

TUYUCA DATA SET

Compiled from published sources by

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Abbreviations

1 first person	INTS intensifier/intensive
2 second person	LOC locative
3 third person	M masculine
ADV adverbializer	NCL noun classifier
AN animate	NEG negative
APR apparent evidential	NR nominalizer
ASP aspect	NSPEC nonspecific
ASMD assumed evidential	NVIS nonvisual evidential
AUX auxiliary	PCLF possessive classifier
BEN benefactive	PRF perfective
CLF classifier	PL plural
CMPL completive	POSS possessive
DEF definite	PRES present
DES desiderative	PST past
DISC discourse marker	QUANT quantity
DS different subject	QUOT quotative
DUB dubitative	REC.PST recent past
EMPH emphatic	RES resultative
EVD evidential	SCD secondhand
EVD.APR apparent evidential	SG singular
EVD.ASM assumed evidential	SPEC specific
EVD.NVIS nonvisual evidential	TOP topic
EVD.SCD secondhand evidential	VIS visual
EVD.VIS visual evidential	
EX exclusive	
F feminine	
FOC focus	
FUT future	
IMPF imperfect(ive)	
INAN inanimate	
INCL inclusive	
INDF indefinite	
INF infinitive	
INFR inferential evidential	
INT interrogative	

Introduction and Guide to Organization

The data set here was compiled by me during work for my MA thesis at the University of Utah. It is taken from selected publications detailing Tuyuca data and the analysis I give is based on data found in all the published sources that I could get together (see References). The goal of this data set is to provide a conservative (re)analysis and interlinear glossing of data found in selected publications that either contain data that are missing an interlinear gloss or contain glosses that need to be updated or reanalyzed. Much of the work done for compiling the data set consisted of typing the Tuyuca sentences from the original sources into a digital format. However, given the poor state of explicit morpheme-by-morpheme glosses in published sources, a very good portion of the work relied on my own morphemic analysis; especially with Karn (1976) and Barnes (1984). The basis for my own morphemic analysis, given that I have not done field work on Tuyuca, comes from cross-comparison within Barnes' own work and comparative analysis with other Eastern Tukanoan data; especially Stenzel (2004) and Cook and Gralow (2001); as well as other published grammars and my own limited field work with the Eastern Tukanoan languages Desano and Cubeo. Given the wide range of data, glosses, and analyses available to me I can only hope that my glossing of the deficient Tuyuca data is representative of the facts.

For a more radical and theoretical analysis of some of the data see Bowles (2008a, 2008b) in which I lay the groundwork for reassessment of some of the morphological paradigms in Tuyuca and Eastern Tukanoan languages in general (for example, the paradigms for progressive and perfect aspect, gerunds, nominalizations, and evidentials). Some of the more

conventional results of Bowles (2008b) have found their way into this work, but by and large I have tried to stick to what Barnes and others have to say about Tukanoan morphosyntax.

In a couple of cases an example will have two numbers. In these cases the first number refers to the numeration of this data set, the second to the numeration in the original.

Figure 1 Example of double numbering method

85. (1) diiga ape-wi
soccer play PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'He played soccer' (I saw him)

On a last note, all the English translations of Tuyuca data are partly based on Barnes' or Karn's and partly on my own judgment of the morphemic glosses. I have tried to stick to the original translations as much as possible, deviating when only necessary and making only minor changes (for example, I place in parentheses all non-overt pronouns). Also, translations from Spanish are mine unless otherwise noted.

Section One Barnes 1994

The data here is slightly modified from Barnes (1994). The interlinear glosses I give conform to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (LGR, Croft 2003) and I have added more explicit information in the evidential glosses. For example, Barnes glosses evidentials as *EV*, while I gloss them according to the common conventions of LGR, *EVD*. I also specify the subtype of evidential (i.e. Visual, Non-Visual, etc.) and make explicit the tense specification (Past, Present, Future) and the agreement features coded in the final vowel. Additionally, I parenthesize a *pro*-dropped subject and also place in parentheses direct objects and indirect objects that are not specified overtly. Also, Tuyuca, as with most Tukanoan languages, has a very pervasive nasal harmony. Where one sees the tilde start, which signifies nasality, one can usually assume that the nasality continues throughout morpheme (see, for example, Walker 2000, 2003 for detailed analysis of Tuyuca). The numbering of examples here is consistent with the numbering in the original.

1. Nêé-bia-to-hã-yigĩ.
grab-close-trap-EMPH-PST.EVD.SCD.3MSG
'(He) grabbed and trapped (it).'
2. Sãi-bosá-diga-ri-wi.
buy-BEN-DES-NEG-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(He) did not want to buy (it) (for another).'
3. Díayi-a-ye-mãkẽ-rẽ.
dog-PL.AN-POSS.PL-things-SPEC
'The dogs' things.'

¹ The benefactive applicative implies that an extra argument must be in the syntax, i.e., the indirect object. For this reason I put *for another* in parentheses. Also, the verb *buy* necessitates a direct object argument—it fulfills this role just as in (1).

4. Pakí yái sã-yíǵí.
father jaguar kill-PST.EVD.SCD.3MSG
'Father killed a jaguar.'
5. Pakí yái-re sã-yíǵí.
father jaguar-SPEC kill-PST.EVID.SCD.3MSG
'Father killed the jaguar.'
6. Nõã-re ññã-rĩ mǵ?
who-SPEC see-INT.PST.EVD.VIS 2SG
'Whom did you see?'
7. Nõõ-pĩ wáa-hõã-rĩ pakí?
where=LOC go-CMPL-INT.PST.EVD.VIS father
'Where did (your)² father go?'
8. Wese-pĩ heá-ri?
field-LOC arrive-INT.PST.EVD.VIS
'Did (you) go to the field?'
9. Mǵ pakí wĩmǵñĩ nĩ-ñĩ³ wíí sóe-yiri?
2SG father child-M be-CC.MSG house burn-INT.PST.EVD
'When your father was a child, did he burn down the house?'
10. Sã-rí-dĩka ññã-rí-dĩka
illuminate-NR.INAN.SG-CLF.stick be.bad-NR.INAN.SG-CLF.stick

bĩkĩ-dĩka.
old.object-CLF.stick
'A terrible, old flashlight.'
11. Wekĩ-ya-bu kitá-bu bĩkĩ-bu.
tapir-POSS.SG-CLF.heap excrement-CLF.heap old.object-CLF.heap
'An old pile of (tapir) excrement.'
12. Ti-bú kitá-bu õmẽ busé-ri-bu.
that-CLF.heap excrement-CLF.heap steam rise-NR.INAN.SG-CLF.heap

² Barnes includes the second person reference in her English translation. The morphology clearly does not provide the source for this reference as an agreement marker, nor is there an overt pronoun. She may have had extra-linguistic factors in mind when translating; e.g., her examples are from a contextualized conversation in which the addressee was already understood by all speech participants. Something along the lines of (i) below, where one person turns to another and says

(i) Hungry? (= Are you hungry?)

³ CC is glossed by Barnes as condition=consequence. I am not sure how to gloss it according to the LGR.

‘That heap of fresh excrement.’

13. Koó-ya-gi díyi yí-re tutí-wi.
3FSG-POSS.SG-NR.MSG dog 1SG-SPEC scold-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
‘Her dog barked at me.’
14. ĩmĩ-ǎ pia-rǎ heá-wa.
man-PL.AN two-PL.AN.CLF arrive-PST.EVD.VIS.3PL
‘Two men arrived.’
15. Día-wesa.
river=beside
‘beside the river.’
16. Wese-pí.
field=LOC
‘to/at the field.’
17. Kǎ-ya-wi yukusóro mǎmǎ-wi-pi
3MSG-POSS.SG-CLF.hollow canoe new.object-CLF.hollow-LOC

hoó-re sǎǎ-nǎ.
bananas-SPEC put.in-IMP
‘Put the bananas in his new canoe.’
18. Kǎ-ya-gi mǎ-yá-gi nēmō-rō pai-gí.
3MSG-POSS.SG-NR.MSG 2SG-POSS.SG-NR.MSG more-ADVR be.big-NR.MSG

nǐ-ĩ.
be-PRES.EVD.VIS.3MSG
‘His animal is bigger than your animal.’
19. Koó-ya-gi kǎ-ya-gi-kōrō nǐ-ĩ.
3FSG-POSS.SG-NR.MSG 3MSG-POSS.SG-NR.MSG-alike be-PRES.EVD.VIS.3MSG
‘Her animal is the same as his animal.’
20. Kǎ-mēnǎ yaá-ri-wo.
3PL-ACCOMPANIMENT eat-NEG-PST.EVD.VIS.3FSG
‘(She) did not eat with them.’
21. Āñũ-rō basá-ri-ya.
good-ADV sing-NEG-PRES.EVD.VIS.3PL
‘(They) do not sing well.’
22. Díayi yí-re baka-rí-ti.
dog 1SG-SPEC bite-NEG-PST.EVD.NVIS.3MSG

'The dog did not bite me.'

23. Nãã-ŋí nĩ-ri-hĩĩ kãmẽ-rí-a-yi.
be.bad-NR.MSG be-NEG-PRES.APR.3MSG reciprocate-NEG-REC-PST.EVD.APR.3MSG
'(He) is not bad, (he) did not reciprocate.'⁴
24. Kĩã-rẽ ãã-diga-ri-yigo.
3PL-SPEC see-DES-NEG-PST.EVD.SCD.3FSG
'(She) did not want to see them.'
25. Yaa-ré kũũ-bosa-ri-a-hĩya.
eat-NR.INAN place-BEN-NEG-REC-PST.EVD.APR.3PL
'(They) didn't put out food (for anyone).'
26. Bué-ruku-ri-wi.
study-HAB-NEG-PST.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(I) did not study constantly.'
27. Bué-ri-ruku-wi.
study-NEG-HAB-PST.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(I) constantly did not study.'
28. Sĩĩ-digá-ri-ri?
drink-DES-NEG-INT.PST.EVD.VIS
'Didn't (whoever) want to drink?'
29. Wáa-ri-hã-ñã!
go-NEG-EMPH-IMP
'Don't go!'
30. Kĩã-rẽ yaa-ré eka-rí, kĩa-rẽ tĩa-ri,
3PL-SPEC eat-NR.INAN give.food-NEG 3PL-SPEC serve.drink-NEG

tĩi-hã-yira.
do-EMPH-PST.SCD.3PL
'(They) did not give them food or serve them drink.'
31. Yaa-ri-paki kãĩ-hốã-wi.
eat-NEG-CONC.MSG sleep-CMPL-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'Although (he) did not eat, (he) fell asleep.'
32. Atí-ri-hĩĩ mũmĩ ñěě-ri-yigi.
come-NEG-since.MSG sweet receive-NEG-PST.EVD.SCD.3MSG
'Since (he) did not come, (he) did not receive any candy.'

⁴ Barnes also notes in the English gloss "Said after viewing the wounds and evidence of a fight and seeing that the subject apparently did not fight back" (pg 331).

33. Padé-ri-a-rigo yĩ mākō nĩ-yo.
work-NEG-REC.PST-NR.PST.FSG 1SG daughter be-PST.EVD.APR.3FSG
'(She who) did not work is my daughter.'
34. Ānó heá-ri-rigĩ Bogotá-pĩ wáa-hōā-yigĩ.
here arrive-NEG-NR.PST.MSG Bogotá-LOC go-CMPL- PST.EVD.SCD.3MSG
'(He who) did not arrive here went to Bogotá.'
35. Dokapúara-ye bué-ri-odo ñāmínā heá-odako.
Dokapúara-CLF.language study-NEG-NR.FUT.SG tomorrow arrive-FUT.INDF.3FSG
'(She who) will not be studying the Tuyuca language will arrive tomorrow.'
36. Yaa-ri-a-ri-gĩ nĩ-ā-wĩ.
eat-NEG-REC.PST-RSLT-NR.PST.MSG be-REC.PST-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(He) did not eat/(He) was a non-eating one.'
37. Waí yaá-e-gĩ nāi-rō diá-ki.
fish eat-NEG-NR.MSG be.frequent-ADV be.sick-PRES.EVD.ASM.3MSG
'(He) who is not eating fish is frequently sick.'
38. Wati-é-ri-wi-re néē-wa-ya.
break-NEG-NR.INAN.MSG-CLF.hallow-SPEC take-go-IMP
'Take the canoe which is not broken.'
39. Kĩ sīnĩ-ŋĩ kúa-hōā-wi; sīnĩ-é-ŋĩ ānú
3MSG drink-CC.MSG be.angry-COMPL-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG drink-NEG-CC.MSG be.good
nĩ-wi.
be-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'When he drank, (he) became angry; when (he) did not drink, (he) was good.'
40. Mĩ boo-rí, wáa-oda; mĩ boo-é-ri, ānó pítia-oda.
2SG want-DS go-FUT.DEF.1/2FSG 2SG want-NEG-DS here remain-FUT.DEF.1/2SG
'If you want, (I) will go; if you do not, (I) will stay.'
41. Ānú-ē-rō wedé-hā-wi.
be.good-NEG-ADV explain-EMPH-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(He) explained (it) in a bad (i.e., not-good) way.'
42. Yoá-e-ri nĩ wáa-hōā-wi.
be.long-NEG-ADV.TEMP be go-CMPL-PST.EVD.VIS.1/2
'Being (there) shortly (i.e., a little while), I left.'
43. Wekĩ mēē⁵ nĩ-ĩ.

⁵ The equal sign '=' in the interlinear gloss signals the clitic status of the negator *mēē*.

- tapir =NEG be-PRES.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(He) is not a tapir.'
44. Wekí-a mēé-rě ñhá-wi.
tapir-PL.AN =NEG-SPEC see-PST.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(I) saw no tapirs/non-tapirs.'
45. Wáa-gi tíi-a hǐí-ŋǐ mēē wáa-hōǎ-wi.
go-CC.MSG do-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2 say-CC.MSG =NEG go-CMPL- PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'Without saying "I'm going," he left.'
46. Kǐ basí yaá-adara mēē tii-yíra
3.PL_i self_i eat-NR.FUT.PL =NEG do-PST.EVD.SCD.3PL
'(They) did (it) so (they) will not eat by themselves.'⁶
47. Tii-bú kíta-bu òmé busé-ri-bu mēē
that-CLF.heap excrement-CLF.heap steam rise-NR.INAN.SG-CLF.heap =NEG
nǐi-a.
be-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'That heap of excrement is not fresh.'
48. Nōkórō yoá-ri mēē néē-toa-yira.
this.much be.long-ADV.TEMP =NEG take-already-PST.EVD.SCD.3PL
'In this short (i.e., not long) time (they) had already taken (them) out.'
49. Ati-gó nǐi-ri-a-wǒ.
come-NR.FSG be-NEG-REC.PST-PST.EVD.VIS.FSG
'(She) has not come/was not a coming one.'
50. Ati-gó mēē nǐi-a-wǒ.
come-NR.FSG =NEG be-REC.PST-PST.EVD.VIS.FSG
'(She) has not come/was a not coming-one.'
51. Ati-e-go nǐi-a-wǒ.
come-NR.FSG be-REC.PST-PST.EVD.VIS.FSG
'(She) never came/is (habitually) a not coming-one.'
52. Yaa-ré mǎní-ǎ.
eat-NR.INAN not.be-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(There)⁷ is not any food.'

⁶ Nominalization is a very productive process in Tuyuca which needs much more analysis than I can provide here. Notice that a literal translation of the nominalized verb 'eat' in (46) would be similar to sentence (36); i.e., 'non-eating ones.'

⁷ The expletive status of this phonetically null element is unknown. It would seem that here "there" is an expletive, semantically empty subject position lacking case; but comparison with sentence (54) brings up issues that I cannot

53. Yaa-ré nĩ-ri-a.
eat-NR.INAN be-NEG-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(That) is not food.'
54. Mãnĩ-á-wĩ.
not.be-REC.PST-PST-EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(He) was not (there).'
55. Nĩ-ri-a-wĩ.
be-NEG-REC.PST-PST-EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(That) was not he.'
56. Nĩyéro mǒó-ã.
money not.have- PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(I) do not have any money.'
57. Nĩyéro kio-rí-a.
money have-NEG- PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(I) do not have any money.'
58. Waí kió-yo koó-ha, ǐsá-pe mǒó-ã
fish have-PRES.EVD.VIS.3FSG 3FSG-CONTR 1PL.EX-FOC not.have- PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'She has fish, but we do not.'
59. Wáa-ri-do-hã-ĩdaku.
go-NEG-ABSL-EMPH-FUT.INDF.1/2MSG
'(I) absolutely will not go.'
60. Tio-rí-do-hã-ã.
hear-NEG-ABSL-EMPH- PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(You) never listen.'
61. Bĩa-rí-do-hã-ã-tĩ.
find-NEG-ABSL-EMPH-REC.PST-PST-EVD.NVIS.1/2
'(I) absolutely did not find (it).'
62. Pée-ro.
be.small-ADV
'A few/a little.'
63. Pée-ro-ŋã.

get into here. Specifically, the argument structure of the negative existential verb *mãnĩ* which Barnes (1994: 337) glosses as 'to not be' OR '(there) to not be.' Barnes does not place 'there' in parentheses in sentence (52) but does place it in parentheses in sentence (54). I suspect that sentence (52) contains a phonetically null expletive, while (54) does not because it contains an covert subject NP *pro* in the nominative structural case position.

- be.small-ADV-DIM
'A little bit.'
64. Pée-ro-nõ-ŋã.
be.small-ADV-NSPEC-DIM
'Absolutely nothing (of specific kind).'
65. Basoká mǎnĩ-ã-wã.
people not.be.REC.PST-PST.EVD.VIS.3PL
'(There) was nobody.'
66. Āpě-rá kio-rí-kua.
other-PL.AN.QUANT have-NEG-PRES.EVD.ASMD.3PL
'Others do not have (one of these).'
67. Sīkí-no mǎnĩ-á-wĩ.
one-NSPEC not.be.REC.PST-3MSG
'(There) was not one (of that kind).'
68. Kǎ-nõ-hã kēmĩ-ñá mǎnĩ-kí.
he-NSPEC-EMPH catch.up-IMPR not.be-PRES.ASMD.3MSG
'No one can catch up with one of his kind.'
69. Sīkí-no waí yaá-ri-a-ya.
one-NSPEC fish eat-NEG-REC.PST-PST.EVD.APR.3PL
'No one ate fish.'
70. Heá-ri-a-wã.
arrive-NEG-REC.PST-PST.EVD.VIS.3PL
'(Nobody) arrived.'
71. Wáa-ri-a-wĩ.
go-NEG-REC.PST-PST.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(I) did not go.'
72. Basá-nēmõ-ri-ku.
sing-repeat-NEG-PRES.EVD.ASMD.1/2
'(I) will not sing again./(I) will never sing again.'
73. Yaá-idari? Yaá-ri-a.
eat.INT.FUT.EVD.MSG eat-NEG-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'Will (you) eat?' '(I) will not eat.'
74. Wáa-hõã-rĩ? Wáa-ri-wi.
go-COMPL-INT.PST go-NEG-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'Did (he) go?' '(He) did not go.'

75. Basá-diga-gari? Basá-diga-ri-ga.
sing-DES.INT.PRES.NVIS sing-DES-NEG-PRES.EVD.NVIS.1/2
'Do (you) want to sing?' '(I) do not want to sing.'
76. Atí-ri-gari? ɬhĩ.
come-NEG-INT.PRES.NVIS yes
'Is (he) not coming?' 'Yes (he is not coming).'
77. Tikóko-ri-hã tii-rí-hã-ñá!
send-NEG-EMPH do-NEG-EMPH-IMP
'Send (it)!'
78. Nĩyéro kio-rí-hã tii-rí-a!
money have-NEG-EMPH do-NEG-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(I) certainly do have money!'
79. Nĩyéro mōō-rí-hã tii-rí-a.
money not.have-NEG-EMPH do-NEG-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(I) certainly do have money!'
80. Mãnĩ-rí-hã tii-rí-wi.
not.be-NEG-EMPH do-NEG-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(He) really was (here)!'
81. Mǎrí mǎnĩ-rĩ mēē ati-māká witisá-rō tií-a.
1PL.IN not.be-DS NEG this-CLF.town be.overgrown-CC.INAN do- PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'This town is growing with weeds as though we were not (here).'
82. Mǎ mōō-ŋí mēē pée-ri-ga-ŋǎ
2SG not.have-CC.MSG NEG be.small-NR-INAN.SG-CLF.3dimension-DIM

wapa-tí-a-wĩ.
pay-do-REC.PST-PST.EVD.VIS.1/2
'You bought a tiny motor as though you did not have (any money).'
83. Kǎ kuí-e-gi mēē mǎá-wa-i.
3MSG fear-NEG-CC.MSG NEG go.up-go-PRES.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(He) is going up (it) as though he were not afraid.'
84. Tio-é-ra kuí-ri-wa.
hear.NEG.NR.PL fear-NEG-PST.EVD.VIS.3PL
'(Those who) did not hear (it) were not afraid.'

Section Two Barnes 1984

The numbering in this chapter continues from the previous. Following this numeration in parentheses is Barnes' original numbering—though she only provides two sets of numbered examples, both ranging from (1) to (5); the second of these sets I represent as (1') to (5'). The interlinear glosses of the following data are mine; the translations are Barnes' but I have modified them in some places—for example, placing non-overt material in parentheses. Where a lexical item is in all caps in the interlinear gloss I have not been able to confidently find the source (besides, of course, Barnes' translation). The reason I do not use many of Barnes' translations when assigning an interlinear gloss to a lexical item has to do with the productive use of classifiers. For example, the noun *diiga* means 'soccer'—and this is the way Barnes translates it. However, the final CV (-*ga*) is a noun-classifier denoting 'rounded,' leaving the nominal root *dii-* to be explained (it is probably not the same as *dii* 'blood' nor *dii* 'flesh.')

85. (1) *Dii-ga*⁸ *apé-wi*.⁹
 DII-CLF.rounded play-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
 '(He) played soccer.' (I saw him.)

86. (2) *Dii-ga* *apé-ti*.
 DII-CLF.rounded play-PST.EVD.NVIS.3MSG

⁸ The morphology for *diiga* is suggestive. Productive use of noun classification (as suffixes) coupled with the fairly new introduction of soccer, or futbol, I suspect that *diiga* is decomposable: given that one noun classifier in Tuyuca for "roundedness" is -*ga* it seems reasonable to parse *dii-ga*.

⁹ Compare the entry for Koreguaje—a closely related Tukanoan language—in Cook and Gralow (2001: 30)

apeko [ápeko] *s.an.* jugadora. *Pl:* apena. *V:* apemù.
apekù [ápekù] *s.an.* jugador. *Pl:* apena. *V:* apemù.
apemù [ápemù] *v.i.* jugar.

It should be fairly obvious that the root for "play" is *ape-* with the suffixes -*ko*, -*ku*, and -*mu* playing an inflectional role in Koreguaje. This is what my gloss of Tuyuca *apé* is based on.

‘(He) played soccer.’ (I did not see him, but, for example, heard him.)

87. (3) Dii-ga apé-yi.
 DII-CLF.rounded play-PST.EVD.APR.3MSG
 ‘(He) played soccer.’ (I saw evidence of it, for example, his footprint)
88. (4) Dii-ga apé-yigi.
 DII-CLF.rounded play-PST.EVD.SCD.3MSG
 ‘(He) played soccer.’ (Someone told me.)
89. (5) Dii-ga apé-hĩyi.
 DII-CLF.rounded play-PST.EVD.ASMD.3MSG
 ‘(He) played soccer.’ (I assume he did, since he plays every day.)
90. (1') Dii-ga apé-i.
 DII-CLF.rounded play-PRES.EVD.VIS.3MSG
 ‘(He) plays soccer.’ (I see him.)
91. (2') Dasé wedé-gi.
 DASE WEDE-PRES.EVD.NVIS.3MSG
 ‘A toucan bird is calling.’ (I cannot see him, but, for example, I can hear him.)
92. (3') Yee-go nĩ-hĩo
 YEE-FSG be-PRES.EVD.APR.3FSG
 ‘(She) is crazy.’ (I see you and have inferred it.)
93. (4') No secondhand evidential exists in present tense
94. (5') Yuku-sóro kio-ki
 tree-CLF.cylindrical.hallow have-PRES.EVD.ASMD.3MSG
 ‘(He) has a canoe.’ (I assume so because all working Tuyuca men do.)
95. atí-wi.
 come-PST.EVD.VIS.1/2
 ‘(I) came.’
96. wáa-wi.
 go-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
 ‘(He) went.’
97. bué-go tíi-a.
 study-FSG do-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
 ‘(I) am studying.’
98. dīi-ga apé-gi tíi-i.
 DII-CLF.rounded play-MSG do-PRES.EVD.VIS.3MSG

'(He) is playing soccer.'

99. wáa-ri-gi níí-wi.
go-RES-MSG be-PST.EVD.VIS.3MSG
'(He) went.' (He was here earlier and later I couldn't find him.)
100. wesé sóe-ri-gi níí-wi.
field burn-RES-MSG be-PST.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(He) burned his field.' (I saw his field and it had been burned.)
101. Ánã wãmé-kiti-yo.¹⁰
Ana name-POSS-PST.EVD.APR.3FSG
'(She) is named Ana.'
102. ɛ́sá kōnéa¹¹ hĩ́-a.
1.PL.EX woodpecker say-PRES.EVD.VIS.1/2
'(We) call them woodpeckers.'
103. yoáro susúhã-ta.
long.way SUSUHA-PST.EVD.NVIS.3PL
'(They) smelled a long way off.'
104. mṹturu bisí-ti.¹²
motor sound-
'The motor roared.'
105. kúa-ti.
be.angry-PST.EVD.NVIS.3MSG
'(He) was angry.'

¹⁰ The morph *kiti* may be a type of possessive or adjectivalizer. The only other use of it that I can find is in the example provided by Barnes and Malone (2000: 447; the following is slightly modified by me—in the interlinear gloss and with the addition of English translation):

- (i) yĩkã dii-kiti-ri-ga
pierna carne-tener-SUS-CLS.3D
leg meat-to.have-NR-CLF.rounded
'pierna carnosá'
'meaty leg'

kiti appears to adjectivize the nominal modifier 'meat' in (i), but it could also be explained as a type of possessor. In example 101, where 'name' is a nominal, it seems pretty clear that it acts as a possessor, possibly an inalienable possessor, i.e., the type of thing one cannot give away or that one can't help but possess like body parts, kinship, and names (Payne 1997: 105). For this reason I gloss it as a possessor.

¹¹ Cook and Gralow (2001: 70) gloss the Koreguaje word *kone* as "pájaro carpintero" or 'carpenter bird.'

¹² Barnes and Malone (2001: 441) gloss *bisi*—which is more than likely a verb because of the inflectional ending of the agreeing tense-evidential—as 'sonar' (to sound) and not something like 'rugir' (to roar).

106. wāká-gi tii-gí.
wake.up-MSG do-
'(He) is waking up.'
107. páaga pūnī-ga.
stomach pain-PRES.EVD.NVIS-1/2
'(My) stomach hurts.'
108. wíabe boo-gá.
cassava.bread want-PRES.EVD.NVIS-1/2
'(I) want cassava bread.'
109. tísá-ga.
like-PRES.EVD.NVIS-1/2
'(I) like (it).'
110. māsí-ri-ga.
know-NEG-PRES.EVD.NVIS-1/2
'(I) do not know.'
111. māsí-ri-ki.
know-NEG-PRES.EVD.ASMD.3MSG
'(He) does not know.'
112. pisānā mīnīmāki-re néēahā-yi.
bird-SPEC
'The cat caught and ate the bird.'
113. bóa-hōā-yu.¹³
rot-CMPL-
'(It) rotted.'
114. Kōá-hōā-yu.
throw.away-CMPL-
'(I) threw (it) away.'
115. yée-go nīi-hīo. (compare to sentence 92)

'(You) are crazy.' (Said to a woman whose behavior was odd.)
116. díayi tiiró bíro nīi-hīi.

'(He) is like a dog.'

¹³ Barnes and Malone (2001: 451) gloss *bóa* as 'podrido' rotten, which is an adjectival form of the Spanish *podrir* 'to rot.' This may be a case of non-verbal predication; see also sentence 101, which also has a nominal form that appears to be predicated without a verb.

117. kopépi yaá-hĩ.
'(He) does his eating in a hole.'
118. ãná kĩ-re baka-yígĩ.
he-SPEC
'A snake bit him.'
119. pũũyukĩ mǎnĩ-yĩro.
'There were no hammocks.'
120. weé-ri-ge boo-gá.
'(I) want some fishhooks.'
121. weé-ri-gi boo-á-yigĩ.
-REC.PST-
'(He) wanted some fishhooks.'
122. universidád-pĩ bué-hĩyo.
university=LOC study-
'(She) studied at the university.'
123. wĩmára húa-hĩya.
'The children drew those pictures.'
124. wesé tǎnára tii-kúa.
'(They) are cutting new fields.'
125. Bogotá-pĩ nĩĩ-ko.
Bogotá=LOC be-
'(She) is in Bogotá.'
126. dia-go tii-kú
'(You) are sick.'
127. María diá-hõã-rigo nĩĩ-wo.
'Maria died.'
128. María diá-hõã-wo.

‘Maria died.’

129. wáa-hõã-ya.

‘(They) went away.’

130. wáa-hõã-ti-ra.

‘(They) went away.’

131. basoká atíra tií-ya.

‘Visitors were coming.’

132. basoká atíra tiiá-yira.

‘Visitors were coming.’

133. apé-wi.

‘(He) played.’

134. apé-ri-wi.

‘(He) did not play.’

135. apé-go tií-yo.

‘(She) is playing.’

136. apé-ri-yo.

‘(She) is not playing.’

137. apé-idaki.

‘(He) will play.’

138. apé-ri-ki.

‘(He) will not play.’

Section Three Selections from Karn 1976: The story of Koamaku

The following is a selection from Gloria Jean Karn's Master's thesis. It is taken from her documentation and transcription of a Tuyuca story. The main purpose of Karn's thesis was to explain, in the tagmemic theory created by Pike, a pervasive morpheme *-ye* that occurs only at the end of the verb stem. This morpheme is a discourse tracking device and Barnes (1996: 50) glosses it as a change of focus marker; Karn glosses it as R (for reference, I believe); I gloss it as FOC for focus. One more thing to note: to be consistent with the phonemic transcription of Barnes I have changed some elements in Karn:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (i) $\text{ɯ} \rightarrow \text{i}$ | (iii) $\text{ɲ} \rightarrow \text{y}$ |
| (ii) $\text{c} \rightarrow \text{k}$ | (iv) $\text{j} \rightarrow \text{h}$ |

As in other sections, the interlinear glosses and English translations are slightly modified from the original. Karn does not break down data or glosses into morpheme-by-morpheme analysis; I do. Finally, the numbering of this section is consistent with the rest of this data set. It begins at Karn's (1); e.g., my (149) equals her (1). Space considerations dictated that I not explicitly provide Karn's numeration of examples. It should be noted, finally, that the story I have selected from has 480 lines originally; I provide only the first 51.

139. Koã-makĩ,¹⁴ Yepa Oãkĩ,¹⁵ poterimacãrã Koã-makĩ nii-ri-gĩ nii-wi-ye.
bone-son earth bone.son bone-son be-RES-MSG be-
'Koãmaku, Earth Koamaku, Indian people's Koãmaku, existed in time past.'
140. Yepa Oãkĩ, kĩ, nii-ri-gĩ nii-wi-ye.
earth bone.son 3SG be-RES-MSG be
'Earth Koamaku he was.'
141. Yepa-re, kĩ, poterimacãrã-yagĩ, kĩ Koã-makĩ, nii-ri-gĩ nii-wi-ye.
earth-SPEC 3MSG 3MSG bone-son be-RES-MSG be-
'He, the Koãmaku, belonged to the Indian people.'
142. Kĩ pecasãyagĩ biirora, kĩ paiyá yagĩ; kĩ pekasãyagĩ biiroro biitayi isãkã-re.
3MSG 3MSG 3MSG
'He was like the white people's one, the priest's one; ours was probably exactly like the white people's one.'
143. Poterimakĩ Yepa Oãkĩ nii-ri-gĩ nii-wi-ye.
earth bone.son be-RES-MSG
'Earth Koamaku was an Indian.'
144. Kĩ nii-ri-gĩ nii-wi.
3MSG be-RES-MSG be-
'He existed.'
145. Sikĩra kĩ-kã nii-ri-gĩ nii-wi.
alone 3MSG- be-RES-MSG be-
'He was also alone.'
146. Nii, kĩ-kã ati yepa-re, biota paĩkutia-ro nii-yira-ye.
being 3MSG- earth-SPEC
'There were lots of non-human beings on this earth.'
147. (Ãyá)¹⁶ paĩkutiaro nii-yira ãyá.

'There were lots of snakes.'
148. Ati yepa-re, ayaa paĩkutia-ro yáíwa, ãyá nii-yira.

¹⁴ Karn glosses *Koãmakĩ* as 'bone-one.' Breaking this down, however, one gets *koa* 'bone' and *makĩ* 'son;' I gloss it according to the individual nouns in the compound—I am fully aware that the semantics of compound proper names may not be an exact addition of the semantics of their individual elements. I will separate the compound in the first few examples but after that will treat it as proper noun.

¹⁵ This appears to be a reduced form of *Koãmakĩ*.

¹⁶ Karn transcribes 'snake' as *añaa*; I follow Barnes in transcribing *ãyá*; also remember that I naively assume nasal harmony spreads through the whole morpheme, and so, when the nasal tilde is seen at the beginning of a morph or syllable it should be simply understood as spreading through all segments. But this is clearly an oversimplification; for detailed analysis on these issues in Tuyuca see Walker (2000, 2003).

‘On this earth, there were lots of snakes and tigers.’

149. Ti yepa-re kĩ-re aya baka-yigĩ-ye kĩ-re.

‘On this earth a snake bit him.’

150. Āyá baka-yigĩ kĩ-re.
snake bite- 3MSG-SPEC
‘A snake bit him.’

151. Āyá baka-yigĩ kĩ-re Koāmakĩ-re-sa.¹⁷
snake bite- 3MSG-SPEC bone-son-SPEC-TOP
‘A snake bit him, Koamaku.’

152. Kĩ-re yaa-dara tiimĩ-yira.
eat-
‘They (snakes) were about to eat him.’

153. Yĩka kĩ bipi, kĩ-re dii ŷaa-hoā-yiro-sa.
-CMPL
‘His leg swelled and his flesh completely fell off.’

154. Yĩka dii ŷaa-hoā-yiro kĩ-re.
-CMPL
‘The flesh completely fell off his leg.’

155. “Dee tii, yĩ camemas-ríga.”

“‘I’m not able to do anything.’

156. “Yĩ dee tii-idari yĩ,” hiĩ-yigĩ kĩ Koāmakĩ yepa Oākĩ, kĩ-re.

“‘What am I going to do?’” said Koāmaku about him (the snake).’

157. Āyá paĩkutiaro nii-yira, ati yepa-re.

‘There were lots of snakes on this earth.’

158. Yĩka dii ŷaa-hoā-yigĩ ti-gĩ-gā.

¹⁷ Karn glosses this with T for theme. Barnes (1996: 50) glosses it as THEMATIC IMPORTANCE. There may be reasons for treating it as an honorific because its distribution seems consistent with honorifics in other languages that have complex systems of noun classifiers, such as Japanese or Jacaltec—i.e., (i) it is used for persons or beings that are well-respected, (ii) it is co-referential with the proper name and can be used simultaneously with its co-referent NP, (iii) it can be used as a pronominal substituting for the proper name with which it is co-referent, and (iv) it might be considered a type of noun classifier, see Aikhenvald (2000). This is speculative, and for this reason, I treat it as topic—TOP.

-CLF.straight

‘The flesh completely fell off his small leg.’

159. Përigã ÿika kîtu-yigi.

leg

‘His leg was very skinny (after the flesh fell off).’

160. Kî-sa “Yî dee tii- ídari” yî wáa-yigi.

-HON

‘ ”What will I do?” he said and went (to kill the snake).’

161. Ano, kî, wasõ-wíro, kî puna numiá-re wasõ-gî-pî mia,

kî puna numiá-re wasõ téedioko-yigi-ye.

‘Here a fox was up in a *waso* tree, dropping some fruit to his daughters.’

162. Wasõ téedioko, tee-ré, kî, Koãmaki, Yepa Koãmaki,

kî-a puna numiá-re ama-yaa-yigi-sa.

-HON

‘While he (the fox) was dropping *waso* fruit, Earth Koamaku found them and was eating them (the fruit) away from the children.’

163. Kîtiboka kî-a-re ÿee ape-gî tii-ro bii-ro ama-yaa-hã-yigi-ye kî.

‘He took the fruit away from them quickly as if he were playing.’

164. Yepa Oãkî ama-yaa-hã-yigi.

‘Earth Koamaku took and ate them.’

165. “Yî pako makî,” hiî-yigi kî-re.

son

‘ ”My mother’s son,” he (the fox) said to him (Koamaku).’

166. “Mî yîi puna yaa-ré-re yî puna numia téedioko-re, yaa-gî tii-a.”

‘ ”You are eating the food that I am dropping for my daughters.” ’

167. “Ano-pî ãyy-re nii-a.”

-CLF.INAN.generic

‘ ”Here is good stuff (fruit).” ’

168. “Mî basiro miati, yaa-gî ati-ya,” hiî-yigi kî-re.

‘ ”Come up yourself and eat,” he (fox) said to him (Koamaku).’

169. Kĩ wasõwíro nii-yigi.

‘He was a fox.’

170. Tee ... pito macã wii-pĩ mipĩ-wõ-re weemuyaco, tídi-pĩ-pĩ

siatú-yigi.

‘Over there, by the house at the mouth of the river, he (fox) had made an arc of *mipi* palm and tied that branch.’

171. “Yĩ pako makĩ, atiya, hiĩ-yigi.”

‘ ”My mother’s son, there are lots here.” ’

172. “Miĩ-kã yaa-gĩ ati-ya,” hiĩ-yigi.

‘ “You come and eat,” he (fox) said.’

173. “Téedioko-ya,” hiĩ-mi-yigi kĩ-pe-ha.

‘ “Drop some,” he (Koamaku) said.’

174. “Ãyu-ro buti-ré nii-a.”

‘ “They are really ripe.”

175. “Yaa-gĩ ati-ya ati-di-pĩ-pĩ”

‘ “Come and eat from this branch.” ‘

176. “Yepa nii-a.”

‘ “(It) is (near) the earth.” ‘

177. “Miĩ-kã mi-ati-ya.”

‘ “You come on up.” ‘

178. “Ãyu nii-ã-wĩ,” kĩ-re hiĩ-yigi.

‘ “(It) is good,” he (fox) said to him (Koamaku).’

179. “Haĩ” hiĩ, mi-a-yigi Koãmakĩ, Yepa Koãmakĩ-sa.

-HON

‘ “OK,” Koamaku said and went up, Earth Koamaku .’

180. Ti-wõ mipĩ-wõ nii-yiro.

‘That palm, the *mipi* palm was there.’

181. Tee ... díá síti-pĩ pito macã wii-pĩ tidi-pĩ-pĩ siatú-yigĩ.

‘He (fox) had previously tied the branch by the house at the by the mouth where the river ends.’

182. Kĩ mia-yigĩ-sa Yepa Koãmaki.

‘Earth Koamaku went up.’

183. Mia, “ati di-pĩ-pĩ yaa-ya,” hiĩ-yigĩ kĩ-re.

‘When earth Koamaku was going up, “Come up and eat from this branch,” he (fox) said to him.’

184. Ti-di-pĩ kĩ “yaa-ya” hiĩ-ri, kĩ sia-ri-ro-sa misĩda-mena sia-ri-ro-re hoãkoroáhã-yigĩ.

‘When he (fox) said to eat from that branch, he (fox) immediately untied the knot that was tied with *misĩ* vine.’

185. Ti-wõ-pĩ heatuaye kĩ hoã-ko-hã-yigĩ-ye-sa.

‘Holding on to that palm, he untied (it).’

186. ‘Wãpõ ...’ diamakĩ heanĩkã-yiro.

‘ ‘Booiingg...’ (it) became straight.’

187. Kĩ, Koãmaki, Yepa Koãmaki, “dee-tii” diwamasĩ-ri-yigĩ.

‘He, Koamaku, Earth Koamaku, did not know what to do and (he) could not get down.’

188. Pai-rĩ-gĩ nii-yiro ti-gĩ, ti-gĩ wasõ-gĩ-kã.

‘That tree was a big tree, that *waso* tree.’

189. Pee dikakĩtĩ-yiro.

‘It had lots of fruit.’

Section Four Suggestions for a Different Analysis

The suggestions here come from work done on my MA thesis (Bowles 2008b). They deal specifically with decomposing parts of the morphology—some of this decomposition is not new or radical and is tacitly accepted in the work of Barnes (esp. 1984) and Malone (1988). It has to do with separating the final vowels that occur on evidentials. It is widely known to Tukanoists that the final vowels in Tuyuca evidential mark agreement information such as gender, number, and person and my insistence on separating them, in one sense, is trivial. However, in another sense it is not—as not separating the final vowels from the evidentials may imply or support the notion that the evidential category can agree with the subject or that they have inherent agreement features (i.e. code for subject agreement). But I have not seen evidentials treated this way in either the literature on agreement or in the literature on evidentials (see Aikhenvald 2006, Corbett 1991, 2000, 2003, 2006, de Haan 2001, Harley and Ritter 2002, Johanson and Utas 2000, Matthewson *et al* 2006, and Speas 2004a, 2004b, 2007). In fact, what seems to be going on is that the final vowel subject agreement marker is suffixed to the end of the verb stem and can be explained by a very strict morpheme order in the verb stem that requires, at least, the verb root, the evidential (and tense which is fused to the evidential), and subject agreement markers. This order of morphemes is never altered.¹⁸ For these reasons I support an analysis that explicitly separates the agreement marker from the tense-evidential. I will not provide examples here of what this morphology looks like because visually it is trivial: simply separate the person,

¹⁸ In cases with an auxiliary plus verb root then evidential (and tense and agreement) suffix to the auxiliary and the verb root occurs with only an underspecified subject agreement marker (gender and number but not person). Full subject agreement is attached to the auxiliary stem and the order of auxiliary stem and verb stem is very stable: V-Aux.

number, gender marker from the evidential (see Bowles 2008b, especially chapter 5, for more details).

The other suggestion I have for an alternate analysis is more controversial with both Tukanoists and others. It consists of decomposing various aspect, gerund, and nominalizer morphemes into a /-g-/ morpheme and accompanying subject agreement markers (usually gender and number but sometimes person; in fact these agreement markers happen to correspond exactly with the subject agreement markers suffixed to evidentials). I have argued (see Bowles 2008b, chapter 4) that depending on the variable agreement features (whether it is only gender-number or gender-number-person) that suffix to /-g-/ as well as the variable morphosyntactic environments in /-g-/ occurs one can predict quite regularly whether or not it should be interpreted as aspectual (progressive or perfect)¹⁹, gerund, or nominalizer²⁰. I will not go into depth here but will show the environments in which I claim that /-g-/ has predictable interpretations; see Figure 2. It is these predictable and separate interpretations that motivate isolating /-g-/ from the rest of the morphology.

¹⁹ Aniko Csirmaz (personal communication) has pointed out that it may be the case that the absence of /-g-/ signals an aspect, probably progressive, and that the phonetic occurrence of /-g-/ may be doing other things, including marking the perfect. Whether this is so, what is important is to realize that by decomposing various parts of the morphology into /-g-/ and agreement markers these kinds of questions and analyses can now materialize.

²⁰ I also imply that the gerunds and nominalizers are separate by explicitly treating them as separate phenomena in Tuyuca—although there is not much evidence and more work needs to be done.

Figure 2 Predicted environments for "g" class morphemes

<i>PROGRESSIVE ASPECT:</i>	
(35)	[V _{STEM} + /-g-/ + gender/number/animate suffix] + [tii + evidential]
<i>PERFECTIVE ASPECT:</i>	
(36)	[V _{STEM} + /-g-/ + gender/number/animate suffix] + [nñ + evidential]
<i>ANIMATE POSSESSIVE CLASSIFIER:</i>	
(45)	[NP + GEN + /-g-/ + gender/number suffix]
<i>PREDICATE ADJECTIVE GERUND:</i>	
(49)	[V _{STATIVE} + /-g-/ + gender/number/animate suffix]
<i>NOMINALIZER:</i>	
(50)	[V _{ROOT} + /-g-/ + gender/number/animate suffix]

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