINALIZER'
(sometimes written as a suffix *-me*). The manner clause answers the question
otáto 'how?'

(227) oepy-   ase   kana   anymy-ry   me   axĩ   pyra
       1+come-   RP   fish   lift-   NOMLZR   DENOM   fast   NEG

       rahkene
       really
       'I came slowly as I caught fish.'

(228) kana   anymy-ase   j-oepy- ry   me   kae-
       fish   1+lift-RP   1-come-NOMLZR   DENOM   high-

       toko-   hxo
       NOMLZR-INTNSF
       'I caught a great pile of fish as I came.'

14.6 Purpose clauses.   There are two basic types of purpose clauses: motion
purpose and nonmotion purpose. Motion purpose clauses occur only as the
complement of verbs of motion: intransitive verbs *oep* 'come', and *yto* 'go',
and transitive verbs *enep* 'bring', *aro* 'take', and *enyok* 'send'. The nucleus of
the complement clause is a verb stem plus the suffix *-se* which marks it as
'MOTION PURPOSE'. Transitive forms also have a prefix marking the person
of the possessor (object).

(229) seroae   karaiwa   tõ   n-yto-no   parahta   wo-se
       today   nonindian   GRP   3-go- IP   rubber   cut-PURP

       anatũ-   kuaka
       Anatũ(creek)- at
       'Today a group of men went to cut rubber along the Anatum.'

(230) moroto-ino   ynan-yto-ne   nyh- se   anaxikarahpã-taka
       there- from   1+3- go-DP   sleep-PURP   Anaxikarahpã-to
       'From there we went to Anaxikarahpano to sleep.'

(231) pape   eneh- se   oeh-   ne
       paper   bring-PURP   1+come-DP
       'I came to bring a letter.'

(232) ky- pipoh-se   oeh-nōko   toto
       1+2-beat- PURP   come-DP   3PL
       'They are coming to beat us up.'

   The underlying subject of motion purpose clauses is always the same as the
subject of the main clause, which accounts for the fact that there are no
person-marking prefixes in nontransitive forms. Prefixes on transitive forms
follow the usual rule in nonfinite derived forms of being possessor prefixes that
refer to the underlying object.
   Nonmotion purpose clauses occur as the complement of verbs other than
those involving motion. The nucleus of the complement clause takes the form
of a verb stem plus -toh-me 'PURPOSE' (-nominalizer-denominalizer).

(233) mame amihto- V̌ko   tysarah   ka-toh-   me,   kana
       then 3+string-CONT   snap   do-NOMLZR-DENOM   fish

       wo-   toh-   me   enara
       shoot- NOMLZR- DENOM   that's all
       'Then I will string it so that it snaps, so that it shoots fish.'

(234) morara exi-ry-   ke   ynan-urumeka-ne   rahkene
       thus   be- NOMLZR-REAS   1+3- leave- DP   really

       xiaro yna- yhto- toh-   me
       here   1+3-descend-NOMLZR-DENOM
       'Therefore we left the place really to descend to here.'

14.7 Cause clauses.   Cause clauses have as their nucleus a derived nominal
with the suffix -ry 'ACTION NOMINALIZATION, POSSESSION', followed
by the postposition ke 'because of (REASON), by means of
(INSTRUMENTAL)' (sometimes written as a suffix -ke). This postposition also
occurs with simple nouns, usually with the instrumental meaning.

(235) mame moro ynan-urumeka-ne   ropa   maikuato-hpe
       then that   1+3- leave- DP   again   ant- infested

       exi- ry-   ke
       be- NOMLZR-REAS
       'Then we abandoned that place again because of its
       being infested with ants.'

(236) morarame   otuh-pyra   i-pani-   ry   moro
       thus like   eat- NEG   3-son in law-POSSN   that

       ene-ry-   ke   tyy-   a   nuriame   sã
       see-NOMLZR- REAS   3REFLX-by/to   filthy   like

       exi- ry-   ke
       be- NOMLZR-REAS
       'Then her son-in-law wouldn't eat, because he had
       seen it, because it was repulsive.'

(237) morara   ka- ry-   ke   ey-a   yto- ase   toto
       thus   say-NOMLZR- REAS   3- by   1 +go-RP   3PL

       eneh- se   ropa
       bring-PURP   again
       'Because he said that, I went to bring them back.'

(238) mūpo-jana   on-ene-pyra   toto   yto-ry-   ke
       rat- person   3- see-NEG   3PL   go- NOMLZR-REAS

       imepỹ   pona
       another +NOMLZR   to
       'The rat persons were not seen because they went to another place.'

14.8 Result clauses.   Result statements are handled either by means of a
cause clause, where the main clause constitutes the statement of the result, or
by a sequence of two sentences juxtaposed. In the latter case the result may be
implied without any formal marking, or the second sentence may contain the
postpositional phrase *morara exiryke* 'therefore, because of that' or the
conjunction *naeroro* 'therefore'. This usually occurs at the beginning of a
sentence and can refer to either the immediately preceding sentence or a longer
stretch of the preceding discourse.

(239) ahno- hpe   a- V̄ko   kyn-exi-ne.   morara
       people-full of   say-CONT   3- be- DP   that

       exi-ry-   ke   myaro   papa   yto-pyra
       be- NOMLZR-REAS   over there   my father   go- NEG

       eh-se
       be-CONT. PAST
       'They said it was crowded. So Father would never go over there.'

(240)   orih-py   m-a   ro   repe   t- ynahpo-se
        die- NEG   3-be +PRES   yet   FRUST   NF-poison-CMPL

        exi- ry-   ke.   morara   exi-ry-   ke
        be- NOMLZR-REAS   thus   be- NOMLZR-REAS

        ynan-urumeka-ne   rahkene
        1 +3- leave- DP   really
        'He would not have died but (he did) because he was poisoned.
        Therefore we left.'

(241)   onoky   a- V̄ko   puhko   o-uru-V̄ko,
        who   say-CONT   EYEWITNESS   2-tell-CONT

        kaikuxi-jana   asa   ō- ne?   naeroro
        jaguar-people   2 +mother +POSSN   eat-DP   therefore

        tehme   exi-ko   a- V̄ko   ase
        settled   be- IMP   say-CONT   1 +be +PRES
        'Who is it that is telling you the jaguars ate your mother?
        That's why I'm saying settle down.'

(242)   t-   oh   wo- toīse   y-a
        3REFLX-meat +POSSN   shoot-FRUST   1-by

        y-meretamu- ru   y-nomo-no
        1-father in law-POSSN   1-leave-IP
        'My father-in-law abandoned me for my almost having shot his meat.'

14.9 Comparative and equative clauses.   Subordinate clauses expressing
degree such as comparative and equative take the form of derived nominals
followed by certain postpositionals: *saaro* 'like', *motye* 'greater, above',
zokonaka 'fraction of' (literally 'into its body'), and the manner postposition
me 'denominalizer'.

(243)   yto-V̄ko   ase   berē   pona   FAB   kana- ry- ae
        go- CONT   1 +be +PRES   Belem   to   FAB   plane-POSSN-by

        mose   yto-topo-   V̄pyry   saaro
        that   go- NOMLZR-PAST +POSSN   like
        'I'm going to Belem on a FAB plane like that one did.'
        (FAB: 'Força Aérea Brasileira')

(244)   tururume   bufaro   yto-ry   motye   kawaru
        running water   buffalo   go- NOMLZR   more   horse

        yto-V̌ko   axi- hxo
        go- CONT   fast-INTNSF
        'A horse goes faster than a running water-buffalo.'

(245)   itamurume- hxo   tõsẽ   t- apoi-se   oy-a   ywy
        more-   INTNSF   meat   NF-take-CMPL   2- by   I

        zokonaka   pixo   rokẽ   t- apoi-se   y-a
        fraction   small   only   NF-take-CMPL   1-by
        'A large amount of meat was taken by you. I got only a
        fraction as much.'

14.10 Desire clauses.   Statements of desire are expressed as the complement
of the copula. A noun or derived nominal is followed by the postpositional
relator *se* 'desirous of'. This relator is the only way to express the verbal
concepts 'love', 'like', or 'want' (in the same way that *waro* 'knowing, aware
of' is a relator). It occurs with simple nouns and with bound possessor/object
pronouns.

(246)   o-se   ase
        2-like   1 +be +PRES
        'I like you.'

(247)   y-py- ty   se   kyn-exi-ne
        1-wife-POSSN   like   3- be-DP
        'He wanted my wife.'

(248)   yna   aro- ry   se   eh-se   repe
        1 +3 take-NOMLZR   want   be-CONT. PAST   FRUST
        'They were wanting to take us but (we won't let them).'

(249)   yna   wo-   ry   se   pyra   ase   (mokaro a)
        1 +3 shoot- NOMLZR   want   NEG   1 +be +PRES   (those by)
        'I don't want us to get shot (by those people)' or
        'I don't want those people to shoot us.'

(250)   j-yto-ry   se   ase   berẽ   pona
        1-go-NOMLZR   want   1 +be +PRES   Belem   to
        'I want to go to Belem.'

(251)   poponi   oepy- ry   se   ase   berẽ   pona
        Poponi   come-NOMLZR   want   1 +be +PRES   Belem   to
        'I want Poponi to come to Belem.'

(252) j- oh   wo- ry   se   ase   poponi
       1-meat +POSSN   shoot-NOMLZR   want   1 +be +PRES Poponi

       a
       by
       'I want Poponi to shoot game for me.'

14.11 Complex subordinate constructions.   There are two types of complex
constructions involving subordinate clauses: 1) paratactic and 2) recursive. The
paratactic, which is common at all levels of the syntax, consists of a series of
two or more clauses which have the same syntactic relationship to the rest of
the sentence. They function to: a) enable additional peripheral elements of the
clause to be added without overloading any one clause; b) provide increased
identification of an item, thus avoiding ambiguity.

(253) mokyro   on-ene-pyra   exi- ase   pata   pona   yto-pyra
       that one   3- see-NEG   1 +be-RP   village   to   go- NEG

       j-exi-ry-   ke   ty-   pokô-ke
       1-be-NOMLZR-REAS   ADJVZR-busy-ADJVZR

       j-exi-ry-   ke
       1-be-NOMLZR-REAS
       'I didn't see him because I didn't go to the village
       because I was busy.'

(254) otuh-pyra   i-pani-   ry   t- one-se
       eat- NEG   3-son in law-POSSN   NF-see-CMPL

       exi- ry-   ke   nuriame   sã   exi- ry-   ke
       be- NOMLZR-REAS   repulsive   like   be- NOMLZR-REAS
       'Her son-in-law refused to eat because he had seen it,
       because it was repulsive.'

    The recursive type of complex construction occurs where one subordinate
clause is embedded in another, as in (255), where *tôxiry arory se* is the
embedded complement of *toexiryke*.

(255) t-   ôxi-   ry   aro- ry   se   t-
       3REFLX-daughter-POSSN   take-NOMLZR   want   3REFLX-

       oexi- ry-   ke   t- aro- se   kyn-ako
       be- NOMLZR-   REAS NF-take-CMPL   3- be +IP
       'Because he wanted to take his daughter he took her.'

Nonfinite clauses can also be embedded as the object (256), subject ((257)-(259)), or adjunct ((260)-(262)) of the main clause:

(256) j-oepy- ry   eraxima-ko
       1-come-NOMLZR   wait- IMP
       'Wait for my coming.'

(257) anỹ-tõ   kyn-oeh- ne
       lift-NOMLZR   3- come-DP
       'The lifter (formal inviter to feast) came.'

(258) moroto   kaẽ   poroh- toh   mana
       there   high one   landing-NOMLZR   3 +be +PRES
       'There the airstrip is (located).'

(259) j-umy,   kuto   n-akuoty- hpyry
       3-father +POSSN   frog   3-take across-NOMLZR +PAST

       z-umy   irapare
       3-father +POSSN   Irapare
       'His father, the father of the one the frog took across (is) Irapare.'

(260) mame   ynan-yto-ase   nyh- se   mokã
       then   1 +3- go-RP   sleep-PURP   those

       nyh- topo-   V̂pyry   pona
       sleep- NOMLZR-PAST +POSSN   to
       'Then we went to sleep at those people's former sleeping place.'

(261) oepy-   ase   kana   anymy-ry-   me
       1 +come-RP   fish   lift- NOMLZR-DENOM
       'I came fishing.'

(262) kana   anymy-ase   j-oepy-ry-   me
       fish   lift- RP   1-come-NOMLZR-DENOM
       'I caught fish as I came.'

14.12 Indirect discourse.   Indirect statements, assertions, or commands are usually expressed as direct quotes. Rhetorical questions are also used to express certain kinds of indirect questions. Example (263) illustrates one way in which a rhetorical question is used to express an indirect form of question:

(263) otãto   mon-exi-ano   tarame?   yrome   zuaro   pyra
       how many 3- be-IP   perhaps   but   know   NEG
       '(I) don't know how many there were.'

The use of direct quotation to express commands and statements which would often be translated into English by indirect forms is illustrated in (264)-(266):

(264)   kuto   hko   etapa-po-   ko   n-yka-hko
        frog   EVALUATION   kill- CAUS-IMP   3-say-EVALUATION

        papa
        father
        'Father said, ''Go kill frog meat'' ' or
        'Father had ordered frog meat.'

(265)   mose   ene-ko   pahne   t- yka-se   to-
        this one   see-IMP   POLITE   NF-say-CMPL   3REFLX-

        oryxi-ry   a
        sister-POSSN   to
        ' ''Look at this one'' (he) said to his sister' or
        'He told his sister to look at it.'

(266)   o-wo-V̌ko   ase   t- yka-se
        2-kill-CONT   1 +be +PRES   NF-say-CMPL
        ' ''I am (going to) kill you,'' he said' or
        'He said he would kill me.'

14.13 Direct quotation.   Direct quotation is used extensively. It may be marked with a quote tag, vocative, use of first and second person referents in the quote, or a response which is either a speech act or a behavioral response. The quotation can occur before or after the quote tag. There are many examples scattered throughout this paper.

SYNTAX OF PHRASE TYPES
15 Noun phrase structure

15.0 Introduction.   The noun phrase is defined as the constituent that can occur as the subject or direct object of a sentence or as the head of a postpositional phrase. The internal structure consists of a nucleus and optional peripheral elements. The nucleus is:
(i)   a single noun or pronoun (simple noun phrase); or
(ii)   a sequence of nouns, each constituent pair of which is in a possessor-possessed relationship (possessed noun phrase). The peripheral elements are pre- or post-posed modifiers and/or post-posed particles.

15.1 Marking for case.   There is no case marking of subject and direct object relations. Word order normally distinguishes the functions of noun phrases as subject and object. See sect. 1.

Bound prefixes mark subject of intransitive and copula verbs and subject and object of transitive verbs. See sect. 18.4.

Any other syntactic relationship in which a noun phrase is involved (other than as subject or object) requires the use of a postpositional relator with the noun phrase. Indirect object is marked with the relator *a* "to, by" and expresses the recipient role.

(267)   taky   m-ekaro-ase   ey-a
          bow   2-give- RP   3- to
          'You gave the bow to him.'

The relator *a* also marks agent in derived constructions such as nominalizations and causatives.

(268)   kanawa   axika-ry   aimo   a
          canoe   carve-NOMLZR   boy   by
          'the carving of the canoe by the boy'

(269)   aimo   nyh- ma-   po-   no   j-eny
          boy   sleep-TRNSTVZR-CAUS-IP   3-mother +POSSN

          ty-   paxi-   ry   a
          3REFLX-sister-   POSSN   by
          'The mother caused the sister to put the boy to sleep.'

15.2 Genitives. In possessed noun phrases the possessor (genitive) precedes the possessed (noun head). The possessed object is the morphologically marked item. It has the possessor prefix (which is Ø- when there is a free form possessor) as well as the possession suffix *-ny*, *-ry*, or other less common variants:

(270a)   nohpo   0-kyry- ry
           woman   3-thing-POSSN
           'the woman's possession'

(270b)   i-kyry- ry
           3-thing-POSSN
           'her/his possession'

See sect. 16 for the set of pronominal affixes.

There is no syntactic difference between alienable and inalienable possession. However, there is a distinction between the two types of possession since there

are some items--principally kinship terms, generic terms for foods, and some body parts--which are obligatorily possessed and are always marked by the possessor prefix and possession suffix.

(271)   ty-   paxi-ry
         3REFLX-sister-POSSN
         'his own sister'

Other items are optionally possessed: the unmarked form is the nonpossessed one, and the addition of the possessor prefix and possession suffix marks it as possessed.

(272)   rato;   a-rato- ny
         'knife'   2-knife-POSSN 'your knife'

There are also obligatorily non-possessed items. These never occur with the affixes that mark possession. They include the names of plants, animals, persons, and natural phenomena.

(273)   *paruru* 'banana'; *nuno* 'moon'; *orutua* 'man'; *konopo* 'rain'

There is no formal difference between temporary and permanent possession.

Present and past possession are marked by noun suffixes. The suffix marking present possession is: *-ny* 'POSSESSION'. Its variants are *-ry*, *-ty*, *-Ø*, and stem reduction. The suffix marking past possession is: *-hpyry* or *-V̄pyry* 'POSSESSED ITEM PAST'. (In general *-hpyry* occurs replacing the *-ry* form of the present and with nominalizing suffixes; *-V̄pyry* occurs elsewhere. However, if the stem ends in *-ry*, as in some obligatorily possessed words, then the suffix *-V̄pyry* is used, e.g. *ykyryry* 'my possession', *ykyryrȳpyry* 'my former possession'.)

There is no marking for length or duration of possession (remote, historical or recent).

(274)   *j-omi-ry* 'my speech'; *j-omi-hpyry* 'my ancient words'

(275)   *y-nekaro-ry* 'what I am giving'; *y-nekaro-hpyry* 'what I gave'

(276)   *y-tapyi-ny* 'my house'; *y-tapyi-ny-V̄pyry* 'my former house'

Certain obligatorily possessed items such as generic terms for food can be specified by placing the specific word in apposition with the generic word:

(277)   a-napy-   ry;   a-napy-ry   paruru
         2-fruit/veg.- POSSN   2-fruit-POSSN   banana
         'your fruit/vegetable'   'your fruit, the banana'

15.3 Modifiers.   Modifiers in noun phrases occur following the head of the phrase or occasionally preceding it. There are adjective/adverbial type words such as: *konôto* 'large'; *zumo* 'big'; *pitiko* 'small'; *kure* 'good'; *popyra* 'bad'; *nymyry* 'genuine'; *tuhke* 'many'; *mosa* 'tall'; *axiny* 'quickly'. Some modifiers are formed by simply adding to any noun the postposition (sometimes written as a suffix) *me* 'DENOMINALIZER': *poeto me* 'child-like, as a child'; *anusasa me* 'sweet'; *itamuru me* 'much'.

(278) y-kaparu-nu   nymyry   apoi-ko   j-epe
       1-club- POSSN   genuine   grab-IMP   1-friend +POSSN
       'Grab my genuine club, friend.'

(279) moroto   kana   pisarara   rokĕ   ynan-   anymy-ase
       there   fish   small   only   1 +3S3O-lift-   RP
       'There we only caught some small fish.'

(280) yna tapyĭ   pitiko   ynan-   amo-   ry
       1 +3 house +POSSN   small   1 +3S3O-construct-NOMLZR
       'Our small house, the one we constructed.'

Other modifiers are verb or noun stems with derivational affixes *t(y)-...-re/e* 'adjectivizer/adverbializer': *t-onor-e* 'dry' (*anory* 'be dry'); *t-onu-re* 'seeing' (*onu* 'eye'); *ty-py-e* 'with a wife' (*py* 'wife'). The etymology of some forms is impossible to reconstruct: *tŭpore* 'hard'.

Other modifiers are noun stems with the derivational suffix *-hpe* 'infested, infected, plagued, negative value attributed': *maxi-hpe* 'infected with flu'; *ahno-hpe* 'full of people, crowded'.

An alternative way is for the adjective and adverb type words to be nominalized and right dislocated as an expansion or addition to the main clause.

(281) moroto   kana   ynan-   anymy-ase,   pisararākŏ
       there   fish   1 +3S3O-lift-   RP   small +NOMLZR +PL

       rokene
       only
       'There we caught some fish, just small ones.'

(282) yna tapyĭ   ynan-   amo-   ry   moro,
       1 +3 house +POSSN   1 +3S3O-construct-NOMLZR   that

       zumo-no
       big- NOMLZR
       'Our house, the one we constructed, a big one.'

There is no specific form of relative clause construction. See sect. 15.4 for discussion of various forms of nominalization that can function as relative clauses. Articles do not exist in Apalai. Demonstratives (see sect. 16) function as complete noun phrases rather than as a single constituent of a noun phrase.

Numerals can occur before or after the word they modify. The preferred position for numerals is in the expansion of the sentence (284):

(283) morarame   asakoro   toto,   nohpo   tomo
       and then   two   3PL   woman   COLL
       'And then (there were) two of them, women.'

(284) aruma   apuka-V̄   aporo,   asakoro   rokene
       reed   pick- IP   first   two   only
       'First he cut reeds (weaving fibers), only two.'

(285) omametone   paihxina   ynan-   anymy- ase
       five   species of fish   1+3S3O-lift-   RP
       'We caught five paihxina (a type of fish).'

Quantifiers are not distinguished syntactically from other adjective type words.

(286) kana   0-   anymy- ase   kana   tuhke   hxo
       fish   3S3O-lift-   RP   fish   many   INTNSF
       'He caught a lot of fish.'

(287) orino   tõ- kehko   t- apuh- se
       clay   PL- etc   NF-mold-CMPL
       'Various kinds of clay objects were molded.'

Tõkehko indicates a group of more than one, whereas *tuhke* indicates a large number. (*tõkehko* is made up of the following particles: *tomo* 'COLLECTIVE'. *ke* 'AMELIORATIVE' and *hko* 'EVALUATION'.)

The plural markers in noun phrases function as group markers rather than plural number. These groups normally share some semantic similarity such as edible plants, reptiles, jungle trees, etc. The markers belong to a small closed set of modifying particles and occur postpositionally in the periphery of the noun phrase. The particle *tomo* (shortened to *tõ* in phrase medial position) most often occurs with non-possessed nouns.

(288) aimo   tõ   t- oyto-se
       boy   PL   NF-go- CMPL
       'The boy and his family went' or 'The boys went.'

The particle *komo* occurs with possessed nouns and nominalized verbs with second and third person involvement.

(289) o-mūku-ru   komo
      2- son- POSSN   COLL
      'your (pl) son'

Other modifying particles are:

-V̄po 'DEVALUED'

(290) pata-V̄po 'the abandoned village'

-imo 'augmentative' or 'variety of'

(291) paruru- imo 'large cooking banana'
      poinoko-imo 'variety of jungle pig' or 'domesticated pig'
      okoi-imo 'anaconda, boa constrictor, big snake'

-hne 'homogeneous group' (with demonstrative pronouns)

(292) mokaro-hne   kae-na   toh   m-a
      those- GRP   high   3PL   3- be +PRES
      'Those ones are high.'

See sect. 21.1 for a more complete list.

15.4 Nominalizations

15.4.1 Types of nominalizations.
The nominalization of verb stems includes:

(i) *-ry* 'possessed nominalization of action'. This suffix is added to transitive or intransitive verb stems and cooccurs with person marking possessor prefix or possessor noun phrase. For the forms marking past possession, which also apply to nominalizations (*-hpyry*, *-V̄pyry*), see sect. 15.2.

(293) j-oepy- ry   eraxima-ko
      1-come-NOMLZR   wait-   IMP
      'Wait for my coming.'

(294) karao   apoi- ry   y-a
      bird   catch-NOMLZR   1-by
      'my catching the bird...'

(ii) *-pyny* 'negative nominalization of action referring to the actor or potential actor'. This occurs with both intransitive and transitive verb stems.

The transitive stem has an obligatory possessor prefix signalling underlying object of the verb.

(295)   kana   an-anỹ-pyny
        fish   3- lift-NEG +NOMLZR
        'one who doesn't fish'

(296)   nyh- pyny
        sleep-NEG +NOMLZR
        'one who doesn't sleep'

(iii)   -topo 'thing, time, or place associated with the action.' This cooccurs with person-marking possessor prefixes. (-topo becomes -toh when followed by another word.)

(297)   j-epy-   topo
        1-bathe-NOMLZR
        'my bath place'

(298)   xixi   kuh-   topo
        sun   measure- NOMLZR
        'measurer of the sun (clock)'

(299)   moroto   kaẽ   poroh- toh   mana
        there   high +NOMLZR   landing-NOMLZR   3 +be +PRES
        'There is the landing strip.'

(See sect. 15.2 for past possession markers that may cooccur with this nominalizer.)

(iv)   -tamity 'payment for the action'. This occurs with person-marking possessor prefixes.

(300)   o-eroh- tamity
        2-work-pay +NOMLZR
        'your wages for work'

(301)   upo   kurika-tamity
        clothes   wash- pay +NOMLZR
        'payment for washing clothes'

(v)   -ne 'agent of present action'. This occurs with transitive stems only.

(302)   parata   wo-ne
        rubber   cut-NOMLZR
        'one who cuts rubber'

(303a) j-ypipoh-ne   mokyro
        1-beat- NOMLZR   that one
        'That is the one who hits me.'

(303b) o-pipoh-ne   mokyro
        2-beat- NOMLZR   that one
        'That is the one who hits you.'

The plural of this form is the suffix *-nanomo* 'plural agent of present action'.

(304)   parata   wo-nanomo
        rubber   cut-NOMLZR +PL
        'ones who cut rubber'

        -hpono 'agent of past action'. This occurs with transitive stems.

(305)   j-eky   wo- hpono
        1-pet +POSSN   shoot-NOMLZR +PAST
        'the one who shot my pet'

The plural form is:

(306)   j-eky   wo- hpō   komo
        1-pet +POSSN   shoot-NOMLZR +PAST   PL
        'the ones who shot my pet'

(vi)   *-kety* 'actor of present action'. This occurs with intransitive stems only.
The plural form is *-tyamo*.

(307)   wa-   kety
        dance-NOMLZR
        'one who dances'

        -hpyry 'actor of past action' (see sect. 15.2). There are no
possession markers, but a 'general prefix' occurs (see sect. 18.4).

(308)   a-   oriky-hpyry
        GEN.PREF-die-   NOMLZR +PAST
        'the dead one' or 'the one who died'

(vii) *-ny-...-ry* object resulting from an action. This occurs with transitive
stems only. The *-ny-* is preceded by possessor person markers.

(309)   y-ny-   mero-ry
        1-NOMLZR-write-NOMLZR
        'the thing I am writing'

'Object resulting from a past action' is expressed by substituting the *-ry* with *-hpyry*.

(310)   o-ny-   mero-hpyry
        2-NOMLZR-write-NOMLZR +PAST
        'the thing you have written'

(311)   wewe n-   etapa-hpyry
        wood NOMLZR-hit- NOMLZR +PAST
        'the one hit (killed) by the tree'

(312)   wewe n-   etapa-tyamo
        wood NOMLZR-hit- PL +NOMLZR +PAST
        'the ones hit (killed) by the tree'

(viii)   *-senano* 'a brand new item, subject of intransitive verb stem, or object of transitive verb stem, the result of a recently performed action.' The resultant form is obligatorily non-possessed.

(313)   enuru-senano
        born- NOMLZR
        'new-born one' (pl: enuru-senā komo)

(314)   t-   yri-senano
        GEN. PREF -do- NOMLZR
        'freshly made object'

(ix)   *-semy* 'product of action either future or present'. This is also a non-possessed nominalization, lacking any possessor prefixes or noun phrases.

(315)   paratu   orino   apuh-semy
        plate   clay   mold-NOMLZR
        'material which is to be molded into a plate'

(316)   mokyro   etapa- semy
        that   one kill-NOMLZR
        'that one who is to be killed'

(317)   tyriiku   ri-   semy
        wheat flour   make-NOMLZR
        'something that is to be made from flour'

(x)   -tozo 'companion in the action'. This form cooccurs with person marking possessive prefixes. Its occurrence is rare in the language.

(318)   eroh-tozo
         work-NOMLZR
         'his work partner'

(xi)   -tono 'general nominalization'. This is a non-possessed form which occurs only with transitive stems and does not have any prefixes.

(319)   anỹ- tono   kyn-oeh- ne
         lift- NOMLZR   3- come-DP
         'The lifter (inviter) came.'

(xii)   -no, -to, and -my adjective/adverb and postposition nominalization. If the stem ends with a vowel preceded by a consonant, the vowel changes to a before adding -no or -to:

(320)   kure 'good' → kurano 'the good one'

(321)   tonure 'seeing' → tonuremy 'one who sees'

(322)   kae 'high' → kaeno 'the high one' e.g. airplane

(323)   maxihpe 'with cold/flu' → maxihpano 'one with cold/flu'

(324)   wetukene 'sleepy' → wetukenato 'one who is sleepy'

(325)   wyi se mana 'he likes manioc' → wyi sato 'one who likes manioc'

(326)   kanawao 'in a canoe' → kanawaono 'one in the canoe'

15.4.2 Grammatical relations in nominalized constructions.

Where the nominalizations resulting from the above processes are possessed forms, the intransitive subject and transitive object become the possessor noun phrase or prefix of the nominalized verb, reflecting an ergatively organized system of derivational morphology.

(327a)   j-oepy- ry
         1-come-NOMLZR 'my coming'

(327b)   u-mŭku-ru   oepy- ry
         1-son- POSSN   come-NOMLZR 'my son's coming'

(328a)   j-etapa-ry
         1-kill- NOMLZR 'my being killed'

(328b)   u-mûku-ru   etapa-ry
         1-son- POSSN   kill- NOMLZR   'my son's being killed'

The transitive subject becomes a possessor noun phrase or prefix attached to
the postposition *a* 'to, by'.

(329a)   karau   apoi- topo-   V̌pyry   y-a
         bird   catch-NOMLZR-PAST   1-by
         'my having caught the bird'

(329b)   karau   apoi- topo-   V̌pyry   aimo   a
         bird   catch-NOMLZR-PAST   boy   by
         'the boy's having caught the bird'

15.4.3 Syntactic functions of nominalized constructions.   The nominalized
expressions function as nuclear constituents of a sentence and also occur in
equative sentences and as head of postpositional phrases.

Equative sentence:

(330)   a-yto-ry   ropa   moro   isawā   pona
        3-go-NOMLZR   again   that   sand   to
        'He is going to the beach.'

Subject in copular sentence:

(331)   moroto   kaē   poroh- toh   mana
        there   high +NOMLZR   landing-NOMLZR   3 +be +PRES
        'There is the high thing's place to land.'

Object:

(332)   j-oepy- ry   eraxima-ko
        1-come-NOMLZR   wait-   IMP
        'Wait for my coming.'

Subject of intransitive sentence:

(333)   kaē   n-oeh- no
        high +NOMLZR   3-come-IP
        'The plane arrived.'

In postpositional phrases:

(334) epy- toh   pona   to- yto-se
       bathe-NOMLZR   to   NF-go-CMPL
       'He went to the bath place.'

(335) t-   õxi-   ry   ekaro-ry   se   to-
       3REFLX-daughter-POSSN give- NOMLZR   want 3REFLX-

       exi-ry-   ke
       be- NOMLZR-REAS
       'because he wanted to give his own daughter (in marriage)'

16 Pronoun system

16.1 Free pronoun forms.   Within the free personal pronoun set there is a
division between animate and inanimate pronouns. Third person pronouns, both
animate and inanimate, distinguish between deictic and nondeictic, with three
deictic forms. Both animate and inanimate pronouns distinguish between
individual and collective.

		Animate		Inanimate	
Nondeictic		**non-coll**	**coll**	**non-coll**	**coll**
1		ywy			
1+2		kymoro	kymarokomo		
1+3		yna	yna		
2		omoro	amarokomo		
3		ynoro	ynaro	sero	serohne
				yro	
Deictic					
3	near	mose	moxiamo	seny	senohne
3	medial	mokyro	mokaro	moro	morohne
3	remote	moky	mokamo	mony	monohne

The third person deictic pronouns are the equivalent of demonstrative pronouns.
    There are general question words: *onoky* 'who', which substitutes for animate
nouns, and *oty* 'what', which substitutes for inanimate nouns.

(336) onoky mokyro;   umũkuru   mose
       who   that one   my son   this one
       'Who is that?'   'This is my son.'

(337) oty   moro;   arimi   z-ery   seny
       what   that   monkey   3-tooth +POSSN   this
       'What is that?'   'This is a monkey tooth.'

There are no indefinite pronouns but the category can be expressed by the use of the first person inclusive forms (cf. Derbyshire 1979:130).

16.2 Bound pronoun forms.   The form of personal pronoun used for the indirect object is bound. The full set is:

1	*y-a*	me-to
2	*oy-a*	you-to
3	*ey-a*	him-to
3REFLX	*tyy-a*	himself-to
1+2	*kyy-a*	us-to
1+2PL	*kyy-a xine*	us all-to
1+3	*yna-a*	us-to
2PL	*oy-a xine*	you all-to
3PL	*ey-a xine*	them-to

There are no gender or class distinctions. The above forms also serve to represent goal of motion.

(338a)   oseh- ko   y-a
         come-IMP   1-to
         'Come to me.'

(338b)   t-   umy   a   ropa   to- yto-se
         3REFLX-father +POSSN   to   again   NF-go-CMPL

         ropa   ynororo
         again   3
         'He went back again to his father.'

There are bound person pronouns that occur as prefixes on verb stems. These are listed in sect. 18.4.

Possession in Apalai is marked by a possession suffix cooccurring with a person-marking prefix on the possessed noun. Free pronouns are not normally used to mark possession, except for *yna* '1+3'; occasionally other person forms are used to express emphasis, e.g. *ywy tapyiny* 'my house'.

First person possessor pronoun: *j-*

j- becomes *u-* in the presence of *-Cu* initial stems; *j-* becomes *y-* in the presence of CV initial stems where V is not *u*.

(339) *jepity*   'my medicine'   *(j-epi-ty)*
       umūkuru   'my son'   *(u-mūku-ru)*
       ykyryry   'my thing'   *(y-kyry-ry)*

Second person possessive pronoun: *o-*

o- becomes *a-* in the presence of *-Ca* or *-a* initial stems; in the latter case *a* plus *a* becomes *ā*.

(340) *oepity*   'your medicine'   *(o-epi-ty)*
       akanary   'your canoe'   *(a-kana-ry)*
       āpitunu   'your basket'   *(a-apitu-nu)*

Third person possessor pronoun: *i-*

i- becomes *j-* replacing stem-initial *z; z-* before stem-initial *u;* and *0-* before a vowel other than *u*.

(341) *imūkuru*   'his son'   *(i-mūku-ru)*
       jery   'his tooth'   *(i-ze-ry)*
       epity   'his medicine'   *(0-epi-ty)*
       zupony   'his clothes'   *(z-upo-ny)*

Third person reflexive possessor pronoun: *t-*

t- becomes *tu-* before stem-initial *w* or *Cu; ty* before stem-initial consonants other than a *Cu* sequence; and *to-* before stem-initial *e*.

(342) *tapony*   'his own bench'   *(t-apo-ny)*
       tykyryry   'his own thing'   *(ty-kyry-ry)*
       tumūkuru   'his own son'   *(tu-mūku-ru)*
       toepity   'his own medicine' *(to-epi-ty)*

First person inclusive possessor pronoun: *ky-*

ky- becomes *ku-* before stem-initial vowel or *Cu* sequence.

(343) *kuepe*   'our friend'   *(ku-epe)*
       kykyryry   'our thing'   *(ky-kyry-ry)*
       kumūkuru   'our son'   *(ku-mūku-ru)*

There are at least 20 idiosyncratic forms whose prefixes for first and third persons are not predictable; e.g.:

(344)   *joko*   'my body'   (*j-oko*)

        zoko   'his body'   (*z-oko*)

(345)   *jokuru*   'my drink'   (*j-oku-ru*)

        aokuru   'his drink'   (*a-oku-ru*)

(346)   *woryxiry*   'my sister'   (*w-oryxi-ry*)

        aoryxiry   'his sister'   (*a-oryxi-ry*)

(347)   *waxiry*   'my leg'   (*w-axi-ry*)

        jaxiry   'his leg'   (*j-axi-ry*)

Four kinship terms are idiosyncratic:

(348)   *papa*   'my father, father'
        omy   'your father'
        jumy /*zumy*   'his father'
        tumy   'his own father'
        kumy   'our (incl.) father'

(349)   *aja*   'mother, my mother'
        asa   'your mother'
        jeny /*eny*   'his mother'
        tyse   'his own mother'
        kyse   'our (incl.) mother'

(350)   *pipi*   'aunt, my aunt'
        oohpyry   'your aunt'
        aohpyry   'his aunt'
        tohpyry   'his own aunt'
        kuaohpyry   'our (incl.) aunt'

(351)   *eo*   'uncle, my uncle'
        eory   'your uncle'
        aory   'his uncle'
        tory   'his own uncle'
        kuory   'our (incl.) uncle'

There are no reflexive pronouns or reciprocal pronouns other than the reflexive possessor prefix *t-* (see above and sect. 4). There are no relative pronouns.

17 Adpositional phrase structure

Only postpositions occur. These are frequently referred to as relators in this description to distinguish them from other kinds of postpositions, e.g. particles. The postpositional phrase is defined in terms of its constituents: an obligatory nucleus consisting of a noun phrase followed by a relator postposition, or a possessed form of the relator without any preceding noun phrase; and optional particles that follow the nucleus. It is further defined by its syntactic function as an adverbial that occurs as either the complement of a copular sentence or the adjunct of any type of sentence.

(352) oturu-v̄ko   toh   n-exi-ase   aimo   poko/   y-poko
       talk- CONT   3PL   3-be- RP   boy   occ.with   1-occ.with
       'They were talking about the boy/ about me.'

(353) pata   pona   ropa   to- yto-se   toto/   i-pona
       village   to   again   NF-go-CMPL   3PL   3-to
       'They went back to the village/ to it.'

Both relators and particles are postpositions but are distinguished on both syntactic and morphological grounds. Syntactically, relators only occur following nouns or as free forms (with possessor prefixes), whereas particles can follow any category of word. Morphologically, only relators can be inflected (for possession) and be the subject of derivational processes (negation and nominalization).

Postpositional relators cannot occur without arguments, nor with more than one argument. Their argument can only be a noun phrase or a person-marking prefix attached to the relator itself; the prefix is one of the set of prefixes that occur with nouns to mark the person of the possessor. In this way the relator can occur without a noun phrase head, but it cannot be stranded in the sense of being separated from its noun phrase head in the sentence.

The only elements that can modify postpositional relators are particles, and usually these seem to modify the postpositional phrase as a whole rather than just the relator.

(354) u-tupi   pona   ropa   yto-v̄ko   ase
       1-field +POSSN   to   again   go- CONT   1 +be +PRES
       'I'm going back to my field.'

The relator is *pona* 'to'; *ropa* 'again' is a discourse particle that relates to the whole nucleus of the phrase.

The relator used in many cases depends on the nature/shape of its object:

	in/on	into/onto	via/from
liquid	*kuao*	*kuaka*	*kuae*
fire	*htao*	*htaka*	*htae*
small container	*ao*	*aka*	*ae*
large place	*tao*	*taka*	*tae*
flat place	*po*	*pona*	*poe*
pole shape	*poko*	*pokona*	*pokoino*
river	*nao*	*naka*	*nae*
hammock	*tapo*	*tapona*	*tapoe*

Other common relators are: *pūto* 'close'; *samo* 'equal/similar'; *se* 'want'; *pyno* 'care for'; *waro* 'know'; *poko* 'occupied with'; *a* 'to/by/about'; *wino* 'from (a person)'; *akoxi* 'toward'; *kuroko* 'through' or 'around'; *etonie* 'across from'; *myhto* 'at the foot of'; *ino* 'from'; *winoino* 'from (a person).'

18 Verb and verb phrase structure

18.1 Tense.   Tense is one of four categories marked by verb suffixes; the others are aspect, number, and mood. Mood is only marked for imperative and does not involve tense and aspect in the forms it takes. The unmarked mood is indicative and the suffixes in this set are composite forms involving tense, aspect, and number. The basic forms for the indicative are as follows:

Finite	Noncollective	Collective
Immediate Past	*-no*	*-tou*, *V̌toto*
Recent Past Completive	*-ase*	*-atose*, *-ase toto*
Recent Past Continuative	*-asene*	*-atosene*
Distant Past Completive	*-ne*	*-tone*, *-ne toto*
Distant Past Continuative	*-sene*	*-sene toto*
Historic	*-ko*	*-ko toto*
Nonfinite		
Nonpast Continuative	*-V̌ko*	*-torV̌ko toh (mana)*
		-V̌ko toh (nae)
Past Completive	*t-...-se*	*t-...-se toto*
Past Continuative	*-se*	*-se toto*

Note: The *-V̌ko* form includes the tilde (~) as part of the suffix, but the V which is nasalized is the final vowel of the stem. (See sect. 15.4 for

nominalizations, and sect. 14 for subordination forms -se 'purposive' and -htao 'temporal'.)

'Completive' and 'Continuative' are used as general terms each of which includes more than one specific aspect. 'Collective' is related to person. The nonpast forms occur as complements of the copular verb. The construction is: verb stem plus continuative aspect suffix followed by copular verb. It is the copular verb that has the person-marking prefixes and nonpast tense suffix.

Forms for *ka la* 'say, do' are:

	1 + 2	1	3	2
Finite				
Immed. Past				
noncoll	*sykano*	*ykano*	*nykano*	*mykano*
coll	*sykatou*	*ynanykano*	*nykā toto*	*mykatou*
Recent Past				
Cmpl				
noncoll	*sase*	*ase*	*nase*	*mase*
coll	*satose*	*ynanase*	*nase toto*	*matose*
Dist. Past				
Cmpl				
noncoll	*sykane*	*ykane*	*kynako*	*mykane*
coll	*sykatone*	*ynanykane*	*kynako toto*	*mykatone*
Nonfinite				
Nonpast Cont	*āko*	'doing, saying'		
Past Cont	*kase*	'was doing, was saying'		
Cmpl	*tykase*	'done, said'		

Copula Forms

	1 + 2	1	3	2
Finite				
Nonpast				
noncoll	*sytase*	*ase*	*mana*	*mase*
coll	*sytatose*	*ynanase*	*mā toto*	*matose*
Nonpast				
Uncert				
noncoll	*sytah*	*ha(no)*	*hnae*	*hma(no)*
coll	*sytatohu*	*ynanah*	*toh nae*	*matohu*

	1 + 2	1	3	2
Immed. Past				
noncoll	*sakene*	*akene*	*kynako*	*makene*
coll	*satokene*	*ynanakene*	*toh kynako*	*matokene*
Recent Past				
Cont				
noncoll	*sexiase*	*exiase*	*nexiase*	*mexiase*
			mon-exi-ano	
coll	*sexiatose*	*ynanexiase*	*toh nexiase*	*mexiatose*
			toh mon- -ano	
			nexiase toto	
Recent Past				
Cmpl				
noncoll	*sexino*	*exino*	*nexino*	*mexino*
coll	*sexitou*	*ynanexino*	*toh nexino*	*mexitou*
			nexi toto	
Dist. Past				
Cont				
noncoll	*sexiasene*	*exiasene*	*nexiasene*	*mexiasene*
coll	*sexiatosene*	*ynanexiasene*	*nexiasene toto*	*mexiatosene*
Cmpl				
noncoll	*sexine*	*exine*	*kynexine*	*mexine*
coll	*sexitone*	*ynanexine*	*toh kynexine*	*mexitone*
			kynexine toto	
Historic				
noncoll			*exiko*	
coll			*ehtoko*	

Nonfinite

Nonpast		
Cont	*exiko*	'being, becoming'
Past Cont	*ehse*	'was being, living'
Cmpl	*toehse*	'became'

The copula or auxiliary verb has basic stem forms *exi* and *a*. Whereas all transitive and intransitive verbs are dependent on the auxiliary verb in the nonpast and nonpast uncertain tenses, the auxiliary or copula is independent in these tenses. When dependent forms of the other verbs occur, it is the auxiliary that carries the subject person-marking prefixes and the tense suffixes.

The form *mon-...-ano* 'RECENT PAST CONT' is a discontinuous affix used to indicate action performed out of sight of the speaker.

The nonpast forms are used with reference to present, future, and universal, without any formal distinctions between the three types of tense/aspect.

(355)	urakana-V̆ko	mana	'He is hunting now' or
	hunt- CONT	3+be+PRES	'He will be hunting soon' or
			'He hunts.'

The nonpast uncertainty forms of the copula have a modal value. They are used to express interrogatives, and also noninterrogatives, in which case they usually cooccur with certain particles which mark degree of certainty or authority for assertions. In all these uses they can refer to present, future, or universal.

(356)	wa- V̆ko	mah	'Do you dance?' or
	dance-CONT	2+be+PRES	'Are you dancing?' or
			'Will you dance?'

(357)	eremia-V̆ko	oko	hnae	'Maybe he sings' or
	sing- CONT	perhaps	3+be+PRES	'Maybe he is singing' or
				'Maybe he will sing.'

Past is divided into three degrees of remoteness:

(i)   Immediate past refers to actions done the same day or the previous night.

(358)	nu-tūta-no	
	3- exit-IP	'He came out.'

(ii)   Recent past refers to actions done on the previous day or any time earlier up to a period of a few months (this is relative to the total situation). Events of only a few weeks past may be expressed with the distant past suffix.

(359)	n-eroku-ase	
	3-work- RP	'He worked.'

For repeated action ('continuative') in the recent past, the suffix -*ne* is added.

(360)   eroku- ase-ne
         1+work-RP-CONT   'I worked many times.'

(iii) Distant past refers to actions done any time previous to the recent past.

(361)   akoh-   ne
         1S3O+chop-DP   'I felled it (tree).'

Distant past continuative:

(362)   pake   a- htao   arimi   wo-se   pyrou
         long ago   be-when   monkey   kill-CONT.PAST   arrow

         ke   toto
         INST   3PL
         'Long ago they used to kill monkeys with arrows.'

The historic tense is expressed by the form -*ko* and is limited to occurrence with third person subject and object referents. It is found only in legends, where it expresses main event line action. (See E. Koehn 1976 for the function of -*ko* in Apalai narrative.)

(363)   apoi-ko
         grab-HIS   'He grabbed it.'

Future tense is expressed by nonpast forms.

Tense-aspect distinctions apply not only to finite verb forms but also to certain nonfinite forms as well. (See sects. 14.1, 15.2, and 15.4.). The imperative mood forms have number, but not tense/aspect distinctions.

18.2 Aspect.   The aspectual markers in the language are all related to ways of viewing duration of a situation. There are two different kinds of markers in the verb:

(i)   the completive/continuative dichotomy expressed in the tense-aspect-number suffix system; and

(ii)   ingressive and terminative aspects which are expressed by derivational suffixes added to verb stems.

Habitual, continuous, and progressive aspects are expressed by the continuative component of the verb suffixes:

(364)   poeto-me   j-a- htao   itu   zuno   exi- ase-ne /
           child-DENOM   1-be-when jungle fear   1+be-RP-HAB

           ehse   ywy
           be-CONT.PAST I
           'When I was a child, I was often afraid/lived in fear of the jungle'

(365)   mokyro   oepy-ry-   htao   otuh-nõko   akene
           that one come-NOMLZR-when eat- CONT   1+be+IP
           'When he came, I was eating.'

(366)   wyi   ekei-Vko   toh   n-exi-ase   pitiko rokẽ pyra
           manioc   bake-CONT   3PL   3-be- RP   little   just NEG
           'They were making a lot of manioc bread.'

Ingressive aspect is expressed by adding the suffix *-pito* 'begin' to any verb stem. The focus of the meaning can be either on the beginning of the action or on the primacy of the participant in relation to other participants in the ensuing action.

(367)   kana   anỹ-pito- ne   poeto-me   ro   j- a- htao
           fish   lift-begin-DP   child- DENOM   still   1-be-when
           'I began to catch fish when I was still a child.'

Terminative aspect is expressed by adding the suffix *-keh* 'CESSATIVE' to any verb stem:

(368)   otuh- keh- no   'I finished eating.'
           1+eat-CESS-IP

The terminative aspect is also expressed by the clitic particle *V̂tyky* 'TERMINATIVE'.

(369)   ynan- ua-   ase-V̂tyky
           1+3- dance-RP- TERM   'We finished dancing.'

The completive component of the verb suffixes expresses semelfactive and punctual aspects.

(370)   n-yto-ase   anatũ   pona
           3-go- RP   Anatum to
           'He went to Anatum.' (one action)

(371)   n-yto-ase   ropa   anatū   pona   ropa
        3-go- RP   again   Anatum   to   again
        'He went back to Anatum again.'

18.3 Mood/Modality.   The only mood distinction in the verb inflection
system is that between indicative and imperative. The indicative mood is
unmarked and contrasts with the imperative.

The imperative mood is expressed primarily by a set of verb suffixes that
show components of number and motion and which differ in form according to
the person of the subject. Optative and hortative values are included in this
mood. It is reinforced by:

(i)   The cooccurrence of the particle *ah* or *apo* 'IMPERATIVE' which is
obligatory for the third person imperative, there being no distinctive imperative
suffix for that person. The suffixes used are the tense/aspect forms *-no* and
-V̄toto 'IMMEDIATE PAST'.

(372)   ah   n-yto-V̄   toto
         IMP   3-go- IP   3PL   'Let them go.'

(ii)   The optional occurrences of the imperative form of the verb 'to go'
eropa. The shortened form *pa* is used when the command involves motion
away from the location of the speaker and first person is included in the
action.

(373)   pa sepytase   'Let's go, let's go swim.'

The paradigm of nonmotion imperatives is as follows:

	Noncollective	Collective		
2	*-ko*	*-toko*	*anȳ-ko*	'Lift it.'
			anȳ-toko	'You all lift it.'
1	*-xi*		*eneh-xi*	'Let me bring it.'
1+3		*ynan- -xi*	*ynan-eneh-xi*	'Let us (excl) bring it.'
1+2	*s- -ne*	*s- -tone*	*synyhne*	'Let's sleep.'
			synyhtone	'Let's all sleep.'
3	*ah|apo n- -no*	*ah|apo n- -V̄ toto*	*ah nytono*	'Let him go.'
			ah nytō toto	'Let them go.'

The set of motion imperative suffixes is used when the action to be
performed involves distance from the location of the speech act.

	Noncollective	Collective		
?	-ta	-tatoko	eneta āporo	'Go see it first.'
			enetatoko	'You (pl) go see it.'
1	-taxi, -tamy		enetaxi	'Let me go and see it.'
1+2	s- -tase	s- -tatose	senetase	'Let's go see it.'
			senetatose	'Let's all go see it.'

There is no special motion form for third person imperatives. See also sect. 11 for imperative constructions, including some discussion of ways of expressing different degrees of imperative.

The second person imperative forms of the verb *ka* 'say, do' are irregular:

nonmotion	noncollective	*kaxiko*	'Say/do it.'
	collective	*kaxitoko*	'You all say/do it.'
motion	noncollective	*kaxita*	'Go say it, go do it.'
	collective	*kaxitatoko*	'You all go say/do it.'

There is no special form for expressing the idea of obligatoriness (e.g. 'must do anything'), other than the imperative forms.

Potential mood, the equivalent of 'can do', is expressed by *zuaro*, 'to know, know how to'.

(374) kanawa   axika-ry   waro   mana
       canoe   carve-NOMLZR   know   3+be+PRES
       'He knows how to carve out a canoe.'

Degree of certainty on the part of the speaker is marked by two suffixes and one particle:

-my	deduction
-na	uncertainty
rahkene	certainty, prediction, warning, consummation, legendary fact

18.4 Person and number. The persons of the subject and the direct object are coded in the verb prefix. There are three sets of forms: transitive, intransitive, and copula. In the transitive set each prefix is a composite form that marks subject and object. Collective number is coded in the verb suffix. The collective forms relate to the person of the subject and/or object. The 1+3 category is expressed by *yna*, *ynan*; the form remains unchanged whether the referent includes only a single third person or a group of third persons.

The collective suffix refers to the person of the subject with intransitive stems and the copula, and to the person of either the subject or the object or both with transitive stems, so that in the latter case there can be ambiguity in

the first person inclusive, second person and third person forms. The collective marker on the verb is usually in agreement with the collective marker on the noun or pronoun subject or object; occasionally, however, the noun or pronoun may be collective when the verb is noncollective.

The paradigm of the person-marking prefixes in the verb is shown in the following matrix:

OBJ	1+2	2	1	1+3	3	INTRANS	COPULA/ EXPR
SUB						S	S
1+2					*s(y)-*	*s(y-)*	*s-*
2			*k(y)-*	*yna m-*	*m(y)-*	*o-/m-*	*m-*
1		*k(y)-*			*Ø-/y-*	*Ø-/y-*	*Ø-*
1+3					*ynan(y)-*	*ynan(y)-*	*ynan-*
3	*k(y)-*	*o-*	*j(y)-*	*yna-*	*n(y)-*	*n(y)-*	*n-*
					kyn(y)-	*kyn(y)-*	*kyn(y)-*
POSS	*k(y)-*	*o-*	*j-/y-*	*yna-*	*t-* REFLX		
					i- NONREFLX		

The subject-object markers can be compared with the nominal possessor markers as shown in the lower row of the chart above. (See sect. 16.2 for further details.)

The form *kyn-* '3' occurs only with distant past tense forms (*-ne*).

The vowel *y-*[i] occurs with C-initial stems. The *y-* changes to *u-* before *Cu*, following a rule of vowel harmony.

(375)   *y-kurika-no → u-kurika-no*   'I washed it.'
        y-pipoh- no   'I hit it.'

The 3 subject +3 object prefix is *n(y)-* in the absence of a free object, and *Ø-* when a free object is present.

(376a)   aimo   n-anȳ-no
         boy   3-lift- IP
         'The boy caught it.'

(376b)   aimo   kana   anȳ-no
         boy   fish   lift- IP
         'The boy caught the fish.'

Intransitive 2S has two morphologically conditioned forms:

(i)   *o-* occurs with a subclass of stems including

'sleep' *-nyh*: *o-nyh-no* 'you slept'
'cry' *-xita*: *o-xita-no* 'you cried'
'climb' *-onuh*: *o-onuh-no* 'you climbed up'

(ii) *m(y)-* occurs with the subclass including

'go' *-yto*: *m-yto-no* 'you went'
'eat' *-otuh*: *m-otuh-no* 'you ate'
'come' *-oeh*: *m-oeh-no* 'you came'

The *m(y)-* form always occurs with reflexive forms of the verb.

There are several verb stems which occur with a special form of prefix in first and second person imperative forms and nonpossessed derived nominals. This prefix is called 'GENERAL PREFIX'. With transitive imperative forms the prefix refers to third person object. The form of the prefix is: *i-* with consonant initial stems (147), and *t-* or *a-* with vowel initial stems (27), (162), (164) and (308); cf. Derbyshire 1979:149-151.

18.5 Voice.   See passive (sect. 5), causative (sect. 6), and reflexive (sect. 4).

18.6 Other categories.   There are suffixes which indicate nonfinite verbal forms, that is, the derived nominals and pseudo nominals. They include *-ry* 'NOMINALIZER' and *-topo /-toh* 'thing/place NOMINALIZER'. (See sect. 15.4 for the full range of nominalization possibilities.)

(377)   j-yto-ry   moro
        1-go-NOMLZR   that
        'That was my going.' ('I was going.')

(378)   wa-   toh   moro
        dance-NOMLZR   that
        'That was the place/time to dance.'

18.7 Incorporation of nominal elements into the verb.   One type of incorporation involves noun stems cooccurring with derivational suffixes to form verb stems; e.g. *opi* 'medicine'; *epinohnôko* 'giving medicine to' (a transitive verb, the object of which is the recipient of the action).

-noh 'administer'

(379) eo   epinoh-   nŏko   mokyro   mana
       uncle   give medicine   to-CONT   that one   3+be+PRES
       'He is giving medicine to my uncle.'

-pa 'benefactive'

(380) napi 'vegetable (sweet potato)';

       inahpãko 'feeding (someone)'

-to 'enhance'

(381) *amity* 'string';   *taky amih-to-V̆ko* 'stringing a bow'.

Certain body parts follow this pattern of verbalization, as with derivational suffixes such as:

-po 'cause to sever or leave'

(382) *oma* 'hand'; *ema-V̆ko* 'throwing';
       ema-po-V̆ko 'dropping' or 'losing'

-ka, -hka 'extract with force'

(383) *ipihpyry* 'its skin'; *ipi-ka-V̆ko* 'skinning'
       esena-ry 'his throat'; *esena-hka-V̆ko* 'strangling'

-ta 'produce'

(384) *munu* 'blood'; *mū-ta-V̆ko* 'bleeding'

Incorporation occurs with other possessed nouns:

-a 'bear or reproduce'

(385) *i-mūku-ru* 'his/her child (male)';
       imūkua-V̆ko 'bearing a child'

-hma 'benefactive'

(386) *epe* 'his friend' (i.e. originally 'trading partner');
       epe-hma-V̆ko 'paying it'

       akoro-ny 'younger sibling of same sex' or
                  'another set of similar things';
       akore-hma-V̆ko 'helping'

-kah 'weave'

(387) epe 'his friend';
       epe-kah-nōko 'buying it'

19 Adjective phrase structure

There are no adjectival phrases as such. See sect. 15.3 for possibilities relating to modifiers in noun phrases.

20 Adverb phrase structure

An adverbial phrase may consist of an adverb followed by one or more particles.

(388) axī   kuhse   n-yto-V̄   toto
       fast   very   3-go- IP   3PL
       'They went very fast.'

(389) zumo-hxo   mokyro   pitiko   rokene
       bigger   that one little   only
       'That fellow (is) only a little bigger.'

21 PARTICLES

Particles follow words of any class other than the ideophone, and never occur as free forms or in isolation. They are noninflected, nonderived words and can be divided into three subclasses on the basis of function and position of occurrence in relation to other particles in a sequence:

  i) modifying particles, which usually occur first in any such sequence and normally modify a noun or adverb;
  ii) discourse particles, which usually occur between the modifying and verification particles in any sequence and whose normal function is to relate the phrase or sentence in which they occur to some other part of the discourse;
  iii) verification particles, which generally occur last in any particle sequence and whose function is to express the attitude or relationship of the speaker to what he is saying.

21.1 Modifying particles. Modifying particles are sentence particles in the sense that their function is limited to the sentence in which they occur. For additional treatment of modifying particles see sect. 15.3, where noun phrase particles are described. Certain particles could be included in more than one class: e.g. *nymyry* 'genuine' freely occurs modifying nouns or adjectives/adverbs: *kure nymyry* 'genuinely good', *umūkuru nymyry* 'my genuine son', *wewe nymyry* 'real wood'.

Some particles seem to fit in the sentence particle set: *rokene* 'only' and *pyra* 'negative', but may under certain circumstances also be significant as a discourse particle: *masarātupa rokene* 'false rubber only'. The focus is on the lack of the object of search — in the particular discourse context, there was only false rubber, not the real thing for which they were searching.

The sentence (modifying) particles are listed and illustrated below.

hko pyra 'not quite as'

(390) zuaro   hko   pyra   ase
       3+know   quite   NEG   1+be+PRES
       'I don't know it quite (as well as someone else does).'

hxo 'degree superlative, intensifier'

(391) mame ty-   rato- ke   pyra   hxo   hano,
       then   ADJVZR-knife-POSSN. ADJ   NEG   degree   1+be+IP

       āko   mokyro   akono
       say+CONT that one   brother in law
       ' "I don't have any knife at all," said brother-in-law.'

kuhse 'to a superlative degree'

(392) i-mūku-ru   arypyra   kuhse
       3-son- POSSN   NEG   SUPERL
       'His son (did not do) anything at all.'

nymyry 'genuine'

(393) opotu   nymyry   a- htao   arypyra   kahpyry
       fast water   genuine   be-if   nothing   ugly

       exi-ry   toh   asakororo
       be- NOMLZR   3PL   both
       'If the water had been really fast, there would be nothing
       left of either of them.'

pohto 'somewhat, medium quantifier'

(394) tuhke pohto   rokē   toh   n-exi-ase,
       many   somewhat only   3PL   3-be- RP

       wa-   toh-   tao
       dance-NOMLZR-at
       'There were not too many at the dance place.'

pukuro 'medium quantifier'

(395)   anusasame   pukuro   rokene
        sweet   medium   only
        '(It was) just medium sweet.'

        kokonie   pukuro
        night   medium degree
        'evening'

        rokene 'only'

(396)   asakoro   rokē   airiki
        two   only   bacaba (fruit)
        'There were only two bacaba fruit.'

        rukukuh 'superlatively, uniquely'

(397)   kure   rukukuh   nae
        good   SUPERL   3+be+PRES
        'It is really good.'

        tiko 'diminutive'

(398)   t-   akoh-se   kae   tiko
        NF-cut- CMPL   high   DIMIN
        'It was cut quite high.'

        imo 'augmentative'

(399)   okoi   imo   t-   otapa-se   ey-a
        snake   big   NF-kill- CMPL   3- by
        'A big snake was killed by him.'

        komo 'collective'

(400)   oēxiry komo
        'your (pl) daughter'

        V̄po 'devalued'

(401)   upô po
        'used clothes'

        hne 'homogeneous group'

(402)   moro hne   kure   kynako
        those GRP   good   3+be+IP
        'Those were good.'

21.2 Discourse particles.   Discourse particles are optional phrase constituents
that follow a head word (or head complex like a possession noun phrase) from

any of the major word classes. The primary scope of the discourse particle is the head word it governs and it usually relates that word to some other part of the discourse.

The discourse particles are listed and illustrated below. They are taken from a concordance of 28,000 morphemes from Apalai texts. (The concordance was prepared at the University of Oklahoma Computer Support for Linguistics Field Research which was partially supported by National Science Foundation Grant GS-1605.)

> *aporo* 'first in time', 'temporary duration of activity or state';
> the event it modifies precedes some other event.

(403) kana   anymy- ase   aporo,   araku   kotyxi
       fish   1+catch-RP first   fish species   fish species

       pahxina   enara   rokene
       fish species   those   only
       'First I caught fish, *araku*, *kotyxi*, and *pahxina*,
       just those (species).'

(404) oepu-   ase   taro-na   aporo,   pakeimo   opi   ĕ-
       1+come-RP   here-to   first   early   medicine   drink-

       se   aporo
       PURP   first
       'At first I came here early to drink some medicine first.'

(405) motu- ke   pyra   aporo
       motor-INST   NEG   temporarily
       'Temporarily without an outboard motor.'

(406) mame se se se   i-paixi- ry   aporo
       then (approaching)   3-sister-POSSN   first
       'Then someone approached, (it was) her sister first.'

> *hkotano* 'rather (it is...)', i.e. correction of something said or implied.

(407) ywy kara   exi- ase   repe   moxiã   hkotano
       I   be+NEG 1+be-RP   but   those   rather
       'It wasn't I, rather it was they.'

> *mã* 'title or discourse topic marker'

The whole clause is marked as a title or thematic sentence which is to be elaborated in succeeding sentences. A variant form is *mya* 'title marker (joking mood)'.

(408)   kokonie   osema   akoroka-ase   mã
        yesterday   path   1 +clear-RP   title
        'Yesterday I cleared a path.'

(409)   isapokara   mũku-ru   nomo-   no   kairê   taka mã
        lizard   baby-POSSN   3 +enter- IP   mosq. net   into title
        'A baby jakuraru lizard entered the mosquito net.'

(410)   mũpo-jana   toh   kyn-exi-ne   mã.   On-ene-pyra
        rat- people   3PL   3- be-DP   title 3- see-NEG

        ase   repe   yrome   mose   ekaro-V̄ko
        1 +be +PRES   FRUST   CNJ   that one tell- CONT

        na
        3 +be +PRES
        'Once there were some rat people. I didn't see them,
        but that one is telling it.'

(411)   sakura   ē-   no   mya.   ē-   se   ropa   ke
        drink   1 +drink-IP   title   drink-PURP   again   (?)

        yto-V̄ko   ropa   ase
        go-CONT   again   1 +be +PRES
        'I drank sakura. I'm going back again to drink again.'

        rahkene 'consummation, finally completed action, fulfilled expectation'

(412)   mame t-   oeh-   se   ropa   yna   rahkene
        then NF-arrive- CMPL   again   1 +3   finally
        'Then we came back again (at end of set of actions).'

        reh / rehne 'expectation of a response' (*ne* is dropped sentence
        medially)

(413)   moro reh   õty   komo
        that expect 2 +meat +POSSN   PL
        'Here is some meat for you.'

(414)   n-os-   ereh- no   hxo   rehne
        3-REFLX-scare-IP   INTNSF   expect
        'He must have really frightened himself.'

        rehta 'attention holder'.

(415)   onoky rehta   mano
        who   ATTN   2 +be +PRES
        'Who are you?'

(416) oty   ropa   rehta   ano
       what   again   ATTN   1+be+PRES
       'What else shall I tell?'

repe 'but, contrary to expectation, frustrative'

(417) kaikuxi-jana   apuru-ru   se
       jaguar- people   lock up-NOMLZR   want

       kyn-exi-ne   repe
       3- be-DP   FRUST
       'He wanted to capture the jaguar people but (was not able to).'

ro 'continuity or sameness (of an object or action.)'

(418) tuhke   ro   kyn-ako
       many   still   3- be+IP
       'There were still many.'

(419) xia   ro   ynan-oepy-ase   ropa
       here   still   1+3-come-RP   again
       'We came back to here again.'

rohxo 'even more, INTNSF'

(420) ynan-opi- ase   rohxo   repe,   arypyra   masarátupa
       1+3- look for-RP   INTNSF   FRUST   be+NEG   tree species

       rokene
       only
       'We looked even more for (rubber) but there was not any, only
       the *masarátupa* tree.'

ropa a) 'repetition', 'a second or subsequent item or action
in opposition to a previous one'

       b) 'return to a former state or location', 'reference to previous
       object, state, or action'

(421) oty   ropa   exi-V̆ko   nae?
       what   REPET   be- CONT   there is
       'What else is going to happen?'

roropa 'a second or subsequent item or action, likewise'

(422) mamao roropa   kyn-exi-ne   repe
       fruit   also   3- be-DP   FRUST
       'There was also papaya there, but ...'

roro 'alone, only just'

(423) ywy roro   koih   a- V̂ko
       I   alone   paddle   do-CONT
       'I (was) the only one paddling.'

21.3 Verification particles.   The function of these is to express the speaker's evaluation of, or his relation to, his utterance: i.e. his claim to knowledge or uncertainty, impatience, irritation or honorifics, emphasis or pity. The verification particles are listed and illustrated below. For some of these forms further testing is needed to ascertain their precise range of meaning.

hko 'speaker's claim to knowledge (EVALUATION)'

(424) zuaro kuh   ase   hko,   kase   repe
       know   CERT   1 +be +PRES quite sure   said   FRUST
       ' "I am quite sure I know it", he said (but it didn't
       happen that way.)'

(425) omoro hko
       you   EVALUATION
       'You are the one to decide (and I know it).'

hkotoko 'possibly'

(426) serae hkotoko   axikãko   tarame   mana
       today perhaps   carve +CONT   maybe   3 +be +PRES
       'Perhaps he is carving (canoe) today.'

hro 'response marker to question or situation', 'obviously'

(427) opi   toto   orih-mato   hro
       medicine   3PL   kill-NOMLZR   RESP
       'The poison was deadly to them.'

(428) m-epy- no
       2-bathe-IP   'Did you bathe?'

       ȳ,   epy   hro
       AFFIRM   bathe   RESP   'Yes, I sure did.'

ka 'impatience (with imperative)'

(429)   eneh-   ko   ka
        bring it-IMP   IMPATIENCE
        'Bring it and hurry up about it.'

        ke / keh 'ameliorative or polite form' (with imperative,
        question, etc.)

(430)   kana   ke   anỹ- ko
        fish   POLITE   catch-IMP
        'Catch some fish, please.'

(431)   oty   keh   popyra   nae
        what POLITE   bad   there is
        'I wonder what is wrong.'

        kene 'at this point in time relative to speaker', 'immediacy'

(432)   oeh-   no   kene
        I +come-IP   just
        'I have just arrived.'

(433)   eropa   kene
        let's go   now
        'Let's go now.'

        kēty 'irritation', occurs with imperatives or questions

(434)   oty   kēty
        what IRRITATION
        'What is it?'

(435)   eropa   kēty
        let's go   IRRITATION
        'Come on!'

        kuh 'certainty'

(436)   ajana   kuh   kyn-exi-ne
        Wayana CERT   3- be-DP
        'He was definitely Wayana.'

        myhene 'pity for person in trouble'

(437)   mame yto- ko   japyry   poko- na tiko   myhene
        then 3 +go-HIS   tree   side of-to DIMIN   pity

        hxo
        INTNSF
        'Then he went up a topless tree, poor guy.'

pahne 'ameliorative (with imperative)'

(438) ene- xi   pahne
       1 +see-IMP   AMELIORATIVE
       'Let me see please.'

(439) n-ekuh-no   pahne
       3-try- IMP   AMELIORATIVE
       'Let him try it.'

pāna 'uncertainty, doubt'

(440) kure   pāna   ma   repe
       good   UNCERT 2 +be +PRES   FRUST
       'I trust you are fine.'

pāpa 'moderately emphatic, with slight irritation'
(occurs with imperative forms)

(441) t-   yri-ko   pāpa
       GEN.PREF-put-IMP   EMPH
       'Put it there, will you!'

puh / puhko 'eye witness evaluation' (in certain contexts)

(442) moro puh   t- onah- se   rohke
       that   EYEWITNESS NF-finish-CMPL   only
       'I could tell it was all gone.'

(443) otāto   puhko   ke   eroh-nōko   nae
       how many EYEWITNESS POLITE   work-CONT   3 +be +PRES
       'How many did you see working?'

sātā 'promise or oath, truly' (spoken lightly or with humor)

(444) t-   ypyre-ke   sātā   ase   rahkene
       ADJVZR-arrow-POSSN.ADJ   truly   1 +be +PRES   really
       'I certainly do own an arrow.'

tano 'deduction' or 'assumption'

(445) m-otuh-no   tano
       2-eat- IP   DEDUCT
       'You must have eaten.'

(446) i-se   pyra tā   m-ase
       3-want NEG DEDUCT 2- be +PRES
       'You apparently do not want any.'

toko 'evidently'

(447) t- oyto-se   toko
       NF-go-CMPL   EVIDENTLY
       '(He) evidently left.'

ty 'emphatic and without regard for the opinion of the recipient
of the order'

(448) oseh-   ko   ty
       2+come-IMP   EMPH
       'Come here! (whether you want to or not)'

22 PHONOLOGY

22.1 Syllable structure.   Syllables consist of a nuclear vowel, V, with or
without initial and/or final consonantal margins, C. Syllable patterns are thus
V, VC, CV, and CVC. The predominant pattern is CV. This fact, together
with considerations of stress placement, leads to the interpretation of
nonsyllabic high vocoids as consonants w [u] and y [i].

22.2 Segmental phonology
    Consonants.   There are twelve consonants represented in the orthography
as (with corresponding phonetic values in parentheses): p, t, k, h [ʔ], m, n, z,
s, x [š], r [ř], w, and j [y].

p, t, k, and h are normally voiceless, unaspirated stops at bilabial, alveolar,
velar and glottal points of articulation respectively: *pone* ['pone] 'piranha'; *taky*
['takɨ] 'bow'; *ihmo* ['iʔmo] 'egg.'

p shows no significant allophonic variation.

t has a palatalized form preceding and following i. The palatalization of t
results in an alveopalatal affricate [č]: *pɨd̵kO* [pi'čiko] 'small'.

k has a morphophonemically conditioned voiced variant [g] which occurs at
morpheme boundaries after elision of a final unstressed vowel and preceding
morpheme initial stressed a: *ytóko ase* [i. 'tõ. 'ga.se] 'I am going.'

m and n are nasal continuants normally produced at bilabial and alveolar points
of articulation respectively: *moe* ['moe] 'far'; *nuno* ['nuno] 'moon'.

m exhibits no significant variation; n has a palatalized form preceding and
following i: *kokonie* [koko'ñie] 'yesterday'; *inapyry* [iña'pɨřɨ] 'his vegetables or
fruit'

z is a voiced alveolar fricative: *zery* ['zeřɨ] 'tooth.'

s and x are voiceless fricatives produced at alveolar and alveopalatal points of articulation respectively: *seny* ['senɨ] 'here'; *kurehxo* [kuˈɾeʔšo] 'very good.'

r is an alveolar flap: *rato* ['ɾato] 'knife.'

w and j are nonsyllabic vocoids produced at bilabial and alveolar points of articulation respectively: *wāko* ['wãko] 'dancing'; *jeny* ['yenɨ] 'his mother.'

w is the nonsyllabic counterpart of *u* being a voiced high close back rounded vocoid.

j is the nonsyllabic counterpart of *i* being a voiced high close front unrounded vocoid.

Vowels.   There are six oral and six nasal vowels: i, ī, y (ɨ), ȳ (ɨ̃), u, ū, e, ē, a, ā, o, ō.

i and its nasal counterpart ī are regularly high close front unrounded vocoids: *ipyty* [iˈpitɨ] 'his wife'; *ipary* [iˈpaɾɨ] 'his back'.

y and its nasal counterpart ȳ are normally high close central unrounded vocoids: *epỹko* [eˈpɨ̃ko] 'bathing'; *epyko* [eˈpɨko] 'bath'.

In stressed syllables preceding a, y sometimes has a [g] (voiced fricative quality: *oya* [oya] or [oga] 'to you'. (It is a 3-vowel sequence [o.ˈi.a]).

u and its nasal counterpart ū are regularly high close back rounded vocoids: *upupuru* [upuˈpuɾu] 'my foot'; *ūsehpo* [ũˈseʔpo] 'hair'.

e and its nasal counterpart ē are normally mid-front unrounded vocoids ranging from close to open: *eneko* [eˈneko] 'look'; *enēko* [eˈnẽko] 'looking'; e usually occurs in open form [ɛ] in nonstressed syllables before p; *epe* [ɛpe] 'friend'.

a and its nasal counterpart ā are regularly low open central unrounded vocoids: *etako* [eˈtako] 'listen'; *etāko* [eˈtãko] 'listening'.

o and its nasal counterpart ō are normally low back rounded vocoids ranging from close to open: *aroko* [aˈɾoko] 'take'; *arōko* [aˈɾõko] 'taking'; o generally occurs open [ɔ] in final syllables and closed in reduplicated syllables; *toto* ['toto] 'they'; *kuto* [kutɔ] 'frog'.

22.3 Borrowed segments from Portuguese: f [p] bilabial voiceless fricative, especially used in names borrowed from Portuguese culture: *firipe* [piˈɾipi] 'Felipe'; b [b] bilabial voiced stop: *berē* [beˈɾẽ] 'Belem' city.

22.4 Phonotactics.   Distribution of phonemes within the syllables is as follows. All consonants occur in the initial C slot of CV and CVC syllables.

Only h and x are found in the syllable final non-word final C position; *otuhkose* [otuʔʰkose] 'eat'; *kôxtapánôko* ['kôstapáʰnôko] or ['kôsitapáʰnôko] 'becoming chilly'. All vowels may occur in the V slot of V and CV syllables, and all oral vowels and the nasalized low central vowel occur in closed syllables: *táhpome* [táhʔpome] 'old-man-like'. All consonant-vowel sequences occur with the exception of the following: w plus u; j plus i; s or z plus i; x plus y.

Consonant clusters result from the juxtaposition of syllable-final with syllable-initial consonants. Glottal stop has been found to precede all syllable-initial consonants except j. A wide variety of two and three vowel sequences have been recorded (in which each vowel occurs in a separate syllable): *nae* 'have'; *oeary* 'your cord'; *oeonary* 'your nose'.

There are apparently no restrictions as to syllable combinations within words, except that VC and CVC syllables have not been found in word final position, except for one case of a CVC syllable in this position: *tam* 'grandfather'.

22.5 Suprasegmentals.   Apalaí utterances may be segmented into words which are significant both as grammatical and as phonological units. The phonological unit may consist of one or more grammatical words bounded by pause.

(449)   sē   pona   yto-V̄ko   ase
        there   to   go- CONT   1 +be +PRES   'I'm going there.'
        [/sē.po.na/i.tõ.ga.se/]
        (syllables are separated by periods and phonological units
        are marked by slashes)

(450)   m-oeh- no   ropa   aja
        2-come-IP   again   mother   'You've come back, Mother.'
        [/moeʔ.no.ro.pa/a.ya/]

Phonologically, words are sequences of syllables in which the penultimate syllable is stressed: *paruru* [paˈɾuɾu] 'banana'. A few words exist which have only one syllable: Ȳ, po. These words may carry stress because of the intrinsic stress which accompanies nasalization or because of elision: *kanawa ae ytôko* [kanaˈwae iˈtôko] 'going from the canoe'. Secondary stress falls on closed and on nasal syllables bordered by at least one unstressed syllable: *kôxtapánôko* ['kôstapáʰnôko] 'becoming chilly.' Secondary stress may fall on the initial syllable of words of four or more syllables when it is followed by an unstressed syllable: *xirikozuru* ['siɾiko'zuɾu] 'grass.' The stress pattern is somewhat flexible when several of the stated factors occur.

Length occurs with nasalization. Nasalized vowels are long in contrast with nonnasalized vowels: *aráta* [aˈɾ̃ã:ta] 'howler monkey.'

In discourse, nasalization and length occur on the final syllable of sentence initial connectives and at the end of utterances which constitute a major transition between thoughts: *mame* [mamẽː] 'and then'; *ynanoturuase. te. mame...*[inanoturuasẽ: te mamẽː...]. 'We talked. PAUSE. And then...'

(451) oepy-   ase   taro-na   aporo   pakeimo   opi
       1+come-RP here-to briefly   early   medicine

       ẽ-   se   aporo.   opi   ẽny-   ase.   te.
       drink-PURP   briefly medicine 1+drink-RP   PAUSE

       moroto-ino.....
       that- after
       'I came here first early to take some medicine. I took it.
       (pause) And then...'

In (451), the final *e* of *ẽny-ase* is nasalized and lengthened.

The basic intonation patterns are: falling, which occurs sentence final; and level or rising, which occurs at the end of clauses and dislocated phrases within a clause or sentence, when these are not sentence final.

22.6 Morphophonology.
A number of generalizations can be made about the system of pronunciation of the language, including certain morphophonological processes:

(i)   Words never begin with a consonant cluster.

(ii)   A sequence of vowel plus nasal consonant in morpheme final position, and preceding another consonant, becomes a nasalized vowel: *anym-se → anÿse* 'fished.'

(iii) Any stop in morpheme final position becomes glottal stop preceding a consonant: *nyk-se → nyhse* 'slept.'

The following rule is complementary to rules (ii) and (iii).

(iv)   The morphophonemic change in consonant-final verb stems is a transition vowel *y* [ɨ] , central unrounded, occurring epenthetically between the stem final consonant and the vowel initial suffix. Generally, if the final stem vowel is u, the transition vowel harmonizes to u: *otuk-ase → otukuase* 'I ate'; *jy-nyk-ase → jynykyase* 'I slept.' However, there are a few idiosyncratic forms such as: *enetuput-ase → enetuputyase* 'I recognized it'; *oep-ase → oepuase* 'I came.'

(v)   The morpheme final syllables no, ny, and my, when following a nonconsonantal segment, are lost before stops, and the nonconsonantal segment is nasalized: *nytono toto → nytõ toto* 'they went.'

(vi)   Elision of vowels at morpheme junctures is fairly common, with the second vowel becoming dominant if the two are different: *airiki-amuru* → *airik-amuru* 'palm leaf.'

(vii)   Any semivowel becomes consonantal when it is bounded on both sides by a vowel or when it is preceded by a k or silence and followed by a vowel. The rule operates from left to right *kujujuari* [kuiuiu'añ] → [kuyuyu'añ] 'bird species'; *wãko* [u'ãko] 'dancing'; *kwirikwiri* [ku'iñiku'iñ] → ['kwiñi'kwiñ] 'bird species'.

(viii)   /i/ tends to become nonvoiced between nonvoiced segments or in morpheme final position following a nonvoiced segment: *pitiko* [pItIkO] 'small.'

23 MORPHOLOGY

This is treated in earlier sections.

24 IDEOPHONES

The ideophone is a noninflected onomatopoeic word that denotes an action that is normally expressed by a finite verb form. It is the only class of word that cannot be followed by a postpositional particle. It functions normally as a distinct sentence constituent, carrying the same meaning as that contained in the finite verb of that sentence (i.e. the basic part of the meaning, not including person, tense etc., which are not part of the meaning of the ideophone) (452):

(452)   apoi-ko   repe   kyry
         grab-HIS   CONTRAEXP   grabbing (IDEOPH)
         'But it (the frog) grabbed him instead.'

It may also function as:

(i)   a kind of direct object of the verb *ka* 'say, do', in which case it normally precedes that verb, as in (14);

(ii)   a separate sentence, occurring in isolation (453); and

(iii)   a substitute for a verb, cooccurring with nominals and/or adverbials to constitute a separate sentence, as in ((40) and (47)).

(453)   kuto   j-   akuoh-   no.   pyhseky
         frog   3S1O-take across-   IP   jumping(IDEOPH)
         ' "The frog took me across," (he said). Act of jumping.'

The ideophone may be a single morpheme (e.g. *kyry* 'action of taking hold of') or a sequence of reduplicated forms (e.g. *koe koe koe koe* 'action of

paddling'). In the latter case the number of repeats of the form may be from two to ten or more but it is usually not more than six. Several different ideophones may occur in sequence.

Ideophones also show some variations from the normal phonology of the language. One or two additional phonological units occur: [ɓ], voiced implosive bilabial stop, as in [ɓe] 'dying', [ɡ] voiced velar fricative, and [æ] open central low unrounded vowel, as in [pe.ɡæ pe.ɡæ] 'flapping (wings) clumsily'. In the phonotactics, there is a word final consonant h [ʔ] that does not occur elsewhere: sysyh [sɨsɨʔ] 'climbing'. Ideophones are used frequently in everyday conversation and in story telling. Normally they consist of one or two syllable morphemes. The following list is not exhaustive, but presents ideophones which occur in three legends.

ɓe	'dying'
koe koe koe koe	'paddle'
peei	'shoot'
kute kute kute	'(frog) croak'
pyhseky	'jump'
pyh tere	'jump into a canoe'
ti	'arrival of moon'
syryryry	'gliding movement of canoe'
sororo	'moving of canoe in shallow water'
syrỹ tope topõ	'falling into the water'
sysyh	'climbing a tree'
kui kui	'screaming'
soko soko	'munching'
seky seky	'creep up'
tã	'hit hard object against another hard object'

wezo wezo	'squeeze through'
popo popo	'flapping of wings'
tỹ tỹ tỹ	'person walking'
pyre pyre	'coming out, appearing'
woe	'lifted up'
toh toh toh toh toh toh	'beat to death'
kuh soro	'finish beating and throw out'
tẽ rokene	'short time passing'
pore	'arrived'
wyyy	'clearing field'
soko soko soko soko	'digging of debris'
somo	'pick up'
puto	'put dirt on top of, pour out'
tũ tũ tũ	'stamping'
tototo tototo	'bird falling, struggling to flap wings'
wywywywy	'hammock swinging'
uroruro	'trees falling'
tororira	'flute music'
tyry tyry tyry tyry tyry	'gourds rattling'
soposopo	'stepping into water'
tutututu	'fast approach'

kyryh   'take hold of'

pupupupu-tyryry   'sound of wind'

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