

DEDICATED TO G.D., J.K., P.A., T.F., C.L., AND MANY OTHERS

# Hapi

a constructed language by u/tryddle

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR

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## Abbreviations

1 + 2	first person plural inclusive
1 + 3	first person plural exclusive
1PPOS	first person plural possessive
1S	first person singular
1SPOS	first person singular possessive
2/3	second/third person
2HPOS	second person singular honorific possessive
2S	second person singular
2SPOS	second person singular possessive
3P	third person plural
3PPOS	third person plural possessive
3SF	third person singular female
3SINAN	third person singular inanimate
3SM	third person singular male
3SPOS	third person singular possessive
1	first person
1	first person

2	second person
3	third person
4	fourth person
A	agent
ABS	absolute
ANTIP	antipassive
AUG1	augmentative 1
AUG2	augmentative 2
AUX	auxiliary
BELOW	'below' case
C	complementizer
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
CNTRF	counterfactual
COND	conditional
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
CRAST	crasternal
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEM	demonstrative
DEP	dependent
DIM	diminutive

DIST	distal
DIST.PAST	distant past
DIUR	diurnal
DS	different subject switch-reference
EGOPH	egophoric
EPIST	epistemic
ERG	ergative
FRUST	frustrative
FUT	future
IMPV	imperative
INCH	inchoative
INFER	inferred
INSTR	instrument
INT.PAST	intermediate past
INTRG	interrogative mode
ITR	intransitive
JUSS	jussive mode
LINK	linking particle
LOC	locative
MIR	mirative
NEG	negative
NEGAT	negative
NEXT.TO	'next to' case

NMZ	nominalizer
NOCT	nocturnal
NVIS	non-visual
O	object
OBL	obligative modal
ON.TOP	'on top' case
PASS	passive
PERF	perfective aspect
PERL	perlative
PERM	permissive
PL	plural
POSIT	positive
PRIV	privative
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PUNCT	punctual
PURP	purposive
Q	question marker
QUOT	quotative
R	reduplication
REC.PAST	recent past
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive

REM.PAST	remote past
REP	reportative
S	subject
SEMBL	semblative
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
TOPIC	topic
TRANS	transitive
VIS	visual
VOC	vocative



## 1 Introduction

This preliminary reference grammar is the product of the attempt at documenting the Hapi language, a constructed language made by me, u/tryddle. In my just over 3 ½ years of conlanging, I've learned much, but not only because of my own ability to insert information into my brain, but also because of many people that have supported and helped me on the way. Without them, and most probably without you, the interested reader, this whole language would probably not exist. When I first discovered conlanging as an art form in late 2017, I was interested — immediately. Thanks to Artifexian<sup>1</sup> and his youtube channel, as well as Mark Rosenfelder and his amazing book 'The Language Construction Kit', I was introduced into the rabbit hole of linguistics, more specifically the rabbit hole of language construction. The goal of this document is not only to document the Hapi language in all of its complexity, but also to document a language only using the markdown language  $\text{\LaTeX}$ ; a challenge which I've failed to achieve so many times before. But now onto the most important part of this introduction. Obviously I want to thank many people who have helped me on this journey. Primarily, I especially thank Gordon Daws, Jacob Kronenberg, Paul Daly, Tobias Fernandez and Carl Leon, to whom this reference grammar

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<sup>1</sup><https://www.youtube.com/user/Artifexian>

is dedicated. They have supported me in so many ways, not all concerning conlanging, that it would have been heresy to not include them in these acknowledgements. Special thanks to Akam Chijir, who has helped me in many ways while I was battling the uncanny complexity of  $\text{\LaTeX}$ .

## 2 Background of the study

The following study was conducted during my three-year stay in the Kanangan rainforest, more specifically in Hapi territory. During this time, I learned a lot about the Hapi language and its people. In this chapter, I shall consider the background of this study, explaining some cultural background, as well as some typological characteristics. In section 2.1 I will discuss the nomenclature of the language's name, starting with the term 'Hapi', and then moving onward to several terms of self-reference, as well as exonymic terms of reference. In section 2.2 I will present the origins and the historical distribution of the Hapi language, as well as give some insight into the Hapi-Guilené language family. Then, in section 2.3 I will discuss some previous research that has been conducted on the language. In section 2.4 I will consider a quick typological overview of the language, to give the reader an insight what is about to be discussed. After a quick language vitality assessment in section 2.5, I will give an overview of the present study, presenting its content in a compact manner. The Hapi language is spoken by around 250 people in the Kanangan rainforest, near the Palhen tributary of the Kanang river. They live in huts called the *koí* and each village consists of 20-40 people. Women and men live separately, the woman with their children and female teens and the men with the male teens. They worship

multiple dieties or spirits, with most of them taking on the form of animals or geographical landmarks. Further ethnographical studies have to be conducted on the culture of the Hapi people, and I encourage every reading ethnologist to help making progress in the documentation of these people.

## 2.1 Nomenclature

### 2.1.1 The Term ‘Hapi’

The term ‘Hapi’ is only an exonymic term of reference given to the Hapi people and their language by the Yamonari people, which derives from the term *hap-i* in Yamarri, the language of the Yamonari, which approximately can be translated to the meaning ‘needle people’. This is most probably a reference to the cosmetic needles and piercings the Hapi often insert into their noses, lips and ears to depict prosperity and/or wealth. The Yamonari and the Hapi people are two adjacent people which have interacted with each other several times, but generally live very separated and isolated, as they are the only tribes in the region of the Palhen river. The first appearance of the term ‘Hapi’ was in the Ataman encyclopedia *ndéke7undu*, where the ethnicity is described as “a peaceful tribe living in the midst of the forest known as the forest of *kámgá7*”.<sup>1</sup> However, *hapi* as a lexeme was later borrowed into the Hapi language with the meaning ‘people’ or ‘person’. Therefore, while the term itself is originally exonymic, it became an endonym quite early on.

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<sup>1</sup>A term coined by the Ataman geographers meaning ‘large forest’.

### 2.1.2 Other terms of reference and ethnic diversity

‘Hapi’ is however not the only term of self-reference among the Hapi people. There is also the term *tàahopí*, which has its root in the first person exclusive pronoun of the same form; additionally, there is *hòkaapasa*, a term meaning ‘hunters’ or ‘hunting people’. There are several other exonyms which were used in the past and are still being used as of today. The K<sup>h</sup>utεε of the northern Kĩlmi tributary refer to the Hapi as *k<sup>h</sup>əkɔd’əhway*, the ‘nonsense-speakers’ and the Pañhanipe call them *ñaginhap*, ‘those who live downstream’. Nevertheless there are also some pejorative exonyms, such as the Ikoşh term *şhasti*, simply meaning ‘enemy’, or the Apéhiği exonym *hapitéa*, which itself contains the term ‘Hapi’ and means ‘meat-eater’.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2 Origins and classification

## 2.3 Previous research

## 2.4 Typological characteristics

## 2.5 Language vitality assessment

## 2.6 The present study

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<sup>2</sup>This Apéhiği exonym has been absorbed into the language’s vocabulary, retaining its old meaning. In recent times there have been some discussions about the racist nature of the term, and whether it should be erased from dictionaries.

## **3 Phonology**

In this chapter, I will concentrate on the phonological aspects of Hapi, and present the main features of its phonology. In section 3.1.1, I will focus on the language's consonants, section 3.1.2 discusses vowels, section 3.1.3 gives the phonetic description of these phonemes and section 3.1.5 focuses on the allophony of these sounds. After that, we will discuss the non-segmental phonology of Hapi, starting with the stress assignment system in section 3.2, then in section 3.3, we will discuss the phonotactics and syllable structure, and finally concluding with the tonal system of Hapi. Throughout this chapter, examples are given, first in phonological transcription, and then in phonetic and orthographic transcriptions. Examples are presented in both the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and the tentative Hapi orthographic system.

### **3.1 Segmental Phonology**

In this section, I will present the language's phonemes, including its consonants and vowels, and their phonotactic distribution within the syllable. Furthermore I will give a list of minimal pairs for both consonants and vowels.

### 3.1.1 Consonants

In this section, I will present the language's consonant phonemes. There are 6 consonant phonemes in the Hapi language. Table 3.1 presents the consonant sounds, while table 3.2 depicts those sounds in the tentative Hapi orthography.

	Peripheral	Alveolar	Non-Alveolar
Stop	p~b	t~r	k~g
Fricative	h	s~ts	ʃ~ʂ~χ

Table 3.1: Consonant phonemes

	Peripheral	Alveolar	Non-Alveolar
Stop	p	t	k
Fricative	h	s	x

Table 3.2: Tentative consonant orthography

### 3.1.2 Vowels

In this section I will showcase the Hapi language's vowels. There are three phonemic vowels, which is significantly less than of most adjacent languages. Table 3.3 gives an overview of these sounds, while table 3.4 presents the tentative Hapi orthography of these sounds. Each vowel may also take one of three tones; this will be discussed in section 3.4

	Front	Back
High	i	
Low	a	o

Table 3.3: Vowel phonemes

	Front	Back
High	i	o
Low	a	

Table 3.4: Tentative vowel orthography

### 3.1.3 Phonetic description of phonemes

#### 3.1.3.1 Consonants

In this section I will consider the phonetic description of consonants in Hapi. Allophonic variations are discussed in section 3.1.5. All consonants may appear in word-initial and in word-medial position. Since all syllables in the language are open<sup>1</sup>, there is no restriction on where a consonant segment may be placed. In the following section, examples for each position and each consonant will be given.

/p~b/ is a voiceless or voiced bilabial stop. It is pronounced as /b/ by most children and women, while it is pronounced /p/ by most men and the elderly. It appears in both word-initial and word-medial position. Henceforth it will be standardized to /p/.

- (3.1) /pàah/      [p<sup>h</sup>a:ʔʌ]      pàah    ‘small river’  
           /ʂopàì/      [ʂoʔpai̯]      xopàì    ‘rotten wood’

/t~r/ is a voiceless alveolar stop or a voiced alveolar trill. It is pronounced as /r/ by most children and women, while it is pronounced /t/ by most men and

<sup>1</sup>Note that the onset may be filled by /h/, in which case either the subsequent segment is preaspirated, or it is debuccalized to /ʔ/. Thus, most if not all syllables can be analyzed as being open.



the elderly. It appears in both word-initial and word-medial position. Henceforth it will be standardized to /t/.

- (3.2) /táosişó/ [t<sup>h</sup>aʔʲi:hoʔ] *táosişó* ‘male cousin’  
 /hótahóoi/ [hoʔta+o:ʲi+] *hótahóoi* ‘black iguana’

/k~g/ is a voiceless or voiced velar stop. It is pronounced as /g/ by most children and women, while it is pronounced /k/ by most men and the elderly. It appears in both word-initial and word-medial position. Henceforth it will be standardized to /k/.

- (3.3) //            []    “  
                   //            []    “

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative. It appears in word-initial and word-medial position.

- (3.4) //            []    “  
                   //            []    “

/s~ts/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative or affricate. It is pronounced as /s/ by most children and women, while it is pronounced /ts/ by most men and the elderly, especially in emphasized speech. It appears in both word-initial and word-medial position. Henceforth it will be standardized to /s/.

- (3.5) //            []    “  
                   //            []    “

/ʃ~ɕ~χ/ is a voiceless alveolar or retroflex or uvular fricative. It is pronounced as /ʃ/ by most children, as /ɕ/ by most women and the elderly, and as /χ/ by men and in emphasized speech. It is sometimes debuccalized to /h/ in rapid speech. It appears in word-initial and word-medial position. Henceforth, it will be standardized to /ɕ/

(3.6) //            []    “  
          //            []    “

### 3.1.3.2 Vowels

In this section I will consider the phonetic description of consonants in Hapi. Vowels may appear in the nucleus of a syllable as short vowel, as long vowel or as a glide.<sup>2</sup> In the following section, examples for each appearance of each vowel will be given.

/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel. It may appear as short or long vowel, or as a glide.

(3.7) //            []    “  
          //            []    “  
          //            []    “

<sup>2</sup>This excludes /a/, since it never appears as a glide. Compare

/hoa/	[hɔ̄a]	hoa	3SG
/siikào/	[si:kaɔ̄]	siikào	‘canoe’

This may be related to a diachronic approach where /o/ might have been /u/ in the past, changing its realizations slowly over the course of many years. If that was the case, a glide pair like /j w/ would have been very reasonable.

/o/ is a close-mid back rounded vowel. It may appear as short or long vowel, or as a glide.

- (3.8) //            []    ‘  
          //            []    ‘  
          //            []    ‘

/a/ is a low front unrounded vowel. It may appear as short or long vowel.

- (3.9) //            []    ‘  
          //            []    ‘

### 3.1.4 List of Minimal Pairs

In the following section I will give a list of minimal pairs for both consonants and vowels.

#### 3.1.4.1 Consonants

- (3.10) *háiki*            ‘type of nut’    *haípi*    ‘soup’  
          *kaxá*            ‘to eat’            *saxá*    CL:palm.tree.trunk  
          *paáti*            ‘bird’            *pahi*    ‘bird’

#### 3.1.4.2 Vowels

Firstly I will consider minimal pairs of vowel quality, then I will move onto vowel length minimal pairs and finally I will present tonal minimal pairs.

(3.11)	<i>hì</i>	CL:time	<i>hó</i>	‘man’s name’
	<i>kahoa</i>	‘to build’	<i>kahoó</i>	‘big tree’
	<i>sáhaa</i>	‘to be grateful’	<i>sahóó</i>	‘to carve’

(3.12)	<i>hì</i>	CL:time	<i>hó</i>	‘man’s name’
	<i>kahoa</i>	‘to build’	<i>kahoó</i>	‘big tree’
	<i>sáhaa</i>	‘to be grateful’	<i>sahóó</i>	‘to carve’

(3.13)	<i>hakó</i>	‘ago’	<i>hákoo</i>	‘OBL’
	<i>hása</i>	‘loincloth’	<i>hasáa</i>	‘to be the first’
	<i>káhí</i>	‘turtle’	<i>kahíí</i>	‘boat’

(3.14)	<i>hoi</i>	COP:LOC	<i>hói</i>	‘to give’
	<i>hóika</i>	‘to build’	<i>hóika</i>	‘big tree’
	<i>ò</i>	‘and’	<i>ó</i>	SEQ

### 3.1.5 Allophonic Variations

The following section discusses all phonological processes that alter the phonetic realizations of phonemes in a remarkable way. This does not include morphophonological changes.

### 3.1.5.1 Stop Allophony

1) /p/ is realized as [ç] before the high vowel /i/.

$$(3.15) \quad p \rightarrow \text{ç} / \_i$$

2) /p/ is aspirated at the beginning of a word.

$$(3.16) \quad p \rightarrow p^h / \# \_$$

3) /b/ is realized as [j̥] or [j] before /i/.

$$(3.17) \quad b \rightarrow \text{j̥, j} / \_i$$

4) /b/ is devoiced at the beginning of a word.

$$(3.18) \quad b \rightarrow p / \# \_$$

5) /t/ is aspirated at the beginning of a word.

$$(3.19) \quad t \rightarrow t^h / \# \_$$

6) /r/ is devoiced at the beginning of a word.

$$(3.20) \quad r \rightarrow \text{r̥} / \# \_$$

7) /k/ is strengthened to [kx] at the beginning of a word and in a stressed syllable.

$$(3.21) \quad k \rightarrow \text{kx} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \_ \\ \left[ + \text{stress} \right] \end{array} \right.$$

### 3.1.5.2 Fricative Allophony

8) /h/ is realized as [ç] before /i/.

$$(3.22) \quad h \rightarrow \text{ç} / \_i$$

9) /h/ is elided between two distinct vowels.

$$(3.23) \quad h \rightarrow \emptyset / V_1\_V_2$$

10) /h/ is realized as [ʔ] at the end of a word.

$$(3.24) \quad h \rightarrow \text{ʔ} / \begin{cases} \_# \\ [h] \text{ elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

11) /s/ is palatalized to [ʃ] before /i/.

$$(3.25) \quad s \rightarrow \text{ʃ} / \begin{cases} \_i \\ [s] \text{ elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

12) /ɣ/ is debuccalized to /h/ in between two distinct vowels.

$$(3.26) \quad \text{ɣ} \rightarrow \text{h} / \begin{cases} V_1\_V_2 \\ [f \sim \text{ɣ} \sim \chi] \text{ elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

### 3.1.6 Conclusion

In what has preceded, I have explained the segmental phonology of Hapi, starting with the consonant and vowel phonemes in section 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. Then I posited a phonetic description of these segments in 3.1.3, while presenting a

list of minimal pairs in section 3.1.4. Finally, I have considered the allophonic processes that shape the phonetic realizations of phonological words. Thus, in the following sub-sections, stress, as well as syllable structure and tone, all three suprasegmental features of Hapi, will be discussed.

### 3.2 Stress

Stress in Hapi is very predictable, since it invariably falls on the penultimate syllable of the stem. As can be seen in examples (3.27) and (3.28), conjunct suffixation does not change the stress distribution, still yielding an expected stress pattern.

- (3.27) /pàa.ʂo/      [ˈpaː.ɭ.hoː]      pàaxo      ‘tendon’  
           /pàa.ʂo.áh/    [ˈpaː.ɭ.hoː.aʔ]    pàaxoáh    ‘a large tendon’

- (3.28) /hó.sii/      [ˈhoː.ʃiː]      hósii      ‘son’  
           /hó.sii.ʂii/    [ˈhoː.ʃiː.hiː]    hósixii    ‘grandson’

### 3.3 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

In the following section I will consider the syllable structure of the Hapi language. The language accepts open syllables of the types V, CV, CVh, CVV and CVVh. Phonetically closed syllables are not attested. The syllable structure of Hapi is presented in (3.1), where  $\tau$  stands for the contour tone of the syllable.

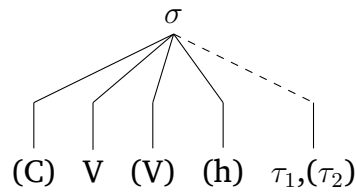


Figure 3.1: Syllable Structure

### 3.3.1 Types of syllable structure

In the following section I will give examples for each type of syllable in the Hapi language, of which there are five different types, namely: V, CV, CVh, CVV and CVVh. Firstly, the simplest of all possible syllables is V. (3.29) gives an example for this syllable type.

(3.29) /à/            [a]    à    LINK

This grammatical particle is depicted formally in figure (3.2).

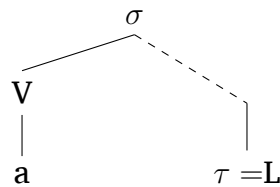


Figure 3.2: Syllable Structure: Example 1

Then, filling in the onset yields the next syllable type, CV. Example (3.30) is an example for this syllable type.

(3.30) /kó/            [ko̯]    kó    3SM

The phonological form of this pronoun is depicted formally in figure 3.3



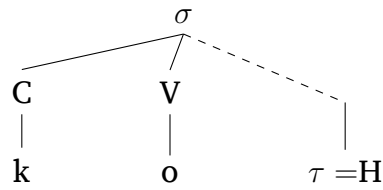


Figure 3.3: Syllable Structure: Example 2

We can now add another vowel to the nucleus, yielding a syllable of the type CVV and a new tone slot, as depicted in example (3.31) and figure 3.4.<sup>3</sup>

(3.31) /pói/      [poi̯]    *pói* 2s

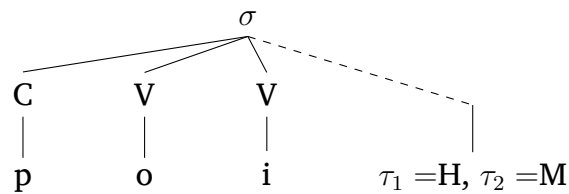


Figure 3.4: Syllable Structure: Example 3

Now onto the last two syllable types: by filling in the coda with /h/, the syllable becomes closed, as can be seen in examples (3.32) and (3.33) and in figures 3.5 and 3.6.

(3.32) /sóh/      [soh]    *sóh* ‘and, with’

(3.33) /ʃòih/      [ʃoi̯h]    *xòih* ‘(my) brother’

<sup>3</sup>Note that syllables of the type VV are also possible. The author has decided not to list this rarely occurring feature.

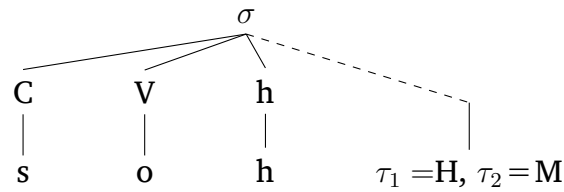


Figure 3.5: Syllable Structure: Example 4

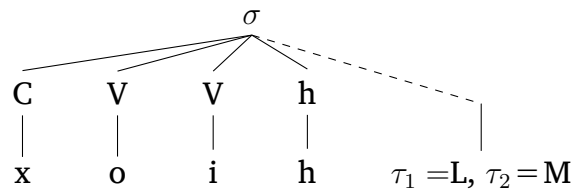


Figure 3.6: Syllable Structure: Example 5

### 3.4 Tone

In this section I will discuss the tonal system of Hapi. The language distinguishes three tones, the high tone, the neutral middle tone and the low tone. All tones may occur in any combination within the syllable and the phonological word. The tentative Hapi orthography marks tone using diacritics: the high tone is represented by the acute ´, the low tone is depicted by the grave diacritic ` and the middle tone is left unmarked. Examples (3.34 - 3.36) present instances of each tone.

(3.34) /káɪʂo/      [kxaj̃\ʂo+]      káixo ‘(my) mother’

(3.35) /ʂapati/      [ʂa+pa+ti+]      xapati ‘string (of a bow)’

(3.36) /tàhòhì/ [t<sup>h</sup>a]ho]çi] t<sup>h</sup>àhòhì ‘poison (for a dart)’

Tones may also be realized as floating tones on certain morphemes, e.g. the ‘on top’ suffix  $-(\dot{V})xa$ . In these cases, the preceding vowel may take the floating tone, or the preceding tone is overwritten, as can be seen in example (3.37)

(3.37) /táíşo/ [tai]şo-] t<sup>h</sup>áixo ‘stave’  
 /táíşòşà/ [tai]şo]şà-] t<sup>h</sup>áixòxa ‘stave (on top)’

### 3.5 Morphophonology

In this section I will consider various morphophonological processes that occur in the Hapi language. To start, I will clarify the terms of some morphophonological units such as the conjunct affix, the disjunct affix and the clitic in section 3.5.1. I will present some allomorphic variations in section 3.5.2 that apply to all morphemes with the required environment, then moving onward to discuss each morpheme that exhibits notable morphophonological changes towards its root in section 3.5.3. Doing that, I will begin with the plural marker PL, then moving on to the diminutive marker DIM in the sections 3.5.3.1 and 3.5.3.2. Afterwards, I will consider the morphophonology of the declarative disjunct suffix DECL in section 3.5.3.3.

#### 3.5.1 Definitions of morphophonological Units

In the following section I will examine the definitions of the morphophonological units employed in the Hapi language, namely, the conjunct affix, the

disjunct affix, the clitic and the particle.

### 3.5.1.1 Conjunct Affixes

In the Hapi language, those affixes are classified as conjunct affixes which do constitute a single phonological word unit with the stem and attach on stem-level. However, they do not change the stress distribution within the word, so that stress invariably falls on a syllable that belongs to the stem. In interlinear gloss, this type of morphemic juncture is denoted by ‘-’, as can be inferred by example (3.38).

(3.38) <sup>h</sup>tʰi:ʃi laʔ

tiisí - áh

*amulet* - AUG1

*‘the/a big (i.e. mighty) amulet’*

### 3.5.1.2 Disjunct Affixes

While conjunct affixes attach to the stem and form a tight unit with it, disjunct affixes attach to the word unit on the word-level. However they’re still more tightly bound to the phonological word as other words, as section 3.5.1.4 shows. They do not change stress, and do not form a morphophonological unit with the word, so that rules like for example the debuccalization of /h/ at the end of a

word apply to the affix-stem unit. In interlinear gloss, this type of juncture is marked by ‘=’, as can be seen in example (3.39).<sup>4</sup>

(3.39) **ha-<sup>h</sup>ta:ʔciʔ-kɔaʔ**

ha - taápi - h = kóa

ANTIP - *paint* - 1 = DECL

‘(I) am painting (something)’

### 3.5.1.3 Clitics

In Hapi grammar, clitics are morphemes which attach at phrase-level, i.e. cannot change stress but form a morphophonological unit with the word they attach to, whether it be the head or the dependent of a phrase. The clitic is marked by ‘==’, and its usage is showcased in example (3.40).

(3.40) ... **ʔi:ʔti-<sup>h</sup>to-<sup>h</sup>**

tàhòhí - h kàah - xí = kóa síiti - ∅ == to

*poison* - ERG *kill* - REC.PAST = DECL *uakari* - ABS == VIS

‘(Earlier today,) the poison (of a dart) killed an *uakari* monkey, I saw that’

### 3.5.1.4 Distinction from Words and ?-Insertion

While the distinction word-clitic, or especially the difference between word and disjunct might appear shallow at first, upon further introspection into the

<sup>4</sup>Note, that cross-linguistically, this sign is used to mark clitics; in this grammar however, ‘==’ will be used to denote such phrase-level morphemes.

phonological processes that appear on word boundaries, the difference might become clearer. The main process that plays a significant role in this is the so-called ?-Insertion on empty onsets. This is a process that exclusively applies on word-initial empty onsets, which are then filled with a glottal stop [ʔ]. In example (3.41), an example is given for **a)** glottal stop insertion, and **b)** a proof on how disjuncts are distinct from conjuncts, more specifically, how certain allophonic processes only occur within the phonological word. For the sake of simplicity, I will not transcribe tone in this example.

(3.41)	<b>tàhopoí</b>	<b>tóti</b>	<b>xàahaó</b>		<b>kaihatoo</b>
	S	Adv	V = Disj		Adv
	t <sup>h</sup> a.ˈo.poi̯	t <sup>h</sup> o.ti	χa: = haɔ		kxai.ˈa.to:
	tàhopoí	tóti	xàa = haó		kaihatoo
	1 + 2:A	ready	COP = S/A > A(SE)		now
	<b>póoihaó</b>		<b>páikòih</b>		<b>kóhsa</b>
	[[V -Aff] <sub>p</sub> = Disj] <sub>s</sub>		[Aff- N -Aff] <sub>p</sub>	N	- Ø
	p <sup>h</sup> o:i -ʔ = haɔ		p <sup>h</sup> ai̯- ko̯i̯ -ʔ	kxoh.sa	- Ø
	póoi -h = haó		pái- kòi -h	kóhsa	- Ø
	arrive -1 = S/A > A(SE)		2HPOS- house -DAT	matter	-ABS

<b>ítàahaká</b>	<b>hìhohihákoo</b>
[[Aff - V - Aff] <sub>p</sub> = Disj] <sub>s</sub>	[Disj = [V] <sub>p</sub> ] <sub>s</sub>
ʔi - ta: - ha = ka	çi.o.çi = 'so.to
í - tàa - a = ká	hìhohi = hákoo
INTRG - AUX - 1 = DECL	delay = OBL

‘Being ready, arriving at your house, should we (still) delay the affair?’<sup>5</sup>

Processes like  $k \rightarrow kx$ ,  $t \rightarrow t^h$  and  $p \rightarrow p^h$ , which are widely spread throughout the phonological realm, appear only near word-boundaries (namely, on the beginning of a word), and not on disjunct boundaries. An example is given in (3.42) and (3.43).

(3.42) **so.<sup>1</sup>sa:i kxo**

so.<sup>1</sup>sa:i kxo

sosáai kó

cat 3SM

‘tomcat’

(3.43) **çi.<sup>1</sup>ki.fi?kɔa**

çi - <sup>1</sup>ki.fi? - ∅ = kɔa

hi - kísih - h = kóa

ANTIP - dislike - 1 = DECL

‘I dislike (it)’

---

<sup>5</sup>In this example [ ]<sub>p</sub> indicates a phonological word, while [ ]<sub>s</sub> denotes the disjunct-word unit.

### 3.5.2 Allomorphic Variations

In this section I will discuss the basic parameters and morphophonological processes that apply to most, if not all bound morphemes in the Hapi language. The basic constraints or parameters of all bound morphemes are as follows.

#### 3.5.2.1 Degemination of |h-h|

Every context |h-h| is degeminated to |h|. This context is formalized in (3.44) and exemplified in (3.45).

(3.44) h-h → h

(3.45) **sáái**                      **háikia**                      **kaai** **tà**                      **hóahkóa**  
 sáá = í                      háiki                      - a                      kaai                      tà                      hóah - h = kóa  
*eat* = S/A > S(SE)                      *type.of.nut* - PL                      *foul*                      1S:S                      *vomit* - 1 = DECL  
 ‘After having eaten (some) foul nuts, I am (now) vomiting’

#### 3.5.2.2 Coalescence of morphemes in rapid speech

Certain morphemes are fused in rapid speech, however there haven’t been made any observations about these coalescence patterns. An example is given in (3.46).

(3.46) **kaóxìihaíh**                      **kíih**                      **hóíaka**                      (rapid speech)  
 kaóxìiha                      - íh                      kíih                      hóí                      - a                      = ka  
*teacher*                      - ERG                      *old*                      *give*                      - 2/3                      = DECL



<b>xáhàih</b>		<b>xíoki</b>
xáhài	-h	xíooki
<i>student</i>	-DAT	<i>gift</i>

*'The old teacher gives a gift to a student'*

### 3.5.2.3 /h/-Insertion

In each context of the form |VV-V|, /h/ is inserted on the morpheme boundary. This process is schematized in (3.47) and exemplified in (3.48). In the context |V-VV| the same rule applies.

(3.47)  $VV-V \rightarrow VVhV$

(3.48) This section is work-in-progress

## 3.5.3 Morpheme-specific Processes

### 3.5.3.1 Debuccalization of the marker PL

The debuccalization of the abbreviated version of the plural marker PL, namely the morpheme -s is one of the most widely appearing processes in the Hapi language. The rule can be formalized as presented in (3.49). An instance of this process is exemplified in (3.50).

(3.49)  $s \rightarrow h / \_C$

(3.50) **ókoíhtah**

ó- koí -s -tah

2SPOS - *hut* - PL - PERL

*'(we shall go) via your huts'*

**3.5.3.2 The Diminutive marker DIM**

The diminutive marker DIM undergoes two major processes: firstly, the deletion of the morpheme's onset, secondly, the dissimilation of the morpheme's nucleus. The deletion of the morpheme's onset, namely, of  $|\xi|$ , appears in the context of a preceding /h/; this rule is formalized in (3.51), an example is given in (4.12), but shall be reiterated here.

(3.51)  $\xi \rightarrow \emptyset / h\_$

(3.52) **hápaahii**

hápaah - xii

*dog* - DIM

*'the little dog'*

The dissimilation of the morpheme's nucleus happens in the context of an /i/ in the preceding syllable's nucleus. This rule is depicted in (3.53) and exemplified in (3.54).

(3.53)  $i: \rightarrow o / i(h).C\_$

(3.54) **hósiixo**

hósi - xii

son - DIM

*'the/a grandson'***3.5.3.3 Assimilation of the declarative affix DECL**

The declarative disjunct affix DECL, =*kóa*, is often reduced to =*ká* or =*ka* after a syllable containing /a/. This context is formalized in (3.55) and an example is given in (3.56).

(3.55)  $kóa \rightarrow ka, ká / a\_$ (3.56) **kó      hásaaka                      taahsáahi**

kó      hása      - a      = kóa      taah      - sáahi

3SM:S   *be.the.first*   - 2/3   = DECL   *effort*   - PRIV*'He won (the race) without any effort'*

## **4 The Noun and the Noun Phrase**

This chapter discusses the noun and the noun phrase in the Hapi language. In the first section of this chapter, I will present the nominal morphology of the language. I will start by considering the nominal root and the noun structure in section 4.1.1, then discussing gender marking in 4.1.2. I will move on and present the number marking, as well as diminutives and augmentatives in the sections 4.1.3, 4.1.4 and 4.1.5. In section 4.1.6 I will consider the language's possessive system, first covering possessable, and then unpossessable nouns. In section 4.1.7 I will discuss the Hapi case system in all its complexity. Moving onward onto section 4.2 I will consider the structure of the noun phrase and its components, starting with the order of the noun phrase elements in 4.2.1 and an overview of the Hapi pronoun system in section 4.2.2. After a comprehensive consideration of the language's classifier system in 4.2.3, I will lay out the different parts of the noun phrase in the sections 4.2.4, 4.2.5 and 4.2.6.

### **4.1 Nominal Morphology**

The internal structure of Hapi nouns is examined in this section, focussing on the grammatical categories encoded by nominal morphology i.e. gender, number,

diminutives, augmentatives, possession and case.

### **4.1.1 Nominal Root**

The structural properties of the nominal root include a set of suffixes responsible for the expression of number, diminutives, augmentatives, and case, while a set of prefixes is used to express possession on possessable nouns. Nominal roots can be divided into two morphophonological subtypes, which take different prefixes depending on the first segment in the root. If **(i)** the root starts with a vowel, then a certain set of prefixes is used, and if **(ii)** the root starts with a consonantal sound, another set is employed.

#### **4.1.1.1 Internal structure of nominal roots**

In the following section I will consider the internal phonological structure of nominal roots, starting with the rare monosyllabic roots, then moving onward to the comparatively often found disyllabic, trisyllabic and polysyllabic, i.e. roots with more than four syllables, roots.

##### **4.1.1.1.1 Monosyllabic roots**

There is a set of 17 monosyllabic roots in the Hapi language, which are all considered to be very basic roots. There have been no reports of roots of the structure V and CV. Some examples for monosyllabic roots of the shape CV, CVh, CVV and CVVh are given in example (4.1), (4.2) and (4.3).

(4.1) /ʃòih/ [ʃoj̥ʔʌ] *xòih* ‘(my) brother’

(4.2) /pí:/ [çi:] *píí* ‘major river’

(4.3) /kóih/ [kxoɪʔʌ] *kóih* ‘hideout’

#### 4.1.1.1.2 Disyllabic roots

The majority of nominal roots in the Hapi language are disyllabic. In the analyzed corpus of 113 nominal roots, there were 67 disyllabic roots.

#### 4.1.1.1.3 Trisyllabic and polysyllabic roots

There is a decent amount of tri- and polysyllabic nominal roots in the Hapi language. Trisyllabic roots are mostly of the shape CV.CV.CV, CV.CV.CVV, CV.CV.VV and CV.CVV.CV. Some examples for tri- and polysyllabic nominal roots are given in example (4.4) - (4.6).

(4.4) /hòkaapa/ [hoɫkxa:ʔpaʔ] *hòkaapa* ‘hunter’

(4.5) /papáʃi/ [pʰaʔpaʔhiʔ] *papáxi* ‘door’

(4.6) /háhopii/ [haʔoçi:] *hahópù* ‘sloth’

### 4.1.1.2 Overview

An overview of the nominal stem structure of the Hapi language can be seen in table 4.1. In the first prefix slot, the possessive markers can be found, right before the root. Then, the augmentative and diminutive conjunct suffixes are placed right after the root. The case markers are located afterwards, only being interrupted by the number marker *-(so)a*.

### 4.1.2 Gender

While gender is not explicitly marked on nouns, it can be denoted by using a noun and the respective third person female or male pronoun, namely *hoa* and *kó*, juxtaposing it after the inflected noun root, as can be seen in examples (4.7) and (4.8).

(4.7)    *hàòxa*    *hoa*  
           *capybara* 3SF  
           ‘*female capybara*’

(4.8)    *hàòxa*    *kó*  
           *capybara* 3SM  
           ‘*male capybara*’

	-1	0	1	2	3	4
	Possession	ROOT	Aug/Dim	Case	Number	Case
	#V #C		AUG		PL	
1	SG <u>h-</u> há-		<u>-áh-</u> / - <u>óh-</u>		<u>-(so)a</u>	
	PL <u>hi-</u>		DIM			see Section 4.1.7
2	SG <u>ó-</u>		<u>-xii-</u>			see Section 4.1.7
	PL <u>oh-</u> o-					
	HON <u>pò-</u> pái-					
3	SG <u>h-</u> k-					
	PL <u>h-</u> t-					

Table 4.1: Nominal Stem Structure



### 4.1.3 Number

The Hapi language distinguishes two types of number marking on nouns, singular and plural, glossed as SG and PL respectively. While the singular is left unmarked, the plural is marked by the suffix *-(so)a*, as can be seen in examples (4.9) and (4.10). Instead of the full form *-soa*, the abbreviated form *-s* may be used, as exemplified in (4.11).<sup>1</sup>

(4.9) há - sáhpa - soa

1SPOS - *arrow.head* - PL

*'my arrowheads; my collection of arrowheads'*

(4.10) hóh - áh - a - óh

*man* - AUG1 - PL - ERG

*'(the) big men (had slain a snake...)'*

(4.11) ó - koí - s - tah

2SPOS - *hut* - PL - PERL

*'(we shall go) via your huts'*

### 4.1.4 Diminutives

To form a noun's diminutive form, the suffix *-xii* is used. It cannot only be used for simple diminutives as in (4.12), but also is employed derivationally for

<sup>1</sup>In this case the abbreviated plural marker *-s* is morphophonologically debuccalized to /h/.

certain noun > noun processes; for example, it may be used for the derivation of ‘grandson’ from the word ‘son’, or can be used pejoratively to derive nouns that are connotated with a certain derogatory sense, as in (4.13) and (4.14).

(4.12) hápaah - xii  
*dog* - DIM  
 ‘*the little dog*’

(4.13) pái- hósii - xii  
 2HPOS- *son* - DIM  
 ‘*your<sub>HON</sub> grandson*’

(4.14) páhsóoih - a - xii  
*bug* - PL - DIM  
 ‘*those pesky little bugs!*’

#### 4.1.5 Augmentatives

The augmentative form, which is marked by the suffix *-áh* AUG1, encodes augmentative semantics, as well as derives kinship terms in the opposite direction as the diminutive, i.e. *káixo* ‘mother’ > *káixoáh* ‘grandmother’, as exemplified in (4.15) and (4.16). It may also encode some sort of honorific sense of praising, as can be seen in example (4.17).

(4.15) táhaa -áh  
*barrel* - AUG1  
 ‘a big barrel’

(4.16) kápihoo -áh  
*father* - AUG1  
 ‘(my) grandfather’

(4.17) hahópìi -áh  
*sloth* - AUG1  
 ‘(Praise be!) The sloth god!’

There is also the augmentative suffix *-aóh*, which may be employed in the same sense as *-áh* AUG1. (4.18) gives an example for an augmentative using the second augmentative suffix.

(4.18) ahitáh -aóh  
*iguana* - AUG2  
 ‘a huge iguana’

The two augmentative suffixes may also be stacked to increase the augmentative, praising meaning usually encoded by these morphemes. In this case, the suffix *-áh* comes first, as can be seen in example (4.19).

- (4.19) sósikíí            - áh        - aóh  
           *wooden.beam* - AUG1 - AUG2  
           ‘*an immense wooden beam*’

### 4.1.6 Possession

There are several types of possession in the Hapi language, which are presented in the following section. I will consider possessable nouns in section 4.1.6.1 and will discuss unpossessable nouns in section 4.1.6.2. Concerning the different types of possession, an overview is given in this section. The Hapi language distinguishes between (i) possessable and (ii) unpossessable nouns. Unpossessable nouns can further be subdivided into (iia) indirect possessable unpossessable nouns and (iib) inherently possessed unpossessable nouns.

#### 4.1.6.1 Possessable Nouns

Most nouns in the language are possessable, i.e. can be marked for possession by the employment of personal markers which are prefixed to the root. I will discuss the employment of personal markers in 4.1.6.1.1 and the interaction between possession and nominal classifier, discussing a construction called the possessive classifier construction in section 4.1.6.1.2

### 4.1.6.1.1 Personal Markers

There are personal marker which may be employed to encode possession on possessable nominals. Table 4.2 gives an overview of the personal marker paradigm.

	Person	Morpheme	
		#V	#C
1	SG	h́-	há-
	PL		hi-
2	SG		ó-
	PL	oh-	o-
	HON	pò-	pái-
3	SG	h̀-	kì-
	PL	h̀̀	tà-

Table 4.2: Possessive personal markers: Overview

Some examples for the usage of these personal markers can be found below. Example (4.20) and (4.21) showcase the employment of the ‘#V floating tone’ markers *h́-* and *h̀̀*, while (4.22) exemplifies the usage of the honorific marker *pái-*. As can be seen in example (4.21), the third person plural morpheme may also be used as an inter-clausal forth person pronoun. This is true for most employments of this pronoun, not only in its possessive form.

(4.20) **háhoáta**

    h̄ - ahoáta

1SPOS - *bow*

‘*my/our bow*’

(4.21) **tàhoáta**

    t̄ - ahoáta

3PPOS - *bow*

‘*their bow/his<sub>j</sub> bow*’

(4.22) **páipáaxo**

    pái - páaxo

2HPOS - *tendon*

‘*your<sub>HON</sub> tendon (the one you extracted from the meat)*’

#### 4.1.6.1.2 Nominal Classifiers and Possession

There is also another special construction to express possession, using nominal classifiers and personal markers. This construction is showcased in example (4.23). After the inflected noun, the according classifier is inserted, with the respective personal marker attached to it.<sup>2</sup> The classifier may also be moved to the front within a clause to focus the aspect of possession, as can be seen in example (4.24).

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<sup>2</sup>More on nominal classifiers in section 4.2.3



vary greatly within the language, and are summarized in table 4.3, where an overview of the most common cross-linguistic semantic groups in Hapi is given.

Semantic Group	Example	Possessability
landscape features	rivers, mountains	indPUN
professions	hunters, shamans	indPUN
social relationships	neighbour, servant	indPUN
kinship terms	mother, brother	inhPUN
body parts	head, limbs	inhPUN
possessive attributes	age, name	inhPUN
mental states	fear, mind	(possessable)
part-whole relationships	side, top	(possessable)

Table 4.3: Common Cross-linguistic Semantic Groups and their Possessability in Hapi

IndPUNs include geographical features, such as rivers, mountains or trees, as well as professions or persons, such as hunters and shamans. They all may be possessed via certain indirect possession strategies which are showcased in examples (4.25), (4.26) and (4.27). In these cases, the possession is semantically quite indirect, only encoding loose association, e.g. proximal distance to landscape features or the belonging to a family of professions and persons.

(4.25) hòkaapa                      hi - táah  
*hunting.person*    1PPOS - CL:profession  
 ‘our hunter; the hunter that belongs to our family’

(4.26) xíkoh =à              tàahoih  
*hill*              =LINK    1  
 ‘my/our hill; the hill that is located near my/our hut’



- (4.27) àkóóih xáa pòih  
*in.law* COP 2S.DAT  
 ‘*your in-law*’

In example (4.25), the construction explained in section 4.1.6.1.2 is employed; this construction is not only used in these cases, but also, as explained in the referred section, to focus the possessed noun. In example (4.26), another construction is used. The linking disjunct affix =à is suffixed to the head, while the respective emphatic pronoun form is inserted right after it.<sup>3</sup> In example (4.27), the copula is used to connect the head noun with the dative form of the possessing pronoun. This construction is rather sparsely used, while the other ones are employed quite often.

#### 4.1.6.2.1 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are one of the most often used inhPUNs in the Hapi language. As they’re all inherently possessed by the first person singular, they each have a suppletive form that can be regularly possessed using the prefixes discussed in section 4.1.6.1.1. Table 4.4 gives an overview of the most commonly used kinship inhPUNs and their suppletive possessable counterparts.

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<sup>3</sup>Compare section 4.2.2 for a comprehensive overview of the Hapi pronoun system.

inhPUN	Possessable Form	Meaning
xòih	kàháa	(my) brother
kápihoo	káota	(my) father
haóxí	hósii	(my) son
káixo	xapisóo	(my) mother

Table 4.4: InhPUNs and Suppletive Forms (Kinship)

Example (4.28), (4.29) and (4.30) showcase the usage of the suppletive forms.

(4.28)   tài           xàa   haóxí - ò  
 DEM:PROX   COP   son   - CL:*anim.sg*

*'This is my son'*

(4.29) \*tài           xàa           ó - haóxí - ò  
 DEM:PROX   COP   2SPOS - son   - CL:*anim.sg*

*Intended: 'This is your son'*

(4.30)   tài           xàa           ó - hósii - ò  
 DEM:PROX   COP   2SPOS - son   - CL:*anim.sg*

*'This is your son'*

An extensive list of all inherently possessed nouns and their suppletive counterparts may be found in appendix A.

#### 4.1.7 Case

In this section I will consider the language's case system. The Hapi case system is relatively complex, featuring a total of 10 cases, which can be subdivided into

3 core cases, 4 non-core cases and 3 relational cases. In section 4.1.7.1 I will discuss the language's core cases, in section 4.1.7.2 I will present its non-core cases and in section 4.1.7.3 I will consider its relational cases.

### 4.1.7.1 Core Cases

In the following section I will present the language's core cases. These cases are employed to mark core arguments such as S, A, O, D, T, and R for their appropriate role. In this context, the absolutive case marks the S of intransitive verbs, as well as the O of transitive and the T of ditransitive verbs. The ergative case marks the A of transitive verbs and the D of ditransitive verbs, while the dative case marks most commonly the R of a ditransitive verb, but also the second argument of an extended intransitive clause.<sup>4</sup> These cases are all marked in the first case slot.

#### 4.1.7.1.1 Absolutive Case - $\emptyset$ ABS

Employed to encode the S of intransitive clauses, the primary function of the absolutive case is showcased in example (4.31); the speaker informs the listener about an extraordinary warrior, who, earlier on that day, showed mercy for an enemy warrior. This is seen as a very unusual and strange action to be done by a warrior, hence the explicit statement of the fact.

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<sup>4</sup>See section 5.1.1.3 for more information on extended intransitive clauses.



### 4.1.7.1.2 Ergative Case *-(V)h* ERG

This case is used to mark the A of transitive clauses, as well as the D of ditransitive verbs. These two functions are exemplified in (4.34) and (4.33). In (4.34), the neighbour of the speaker was taking the raw meat back from the fire place back to his hut, and this for unknown reasons.

- (4.34) **àkóóihíh            xáh            hóhiaka**  
 àkóóih - íh    xáh            hóhi - a    = kóa  
*neighbour* - ERG    *raw.meat*    *take* - 2/3 = DECL  
 ‘(My) neighbour is taking the raw meat (with him)’

### 4.1.7.1.3 Dative Case *-Vh/-s* DAT

The dative case is used to mark the R of a ditransitive clause, as well as the extended argument of an extended intransitive clause. These two contexts are exemplified in (4.33) and (4.35). In (4.35), a child is playing with the mud.

- (4.35) **kó            sahóóhakóa            xóahasàxa**  
 kó            sahóó - a    = kóa    xóaha - s    - àxa  
 3SM:S    *carve.in* - 2/3 = DECL    *mud*    - DAT - ON.TOP  
 ‘He is scratching (something) in the mud’

### 4.1.7.2 Non-Core Cases

The non-core cases are employed in the contexts of peripheral, non-core arguments, hence their name. There are four non-core cases, all of which are marked in the first case slot.

#### 4.1.7.2.1 Locative Case *-hóo* LOC

The locative case marks a noun for a locational meaning, i.e. the position in, from, or toward a certain object. Specifically, the locative case may bear a pure locational meaning, usually translated as ‘in, at’, a lative meaning, which can be translated using the adposition ‘to(wards)’, and an ablative meaning, i.e. ‘from, by’. These meanings are showcased in the examples (4.36), (4.37) and (4.38). In each of those, the speaker was asked to describe several contexts in which the verbs ‘be at’, ‘go’ and ‘come’ were all used with the locative case.

- (4.36) **tàhokó hoihkóá há píháhóo**  
 tàhokó hoi -h =kóá há pí -áh -hóo  
 1 + 3:S *be.at* -1 =DECL EGOPH *river* -AUG1 -LOC

*‘We are at the river’*

- (4.37) **tàhokó háahkóá há píháhóo**  
 tàhokó háa -h =kóá há pí -áh -hóo  
 1 + 3:S *go* -1 =DECL EGOPH *river* -AUG1 -LOC

*‘We go to the river’*

- (4.38) **tàhokó póóihkóá há píiháhóo**  
 tàhokó póói -h =kóá há píí -áh -hóo  
 1 + 3:S come -1 =DECL EGOPH river -AUG1 -LOC  
 ‘We come from the river’

#### 4.1.7.2.2 Perlative Case *-tah* PRL

The perlative case expresses that something is moved ‘through’ or ‘along’ the referent of the noun that is marked. It also marks the demoted A of passive constructions. The examples (4.39) and (4.40) demonstrate the case’s usage. While (4.39) might not need any further explanation, (4.40) does. There, the speaker tells a narrative of a foolish young girl, who, at the end of the story, is eaten by a giant crab. This is a symbol for the punishment for her ‘unlawful’ actions.

- (4.39) **tàahopí há hááháah ókoíhtah**  
 tàahopí há háá- háa -h ó- koí -s -tah  
 1 + 2:S EGOPH JUSS- go -1 2SPOS- hut -PL -PERL  
 ‘We shall go via your huts’
- (4.40) **hoó asááhàòkóapò xáohaóhtah**  
 hoó a- sáá -hàò =kóá ==pò xáoh -aóh -tah  
 3SF:O PASS- eat -DIST.PAST =DECL ==INFER crab -AUG2 -PERL  
 ‘She was eaten by a huge crab (they told me)’

### 4.1.7.2.3 Privative Case *-sáahi* PVT

The privative case expresses the acting of a verb ‘without’ a certain noun, more or less yielding a construction of a ‘NOUN-less’ meaning. Together with the copula marker *xàa*, the semantics of ‘to not have NOUN’ may be achieved. This and the more general meaning of the privative case are shown in examples (4.42) and (4.41). (4.41) tells us about a young, inexperienced hunter who doesn’t quite know how to separate meat from fat elegantly. In (4.42), the speaker utters this sentence in the context of a hunt, in which another hunter has slain a green iguana, whereas the speaker has not.

(4.41) **kó      sahóóhikóa**  
 kó      sahóó                      - hi              = kóa  
 3SM:S   *separate.meat.from.fat* - INT.PAST = DECL

**tíahsáahi**  
 tíah - sáahi  
*care* - PRIV

*‘He separated meat from fat carelessly’*

(4.42) **ahitáhsáahi              xàa    tà**  
 ahitáh              - sáahi    xàa    tà  
*green.iguana* - PRIV    COP    1S

*‘(Unlike you,) I do not have a green iguana’*



#### 4.1.7.2.4 Semblative Case *-haixá* SMB

The semblative case denotes the similarity of the subject to the marked noun. This function is explained in example (4.43). There, the speaker narrates an event from his childhood, in which a sick stranger arrived at the village; his condition is described in (4.43).

- (4.43) **haxápií hóah** -tóhi = kóa **tísoohaixá**  
 haxápií hóah -tóhi = kóa tísooh -haixá  
*stranger vomit* -DIST.PAST =DECL *frog* -SEMBL  
 ‘The stranger vomited like a frog’

#### 4.1.7.3 Relational Cases

In this section I will consider the relational cases of the Hapi language. These cases are employed to specify a certain relational sense, i.e. they mark a noun for their spatial relationship with another noun. As will be discussed in section 4.1.7.4, these cases may be stacked with other non-core cases to yield more specified semantics. These cases are simply named after their English semantic equivalents;

### 4.1.7.3.1 ‘on top of’ -(V̇)xa ON.TOP

The ‘on top of’ case primarily<sup>5</sup> marks a noun’s position to be roughly ‘on top of’ another noun, as can be seen in example (4.44). (4.45) shows, how a construction of the shape ‘x-ON.TOP y’ can indicate possession in the form of ‘y has x’.

- (4.44) **haípi haahakóa píihàxa**  
 haípi haah - a = kóa píihà - xa  
*soup cook - 2/3 = DECL fire.place - ON.TOP*  
*‘The soup is cooking above the fire place’*

- (4.45) **kihaòhxa póxihoo**  
 kihaòh - xa póxihoo  
*type.of.fruit - ON.TOP 2S*  
*‘You/you<sub>pl</sub> have a tucumã fruit’*

### 4.1.7.3.2 ‘below’ -(t)aó BELOW

The ‘below’ case marks a noun’s position to be roughly ‘below’ another noun, as can be seen in example (4.46).

<sup>5</sup>Another usage is sketched out in section 5.1.1.3.3

- (4.46) **tàhòhì tísooh hoí xasíítaó**  
 tàhòhì tísooh hoí xasíí - taó  
*poison frog COP leaf - BELOW*  
*'The poison dart frog sits under the leaf'*

#### 4.1.7.3.3 'next to' -(h)áí NEXT.TO

The 'next to' case marks a noun's position to be roughly 'next to' another noun, as can be seen in example (4.47). There, the speaker reports of a girl that was, defying the traditional Hapi culture, eating a soup next to her father, even though said traditions don't allow members of either gender to eat in the proximity of each other.

- (4.47) **pihìh tááhtóhikóa haípi kíkáotahaí**  
 pihìh tááh - tóhi = kóa haípi kì - káota - haí  
*girl drink - DIST.PAST = DECL soup 3SPOS - father - NEXT.TO*  
*'The girl was drinking soup next to her father'*

#### 4.1.7.4 Case Stacking

In the Hapi language, second slot cases may be stacked with first slot cases to yield specific semantics, which are shown in table 4.5. Note that the privative and semblative cases do not allow any relational combination.

	Locative			Perlative
	Locational	Lative	Ablative	
'on top of'	focal 'on top of'	'to above'	'from above'	'via above'
'below'	foc. 'below'	'to below'	'from below'	'via below'
'next to'	foc. 'next to'	'to (next to)'	'from next to'	'via next to'

Table 4.5: Case Stacking Combinations

The relational-locational combinations that are shown in the table are 'focal' variants of the normal, uncombined relational cases and contrast with them in a such a way that the focal versions are more particular. An example for this is given in (4.48), where, after a child is told to put a smaller stone onto a bigger one, the child asks whether it has done so correctly. The reply is (4.48).

(4.48) **kií haò kaíi hàohóoxa**

kií haò kaíi haò -hóo -xa

*no rock COP rock -LOC -ON.TOP*

*'No, the rock must be (exactly) on top of the (other) rock'*

### 4.1.8 Conclusion

In the preceding section, I have discussed the structure of the nominal root in section 4.1.1, the ways of encoding gender, number, diminutives and augmentatives in the sections 4.1.2, 4.1.3, 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 respectively, have considered possession in its comprehensive aspects in section 4.1.6 and have presented the Hapi case system in section 4.1.7.

## 4.2 Noun phrase structure

The structure of the Hapi noun phrase, while not as complex as the verb phrase's, is still worthy of a comprehensive discussion. In the following section I will first consider the order of noun phrase elements in section 4.2.1, then the language's pronoun system in section 4.2.2, before moving on to the extensive classifier system in section 4.2.3. Afterwards I will lay out different parts of the remaining noun phrase, namely, demonstratives in section 4.2.4, quantifiers and numerals in section 4.2.5, concluding with attributes such as adjectives and possessives in section 4.2.6.

### 4.2.1 Order of noun phrase elements

The elements of the noun phrase appear in a specific order, as schematized in example (4.49).

(4.49) (QUANT) - (DEM) - (N) - head - (PSR) - (ADJ)

Thus, quantifiers with the respective classifiers (4.50), demonstratives (4.51), and nouns modifying the head (4.52) all precede the noun, while possessors (4.53) and adjectives (4.54) follow it.

(4.50) xasó -soo            kiah - a  
       *six* -CL:*fingers*    *finger* - PL

      '*six fingers*'

- (4.51) hao kahí  
 DEM:DIST pig  
 ‘that pig’
- (4.52) xòxí haíka  
 leaves type.of.palm  
 ‘maripa palm leaves’
- (4.53) sosáai =à kápihoo  
 cat =LINK father  
 ‘my father’s cat’
- (4.54) hati tóhaki  
 servant foolish  
 ‘the foolish servant’

### 4.2.2 Pronouns

The Hapi pronominal system distinguishes on a first level between so-called independent and possessive pronouns. The independent pronouns take the role of S, A and O, as well as an instrumental usage. They can be subdivided into ergative, neutral and accusative pronouns depending on their morphosyntactic alignment. The system also makes the distinction between person and number, as well as clusivity in first person pronoun. There is also a dedicated honorific pronoun *híí* and a third person plural pronoun which can be used as fourth

person pronoun. The set of possessive pronouns are used in an independent or strong manner, i.e. not with a determinative sense, but rather as a true pronominal, cf. ‘my’ (determinative) and ‘mine’ (independent).

### 4.2.2.1 Independent pronouns

An overview of independent non-possessive pronouns is schematized in table (4.6).

	A	S	O	Dat	Instr
Ergative:					
1S	<i>tàah</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>tàh</i>	<i>tàsóo</i>
1 + 2	<i>tàahopí</i>	<i>tàhopí</i>	<i>tàhopí</i>	<i>tàhopìh</i>	-
2S	<i>páó</i>	<i>pói</i>	<i>pói</i>	<i>pòih</i>	<i>pósòo</i>
3P or 4	<i>koìh</i>	<i>xah</i>	<i>xah</i>	<i>xàh</i>	<i>xasóo</i>
Neutral:					
1 + 3	<i>tàhokó</i>	<i>tàhokó</i>	<i>tàhokó</i>	<i>tàhokòh</i>	-
2P	<i>póh</i>	<i>póh</i>	<i>póh</i>	<i>pòh</i>	-
Accusative:					
	<i>kó</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>kòà</i>	<i>kòh</i>	
3S	<i>hoa</i>	<i>hoa</i>	<i>hoó</i>	<i>hòah</i>	<i>hisóo</i>
	<i>íí</i>	<i>íí</i>	<i>kòà</i>	<i>ìih</i>	
2Hon	<i>híí</i>	<i>híí</i>	<i>pói</i>	<i>hìih</i>	<i>pásòo</i>

Table 4.6: Independent non-possessive pronominal system

#### 4.2.2.1.1 Ergative pronouns

The ergative pronouns, as can be inferred from their name, have merged the forms for S and O, while the A form remained distinct. They include the first and second person singular, first person plural inclusive and third person plural

pronouns. Some usages of ergative pronouns are found in examples (4.55) - (4.57).

- (4.55) **tà hóíkatah háahoò xóatiho**  
 tà hóíka -tah háa -h -o == ò xóati -h -o  
 1S:S *big.tree* -PERL *go* -1 -FUT == SEQ *search.for* -1 -FUT  
  
**haíhosoahò há**  
 haího -soa == ò há  
*berry* -PL == SEQ EGOPH

*'I'll be going via the big tree, and then (I) will search for berries (there)'*

(4.56) This section is work-in-progress

(4.57) This section is work-in-progress

#### 4.2.2.1.2 Neutral pronouns

The neutral or direct pronouns have a single form for all core functions. They consist of the first person plural exclusive and the second person plural pronouns. Some examples are given in (4.58) and (4.59).

(4.58) This section is work-in-progress

(4.59) This section is work-in-progress



### 4.2.2.1.3 Accusative Pronouns

The set of accusative pronouns that are employed in the Hapi language possess a form for A and S, and another, distinct form for O. They feature the third person singular pronouns, as well as the second person honorific pronoun. Some example sentences using these pronouns are given in (4.60), (4.61) and (4.62).

(4.60) This section is work-in-progress

(4.61) This section is work-in-progress

(4.62) This section is work-in-progress

### 4.2.2.1.4 Dative Pronouns

The set of dative pronouns may be used in the same way the dative case is employed. It marks the recipient of a ditransitive clause, as well as the extended argument of an extended intransitive clause. It is also used in some possessive constructions. The examples (4.63) and (4.64) showcase the usage of these pronouns.

(4.63) This section is work-in-progress

(4.64) This section is work-in-progress

### 4.2.2.1.5 Instrumental pronouns

The majority of the non-possessive pronouns have a suppletive form that can be used to denote the semantic instrument of a verb. Only the first and second person plural pronouns do not have an additional instrumental form. Some examples for the instrumental usage of these forms are given in (4.65) and (4.66).

(4.65) This section is work-in-progress.

(4.66) This section is work-in-progress.

When using the first person singular, second person singular and second person honorific instrumental pronoun, another reading may be achieved, namely, an intensification of the salience of the subject or agent. The examples in (4.67) and (4.68) showcase the usage thereof.

(4.67)	<b>áahíkóa</b>				<b>‘tàah</b>	<b>kohaíkoahi</b>	
	áa	- hi	- ∅	= kóa	tàah	kohaíkoa	- i
	say	- INT.PAST	- 2/3	= DECL	1S:A	dig.a.hole	- DEP
	<b>kiihikóa</b>				<b>há</b>	<b>tàsóo’</b>	<b>ko</b>
	kii	- hi	- ∅	= kóa	há	tàsóo	ko
	AUX:PERF	- INT.PAST	- 2/3	= DECL	EGOPH	1S:INSTR	QUOT

*‘He said: “I dug a hole all by myself”.’*

(4.68) This section is work-in-progress.

### 4.2.2.2 Possessive pronouns

The independent possessive pronouns are given in table (4.7).

	SG	PL	HON
1	háhi	hí	-
2	óó	páihi	
3	kìhi	tài	-

Table 4.7: Independent possessive pronouns

Some examples for the usage of these are presented in (4.69) and (4.70).

- (4.69) **tài**            **hati**            **íxàa**            **há**            **óóhò?**  
 tài            hati            í- xàa    há            óó        -ò  
 DEM:PROX    *servant*    INTRG-    COP    EGOPH    2SPOS    -CL:*anim.sg*  
 ‘Is that servant yours?’

- (4.70) **ò**    **kahaóó**    **xàa**    **kìhiò** [...]   
 ò    kahaóó    xàa    kìhi    -ò  
 and    *uncle*        COP    3SPOS    -CL:*anim.sg*  
 ‘And it was his uncle [...]’

### 4.2.2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

The set of demonstrative pronouns consists of N forms, which are shown in table 4.8. Note the similarity between these and the demonstrative adjectives presented in section 4.2.4.

	VIS	NVIS	INANIM
PROX	tài ‘this’	-	ho ‘this/that’ (inanimate)
DIST	hao ‘that’	hih ‘that’ (not visible)	

Table 4.8: Demonstrative Pronominal System

Some cases for the usage of these pronouns are exemplified in (4.71), (4.72) and (4.73).

- (4.71) **tài**            **xàa** **hóh** **há**            **kóoha**            **xàa** **kaaihò**  
 tài            xàa    hóh    há            kóó -a            xàa    kaai -ò  
 DEM:PROX   COP   *man*   EGOPH   C   -2/3   COP   *sick*   -CL:*anim.sg*

**áahikóa**

áa -hi            = kóa

*say* -INT.PAST = DECL

*‘This (pointing at man) is the man who said (of himself) that he was sick’*

- (4.72) **hákapióó** **áahaokóa**            **ho**  
 hákapióó    áa -a    -o    = kóa    ho  
*nobody*    *say* -2/3 -FUT = DECL    *that*

*‘Nobody is going to say that’*

- (4.73) **hih**            **xàa** **óxíhò**  
 hih            xàa    óxí -ò  
 DEM:NVIS   COP   *child* -CL:*anim.sg*

*‘That (pointing at approximate direction) was a child (not a rock)’*

#### 4.2.2.4 Emphatic pronouns

Besides the set of independent, possessive and demonstrative pronouns, there is also a system of emphatic pronouns which are used in certain contexts. The set of those pronouns is depicted in table 4.9. Note how there is neither a clusivity nor a number nor a honorific distinction within the pronouns of this set.

	SG/PL
1	tàahoih
2	póxiho
3	hóaxáko

Table 4.9: Emphatic Pronouns

These pronouns are used in N major contexts: **a)** in possessive constructions using the disjunct affix =à (4.74), **b)** as emphatic pronouns (4.75).

(4.74) **xoxíhà**                      **tàahoih**

xoxí            = à            tàahoih

*palm.fiber* = LINK 1

*'my/our palm fiber'*

(4.75) **hóaxáko taíi koha toihaka**

hóaxáko taíi koha toih -a =ka

3            *glass hole open* -2/3 =DECL

*'It is him/her who is opening the window'*

### 4.2.3 Classifiers

In the following section I will discuss the language's extensive classifier system. I will start by considering an overview as well as a brief explanation of the different classifiers; afterwards I will clarify the syntactic distribution of these classifiers.

#### 4.2.3.1 Overview and Features

The different features all can be categorized in the values they can take. The first distinction that is to be made outside of the feature matrix is the MATERIAL distinction. This distinction that is made distinguishes animate, inanimate and abstract nouns, as can be inferred from table 4.10.

	Animate	Abstract	Inanimate
SG	ò	ki	(see tables below)
PL	haí		

Table 4.10: MATERIAL distinction

The other features include SHAPE (long, flat and round<sup>6</sup>), SIZE (big, small), QUANTA (singular, plural, bunch of, basketful), RIGIDITY (flexible, rigid, brittle, non-discrete) and LOCATION (extended vertically, ext. horizontally, parallel objects, objects in a row). Table 4.11 gives an overview of some saliently one-dimensional classifiers in Hapi. A full list of classifiers can be found in appendix B.

<sup>6</sup>Also referred to as saliently one/two/three-dimensional.

Saliently 1D - Long					
Big	Flexible	Singular	<b>hó</b>	<i>ropes, ladders, (long) vines</i>	
	Rigid		<b>ká</b>	<i>trunks/pole-like objects that have fallen over</i>	
			<b>saxá</b>	<i>palm tree trunk, pole-like objects</i>	
			<b>hió</b>	<i>pillars (of a house), supporting beams</i>	
Small	Flexible	Singular	<b>xái</b>	<i>short hair, short ropes</i>	
	Rigid		<b>aáxi</b>	<i>single banana</i>	
			<b>óah</b>	<i>tubes, hollow objects, bones, flutes</i>	
		Plural	<b>hosó</b>	<i>tubes, hollow objects, bones (plural)</i>	
		Brittle	Singular	<b>kaata</b>	<i>small branches of trees which are easily breakable</i>
	Non-Discrete			<b>xoxi</b>	<i>liquids in a long container, water (in a bottle)</i>
				<b>xóhii</b>	<i>viscous liquids</i>

Table 4.11: Some Saliently 1D Classifiers

### 4.2.3.2 Syntactic Distribution

In the following sub-section I will discuss the syntactic distribution of the classifiers presented above. I will not mention the quantifier-head concordance that is present in the Hapi language, as it already has been considered in this same section.





- (4.77) **pasío hosi kàaha**  
 pasío hosi kàaha  
*blow.gun CL:thin.pole.like man's.name*  
*'Kàaha's blow gun'*

- (4.78) **papáxi xào póhsa**  
 papáxi xào póhsa  
*mouth CL:facial.body.parts jug*  
*'jug's mouth'*

#### 4.2.3.2.2 Predicate Nominals

Predicate nominals also agree with their copular subject by means of being suffixed the adequate classifier, as can be seen in example (4.79), (4.80) and (4.81).

- (4.79) **tài kohi xàa toohóósaxá**  
 tài kohi xàa toohóó - saxá  
 DEM:PROX *trunk* COP *type.of.palm* - CL:*trunks*  
*'This trunk is of a peach palm'*

- (4.80) **xóah xàa hòkaapaò**  
 xóah xàa hòkaapa - ò  
*man's.name* COP *hunter* - CL:*anim.sg*  
*'Juan is a hunter'*

- (4.81) **hao táhiáki xàa páihikahía**  
 hao táhiáki xàa páihi -kahía  
 DEM *hammock* COP 2HPOS -CL:*hanging*  
 ‘*This hammock is yours<sub>HON</sub>*’

#### 4.2.4 Demonstrative Adjectives

The demonstrative adjectives of the Hapi language are very similar, if not identical to those demonstratives described in 4.2.2. A short overview is given in table 4.12.

	VIS	NVIS	INANIM
PROX	tài ‘this’	-	
DIST	hao ‘that’	híi ‘that’ (not visible)	hao ‘this/that’ (inanimate)

Table 4.12: Demonstrative Adjectives Overview

Some examples for the usage of these are given in (4.82) and (4.83).

- (4.82) **hao hahópìi xàa tàiha**  
 hao hahópìi xàa tàiha  
 DEM:DIST *sloth* COP *there*  
 ‘*There is that sloth (which we saw earlier)*’

- (4.83) **híi tukáh háhahahíaka**  
 híi tukáh háhahahí - a = ka  
 DEM:NVIS *toucan sing* - 2/3 = DECL  
*'That toucan is singing'*

## 4.2.5 Quantifiers and Numerals

### 4.2.5.1 Quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers precede the noun together with the adequate classifier. Examples can be seen in (4.84), (4.85) and (4.86).

(4.84) This section is work-in-progress

(4.85) This section is work-in-progress

(4.86) This section is work-in-progress

### 4.2.5.2 Numerals

Numeral quantifiers also precede the modified noun, together with the adequate classifier. More information on numerals is given in chapter ???. The position of numerals within the noun phrase is exemplified in (4.87), (4.88), and (4.89).

- (4.87) **hao akahíopa ahóikahàòkóa**  
 hao akahíopa a - hóika - hàò - Ø = kóa  
 DEM *bridge* PASS - *build* - DIST.PAST - 2/3 = DECL

**hikoípahahì**

hikoípaha -hì

*ten* -CL:time**apíhaiha koha hakó**

apíhaiha koh -a hakó

*year* -PL *ago**'That bridge was built ten years ago'*(4.88) **tóhò óxísoa**

tóh -ò óxí -soa

*three* -CL:anim.sg *child* -PL*'three children'*(4.89) **posá aíxia xàa tàh**

po -sá aíxi -a xàa tàh

*nine* -CL:banana.trunks *banana.plant* -PL COP 1S:DAT*'I have nine banana tree plants'***4.2.6 Attributes****4.2.6.1 Adjectives**

Adjectival attributes follow the noun. More information on adjectives is given in chapter ???. The order of adjectival elements in the noun phrase is given below in the examples (4.90) and (4.91).

(4.90) This section is work-in-progress

(4.91) This section is work-in-progress

#### 4.2.6.2 Possessives

The main strategy for possessives in the Hapi language is depicted in the examples (4.92) and (4.93). In this construction, the linking disjunct affix =à is attached to the head, followed by the possessor in the absolutive case.

(4.92)	<b>óíhtià</b>		<b>sóasih</b>	(4.93)	<b>kókókóà</b>		<b>haxápií</b>
	óíhti	=à	sóasih		kókókó	=à	haxápií
	<i>monkey</i>	=LINK	<i>person</i>		<i>gun</i>	=LINK	<i>stranger</i>
	<i>'the person's monkey'</i>				<i>'the stranger's gun'</i>		

Another strategy to mark possession on nouns is the so-called copular strategy. There, the possessor is put in the dative case and is connected to the possessee by the copula *xàa*. This process can be seen in the examples (4.94) and (4.95).

(4.94) This section is work-in-progress

(4.95) This section is work-in-progress

### 4.2.6.3 Noun modifying

The final type of attribute in the Hapi language is noun juxtaposition. A noun may modify another noun in which case the modifying noun precedes the head noun. (4.96) and (4.97) show examples thereof.

(4.96) tahai xohoá

*goat milk*

*'goat milk'*

(4.97) hiiho kohkí

*sheep fur*

*'wool'*

### 4.2.7 Conclusions

In the preceding chapter I have considered the structure of the nominal word and the nominal phrase. I have presented the internal structure of the nominal root, demonstrated the morphological categories that are marked on the noun, namely, number, diminutive and augmentative, possession and case, and have discussed the formation of gender-specified nouns by juxtaposition. After a brief consideration of the order of noun phrase elements, I then moved on to the pronominal system, schematized the extensive set of classifiers of the language, and presented further any other noun modifiers such as demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals, adjectives, possessives and noun modifying nominals, all in the context of the noun phrase.

## **5 The Verb and the Verb Phrase**

This chapter discusses the verb and the verb phrase in the Hapi language. In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss verbal morphology, considering the structure of the verbal stem and its conjuncts, disjuncts and clitics. In section 5.1.1 I will consider the structure of the verbal root; then I will move through the verb slot by slot, starting with the mode affix in section 5.1.2. Subsequently I will discuss valency in section 5.1.3, past tenses in 5.1.4, person agreement in section 5.1.5 and the future tense in section 5.1.6. In the second part of this chapter, I will explain the verb phrase structure, beginning with the role of second-position clitics within the verb complex. Then, I will consider the function of particles in section 5.2.2. Finally, I will present the role of adverbs in section 5.2.3.

### **5.1 Verbal Morphology**

In this section, the structure of Hapi verbs is examined, focussing on the grammatical categories encoded by morphology, i.e. mode, valency, tense and person.

### **5.1.1 Verbal Root**

The structural properties of the verbal root include a set of prefixes and suffixes for the expression of mode, valency, tense and person.

#### **5.1.1.1 Internal structure of verbal roots**

In the following section I will consider the internal phonological structure of verbal roots, analyzing the syllabic composition of said roots. There is a set of 13 monosyllabic, 26 disyllabic and 4 trisyllabic or polysyllabic roots in the corpus of 42 Hapi verbs.

#### **5.1.1.2 Overview**

An overview of the verbal stem structure of the Hapi language can be seen in table 5.1. In the first slot, the mode conjunct prefixes are found; in the second slot, the valency conjunct prefixes are located. After the root, the past, person, future and causative markers can be found. Finally, the declarative disjunct marker is located in the final slot.

#### **5.1.1.3 Verb Classes**

There are six classes of verbs in the Hapi language. Firstly, there are the basic intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs, which are categorized by their valency. The remaining three verb classes are auxiliary verbs, complementizing verbs and compound verbs, the latter of which may be



-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
Mode	Val	ROOT	Past	Person	Future	Caus	Decl
INDIC	∅-	ANTIP	RPAST1	-xí	see Section 5.1.5	CAUS1	= kóa
INTRG	í-	h(V)-	RPAST2	-hi	-o	-áh	
JUSS	háá-	PASS	DPAST1	-tóhi		CAUS2	
	a-		DPAST2	-hàò		-kó	

Table 5.1: Verbal Stem Structure

also subdivided into positional compound verbs and nominal compound verbs. Intransitive and transitive verbs constitute an open class, while the rest of the verb classes are closed.<sup>1</sup> A list of all closed class verbs is presented in appendix C. An overview of verb classes is depicted in table 5.2.

Class	Number of Arguments	Argument Marking
Intransitive	1	S-∅ V
Ext. Intransitive	2	S-∅ V E-DAT / LOC
Transitive		
a) Core Transitives	2	A-ERG V O-∅
b) Non-Core Transitives	2	A-ERG V O-NCORE
Pos. Compound Verbs	1-2	S-∅ V or A-ERG V O-∅
Ditransitive	3	D-ERG T-∅ V R-DAT

Table 5.2: Verb Classes Overview

### 5.1.1.3.1 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs are verbs which take one S argument, as can be seen in example (5.1). This argument, presupposing it is not a pronoun, is left unmarked, i.e. takes the absolutive null morpheme. If the argument is a pronoun, it must take its S form, as can be seen in example (5.2).

- (5.1) **tahai sóihikóa**  
 tahai sói -hi = kóa  
 goat sleep -INT.PAST = DECL  
 ‘The goat slept’

<sup>1</sup>N.b.: there needs to be more research conducted on the nature of the extended intransitive class, as I have not yet found out whether it is closed or open.

(5.2) **pói sóihikóá**

pói sói -hi =kóá

2S:S *sleep* -INT.PAST =DECL

*'You slept'*

### 5.1.1.3.2 Extended Intransitive Verbs

Extended intransitive verbs are verbs which take two arguments, an S argument and an E argument. The S argument takes the absolutive case morpheme or the S pronoun form, whilst the E argument takes the dative case or the dative pronoun form. Some examples are shown in (5.3) and (5.4). Some extended intransitive verbs related to movement, such as *háa* 'to go' or *póoi* 'to come' take the locative case for their E argument, as shown in (5.5). There are 5 extended intransitive verbs in the analyzed corpus. Some explanations concerning (5.4) and (5.5): in the former, the speaker tells us about a ritual in which a mother is applying a special facial paint to her son; in the latter, the speaker is talking to his fellow huntsman, mentioning how one of their dogs was playfully following a bird.

(5.3) **kahoa hókaáhàòkóá íákìih**

kahoa hókaá -hàò =kóá íákí -ìih

*turtle live.in* -REM.PAST =DECL *tree.hole* -DAT

*'The turtle lives in a tree hole'*

- (5.4) **xapisóoha hóaxáko sahóóhaká kòh**  
 xapisóo = à hóaxáko sahóó - a = ká kòh  
*mother* = LINK 3 *apply.color* - 2/3 = DECL 3SM:DAT  
 ‘His mother was painting his (face)’

- (5.5) **tài háahaka paátihóo**  
 tài háa - a = ka paáti - hoo  
 DEM:PROX go - 2/3 = DECL *type.of.bird* - LOC  
 ‘This one is following a macaw’

### 5.1.1.3.3 Transitive and Ditransitive Verbs

Transitive verbs are verbs which take two arguments, an A and an O argument. If the arguments of a transitive verb are pronominal, they take their respective A and O form. A noun in the A function takes the ergative case, marked by the morpheme *-(V)h*, while a noun in the O function takes the unmarked absolutive case. Examples of the usage of transitive verbs and their arguments’ marking can be seen in (5.6) and (5.7). In (5.6) the speaker recounts a story in which a negligent boy mislaid his ritual loincloth, only to be found by the speaker; the speaker is surprised as she sees mice chewing on the cloth.

- (5.6) **hòotaháh**                      **kíxohxíkóa**                      **hása**  
 hòotah - a - h      kíxoh - xí                      = kóa      hása  
*mouse* - PL - ERG    *chew* - REC.PAST = DECL    *loincloth*  
 ‘The mice chewed the loincloth’

- (5.7) **xah**    **kíxohxíkóa**                      **kòà**  
 xah    kíxoh - xí                      = kóa    kòà  
 3P:A    *chew* - REC.PAST = DECL    3SINAN:O  
 ‘They chewed it’

However there are exceptions to this rule; some transitive verbs’ objects do not take the absolutive case but a non-core or relational case instead. An example for such a verb is *tító* ‘to listen, to smell’, which takes an additional argument in the ‘next to’ relational case, marked by the morpheme *-(h)ái*. An example for the usage of those non-core transitive verbs is given in (5.8).

- (5.8) **háá**    **tóópahái**                      **títói**                      **tóóhaká**  
 háá    tóópa - hái                      títo - i      tóó - a      = ká  
 EPIST    *song* - NEXT.TO    *listen* - DEP    PROG - 2/3 = DECL  
 ‘Maybe she’s listening to the song!’

Ditransitive verbs are verbs which take three arguments; those arguments are called D, T and R, and refer to the donor, theme and recipient of the verb. For nouns, the D function is marked by the ergative case, the T function is marked by the absolutive case and the R function is marked by the dative case. For

pronouns, D and T correspond to the A and O forms, while the dative forms are used for the R function. There are 2 ditransitive verbs in the analyzed corpus. Examples (5.9) and (5.10) showcase the usage of ditransitive verbs.

- (5.9) **tííkh**                      **kóóh** **hóíhikóá**                      **tatìih**  
 tííko                      - h      kóóh      hóí - hi                      = kóá      tati      - h  
*man's.name* - ERG      *fruit*      *give* - INT.PAST      = DECL      *child* - DAT  
 ‘Diego gives a fruit to (his) child (for good)’

- (5.10) **kó**      **kòà**                      **hóíhikóá**                      **hòah**  
 kó      kòà                      hóí - hi                      = kóá      hòah  
 3SM:A      3SINAN:O      *give* - INT.PAST      = DECL      3SF:DAT  
 ‘He gives it to her’

The R of a ditransitive verb might also be marked by the ‘on top of’ relational case; in that case, the action is temporary, while with the dative case, the action is permanent.<sup>2</sup> This usage is exemplified in (5.11).

- (5.11) **tííkoh**                      **kaxíí** **hóíhikóá**                      **tatìixa**  
 tííko                      - h      kaxíí      hóí - hi                      = kóá      tati      - xa  
*man's.name* - ERG      *idol*      *give* - INT.PAST      = DECL      *child* - ON.TOP  
 ‘Diego gives the idol to (his) child (as a loan)’

<sup>2</sup>This obviously only applies if the verb can bear such a type of aspect; for example with the verb *taih*, ‘to thank sb. for sth.’ this distinction wouldn’t make sense.

### 5.1.1.3.4 Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs are verbs which mark aspect, negation and modality. there are two types of auxiliaries, non-affixing auxiliary verbs and affixing auxiliary verbs. I will first discuss the former, and subsequently move onto the latter. Non-affixing auxiliaries, despite their name, absorb all inflection from the lexical head. They encode negation and aspect. The lexical head then takes the dependent form, marked by the suffix *-i*. There are 3 non-affixing auxiliaries in the analyzed corpus of 5 auxiliaries. (5.12) exemplifies the usage of non-affixing auxiliaries.

(5.12)	<b>hóh</b>		<b>kìkahoó</b>		<b>hóikai</b>
	hó	- h	kì - kahoó		hóika - i
	<i>man's.name</i>	- ERG	3SPOS - <i>boat</i>		<i>build</i> - DEP
	<b>tóóxíkóa</b>				<b>hákiihahóo</b>
	tóó	- xí	- ∅ = kóa		h - ákiih - a - hóo
	AUX:PROG	- REC.PAST	- 2/3 = DECL		1SPOS - <i>see</i> - NMZ - LOC

*'Joe was constructing his boat, when I had seen him.'*

Affixing auxiliary verbs use an affixing process, in which the lexical head is attached to the auxiliary. The inflection of the verb is absorbed by the general auxiliary *tàa*. There are 1 affixing auxiliaries in the analyzed corpus of 5 auxiliaries. An example of their usage can be seen in example (5.13).

- (5.13) **páó híí kaxáhákoo tàahaka**  
 páó híí kaxá= hákoo tàa -a =ka  
 2S:A meal eat= OBL AUX -2/3 =DECL

*‘You should eat your meal (or else you will be hungry later)’*

To negate an auxiliary verb, instead of using the negation auxiliary, the disjunct prefix *kaí=*, which is derived from the past negative auxiliary *kaíhao*, is used. Example (5.14) showcases this negation strategy.

- (5.14) **kóíhíhóo ahá háakaíhákoo atàa**  
 kóíhi -hóo ahá háa= kaí= hákoo a- tàa  
 forest -LOC alone go= NEG= OBL PASS- AUX

*‘One shouldn’t go into the forest alone.’*

### 5.1.1.3.5 Complementizer Verbs

Complementizer verbs are verbs which take an entire clause as their object, such as e.g. *áa* ‘to say (that)’ or *óa* ‘to think’. They may take all normal inflectional affixes. To mark the end of a complement clause, the complementizers *kóó-* or *kóhii* are used.<sup>3</sup> The usage of complementizer verbs is exemplified in (5.15).

- (5.15) **kóíhíhóo ahá háakaíhákoo atàa kóhii**  
 kóíhi -hóo ahá háa= kaí= hákoo a- tàa kóhii  
 forest -LOC alone go= NEG= OBL PASS- AUX C

<sup>3</sup>More on the usage of complementizers in section ??



**káixoáháh**                      **áatóhikóá**  
káixo -áh -áh      áa -tóhi              =kóá  
*mother* -AUG1 -ERG    *say* -DIST.PAST =DECL

*‘(My) grandmother said that one shouldn’t go into the forest alone’*

While the complementizers mark indirect speech, there is a quotative marker *ko* to mark direct speech. An example of this technique can be found in (5.16).

(5.16) **‘kóíhíhóo      ahá      háakaíhákoo              atàa’      ko**  
kóíhi -hóo    ahá      háa =    kaí =    hákoo              a -    tàa    ko  
*forest* -LOC    *alone*      *go* =    NEG =    OBL              PASS -    AUX    QUOT

**káixoáháh**                      **áatóhikóá**  
káixo -áh -áh      áa -tóhi              =kóá  
*mother* -AUG1 -ERG    *say* -DIST.PAST =DECL

*‘(My) grandmother said: “One shouldn’t go into the forest alone”’*

### 5.1.1.3.6 Positional Compound Verbs

Positional compound verbs are verbs with a bipartite stem. The first part (called V1) is from a relatively open class of ca. 100 members, while the second part (called DTR) is from a closed class of 10 members. They inflect like normal intransitive or transitive verbs. The DTRs depict explicit or implied motion in a certain **Direction**, into a **Topological Relation**. There are four subclasses of V1s, classificatory (type of figure or ground), dispositional (posture or position

of the figure), means (manner or means of change), and trajectory (shape of path of change). While the first of these constitutes an open class, the rest of them are closed class. A full list of all V1s and DTRs can be found in appendix D. Examples (5.17) and (5.18) showcase the usage of transitive and intransitive positional compound verbs.

- (5.17) **hoa tapáxi xóhiitohíxíkóato hííkohóo**  
 hoa tapáxi xóhii- tohí -xí =kóa ==to hííkoh -hóo  
 3SF:A honey liquid- in -REC.PAST =DECL ==VIS bowl -LOC  
*'She poured the honey into the bowl (I saw it)'*

- (5.18) **(íí) saháxìhikóo**  
 (íí) sahá - xì -hi =kóo  
 (3SINAN:S) fall- away -INT.PAST =DECL  
*'It (the leaf) fell away from me, i.e. it was blown away by the wind'*

### 5.1.2 Mode

In the following section I will present the mode slot within the verbal stem. Mode is one of many verbal grammatical categories, and it marks some modal expression, most importantly, imperatives, optatives and hortatives. Interrogative semantics are also covered by the mode prefixes.

### 5.1.2.1 Interrogative *í-*

The interrogative mode is used to mark questions, whether it be polar or content questions. It is marked by the prefix *í-*. If the verb is in the interrogative mode, a special set of person markers are used (see section 5.1.5). Some examples of the interrogative mode's employment can be seen in (5.19) and (5.20). More information about interrogative clauses, especially in a syntactic context, is given in chapter ??.

- (5.19) **kóha haípi há tááhi ítóóhah**  
 kóha haípi há tááh -i í- tóó -ah  
*tea* EGOPH *drink* -DEP INTRG- AUX -2/3  
 'Are you drinking tea?'

- (5.20) **páhisòì há íxóatiah**  
 páhi -sòì há í- xóati -ah  
*what* -Q EGOPH INTRG- *search.for* -2/3  
 'What are you searching for?'

### 5.1.2.2 Imperatives

There are three imperative prefixes in the Hapi language, all of which occupy the mode slot. There are two positive markers, distal and proximal, and one deictic neutral negative marker. The distal and proximal prefixes are *tà-* and *hi-*. The distal morphemes are used when the command has a special distance

in space — 'do there' —, while the proximal morphemes are used for contexts where the command's execution is imminent. This does not only apply for spatial, but also for temporal deixis; the distinction is exemplified in (5.21) and (5.22).

(5.21) **tàhokó hikakía**

tàhokó                      hi - kakí - a

1 + 3:DAT DIST.POSIT.IMPV - wait - 2/3

*'You, wait for us (in some distant time or place)'*

(5.22) **tàhokó tàkakía**

tàhokó                      tà - kakí - a

1 + 3:DAT PROX.POSIT.IMPV - wait - 2/3

*'You, wait for us (here and now)'*

To exclude either the spatial or temporal sense from the distal imperative, spatial or temporal adverbs can be employed, as showcased in (5.23) and (5.24).

(5.23) **tàhokó hih hikakía**

tàhokó    hih                      hi - kakí - a

1 + 3:DAT there.NVIS DIST.POSIT.IMPV - wait - 2/3

*'You, wait for us (in some distant place, but right now)'*

(5.24) **tàhokó sóso hikakía**

tàhokó sóso hi - kakí - a

1 + 3:DAT then DIST.POSIT.IMPV - wait - 2/3

*'You, wait for us (in some distant time, but here)'*

The negative imperative *xi-* is used for negated commands. Examples (5.25) present this process.

(5.25) **tàhokó xikakía**

tàhokó xi - kakí - a

1 + 3:DAT NEGAT.IMPV - wait - 2/3

*'Do not wait for us!'*

### 5.1.2.3 Jussive *háá-*

The jussive mode, marked by the prefix *háá-* marks a variety of semantics on the verb. Verbs that are in the jussive mode do not take any other markers besides the jussive, neither person nor tense morphemes. Firstly, it may be used as a third-person imperative, having the speaker convey appeal to the addressee to enable an event to occur; this is exemplified in (5.26) and (5.27). The speaker expresses a desire that the event will take place, but unlike with the imperative, the speaker has limited control over the event's outcome. In this case, the affected third-person participant takes the semantic role of an agent or a subject, depending on the transitivity of the verb. (5.27) was uttered in

the context of a woman who wanted her husband to come help in the garden, although he has been up all night drinking.

- (5.26) **xipásaa**                                  **xixíxí**                                  **kòà**     **kó**  
                                          xi - pása    - a                                  xi - xíxí     kòà     kó  
                                          NEGAT.IMPV - *carry*    -2/3     NEGAT.IMPV - *go.out*    3SM:O    3SM:S

**hááxíxí**

háá - xíxí

JUSS - *go.out*

*'Don't carry him out (of the house), let him go out by himself'*

- (5.27) **tá**     **kó**     **háásóí**  
          tá     kó     háá - sóí  
          *later*    3SM:S    JUSS - *sleep*

*'Let him sleep later'*

Another function of the jussive prefix is comparable to an optative in other languages. The speaker again expresses a desire for the event to happen, but in the optative case the speaker has little to no control over its outcome. An example is given in (5.28) and (5.29)

- (5.28) **póí**     **hááhooxá**  
          póí     háá - hooxá  
          2S:S    JUSS - *be.glad*

*'May you live merrily!'*

- (5.29) **pípìò**                      **hááxàa**  
 pípì - ò                      háá - xàa  
*rich* - CL:anim.sg    JUSS - *be*  
*'If only I were rich!'*

Another usage of the optative function is in complement clauses, when the verb which initializes the clause possesses semantics of wishing and hoping. See (5.30) for an example.

- (5.30) **káakaahikóa**                      **kóo**                      **hááháahi**  
 káakaa - hi                      = kóa    kóo - ∅    háá - áa - hi  
*hope*    - INT.PAST = DECL C    - 1    JUSS - *say* - INT.PAST  
  
**hááxíihaxi**                      **háátító**  
 háá - xíihaxi                      háá - títo  
 JUSS - *tell.a.story*    JUSS - *listen*

*'I myself was hoping that you would tell me a story (before dinner)'*

Lastly, the jussive mode may express a speaker's disengagement from a negatively viewed event, in which case the speaker voices a feigned indifference, associated with a lack of control, as exemplified in (5.31) and (5.32).

- (5.31) **kó**                      **háákatí**  
 kó                      háá - katí  
 3SM:S    JUSS - *dance*  
*'Let him dance! (uttered by a jealous wife)'*

- (5.32) **íí háákíío t àhopí x àa koítaó**  
 íí háá - kíío t àhopí x àa koí - taó  
 3SINAN:S JUSS - rain 1 + 2 COP hut - BELOW  
 ‘Let it rain, we’re in (lit.: below) a house’

### 5.1.3 Valency

In the following chapters I will discuss the valency-modifying morphemes which are marked directly on the Hapi verb. This includes the antipassive section (5.1.3.1), the passive section (5.1.3.2) and the causative section (5.1.3.3) prefixes.

#### 5.1.3.1 Antipassive *h(V)*-

The Hapi antipassive, marked by the prefix *h(V)*-, is used to turn a transitive verb into an intransitive one. This is achieved by demoting the former A of the transitive verb to S and omitting the O argument. A straightforward transitive clause can be seen in example (5.33).

- (5.33) **hápaáh xósóóhaká hapi**  
 hápaáh xósóó - a =ká hapi  
 dog:ERG bite - 2/3 = DECL people  
 ‘The dog bites people’



If the prefix *h(V)-* is added, the verb becomes intransitive, the underlying A turns into an S and the O is omitted. In (5.34), ‘biting’ is what the dog does, no matter whom it may bite.

- (5.34) **hápaáh hóxósóóhaká**  
 hápaáh hó- xósóó -a =ká  
 dog:ERG ANTIP - bite -2/3 =DECL  
 ‘The dog bites’

However, there’s a second side to the Hapi antipassive. When applied to intransitive verbs, it imparts a habitual, ‘characteristic’ meaning, as can be inferred from example (5.35).

- (5.35) **(íí) hípíhaahaká**  
 (íí) hí- píhaa -a =ká  
 3SINAN:S ANTIP - jump -2/3 =DECL  
 ‘It jumps (speaking of a species of titi monkeys)’

### 5.1.3.2 Passive *a-*

Just like the antipassive, Hapi’s passive derives an intransitive clause from a transitive one, however instead of omitting the underlying O, it demotes it to the S of the surface clause. The former A argument hereby goes into a peripheral function and may be marked by the perlocative case.<sup>4</sup> In Hapi, the passive is

<sup>4</sup>Cf. section 4.1.7.2.2

marked by the prefix *a-*. In (5.36) we have a straightforward transitive sentence, whose passive variant is showcased in example (5.37). Note that the underlying A needn't be mentioned at all, and can be omitted, as shown in example (5.38)

- (5.36) **soátáh**                      **kíípáatóhikóa**                      **kaókáoxii**  
 soáta                      - h      kíípáa   - tóhi                      = kóa      kaókáo   - xii  
*type.of.possum*   - ERG   *kill*                      - DIST.PAST   = DECL   *duck*                      - DIM  
 'A possum killed a duckling'

- (5.37) **kaókáoxii**                      **akíípáatóhikóa**  
 kaókáo   - xii                      a - kíípáa   - tóhi                      = kóa  
*duck*                      - DIM      PASS - *kill*                      - DIST.PAST                      = DECL  
  
**soátatah**  
 soáta                      - tah  
*type.of.possum*   - PERL

'The duckling was killed by a possum'

- (5.38) **kaókáoxii**                      **akíípáatóhikóa**  
 kaókáo   - xii                      a - kíípáa   - tóhi                      = kóa  
*duck*                      - DIM      PASS - *kill*                      - DIST.PAST   = DECL

'The duckling was killed'

However *a-* has other usages than the prototypical passive as well. In (5.39) the reflexive meaning is showcased.

- (5.39) **asaxíká** **sáha sóh**  
 a - sa - xí = ká sáha sóh  
 REFL - cut - REC.PAST = DECL *knife with*  
*'(I) cut myself with a knife'*

Another function of this morpheme is, similar to the reflexive, reciprocal semantics. If the subject is plural, it is likely to mark a reciprocal, as can be seen in (5.40).

- (5.40) **xah asaxíká** **sáha sóh**  
 xah a - sa - xí = ká sáha sóh  
 3P:S RECIP - cut - REC.PAST = DECL *knife with*  
*'They cut each other with a knife'*

Nevertheless, it isn't always clear whether a reflexive or reciprocal meaning is implied; in that case, the context and pragmatics give further clues. In example (5.41), the speaker tells us about some children, playing a game in which they need to group in pairs and the children need to choose each other. The reflexive meaning is not appropriate: the children did nothing to themselves.

- (5.41) **haí xah asihoaka**  
 haí xah a - siho - a = ka  
 so 3P:S RECIP - choose - 2/3 = DECL  
*'So they are choosing each other'*  
 \**'So they are choosing themselves'*

### 5.1.3.3 Causative *-áh* and *-kó*

There are two types of causative constructions in the Hapi language; one using the suffix *-áh* to derive transitives from intransitives and another one, *-kó*, which forms ditransitives from transitives. I will firstly discuss the former. Here, the argument in underlying S function ('the causee') goes into O function in the causative, and a new argument ('the causer') is introduced in A function. In (5.42), a simple intransitive clause is shown, and in example (5.43) the correspondent transitive clause is presented.

(5.42) **sóihakaxa**

sóí - a = ka = xa

*sleep* - 2/3 = DECL = CONT

'(He) is sleeping'

(5.43) **óxí<sub>o</sub> sóihaáhkaxa**

óxí<sub>o</sub> sóí - a - áh = ka = xa

*child sleep* - 2/3 - CAUS:ITR = DECL = CONT

'(He) is putting the child to sleep.'

When deriving a ditransitive clause from a transitive one, the suffix *-kó* is used.

(5.44) and (5.45) exemplify this.

- (5.44) **pápo hóhixíkóá kó**  
 pápo hóhi -xí =kóá kó  
*paper take* -REC.PAST =DECL 3SM:A

*'He took the paper'*

- (5.45) **sóso pápo kòà hóhixíkókóatì**  
 sóso pápo<sub>o</sub> kòà<sub>o</sub> hóhi -xí -kó =kóá =tì  
*then paper* 3SM:O *take* -REC.PAST -CAUS:TRANS =DECL =AGAIN

**kó**

kó<sub>a</sub>

3SM:A

*'Then he sent the paper back to him again'*

*'Then he caused him to take the paper back again'*

A 'sociative' causative, marked by the causative and the comitative coordinator *sóh* in combination with a personal pronoun, may have overtones of the causer's involvement; compare the straightforward example (5.46) with the sociative construction in (5.47).

- (5.46) **kìhaóxí haíhíkihikókóá**  
 kì - haóxí haí - híki - hi - kó =kóá  
 3SPOS - son CL:*anim.sg* - across - INT.PAST - CAUS:TRANS =DECL

**pàahtah**

pàah - tah

*river* - PERL*'He caused his son to cross the river**(ordered him without being involved)'*(5.47) **kó sóh [kìhaóxí]ₒ haíhíki-**

kó sóh kì - haóxí haí - híki

3SM *with* 3SPOS - *son* CL:*anim.sg* - *across***hikókóa****[pàahtah]ₒ**

hi - kó = kóa pàah - tah

INT.PAST - CAUS:TRANS = DECL *river* - PERL*'He caused his son to cross the river (helped him across the river)'***5.1.4 Past tenses**

In the following section I will consider Hapi's elaborate system of past tenses. First, I will present the recent past (REC.PAST), then I will move on and discuss the three other past tenses, namely, the intermediate past (INT.PAST), the distant past (DIST.PAST) and finally the remote past (REM.PAST). An overview of the past tenses and their deictic scopes can be found in table 5.3.

Section	Form	Gloss	Minimum distance	Maximum distance
5.1.4.1	-xí	REC.PAST	immediately prior to speech time	three days ago
5.1.4.2	-hi	INT.PAST	yesterday	last week
5.1.4.3	-tóhi	DIST.PAST	last week	years ago
5.1.4.4	-hàò	REM.PAST	historical events and narratives	

Table 5.3: Past Tenses Overview

### 5.1.4.1 Recent Past -xí

The recent past, marked by the morpheme *-xí*, encodes that an event took place immediately prior and up to three days prior to the speech time. An absolute reading yields the encoding of an event that took place two days prior to the speech act. In example (5.48), the primary function of the recent past marker is showcased. In the following narrative, the speaker talks about going on a fishing trip with his friend Atah.

(5.48)	<b>hitaóha</b>	<b>tà</b>	<b>atah</b>	<b>sóh</b>	<b>háaha</b>
	hitaóha	tà	atah	sóh	háa - ha
	<i>first</i>	1S:S	<i>man's.name</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>go</i> - NMZ

#### **ahihxíkóa**

ahih -xí = kóa

*think.about* - REC.PAST = DECL

*'First I thought about going out with Atah'*

In discourse, the recent past marker is repeated throughout the narrative, as long as events occur within the temporal deictic range of the marker and are described in-sequence.<sup>5</sup> (5.49) and (5.50) are the continuation of (5.48), and they show that *-xí* maintains its position within the predicate and displays discourse perseverance.

- (5.49) **haí kaxáxíkoí atah sóh tà**  
 haí kaxá - xí = koi atah sóh tà  
*then eat - REC.PAST = S/A > S(PE) man's.name with 1S:S*
- xíxí kókihíxí kàahxí**  
 xíxí - xí kókihíki - xí kàah - xí  
*go.away - REC.PAST fish - REC.PAST kill - REC.PAST*
- koíháaxíkóa**  
 koíháa - xí = kóa  
*go.home - REC.PAST = DECL*

*'After eating, I went with Atah to go fishing'*

- (5.50) **hitaóha kaóhtiihóo tàhokó kòhóohixíkóa**  
 hitaóha kaóhtii - hóo tàhokó kòhóohi - xí = kóa  
*first uncle - LOC 1 + 3:S arrive - REC.PAST = DECL*

*'Firstly, we arrived at my uncle's'*

The recent past marker may also be used in a relative temporal sense, i.e. relative to the framing narrative. This can be seen in example (5.51). Here, the

<sup>5</sup>Then, the sequential marker = *ó* may be used to link the predicates.



framing narrative is the event of the parents speaking, which itself is set in the distant past tense. However, the event which is described in the speech act, namely, the coming of age of their children, is put in the recent past, even though in an absolute sense it has happened years ago.

- (5.51) **‘tótihaí kìotixíkóá’ ko**  
 ‘tóti -haí kìoti -xí =kóá’ ko  
*prepared* - CL:anim.pl *become* - REC.PAST = DECL QUOT
- kìkáota sóh kìxapisóo áatóhikóa**  
 kì - káota sóh kì - xapisóo áa - tóhi = kóa  
 3SPOS - *father* and 3SPOS - *mother* say - DIST.PAST = DECL
- ‘Her father and mother said: “They (their children) have (already) become adolescents”’*

#### 5.1.4.2 Intermediate Past *-hi*

The intermediate past conjunct suffix *-hi* encodes that an event took place between yesterday (minimum) and one week (maximum) from the time of speech or some reference time. In (5.52), the primary function of the intermediate past is exemplified. In the following, the speaker tells us about his pet armadillo, which escaped from the speaker’s hut.

- (5.52) **hákiikípoh saahì tóhì kohsoa**  
 há - kiikí = poh saa - hì tóh - hì koh - soa  
 1SPOS - *armadillo* = TOPIC *two* - CL:time *three* - CL:time *day* - PL

<b>hakó</b>	<b>tataákai</b>	<b>xíxíhi</b>	
hakó	tataákai	xíxí	- hi
ago	do.suddenly.ITR	go.away	- INT.PAST

**kohápahikoa**

kohápa	- hi	= kóa
leave	- INT.PAST	= DECL

*‘As for my (pet) armadillo, two or three days ago, it suddenly disappeared (lit. went away and left)’*

In narratives set in the intermediate past, *-hi* exhibits discourse perseverance, if and only if the narrated events fall into the scope of the marker, i.e. occur between yesterday and one week prior to the speech act. This can be seen in the examples (5.53) and (5.54), which are a continuation of the narrative introduced in (5.52).

(5.53)	<b>kisaháxìhahóo</b>	<b>tàah</b>
	kì - sahá - xì - ha - hóo	tàah
	3SPOS - fall - out.of - NMZ - LOC	1S:A

**ákiihikóahikí**

ákiih	- hi	= kóa	= hikí
see	- INT.PAST	= DECL	= NOCT

*‘(And) at night, when it (the armadillo) had already left (lit. fallen out), I didn’t see (it anymore).’*

- (5.54) **xóíi kipá sóh t`hokó**  
 xóíi kipá sóh t`hokó  
 FRUST:ITR *woman's.name* *with* 1 + 3:S

**hóxóatihikóahó****tapíh**

hó - xóati - hi = kóa == ó tapí - h

ANTIP - *search* - INT.PAST = DECL == SEQ *man's.name* - ERG

**oháhiáhkóa****tohípisáahió**

ohá - hi - áh = kóa tohípi - sáahi == ó

*run* - INT.PAST - CAUS:ITR = DECL *willingness* - PRIV == SEQ

**híó káhxìhikóakah**

híó káhxì - hi = kóa = kah

*but*.DS *catch* - INT.PAST = DECL = PUNCT

*'I went in vain to search (it) with Kipá and Tapí let (it) escape but I caught it'*

The intermediate past may also be employed in a relative temporal sense, i.e. when used in a framing narrative. This most often appears in speech reports, whether it be direct or indirect. An example for the relative usage of the intermediate past can be found in (5.55). In this case, the framing narrative is set in the remote past, while the event that is described in the narrative occurs a few days prior; this means, that even though in absolute terms, the event occurs several years ago, it is still marked by the intermediate past.

- (5.55) **áahàòkóá**                      **kóó sóso tàìho**  
 áa -hàò                      =kóá    kóó   sóso   tàìho  
 say - REM.PAST =DECL    C    then   here
- hahápia**                                      **sòihikóasah**  
 ha- hápi                                      -a    sòì   -hi                      =kóá    ==sah  
 ANTIP - *be.accustomed* -NMZ    want -INT.PAST =DECL ==INFER
- ‘A long time ago they said that apparently (they) wanted to live (with us)  
 here (a couple of days ago)’

### 5.1.4.3 Distant Past -*tóhi*

The distant past *-tóhi* marks events that took place from last week up to years prior to the speech time. Contrary to the first set of past tense markers, i.e. the recent and intermediate past, the distant past (and additionally the remote past as well) cannot be used in a relative sense. An example concerning the primary usage of the distant past marker can be found in (5.56).

- (5.56) **ahítáh**                                      **kìtati**                                      **aháa**  
 ahítáh                                              kì -    tati                                      aháa  
 woman's.name:ERG                              3SPOS -    child                                      REP
- ópoáhtóhikóá**  
 ópoáh    -tóhi                                      =kóá  
 give.birth -DIST.PAST =DECL

‘Ahíta gave birth to her child, it is said’



used as a relative tense. The primary usage of the remote past marker is showcased in (5.59).

(5.59)	<b>kìákiihahóo</b>		<b>kó</b>		<b>sóasihò</b>	
	kì - ákiih	- a	- hóo	kó	sóasih	- ò
	3SPOS - see	- NMZ	- LOC	3SM:S	spirit	- CL:anim.sg
	<b>kìotihàòkóa</b>			<b>ò</b>	<b>hìhkòoh</b>	<b>hoa</b>
	kìoti	- hàò	= kóa	ò	hìhkòoh	hoa
	<i>transform</i>	- REM.PAST	= DECL	<i>and</i>	<i>spouse.DAT</i>	3SF
	<b>íhaíhàòkóa</b>					
	íhaí	- hàò	= kóa			
	<i>talk.to</i>	- REM.PAST	= DECL			

*‘When (the sloth god) saw this, he transformed into a spirit and talked to the wife’*

As with the other past tenses, discourse perseverance can be observed as long as the described events fit into the label of mythological narratives, historical happenings and tales. With (5.60) and (5.61) being the continuation of (5.59), it can be seen that the marker *-hàò* appears continuously.

(5.60)	<b>haí</b>	<b>kó</b>	<b>paixà</b>	<b>hóhaó</b>		<b>kìsapíha</b>
	haí	kó	paixà	hóh	- aó	kì - sapí - ha
	<i>then</i>	3SM:A	<i>dirt</i>	<i>penis</i>	- BELOW	3SPOS - put - NMZ

**apákahàòkóa**

apáka -hàò = kóa

*propose* - REM.PAST = DECL

*'Then he (the sloth god) proposed (to her) to put dirt into (her husband's) penis'*

(5.61) **hoa hih sóóhai**

hoa hih sóóha -i

3SF:A *there:NVIS do.like.this* - ITR**hasapíhàòkóakohtóih**

ha - sapíí -hàò = kóa = kohtóih

ANTIP - *put* - REM.PAST = DECL = CRAST

*'The next night, she put (the dirt) there like this'*

**5.1.5 Person agreement**

In the following section I will present the verbal person agreement in the Hapi verb complex. Table 5.4 presents an overview of the verbal agreement system. With the nominal case marking being ergative-absolutive, the pronoun system being split, the nominative-accusative personal agreement only adds to the complexity of Hapi's morphosyntactic alignment.

Non-Past		Past		
	Non-Interrogative	Interrogative	Non-Interrogative	Interrogative
1	-h	-∅	-∅	-a
2/3	-a	-ah	-∅	-a

Table 5.4: Personal Agreement on Verbs

There are two general sets for verbal person markers, the non-past and past groups. While the non-past markers are used in present and future tenses, the past markers are used with the past tenses. Both of these groups are subdivided into non-interrogative and interrogative paradigms, the former of which being used in the declarative and imperative modes; as can be inferred from the table above, the second and third person markers are merged. Similarly, in the non-interrogative and past interrogative paradigms, all markers exhibit syncretism. Examples (5.62) - (5.64) provide minimal examples for the non-interrogative paradigms.<sup>6</sup>

(5.62) **tà àihkóahóh**

tà ài -h =kóa =óh

1s:S do -1 =DECL =DIUR

*'During the day, I weave (lit. do)'*

(5.63) **tà àihakóahóh**

pói ài -a =kóa =óh

1s:S do -1 =DECL =DIUR

*'During the day, you weave (lit. do)'*

<sup>6</sup>I have excluded the plural pronouns in all of these examples for the sake of simplicity.



(5.64) **tà/pói/kó/hoa àixíkáahóh**

tà/pói/kó/hoa ài - xí - Ø = kóa = óh

1S/2S/3SM/3SF:S do - REC.PAST - 1/2/3 = DECL = DIUR

*'During the day, I/you/(s)he were/was weaving (lit. doing)'*

Examples (5.65) - (5.67) provide similar examples for the interrogative paradigms.

(5.65) **páhiháaka tà àikóa**

páhi == áaka tà ài - Ø = kóa

*what* == MIR 1S:S do - 1 = DECL

*'Of all things, what am I doing?'*

(5.66) **páhiáaka há pói àihahkóa**

páhi == áaka há pói ài - ah = kóa

*what* == MIR EGOPH 2S:S do - 2/3 = DECL

*'Of all things, what are you doing?'*

(5.67) **páhiáaka (há) tà/pói/kó/hoa**

páhi == áaka (há) tà/pói/kó/hoa

*what* == MIR (EGOPH) 1S/2S/3SM/3SF:S

**àixíahkóa**

ài - xí - ah = kóa

do - REC.PAST - 1/2/3 = DECL

*'Of all things, what was/were I/you/(s)he doing?'*

### 5.1.6 Future tense

In the following section I will consider the role of the future tense within the verb stratum. The future marker *-o* encodes that an event will take place in the future, which either refers to events that take place immediately after the speech act or events that take place at some unknown time in the future. This primary usage of the future marker is exemplified in (5.68).

- (5.68) **sóíha kaai àhipa páhisòì**  
 sóíha kaai ài = ipa páhi - sòì  
*dream foul do = S/A > S(PE) what - Q*
- íhahihokóa póxihoo**  
 í- h- ahih - h - o = kóa póxihoo  
 INTRG - ANTIP - *think.about* - 1 - FUT = DECL 2
- sóóhai sóíhi ípítóhikóa**  
 sóóha -i sóí -i í- pí -tóhi =kóa  
*do.like.this - ITR dream - DEP INTRG- NEG - DIST.PAST = DECL*
- ‘After dreaming of this bad thing, what will I think? Haven’t you ever dreamt like this?’*

It may also be used in a relative sense, encoding events that took place in the future from a past tense reference time. This usage is depicted in (5.69).

- (5.69) **páhpi pàh xòih tópoií óatóhikóa**  
 páhpi pàh xòih tópoi =í óa -tóhi =kóa  
*bread* CL:flat *brother* *chew* =S/A>S(SE) *think* -DIST.PAST =DECL

**‘sóasihá kíkípaáho**  
 sóasih =á kíkí~kípaá -h -o  
*spirit* =VOC R:kill -1 -FUT

**akípaáhokóa’ ko**  
 a- kíkípaá -h -o =kóa ko  
 RECIP- *kill* -1 -FUT =DECL QUOT

*‘While chewing on my brother’s flatbread, he thought: “Oh spirits, I will avenge (those who have fallen)!”’*

The future tense also appears in the apodosis part of certain conditional sentences, namely those in which a realizable condition is expressed. An example for this usage of the future tense marker is shown in 5.70.

- (5.70) **páótaíta xah ákiihkóa xahataxa**  
 páó == taíta xah ákiih -h =kóa xah == ataxa  
 2S:A == COND 3P:O *see* -2/3 =DECL 3P:O == CNTRF

**kòxihokóa**  
 kòxí -h -o =kóa  
*shoot* -1 -FUT =DECL

*‘If you see them, I will shoot them’*

## 5.2 Verb phrase structure

In the following section I will consider the structure of the verb phrase. I will begin by showcasing the roles of second-position clitics in the sections 5.2.1. Subsequently, I will schematize the function of particles in section 5.2.2. At last, I will give a brief overview over adverbs and their syntactic role within the verb phrase complex.

### 5.2.1 Second-position clitics

Second-position clitics are used to encode further verbal grammatical categories which are not marked on the verb stem directly. As their name suggests, they attach to the first element of the clause; an example for this behaviour can be seen in (5.71).

- (5.71) **tàahopíáki**      **pàah** **póhi**    **táahi**      **kaihaokóa**  
 tàahopí == áki    pàah    póhi    tááh -i    kaihao = kóa  
 1 + 2:A == PERM    water    sacred    drink -DEP    NEG    = DECL  
 ‘We weren’t allowed to drink the holy water’

### 5.2.2 Particles

### 5.2.3 Adverbs

**5.2.3.1 Lexical Adverbs**

**5.2.3.2 Verbal Adverbs**

**5.3 Conclusions**