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Some Notes on the Anywa Language

HIEDA Osamu

1. Introduction

The Anywa language is spoken in western Ethiopia along the Baro, Alwaro, and Gilo Rivers, and in south-eastern Sudan along the Akobo and Pibor Rivers. The number of speakers was estimated at about 10,000 in Sudan and about 35,000 in Ethiopia (Tucker, 1981). Other sources reported the number to be 13,208 in Sudan (Thelwall, 1978), and the approximate number to be 56,000 in Ethiopia (Bender, 1976). The speakers call themselves /anywae/ (pl.) {/anywa/ (sg.)}, and are called Bar by the Nuer and the Dinka people in Sudan, and Yambo by the Amhara and the Oromo people in Ethiopia.

The Anywa language is one of the Northern Lwo languages, which belong to the Western Nilotic languages within the Nilotic languages in the Nilo-Saharan phylum. And another language very closely related to the Anywa is spoken at the Lafon Hill and in the Opari district in Sudan, by small groups numbering about 20,000 and about 6,000 respectively, who call themselves Pari, and are called Lokoro or Lipol by neighbouring people. The Anywa and Pari languages are understandable to each other, moreover they are so closely related to each other that they are regarded as variants of one language.

The Anywa language has four main dialectal variants; Adongo, Ciro, Lul, and Openo (Lusted, 1976).

This grammatical note is based on the data which were collected between January and March, and between May and December in 1993 mainly by interviewing two informants, who were born in the Obodi village and the Akobo village along the Akobo river in Sudan *1*). When they endured the tedious linguistic work with me, they were staying at refugee camps near Nairobi, Kenya.

2. Short phonological notes

The Anywa language has twenty consonantal phonemes, and ten vocalic phonemes which consist of five [-ATR(advanced tongue root)] vowels and the five [+ATR] counterparts.

2.1. Consonants

Plosive	voiceless	p	t̪	t	c	k	ɣ
	volced	b	d̪	d	ɟ	g	

Nasal	m	n̪	n	ɲ	ŋ
Lateral			l		
Trill			r		
Semi-vowel	w			y	

For convenience's sake the dental plosives and the dental nasal are typewritten as th, dh, and nh respectively. The palatal and velar nasals are typewritten as ny and N respectively. A glottal plosive is typewritten as H.

The phonological status of the glottal plosive is not clear.

The voiced plosives do not occur in word-final position, but are replaced by their voiceless counterparts.

The phonological distinction between a weak and a strong consonants is observed, e.g. /lep[+ATR] dhiaN/ 'a tongue of cattle' vs. /lepp[-ATR] dhiaN/ 'tongues of cattle'. A strong consonant is written here as CC.

2.2. Vowels

i	u	I	U
e	o	E	O
	a		A
[+ATR]		[-ATR]	

The distinction of [±ATR] is written in parenthesis after each form, when it is necessary.

The phonological distinction between a short and a long vowels is observed, e.g. /cam-[+ATR]/ 'to eat' vs. /caam-[+ATR]/ 'to feed'. A long vowel is written here as VV.

The Anywa vowels show vowel harmony, which has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

2.3. Tone

There are two tonemes in the Anywa language. The function of the tone has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

3. Pronoun

3.1. Personal pronoun

There are two types of pronouns; independent or free-standing, and dependent or affixed pronouns.

The Anywa language has seven personal pronouns, including an inclusive first person plural and an exclusive first person plural. The following table

shows the Anywa independent personal pronouns.

	Singular	Plural	
1st	aani [-ATR]	ooni [-ATR]	(inclusive)
		waani [-ATR]	(exclusive)
2nd	iini [+ATR]	uuni [+ATR]	
3rd	eni [-ATR]	geni [-ATR]	

The first person plural inclusive pronoun is used, when a speaker mentions himself and a hearer or hearers as 'us'. The fierst person plural exclusive pronoun is used, when the speaker mentions himself and other persons than the hearer as 'us'.

The first persons are marked by /a/, and the second persons are marked by /i/ in the singular and /u/ in the plural. The third persons are marked by /e/ including the element /g/ in the plural. These patterns of personal pronouns are typical of the Western Nilotic.

The grammatical gender is not distinguished in the Anywa language. These independent personal pronouns are used for subject, object, and after prepositions or accompanying suffixes.

aani a-mer [-ATR] ki Nyigilo
I I-like Nyigilo
'I like Nyigilo.'

Nyigilo pota aani
Nyigilo beat I
'Nyigilo beats me.'

Nyigilo mer [-ATR] ki aani
Nyigilo like me
'Nyigilo likes me.'

aani a-put [+ATR] Nyigil-e
I I-beaten Nyigilo-by
'I am beaten by Nyigilo.'

The next table shows the dependent personal pronouns.

		-thedo [-ATR]	ki riNo	'to cook meat'
sg.	1st	a-thedo [-ATR]	ki riNo	
	2nd	i-thedo [+ATR]	ki riNo	
	3rd	e-thedo [-ATR]	ki riNo	
pl.	1st	o-thedo [-ATR]	ki riNo	(inclusive)
	1st	wa-thedo [-ATR]	ki riNo	(exclusive)
	2nd	u-thedo [+ATR]	ki riNo	
	3rd	ge-thedo [-ATR]	ki riNo	

3. 2. Possessive pronoun

There are two types of personal possessive pronouns; independent or free-standing, and dependent or suffixed. The following table shows the independent personal possessive pronouns which follow a singular noun and a plural noun.

		Singular noun		Plural noun	
sg.	1st	mara [-ATR]		moa [-ATR]	
	2nd	mari [+ATR]		moi [+ATR]	
	3rd	mare [-ATR]		moe [-ATR]	
pl.	1st	maro [-ATR]	(inclusive)	moo [-ATR]	(inclusive)
	1st	marwa [-ATR]	(exclusive)	mowwa [-ATR]	(exclusive)
	2nd	maru [+ATR]		moo [+ATR]	
	3rd	marge [-ATR]		moge [-ATR]	

otto [+ATR]	mara	udi [-ATR]	moa
hut sg.	my	huts pl.	my
'my hut'		'my huts'	

The dependent personal possessive pronouns are affixed to a construct form of noun. The following table shows the dependent personal possessive pronouns which are affixed to a singular and a plural construct forms of a noun.

		Singular		Plural	
sg.	1st	od-a [+ATR]		utt-a [-ATR]	
	2nd	od-i [+ATR]		utt-i [+ATR]	
	3rd	od-e [+ATR]		utt-e [-ATR]	
pl.	1st	ud-o [+ATR]	(inclusive)	utt-o [-ATR]	(inclusive)
	1st	ud-wa [+ATR]	(exclusive)	utt-wa [-ATR]	(exclusive)
	2nd	ud-u [+ATR]		utt-u [+ATR]	
	3rd	ud-ge [+ATR]		utt-ge [-ATR]	

The independent personal possessive pronouns can be used not only as a modifier, but also as a noun.

man a mara [-ATR]
this is mine
'this is mine.'

The independent personal possessive pronouns are used for the alienable possession, and the dependent personal possessive pronouns are used for the inalienable possession. For example, wic [+ATR] mara 'my head' means the head of something like cattle which is possessed by the speaker. But wiyya [+ATR] 'my head' means the head of the speaker himself.

3. 3. Demonstrative

The Anywa language has two types of demonstratives; independent or free-standing, and dependent or suffixed. Moreover there are three sets of the demonstratives. The difference among the three sets seems to lie in the relative distance to the denoted referent from the speaker and the hearer. The following table shows three sets of the independent demonstratives.

	'this'	'that (far from the speaker, near to the hearer)'	'that (far from the both)'
Singular	man [+ATR]	mano [+ATR]	manece [+ATR]
Plural	moi [-ATR]	muo [+ATR]	moice [-ATR]

The dependent demonstratives are suffixed to the construct form of a noun. The following table shows three sets of the dependent demonstratives.

'this'	'that (far from the speaker, near to the hearer)'	'that (far from the both)'
-i [+ATR]	-o [-ATR]	-ece [-ATR]
od-i [+ATR]	od-o [+ATR]	od-ece [+ATR]
'this hut'	'that hut'	'that hut'
utt-i [+ATR]	utt-o [-ATR]	utt-ece [-ATR]
'these huts'	'those huts'	'those huts'

The independent demonstratives can be used not only as a modifier, but

also as a noun.

man [+ATR] a oda
this is my hut
'this is my hut.'

4. Noun

Nouns have singular and plural forms, and singular construct and plural construct forms.

4. 1. Number

Plural forms are formed in various ways, of which the most common are listed here.

(a) Changes of a final consonant: voiceless plosives change to the voiced counterparts.

p	th	t	c	k
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
b	dh	d	y (←j)	g

sg.	lep [+ATR]	Neth [+ATR]	bat [-ATR]	otuc [+ATR]	dhok [-ATR]
pl.	leebi [-ATR]	Nedhi [-ATR]	baadi [+ATR]	otuyi [+ATR]	dhogi [+ATR]
	'tongue'	'neck'	'arm'	'Adam's apple'	'mouth'

Voiceless plosives do not always change to the voiced counterparts. They sometimes remain unchanged.

sg.	jip [+ATR]	gobaththo [+ATR]	dweta [+ATR]	dimulicu [+ATR]
pl.	jipi [+ATR]	gobaththe [+ATR]	dwete [-ATR]	dimulice [+ATR]
	'tail'	'vessel'	'salt'	'blanket'

sg.	paaki [-ATR]	
pl.	paake [+ATR]	
	'comb'	

(b) Changes of a final consonant: voiced plosives change to voiceless counterparts.

b	dh	d	y (←j)	g
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
p	th	t	c	g (irregular)

sg.	reebi [-ATR]	uodho [-ATR]	cadi [-ATR]	poo [-ATR]	jago [-ATR]
pl.	reepe [+ATR]	uoth [+ATR]	cate [+ATR]	poc [+ATR]	jage [-ATR]
	'lid'	'hip'	'footsteps'	'scar'	'pimple'

The velar voiced plosive /g/ does not change to the voiceless counterpart.

Voiced plosives do not always change to the voiceless counterparts, but they sometimes remain unchanged.

sg.	kuba [-ATR]	okodho [+ATR]	luedo [+ATR]	awayyo [+ATR]
pl.	kube [+ATR]	okodhi [+ATR]	luedi [+ATR]	awayye [+ATR]
	'pillow'	'hedgehog'	'finger'	'loin'

(c) Change of a final vowel: all vocalic phonemes change to /i/ or /e/.

sg.	ajana [+ATR]	abicole [+ATR]	willi [+ATR]	nyallo [+ATR]
pl.	ajane [-ATR]	abicoli [+ATR]	wille [-ATR]	nyalli [-ATR]
	'jaundice'	'a kind of beads'	'bottle'	'python'

sg.	ujulu [-ATR]
pl.	ujuli [+ATR]
	'a kind of fish'

(d) Deletion of a final vowel in plural: only /a/, /o/, and /u/ in singular forms are deleted in plural forms.

sg.	atwoda [+ATR]	lwaro [+ATR]	Nuru [-ATR]
pl.	atwot [-ATR]	lwar [+ATR]	Nur [+ATR]
	'wound'	'white hair'	'gadfly'

(e) Addition of a final vowel in plural: only /i/ or /e/ is added in plural forms.

sg.	Neth [+ATR]	kwot [-ATR]
pl.	Nedhi [-ATR]	kwode [+ATR]
	'brain'	'leather mat'

(f) Change of length of an internal vowel, or gemination of a final consonant: short vowels are lengthened in plural forms, and on the other hand long vowels are shortened in plural forms. Simple consonants are sometimes geminated in plural forms.

sg.	bat [-ATR]	atiith [-ATR]	Ham [-ATR]
pl.	baadi [+ATR]	atidhi [+ATR]	Hammi [+ATR]
	'arm'	'corn'	'thigh'

There might be a complementary relationship between an internal long vowel and a geminated consonant. For example, /leebi [-ATR]/ 'tongues' has a free varient form /leppi [-ATR]/ 'tongues'.

(g) Change of an internal vowel: a cluster of a semi-vowel and a vowel is simplified into a simple vowel, or vowels change their quality in plural forms.

sg.	gwiny [-ATR]	kworo [-ATR]	otto [+ATR]	taN [-ATR]
pl.	gunynyi [+ATR]	koyi [+ATR]	udi [-ATR]	teNi [+ATR]
	'anus'	'cheetah'	'hut'	'hartebeeste'

(h) Suppletive: plural forms are constructed by a stem different from their singular forms.

sg.	dhano [+ATR]	dhago [+ATR]	pac [+ATR]
pl.	jei [-ATR]	man [-ATR]	mieri [-ATR]
	'person'	'woman'	'homestead'

4. 2. Construct form

A construct from is used when a dependent personal possessive pronoun or a dependent demonstrative is suffixed to it. And also the construct form is used for a possessed noun followed by possessor in a genitive construction.

otto [+ATR] 'hut, sg.'

oda [+ATR]
'my hut'

odi [+ATR]
'this hut'

ot Nyigilo
hut const. Nyigilo
'Nyigilo's hut'

A singular and a plural form of a noun have each construct form. The construct form is made by changing the final consonant of the noun. Nouns can be classified into two classes according to the pattern of a stem-final consonant in the singular construct form. The nouns in class 1 have a geminated nasal consonant at stem-final position in the singular construct form*2)*. The nouns in class 2 have basically a voiced consonant at stem-final position in the singular construct form. Plural construct forms have usually a geminated voiceless consonant or a geminated /y/ at stem-final position. The following table shows the pattern of the final consonant in the singular, the plural, the singular construct, and the plural construct forms. When the construct forms are followed by a possessor noun in a genitive construction, voiced plosives are devoiced at word-final position in the construct forms. The devoicing phenomena are written in parenthesis.

	sg.	pl.	sg. const.	pl. const.
	CVC	CVC	CVC (C)	CVCC
Class 1	b/w/pp	p/b	mm	pp
Class 2	p	b/p/pp	b (p/_#)	pp
Class 1	dh	th/thth/dh	nhnh	thth
Class 2	th	dh/th	dh (th/_#)	thth
Class 1	d/t	t/d/nn	nn	tt
Class 2	t/d	d/t	d (t/_#)/t	tt
Class 1	y/yy/ø	c/y/ny/nyny	nyny	yy (cc/_#) (y←j)
Class 2	c/ø	y/dh/ø	y (y/_#)/ø	yy (cc/_#)/thth (y←j) *3)*
Class 1	g/k/y	g/k/ø	NN	g (k/_#) (irregular)
Class 2	k	g/ø	ø	g (k/_#) (irregular)
Class 1	r	r	nyny	yy (cc/_#)
Class 2	r/ø	r/dh/th/y	r/yy (cc/_#)	yy (cc/_#)/thth/tt/r
Class 1	l	l/th/t	ll	thth/tt
Class 2	l	l/t	r	tt
Class 1	m	m	mm	mm/pp
Class 1	nh	nh	nhnh	nhnh/thth

Class 1	n	n	nn	tt
Class 1	ny	ny	nyny	yy (cc/_#)
Class 2	ny	ny/y	yy	nyny
Class 1	N	N	NN	N (k/_#)

The following list shows the standard examples of the singular, the plural, the singular construct, and the plural construct forms. The construct forms cited in the list are suffixed by the dependent first person singular possessive pronoun.

Class 1

	sg.	pl.	sg. const. (my)	pl. const. (my)	
/b/	reebi [-ATR]	reepe [+ATR]	remma [-ATR]	reepa [+ATR]	'lid'
/dh/	uodho [-ATR]	uoth [+ATR]	uonhnha [-ATR]	uoththa [+ATR]	'hip'
/d/	cadi [-ATR]	cate [+ATR]	canna [-ATR]	catta [+ATR]	'footsteps'
/j/	uweyo [+ATR]	uwiny [+ATR]	uwenynya [+ATR]	uweyya [+ATR]	'heart'
/g/	cugo [+ATR]	cuge [+ATR]	cuNNa [+ATR]	cuga [+ATR]	'beam'
/r/	laro [+ATR]	laar [-ATR]	lenynya [+ATR]	layya [-ATR]	'vein'
/l/	cul [+ATR]	culli [-ATR]	cura [+ATR]	cutta [-ATR]	'penis'
/m/	nyim [+ATR]	nyimmi [-ATR]	nyimma [+ATR]	nyimma [-ATR]	'face'
/nh/	thunho [-ATR]	thunh [-ATR]	thunhnha [-ATR]	thuththa [-ATR]	'breast'
/n/	lwonno [+ATR]	lwonni [+ATR]	lwonna [+ATR]	lwotta [+ATR]	'canine'
/ny/	nyuonyo [-ATR]	nyuonye [+ATR]	nyuonynya [-ATR]	nyuoyya [+ATR]	'ringworm'
/N/	roNo [-ATR]	roNe [+ATR]	roNNa [-ATR]	roNa [+ATR]	'kidney'

Class 2

	sg.	pl.	sg. const. (my)	pl. const. (my)	
/p/	lep [+ATR]	lebi [-ATR]	leba [+ATR]	leppa [-ATR]	'tongue'
/th/	muth [-ATR]	mudhe [+ATR]	mudha [-ATR]	muththa [+ATR]	'razor'
/t/	bat [-ATR]	badi [+ATR]	bada [-ATR]	baata [+ATR]	'arm'
/c/	jac [+ATR]	jayi [-ATR]	jaa [+ATR]	jeyya [-ATR]	'shoulder'
/k/	dhok [-ATR]	dhogi [+ATR]	dhaa [-ATR]	dhoga [+ATR]	'mouth'
/r/	mur [+ATR]	muyyi [+ATR]	mura [+ATR]	muyya [+ATR]	'vulva'
/l/	tielo [+ATR]	tiel [+ATR]	tiera [+ATR]	tietta [+ATR]	'leg'
/ny/	cwinyi [-ATR]	cwinynyi [+ATR]	cwiya [-ATR]	cwinynya [+ATR]	'liver'

The leftmost variants in the above table of the pattern of the stem-final

consonants are the most common ones among the variants in each column. The above table indicates that the construct forms are quite regular and that they have few variant, but that the singular and the plural forms have a lot of variants. The regularity of the construct forms gives us a key to reconsideration of the plural formation in 4.1.

The nouns which have a geminated nasal consonant at stem-final position in the singular construction form end with a voiced, a nasal, or a liquid consonant in the singular stem. On the other hand the nouns which have a voiced consonant at stem-final position in the singular construct form end with a voiceless, or a liquid consonant in the singular stem. The former nouns are called Class 1 noun, and the latter nouns are called Class 2 noun.

Some nouns which end with /r/ in the singular stem have a geminated nasal /nyny/ at stem-final position in the singular construct form. The other nouns which end with /r/ in the singular stem have /r/ or /yy/ at stem-final position in the singular construct form. The former nouns are those of Class 1. And /r/ in the nouns of Class 1 makes a natural class with voiced consonants. The latter nouns are those of Class 2. And /r/ in the nouns of Class 2 makes another natural class with voiceless consonants.

Some nouns which end with /l/ in the singular stem have a geminated lateral /ll/ at stem-final position in the singular construct form. The other nouns which end with /l/ have /r/ at stem-final position in the singular construct form. The former nouns belong to Class 1. And /l/ in the nouns of Class 1 makes a natural class with voiced consonants. The latter nouns belong to Class 2. And /l/ in the nouns of Class 2 makes another natural class with voiceless consonants.

The nouns of Class 1 have basically a voiced or a nasal consonant, or the voiced /r/ or the voiced /l/ at stem-final position in the singular. The nouns of Class 2 have basically a voiceless consonant, or the voiceless /r/ or the voiceless /l/. However various sounds appear instead of these consonants especially in the singular and the plural forms in the former table. These sounds result from diachronical and synchronical changes. For example /both[-ATR]/ 'unmarried person, sg.' ends originally in a voiced /dh/, and /dh/ is devoiced because voiced consonants are always devoiced at word-final position in the Anywa language. Since the singular construct form of /both[-ATR]/ is /bonhnha[-ATR]/, this noun is obviously a noun of Class 1, which ends with a voiced consonant at stem-final position in the singular. Although most of diachronical and synchronical changes have not yet been investigated, a nominal morphology of the proto-Anywa language can be reconstructed. The plural, singular construct, and plural construct forms were originally made from singular stem by changing stem-final consonant. Stem-final

voiced consonants are devoiced in the plural. Stem-final voiced consonants are changed to a geminated nasal consonant in the singular construct form. Stem-final voiced consonants are changed to a geminated voiceless consonant in the plural construct form. Stem-final nasal consonants are geminated in the construct forms, and turn to a geminated nasal or a geminated voiceless consonant. Stem-final voiceless consonants turn to a voiced counterpart in the plural and in the singular construct form. Stem-final voiceless consonants are geminated in the plural construct form. The following table shows the original nominal morphology.

	sg.	pl.	sg. const.	pl. const.
	CVC	CVC	CVC(C)	CVCC
Class 1	voiced	voiceless	nasal·nasal	voiceless·voiceless
Class 1	nasal	nasal	nasal·nasal	nasal·nasal /voiceless·voiceless
Class 2	voiceless	voiced	voiced	voiceless·voiceless

Moreover the proto-Anywa had two trill consonants, that is, a voiced and a voiceless trill, and two lateral consonants, that is, a voiced and a voiceless lateral.

The semi-vowel /y/ originating from the palatal voiced /j/ and the velar voiced /g/ appear at stem-final position in the plural construct form, where a geminated voiceless consonant should normally come out. There might be two groups of consonants. One group consists of the consonants articulated at the articulatory position before the palatal, and the other consists of the consonants articulated at the articulatory position after the palatal.

When nouns end with a vowel in the singular stem, their construct forms are made by adding the suffix; -n for the singular construct and -g for the plural construct. In the following list construct forms are suffixed by the dependent first person possessive pronoun.

sg.	pl.	sg. const. (my)	pl. const. (my)	
abii [-ATR]	abie [+ATR]	abiina [-ATR]	abiiga [+ATR]	'cloth'
lelmo [+ATR]	lelmoi-ATR]	lelmona [+ATR]	lelmoga [-ATR]	'needle'

We can summarize the formation of construct forms as follows. The singular and plural construct forms are made by adding the suffix -n and -g to a stem respectively. A voiced or a nasal consonant and the singular construct suffix -n turn to a geminated nasal consonant. A voiceless consonant and the singular construct suffix -n turn to a voiced consonant. A consonant which is

articulated before the palatal position, and the plural construct suffix -g turn to a geminated voiceless consonant or a geminated nasal consonant. A consonant which is articulated after the palatel position, and the plural construct suffix -g turn to a voiced or a nasal consonant. The following table shows the formation of construct forms.

sg. CVC-n

voiced C-n	→	nasal·nasal
nasal C-n	→	nasal·nasal
voiceless C-n	→	voiced C

pl. CVC-g

C before palatal-g	→	voiceless·voiceless/nasal·nasal
C after palatal-g	→	voiced·voiced/voiced

The proto-Anywa has a voiced and voiceless liquid consonats, as discussed before. Only the nouns which end with a palatal nasal /ny/ in their stem can be divided into two groups, Class 1 and Class 2. The nouns in Class 1 have a geminated palatal nasal /nyny/ at stem-final position in the singular construct form, and the nouns in Class 2 have a geminated semi-vowel /yy/ at stem-final position in the singular construct form. It might be possible to classify nasal consonants into two natural classes.

When construct forms end in a voiced consonant, the voiced consonant is devoiced at word-final position. But a voiced consonant is not devoiced when a noun beginning with a vowel follows the construct form in genitive construction. Nasal consonants except for a simple velar nasal /N/ remain unchanged at word-final position of construct form in genitive construction. A simple velar nasal /N/ is changed to a voiceless velar /k/ at word-final position of plural construct form in genitive construction.

sg. const. (my)	pl. const. (my)	
leba [+ATR]	leppa [-ATR]	
sg. const. in gen.	pl. const. in gen.	
lep [+ATR] dhiaN	lepp [-ATR] dhiaN	'tongue of cattle'

sg. const. (my)	pl. const. (my)	
akanynya [+ATR]	akayya [+ATR]	
sg. const. in gen.	pl. const. in gen.	
akanyny [+ATR] Nyigilo	akacc [+ATR] Nyigilo	'beads of Nyigilo'

sg. const. in gen.	pl. const. in gen.	
akanyny [+ATR] Olami	akayy [+ATR] Olami	'beads of Olami'

sg. const. (my)	pl. const. (my)	
roNNa [-ATR]	roNa [+ATR]	
sg. const. in gen.	pl. const. in gen.	
roNN [-ATR] Nyigilo	rok [+ATR] Nyigilo	'kidney of Nyigilo'

4. 3. Noun and its modifiers

Nominal modifiers are preceded by a noun which they modify.

4. 3. 1. Adjective

Adjectives are preceded by a noun which they modify. Although the noun modified by an adjective does not undergo any morphological change, a relator lies between a noun and an adjective.

welo [-ATR]	mo [+ATR]	ber [+ATR]	weli [+ATR]	mo [+ATR]	beyyo [+ATR]
book sg.	rel.	good sg.	books pl.	rel	good pl.
'a good book'			'good books'		

welo [-ATR]	mana [+ATR]	ber [+ATR]	weli [+ATR]	moa [+ATR]	beyyo [+ATR]
book sg.	rel.	good sg.	books pl.	rel.	good pl.
'the good book'			'the good books'		

The relator /mo/ can be used for an indefinite singular and plural nouns, and the relator /mana/ is used for a definite singular noun, and moreover the relator /moa/ is used for a definite plural noun.

Adjectives have singular and plural forms, and agree with their nouns in number. Plural forms are formed in various ways, of which the most common are listed here.

(a) Change of a final consonant: voiceless plosives change to the voiced counterparts.

sg.	pl.		
cyek [+ATR]	cyego [+ATR]	'short'	
rac [+ATR]	reyyo [+ATR]	'bad'	(y←j)
ber [+ATR]	beyyo [+ATR]	'good'	(y←j)

Voiceless plosives do not always change to the voiced counterparts.

sg.	pl.	
pek [+ATR]	peek [+ATR]	

(b) Addition of a final vowel: /o/ and rarely /i/ are added in plural forms.

sg.	pl.	
tin [+ATR]	tero [+ATR]	'small'
with [+ATR]	wetho [+ATR]	'thin'

(c) Change of an internal vowel: a cluster of a semi-vowel and a vowel is simplified into a simple vowel, or vowels change their quality in plural forms.

sg.	pl.	
dwoN [+ATR]	doNgo [+ATR]	'big'
rac [+ATR]	reyyo [+ATR]	'bad'

(d) No change: a few adjectives do not change their forms in the plural.

sg.	pl.	
tek [+ATR]	tek [+ATR]	'strong'
beth [+ATR]	beth [+ATR]	

Verbs can be derived from adjectives by changing their final consonant to a geminated nasal consonant. The vowels turn to [-ATR] vowels in the derived verbs.

adj.	verb	
ber [+ATR]	benynyo [-ATR]	'to become good'
cyek [+ATR]	cyeNNo [-ATR]	'to become short'

4. 3. 2. Genitive construction

A possessive noun is followed by a possessor like the other modifiers. Although a relator does not intervene between a possessive and a possessor noun, a construct form must be used for a possessed noun. The formation of construct forms was discussed in 4. 2.

lep [+ATR]	dhiaN	lepp [-ATR]	dhiaN
tongue sg. const.	cattle	tongues pl. const.	cattle
'tongue of cattle'		'tongues of cattle'	

4. 3. 3. Relative clause

A relative clause follows an antecedent which is modified by it. A relator intervenes between an antecedent and a relative clause. The relators are mo [+ATR], mana [+ATR], na [+ATR], and na [+ATR] nak [-ATR].

dhano mana put [-ATR] Olami aware ajoda
man who hit Olami yesterday saw-I
'I saw the man who hit Olami yesterday.'

5. Verb

5. 1. Applicative and qualitative

There are two basic forms, an applicative and a qualitative, in the Anywa verbal morphology. The applicative form focuses the attention on the object of the action which the verb denotes. The qualitative form forcuses the attention on the action itself which the verb denotes. A verb of the applicative form takes an object, but a verb of the qualitaitve form cannot take an object. Some verbs have both the applicative and the qualitative forms. Others have only the qualitative form. The verbs having only the qualitative form lie outside the sphere of the intransitive verbs in English. The verbs having only the qualitative form include the so-called stative verbs, which are not allowed to make a progressive expression in English. The verbs having both of the applicative and the qualitative forms are always dynamic.

Ap. athala [+ATR] riNo
I-cook meat
Qu. athedo [-ATR] ki riNo
I-cook meat
'I am cooking meat.'

Qu. amero [-ATR] ki Nyigilo
I-like Nyigilo
'I like Nyigilo.'

The verb /mero [-ATR]/ does not have an applicative form. The applicative form /thala [+ATR]/ can be followed directly by an object, but the qualitative form /thedo [-ATR]/ cannot be followed directly by an object. In the sentence consisting of a qualitative form an object must be preceded by the preposition /ki/.

Qualitative forms are made by changing a stem-final consonant and an

internal vowel. In qualitative forms an internal vowel is always one of [-ATR], and applicative forms have always a [+ATR] internal vowel. In qualitative forms stem-final consonants are basically voiced, and applicative forms have a voiceless consonant at stem-final position. But the consonants which are articulated after the palatal position are always voiced in the qualitative and the applicative forms. The following table shows the relationship of stem-final consonants between the applicative and the qualitative forms.

Ap	p	th	t	r	l	y(←j)	g	m	(nh)	n	y(←ny) 4)	N
Qu.	b	dh	d	d	d	ø	ø	m		n	y	N

Ap.	-rapa [+ATR]	-totha [+ATR]		-pata [+ATR]
Qu.	-rabo [-ATR]	-todho [-ATR]		-pado [-ATR]
	'to button up'	'to brush one's teeth'		'to undo (hair)'

Ap.	-liera [+ATR]	-Nola [+ATR]	-koya [+ATR]	-Naga [+ATR]
Qu.	-liedo [-ATR]	-Nodo [-ATR]	-kwoo [-ATR]	-Naa [-ATR]
	'to hung'	'to cut'	'to pierce'	'to injure'

Ap.	-kema [+ATR]	-thaana [+ATR]
Qu.	-kemo [-ATR]	-thaano [-ATR]
	'to stretch oneself to see'	'to put (a pot) on fire'

Ap.	-koya [+ATR]	-paNa [+ATR]
Qu.	-koyo [-ATR]	-paNo [-ATR]
	'to pour out'	'to fill'

There are a few verbs which do not act according to the pattern of the stem-fianal consonants listed above.

Ap.	p	th	t	(l)	r	yy(←j)	g	mm	nhnh	nn	nyny	NN
Qu.	p	th	t		r	yy	g	mm	nhnh	nn	nyny	NN

Ap.	-lapa [+ATR]	-ketha [+ATR]	-weta [+ATR]
Qu.	-lapo [-ATR]	-ketha [-ATR]	-wito [-ATR]
	'to track'	'to put sth. into'	'to throw away'

Ap.	-kwora [+ATR]	-ciega [+ATR]	-kiwwa [+ATR]	-ryamma [+ATR]
Qu.	-kworo [-ATR]	-ciego [-ATR]	-kiyyo [-ATR]	-ryemmo [-ATR]
	'to watch over'	'to seal'	'to steer'	'to dismiss'

Ap.	-konynya [+ATR]	-teNNa [+ATR]
Qu.	-konynyo [-ATR]	-teNNo [-ATR]
	'to empty'	'to take off'

The nouns listed above might have a strong or a geminated consonant at stem-final position. The geminated /nyny/ does not necessarily turn to /y/, though a simple /ny/ turns to /y/ in the applicative and the qualitative forms. These two patterns of stem-final consonants in the applicative and the qualitative forms might be a key to reconsider the consonants system in the Anywa language.

5. 2. Tense

The Anywa tense system can be divided into two main tenses; a marked tense and an unmarked tense, by the verbal morphology. An unmarked tense verbal complex has no tense marker, and a marked tense verbal complex has a tense marker like a past and a future tense marker.

Present Qualitative			Present Applicative		
sg. 1st	a-pudo [-ATR]	ki Nyigilo	a-puta [+ATR]	Nyigilo	
2nd	i-pudo [+ATR]		i-puta [+ATR]		
3rd	e-pudo [-ATR]		e-puta [+ATR]		
pl. 1st	o-pudo [-ATR]	(inclusive)	o-puta [+ATR]	(inclusive)	
1st	wa-pudo [-ATR]	(exclusive)	wa-puta [+ATR]	(exclusive)	
2nd	u-pudo [+ATR]		u-puta [+ATR]		
3rd	ge-pudo [-ATR]		ge-puta [+ATR]		
	'I hit Nyigilo, etc.'		'I hit Nyigilo, etc.'		

Past Qualitative			Past Applicative		
sg. 1st	an-a-pudo [-ATR]	ki Nyigilo	Nyigilo	a-pud-a [-ATR]	
2nd	in-a-pudo [+ATR]			a-put-i [+ATR]	
3rd	en-a-pudo [-ATR]			a-pud-e [-ATR]	
pl. 1st	on-a-pudo [-ATR]	(inclusive)		a-pud-o [-ATR]	(inclusive)
1st	wan-a-pudo [-ATR]	(exclusive)		a-put-wa [-ATR]	(exclusive)
2nd	un-a-pudo [+ATR]			a-put-u [+ATR]	
3rd	gen-a-pudo [-ATR]			a-putge [-ATR]	
	'I hit Nyigilo, etc.'			'I hit Nyigilo, etc.'	

Future Qualitative			Future Applicative		
sg. 1st	an-o-pudo [-ATR] ki Nyigilo		Nyigilo o-pud-a [-ATR]		
2nd	in-o-pudo [+ATR]		o-put-i [+ATR]		
3rd	en-o-pudo [-ATR]		o-pud-e [-ATR]		
pl. 1st	on-o-pudo [-ATR]	(inclusive)	o-pud-o [-ATR]	(inclusive)	
1st	wan-o-pudo [-ATR]	(exclusive)	o-put-wa [-ATR]	(exclusive)	
2nd	un-o-pudo [+ATR]		o-put-u [+ATR]		
3rd	gen-o-pudo [-ATR]		o-put-ge [-ATR]		
	'I will hit Nyigilo, etc.'		'I will hit Nyigilo, etc.'		

In unmarked tense dependent personal prefixes are attached to verb stems of the qualitative and the applicative. In qualitative marked tense dependent personal prefixes are placed in front of tense markers. And dependent personal suffixes are added to verb stems in the applicative marked tense. Moreover in the applicative marked tense sentence a patient noun is normally put before the verbal complex, though the word order is quitely flexible in the Anywa language. The applicative marked tense sentence is very similar to a passive sentence. Far from that, it is certain that the applicative marked tense sentence is a passive sentence.

a-puta Nyigile
I-beaten Nyigilo-by
'I was beaten by Nyigilo.'

Nyigilo puta an-i
Nyigilo beaten I-by
'Nyigilo was beaten by me.'

Nyigilo, an-a-pude
Nyigilo I-past-beaten-by him
'Nyigilo, I was beaten by him.'

In the last passive sentence the agent is topicalized and moved to the front of the verbal complex, and the pronominal element is attached to the verb instead of the agent. The patient has not necessarily to be attached to the verb like in the middle passive sentence. The applicative marked tense sentence is identical to the passive sentence in which the agent pronominal element is attached to the verb.

5. 3. Infinitive, verbal noun, gerund

There are two forms, a qualitative and an applicative, for an infinitive or a verbal noun. The preposition /ki/ has to be placed in front of an object in the qualitative infinitive.

Ap. (man) cip [+ATR] riNo ber
that to give meat good

Qu. (man) cipo [-ATR] ki riNo ber
that to give meat good
'To give meat is good.'

5. 4. Verbal extension

Derived verbs are made in various ways.

A causative verb is made by lengthening an internal vowel.

Causative caam- 'to feed, cause to eat' ← cam- 'to eat'

A benefactive or dative verb is made by changing a stem-final consonant. The stem-final consonant is nasalized and geminated. The preposition /ki/ is not obligatory to be put in front of the object in the sentence consisting of the derived verb.

a-thala [+ATR] riNo ji Nyigilo
I-cook meat for Nyigilo

Nyigilo athenna [-ATR] (ki) riNo
Nyigilo I-cook meat
'I cook meat for Nyigilo.'

This derived verb is used for the motion toward verb.

kura atora [+ATR] baN wada
ball I-throw to my child

wada athonna [-ATR] kura
my child I-throw ball
'I throw a ball to my child.'

NOTES

1. The field research was supported by the fund of the Ministry of Education, Japan, and the fund of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.
2. When nouns end with /r/ at stem-final position in the singular, their singular construct forms have a geminated nasal /ny/ at stem-final position in class 1, and a trill /r/ or a geminated /y/ in class 2. When nouns end with /l/ at stem-final position in the singular, their singular construct forms have a geminated /l/ at stem-final position in class 1, and a trill /r/ at stem-final position in class 2.
3. A palatal voiced /j/ is pronounced as a semi-vowel /y/ at intervocalic position.
4. The verbs which end in /ny/ at stem-final position have a semi-vowel /y/ at stem-final position in the applicative and the qualitative forms. This /ny/ can be attested by the infinitive or gerund forms of the verbs.

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