

**WARI'**

DAN EVERETT  
AND BARBARA KERN



DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMARS



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# Wari'

The first major study of any Chapakuran language makes an important contribution to the database of linguistic theory, and is one of the most detailed descriptions ever published of any Amazonian language. This study is especially timely as the Chapakuran languages of Western Brazil and Eastern Bolivia are endangered, and less than 2,000 known speakers of Wari' and its related dialects are left in existence.

The authors offer a unique, comprehensive grammatical description of *Wari'*, covering areas such as syntax, negation, morphology, phonology, ideophone/interjection and lexicon.

This descriptive grammar will appeal to linguistic scholars and students alike.

**Daniel L. Everett** is a specialist on a variety of Amazonian languages and is currently Professor and Chair of the Department of Linguistics, University of Pittsburgh. **Barbara Kern**, a native of California and missionary linguist belonging to New Tribes Mission, has lived among the Wari' people for nearly 34 years and speaks their language fluently.

# Descriptive Grammars

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## Editorial statement

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglocentrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), no. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Routledge), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description and field-workers with an interest in theory.

The aim of the Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available. However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

Bernard Comrie

# Wari'

The Pacaas Novos Language of Western Brazil

*Daniel L. Everett and Barbara Kern*



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# Contents

Preface	ix
Abbreviations	xi
<b>0. OVERVIEW OF 'ORO NAO' GRAMMAR</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1. SYNTAX</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>2. MORPHOLOGY</b>	<b>218</b>
<b>3. PHONOLOGY</b>	<b>384</b>
<b>4. IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS</b>	<b>416</b>
<b>5. LEXICON</b>	<b>424</b>
<b>6. TEXTS</b>	<b>452</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>504</b>

## Preface

*Wari* 'We!' (1pincl emphatic pronoun) is the autodenomination of a tribe composed of several subgroups, totalling approximately 1,800 people, who live along various tributaries of the Pacaas Novos river and other affluents of the Mamore river in Western Rondonia, Brazil, along the Bolivian border.<sup>1</sup> The people is known most simply by the name of the river, Pacaas Novos, although we shall not use that term here. The dialect described in this grammar is of the '*Oro Nao*' clan. We will use *Wari* when referring to the entire language or all the subgroups and will use '*Oro Nao*' ('ON, lit. 'the Bats') when referring to the specific dialect described in this grammar. Other subgroups of the *Wari* include '*Oro Eo*' 'the Burpers', '*Oro At*' 'the Bones' '*Oro Jowin*' 'the Jowin monkeys', '*Oro Waram*' 'the *Waram* Monkeys', '*Oro Waram Xijein*' 'the other *waram* monkeys', '*Oro Mon*' 'the Faeces', and '*Oro Cao*' *Orowaji* 'the Eaters of Green Things'. *Wari* is a member of the Chapakuran (Txapacura) family, which also includes the '*Oro Win*' (approximately forty speakers; not a dialect of *Wari*, in spite of its name), located at the headwaters of the Pacaas Novos river, and the *More*, who live in eastern Bolivia. It is not known how many *More* speakers there are. There do not appear to be any other languages of this family still living. This grammar is the first detailed analysis of any Chapakuran language.

We realize that our study is incomplete in many respects and we expect to conduct further research to be reported on in future studies. Nevertheless, our goal here is to provide a solid introduction to the major features of 'ON' grammar, pointing out where relevant points of particular typological or theoretical interest, although for the most part we have followed the series outline closely and have avoided theoretical discussions.

A word about our joint authorship is in order. We would like to emphasize that this grammar is *um trabalho de quatro mãos*, i.e. truly a jointly authored study. Our names are listed alphabetically. Each of us has spent time considering every statement and example on every page of this study. In so far as is possible, we agree on the entire content. However, if there are errors remaining, each of us blames the other for not catching them.

On the other hand, DE would like to stress the fact that this grammar was only possible due to BK's 32 years of fieldwork and data-collection (copious field notes and over 700 pages of text), as well as her fluency in the language. DE himself has only had a few days of actual informant work on the language. In this sense BK is the primary author.

We would like to thank numerous people and organizations for their help in preparing this grammar. We thank the editorial board of the Routledge Grammar Series for inviting us to contribute this study. Without that impetus, we might have given up at points due to the miles separating us. We would also like to thank the New Tribes Mission and the Summer Institute of Linguistics for logistic and financial support at various phases of this study. DE would like to thank the University of Pittsburgh's Center for Latin American Studies, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and Department of Linguistics for

their financial and moral support of his Amazonian research over the last several years (as well as the National Science Foundation for a grant to study Arawan languages, from which he borrowed a few weeks to complete this grammar before heading out to the Banawa' village). We would also like to acknowledge here the pioneering work of all the New Tribes missionaries who as a group have worked with the Wari' since the initial contact in 1957, in particular Royal Taylor, whose collaboration in the study of Wari' contributed much to the analysis of the language, and BK's husband, Manfred, without whose patience and steadfast support this work would never have become a reality. DE would like to thank also Keren Everett for her support to him during the many weeks of preparing the final version of the manuscript, when he was very poor company and interested in talking about little but Wari'. We would also like to salute the work of various *chefes de posto* of Brazil's National Indian Foundation (the FUNAI) for their dedication to the Wari' and other indigenous groups of Brazil. These people are often the unsung heroes of efforts to help the Indians.

Finally, but especially, we want to thank the Wari' themselves for their patient teaching of their language, their warm acceptance and their hospitality. It is our hope that at least part of the richness of this people's language will emerge in the following pages. We express our deepest hopes and prayers for their continued health and vitality as a people.

<sup>1</sup> This autodenomination differs interestingly from subgroup names, such as '*Oro Nao*', the name of the subgroup whose dialect we are describing here, in that it lacks the collective word '*oro*'. However, the Pacaas Novos people rejected our attempts to use the phrase '*Oro Wari*' 'all the people' as the autodenomination of the entire group, insisting that the correct term was simply '*Wari*'.

# Abbreviations

adju	adjunct
AGR	agreement
AGRP	agreement phase
coll	collective
COMP	complementizer
CP	COMP phrase
dim	diminutive
dub	dubitative
emph	emphasis
ep	emphatic pronoun
excl	exclusive
f	feminine
GB	Government and Binding Theory
hist: past	historic past
incl	inclusive
inf	infinitive
INFL	inflection
instr	instrument
IP	inflectional phrase
irr	irrealis
m	masculine
m/f	masculine or feminine
n	neuter
N	noun
neg	negative
NIC	nominal inflectional clitic
NP	noun phrase
O	object
ocon	<i>o</i> -consonant- <i>o-n</i> sequence
opt	optional
P	plural
pass	passive

poss	possessive
postvm	postverbal modifier
prep	preposition
prog	progressive
prox	proximate
recip	reciprocal
rec: past	recent past
ref	referent
refl	reflexive
rem: past	remote past
rf	realis future
rhet	rhetorical
rp/p	realis past/present
S	singular
S	subject
Sent	sentence
SFP	sentence-final particle
simp	simple verbal inflectional morpheme
SPEC	specifier
supp	supposition
T	tense
TP	tense phrase
uncert	uncertainty
V	verb
vcvm	vowel-consonant-vowel- <i>m</i> sequence
VIC	verbal inflectional clitic
VM	verbal modifier
VOS	verb-object-subject
VP	verb phrase
VSO	verb-subject-object
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

# An overview of 'Oro Nao' Grammar

## 0.0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this introduction is to highlight certain features of 'Oro Nao' grammar that we believe other linguists should find particularly interesting, just in case they are trying to decide whether or not to read this grammar. It is not meant to serve as a stand-alone introduction to Wari' or 'Oro Nao' but merely to draw attention to features of the grammar covered in detail below.

## 0.1. PHONOLOGY

### 0.1.1. Segmental inventory

'Oro Nao' ('ON) has fifteen consonant phonemes and six vowels. This is a relatively large inventory by Lowland Amazonian standards. This inventory is noteworthy for, among other things, its two front rounded vowels /Ø/ and /Y/, and its peculiar voiceless apico-dental, bilabial vibrant [ $\text{t}^{\text{p}}$ ]. This latter sound is a lexically restricted allophone of /t/ in 'ON, and is only used by speakers over 30. However, in other dialects it seems to be a phoneme, albeit restricted to only a small list of words.

### 0.1.2. Syllable structure and prosody

'ON has cv and cvc syllables, the coda position of the latter being restricted in the number of consonants which may appear in it. Only /n/ may appear in the coda of cvc in word-medial position and only four other consonants, i.e. in addition to /n/, may appear in this position word-finally. This produces  $(15 \times 6 \times 6 =)$  540 total possible syllables for all positions of the word, much greater than many Amazonian languages (e.g. Madi (Arawan) with 47–50 possible syllables across dialects and Pirahã (Mura) with 108 possible syllables).

Primary sentence stress appears on the final syllable of the verb (or penultimate syllable if the final syllable is a stress-avoiding verb). There are some interesting vowel harmony processes and stress interactions in the language but, by and large, the phonology is relatively simple formally. In spite of all our work on segmental phonological analysis, however, there are still numerous aspects that we do not yet fully understand. We as yet have no account, for example, as to why /k<sup>w</sup>/ and /h<sup>w</sup>/ cannot be followed by rounded vowels. In the light of the fact that k/h+o/u/ov sequences can sometimes be realized as k<sup>w</sup>v/h<sup>w</sup>v, we are tempted to analyse [k<sup>w</sup>] and [h<sup>w</sup>] as allophones of /k/ and /h/, respectively. Still, though, there are minimal pairs which we would then be unable to explain. Moreover, there are many cases of [k<sup>w</sup>] and [h<sup>w</sup>] which would violate

canonical syllable structures of 'ON if analysed as k/h+rounded vowel. Therefore, we have treated them here as separate consonant phonemes.

## 0.2. MORPHOLOGY

### 0.2.1. Word classes

The major word classes and the only open word classes in 'ON are Verb and Noun. Loan words, for example, must enter the language as nouns or verbs (most frequently as verbs), regardless of their word class in the source language. However, there are several minor word classes, including inflectional clitics, subdivisions of nouns and verbs, demonstrative and emphatic pronouns, and a single preposition, all of which we will briefly discuss in this overview.

### 0.2.2. Nouns

Nouns occur in argument and adjunct positions in the clause and trigger agreement on a preceding preposition or *verbal inflectional clitic* (VIC). They may also trigger agreement on a *nominal inflectional clitic* (NIC), following the possessor noun. Nouns trigger agreement for person, number and gender. Since only nouns referring to humans may trigger number agreement, number can be understood as a dependant of the feature [+human]. Genders are feminine (for human females only), masculine (for human males or certain animals, fish and bird species) and neuter (for most plants and inanimate objects). This gives us the values and groups in Table 0.1, according to the grammatical features [human] and [female]:

*Table 0.1 Grammatical feature combinations*

FEMININE	NONFEMININE
[+HUMAN, +FEMALE]	[-FEMALE]=MASCULINE
	[-HUMAN]=NEUTER

This is an interesting gender distribution, since it does not involve simple conjunctions of values for the feature pair [human] and [female]. Only human females are marked by both features, producing the first division. In the second major division, nonfemale, the features are opposed equipollently rather than privatively. Some nouns in the lexicon will be marked [+ human, + female], others [-human], and still others merely [-female].<sup>1</sup> In mixed groups, masculine gender is always overridden:

- (a) masculine+feminine=feminine
- (b) masculine+neuter=neuter

As is seen in the main body of the grammar, neuter and feminine are never mixed, nor are all three genders ever conjoined in a single NP.

Thus, Chapacuran is one of the rare language families in the Amazon which manifests grammatical gender distinctions, the other families being Arawan and Arawakan. However, *contra* Greenberg (1987), these families are not related, at least they share no obvious cognates and the presence of gender is hardly a sufficiently reliable criterion alone to posit any genetic affiliation (see Everett 1996).

Like many languages with rich agreement, in 'ON nouns usually only appear in sentences to signal particular discourse functions and in isolated sentences to avoid ambiguity. Otherwise, it is more common merely to reference participants in a predication via VICS, NICS, or the inflected preposition wherever possible.

(Nonpronominal) nouns are not themselves marked for case, number, person or gender. These features are discernible via agreement and certain verbal modificational forms. There are two broad classes of nouns, *-xi'* nouns (so-called because their citation form ends in *-xi'* 1pincl) and non-*-xi'* nouns. Kinship terms form a third (closed), minor class. Both *-xi'* nouns and kinship terms are inalienably possessed. The non-*-xi'* nouns for the most part all have *-xi'* forms as well. The non-*-xi'* forms are themselves subdivided into nonpossessable and possessable nouns. Non-*-xi'* forms which may not be possessed (although if they have a *-xi'* form they may be possessed in that form) are body parts, exclusively. Optionally possessable non-*-xi'* forms can be marked as possessed via NICS. The distinction between *-xi'* vs non-*-xi'* nouns is also important for the derivational morphology since non-*-xi'* nouns when zero-derived to form verbs usually form attributive, nonactive verbs, whereas verbs zero-derived from *-xi'* nouns are almost always active.

Although case is not overtly marked on nouns, the verbal inflectional clitic is sensitive to the semantic role that the noun phrase bears in the clause, rigidly observing the following hierarchy for object agreement (subject agreement is always obligatory, regardless of the semantic role of the subject):

- (c) **GOAL>CIRCUMSTANCE>THEME>BENEFACTIVE>COMITATIVE>  
LOCATION>TIME**

That is, if there is a GOAL in the clause, the object portion of the VIC must agree with it (if there is also a theme, it is usually expressed as the object of the preposition, much as Relational Grammar's '3→2 Advancement' would predict); if there is a circumstance (but no goal) then it will be referenced on the VIC, and so on down the hierarchy, with remaining roles usually expressed as prepositional objects.

### 0.2.3. Verbs

The class of verbs is the most productive word class in the language. Most adjectival notions, as well as traditionally verbal meanings, are expressed as verbs. The majority of loan words, regardless of the word class in the source language, enter Wari' as verbs. Verbs may be either transitive, intransitive or ambitransitive, although the last class is quite small. The last class, as one might expect, subdivides those where the intransitive subject corresponds to the transitive object from those where the transitive subject corresponds to the intransitive subject, with the verb for 'turn over' representing the first class and the verb for 'break' the second class (e.g. 'I turned over the baby' vs 'The baby turned over'; 'The man broke his arm' vs 'The man broke'). Perhaps the most remarkable



fact about verbs in 'ON is the almost complete absence of verbal inflectional processes alongside a rich set of derivational processes. Nouns, emphatic pronouns and sentences may all form verbs via zero-derivation. Any verb, whether nonderived or derived (including 'desententialized' verbs, i.e. verbs derived from sentences), may be compounded to form new verbs or to increase transitivity. Verb compounding never reduces the transitivity of the verb as a whole, which is set by the leftmost member of the compound, which we analyse as the head of the compound.

There are two minor classes of verbs which we have labelled preverbal and postverbal modifiers. These differ from main verbs in two ways, according to our analysis: (i) they may never occur in the predicate outside of a compound; and (ii) some of the preverbal modifiers may also modify nouns, in prehead position within the NP. Verbal compounds are always constructed according to the following template (superscripts indicate number of times a category can reoccur in a single sequence. No superscript means that there is no reoccurrence allowed):

(d) preverbal modifier effect<sup>2</sup> postverbal modifier<sup>2</sup> initial action/cause result

Each effect/result is produced by the action of the verb (in its compound) to its immediate left, suggesting an iconic principle of compound formation.

Verbs are uninflected by affixation, except for reduplication, which marks aspect. There are various types of reduplication processes. One interesting aspect of reduplication is that an inflectional (INFL) morpheme otherwise expected in a particular clause will sometimes not co-occur with reduplication.

Aside from compounding, zero-derivation and reduplication, verb morphology in 'ON is quite simple. Certainly it is one of the simplest morphological systems in Lowland Amazonia. Nevertheless, this simplicity is deceptive since this language provides perhaps the strongest evidence yet documented on the ability of the syntax to feed word-formation, in violation of certain theoretical proposals and frameworks, such as Lexical Phonology.

Valency-reducing morphology is represented on the VIC, with special forms for active, passive, and reflexive. But since VICS are not part of the verb word, these inflectional processes are actually independent of the verb *per se*.

#### 0.2.4. Preposition

'ON has a single preposition, obligatorily inflected for person, number and gender of its object. It is required for definite NPS not referenced on the VIC, as per the hierarchy given in (c) above, although it is optional for indefinite NPS, without regard to the semantic role of the NP, subject only to the condition that it only appear with NPS not referenced on the VIC.

#### 0.2.5. Emphatic pronouns

There are emphatic pronouns for all grammatical person, number, and gender combinations. These can only be used as zero-derived verbs, in left-dislocation position, and as arguments of the verb, in which case they must be followed immediately by an appositional noun further specifying their referent (usually a proper noun). First and

second person emphatic pronouns may only be used as replies to questions or as exclamations, in left-dislocated position, and in certain kinds of list structures. The first person plural inclusive emphatic pronoun is *wari*', the autodenomination of the people.

Interestingly, there are no simple personal pronouns in the language. Personal pronoun functions are expressed via demonstratives.

### 0.2.6. Demonstratives and personal pronouns

First and second persons can only be expressed on VICS, NICS and emphatic pronouns. There are no simple or derived pronominal forms for first or second person. Personal pronouns for third person are derived from demonstratives. The semantic categories encoded in demonstratives are proximity to speaker vs proximity to hearer vs distal, singular+gender, and plural (in which no gender is expressed), as well as a small range of temporal categories as well. These may occur as arguments in NP positions within the clause and they may be used for noncontrastive emphasis or even in apposition to emphatic pronouns.

### 0.2.7. Verbal and nominal inflectional clitics

#### 0.2.7.1. Nominal inflectional clitics (NICS)

NICS follow possessed non-*xi'* nouns to indicate person, number and (third person) gender of the possessor, and they may replace VICS in some types of nominalized clauses. We have analysed them as clitics, rather than suffixes, primarily on phonological grounds: (i) they never bear primary stress (which otherwise goes on the last syllable of the noun preceding them); and (ii) they fail to undergo vowel harmony (or trigger it) with the noun to which they attach.

#### 0.2.7.2. Verbal inflectional clitics (VICS)

VICS always express person, number and gender (for third person) of the subject and 'primary' object (according to the semantic role hierarchy in (c) above). They also express tense when the verb is clause-initial, except when tense is prohibited by a particular postverbal modifier. The VIC is a (simple) clitic. As with NICS, VICS fail to undergo vowel harmony with the word immediately preceding them, in this case the verb, and they never bear primary stress. Unlike NICS, however, they can appear alone in certain types of question responses and discourse circumstances (which certainly argues against affixal status for them). We analyse each of the two parts of the VIC (subject and object agreements) as affixes, at least prosodically:

- (e) [VIC subject agreement-object agreement]

The two parts of the VIC are stressed as a single word (stress on the last syllable) and vowel harmony may take the entire VIC in its scope, but is otherwise allowed only within words, VICS almost always form a single pause or breath group with the verb. By labelling the VIC as a simple clitic (as per Zwicky 1977; see also Everett 1996), we claim

that the VIC is in fact a grammatical word, but phonologically dependent, in this case part of the preceding pause or breath group. Although rhythmically it seems to be part of the preceding verb, intonation always falls sharply immediately before the VIC.

VICS may also manifest tense, but only when the VIC is in second position in its clause. This is a result of the fact that tense in 'ON must occur in sentence second position; see below.

### 0.3. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Typologists and theoreticians should find 'ON derivational morphology quite interesting since sentences and phrases productively serve as input to zero-derivation and compounding. These processes in fact provide interesting evidence for sentence constituent structure. Zero-derivation takes a word, phrase or clause as input and returns a single word as output, with no affixation. When the input is larger than a single grammatical word it may be distinguished from the output prosodically since the output will receive a single primary stress on its rightmost syllable. The stresses on the rightmost syllable of each individual word of the input will surface as secondary stresses in the output. Vowel harmony does not apply across words, even when they have been compounded.

There is a simple argument which shows that the output C<sup>c</sup> zero-derivation of a verb from a clause is a single word, viz., tense placement. As we remark later on in this overview and in the main body of the grammar, tense must be the second constituent in the clause when it occurs. But a tense VIC may follow an entire 'verbalized' clause, strongly supporting our analysis of these structures as single words, i.e. verbs. Another argument in favour of verbalization of entire clauses is that if they are not verbs they would be the only examples of nonCOMP or nonverb-initial clauses in the language. This result is therefore potentially significant for theories of the lexicon and its interface with the syntax, as well as general typologies of morphological systems.

Nouns can also be zero-derived from various combinations of morphemes, including verbs, INFL+verb pieces, verb+VIC, entire clauses and nominalized clauses, providing additional information on constituent structure.

Compounding is another very interesting and highly productive derivational process in 'ON. In fact, nearly all multimorphemic verbs are derived via compounding (except for zero-derived phrases), with reduplication accounting for the rest. That is, verbs are not formed by simple affixation, nor by incorporation. Nouns occur in verbs only by zero-derivation, often followed by compounding. This is interesting since regardless of the morphemic complexity of 'ON verbs, they never undergo affixation (aside from reduplication). In this sense, 'ON verbal morphology might be considered almost exclusively derivational, since reduplication itself appears largely, if not completely, derivational in its meaning, although this cannot be asserted categorically due to the fact that the output of reduplication semantically is often aspectual. On the other hand, aspectual morphology is not easily classifiable in terms of the derivational-inflectional split. If we consider it inflectional, then it is the only case of inflectional verb morphology. If we consider aspectual change derivational, then 'ON verbs have no inflectional morphology at all, except for suppletive plural/aspectual forms. The only

clear cases of inflectional morphology throughout 'ON grammar are then *-xi*' nouns, the preposition, NICS, and VICS, and possibly the emphatic pronouns (if we consider each of the different emphatic pronominal forms to be derived via suppletive inflection from a single base—a questionable tactic).

#### 0.4. COMP AND INFL

In Everett (1994), considerable space is spent railing against the notion of basic word order. We thus avoid this term here as inaccurate both in its use of 'basic', as opposed to pragmatically unmarked or syntactically underlying, and its use of 'word', as opposed to constituent. The pragmatically unmarked constituent order in 'ON is *vos*. We do not here consider underlying constituent order at all, aside from some brief and highly speculative remarks in section 2.2 in the main body of the grammar. There are two basic configurations in which *vos* can appear, however. The first configuration is what we call 'simple sentences', those in which *v* is the first constituent. These have the shape in (f) (where SFP= sentence-final particle):

(f) V VIC (NP<sub>OBJ1</sub>) (PP/NP<sub>OBJ2</sub>) (NP<sub>SUBJ</sub>) (SFP)

The VIC in this configuration is almost always tensed. If it is not tensed, then tense may appear nowhere else in the clause.

The other configuration in which *vos* appears is the COMP (=complementizer) clause, as in (g) (INFL=inflectional morpheme):

(g) COMP INFL V VIC (NP<sub>OBJ1</sub>) (PP/NP<sub>OBJ2</sub>) (NP<sub>SUBJ</sub>) (SFP)

Sentence-final particles express temporal notions and this label should thus be straightforward and uncontroversial for all readers (assuming that they do not mind the term 'particle'). COMP and INFL, on the other hand, may not be so appealing to a general readership, coming as they do from Government and Binding Theory (GB) (Chomsky 1981,1986). Moreover, INFL itself is an outdated term in GB since at least since Everett (1987), Pollock (1989), and Chomsky (1992) it has been assumed that what was considered to be INFL, the head of an inflectional phrase (IP), should be instead broken into the separate components of AGR (agreement) and T (tense). Nevertheless, we believe that these two labels are useful mnemonic devices and that they serve better than any others, barring detailed theoretical discussion, to express the function and syntax of these morphemes/nodes in 'ON grammar.

INFL expresses tense and realis/irrealis mood and agrees in gender with any material in COMP, whether overt or covert (i.e. merely understood). Thus INFL is not exclusively a tense/mood morpheme nor does it express the expected type of agreement with a major grammatical relation, since it agrees with COMP, not with subject or object. Therefore, we did not feel that it could be adequately labelled by either 'tense' or '(COMP) agreement'. We thus stick with our label INFL here. Since such a preverbal morpheme/clitic is extremely rare at best, no standard term will work as well as, certainly no better than, INFL in our opinion. Thus readers may interpret our use of these terms as

either merely a label for a specific 'ON construction or as a GB-related claim about the relationship between 'ON phrase structure to Universal Grammar (UG), as they wish.

Two kinds of information appear in COMP: words which indicate moods other than (ir)realis and question words. These thus correspond neatly to the core function predicted of COMP in GB theory, aside from the fact that only one COMP word, the 'third person singular neuter' form of the preposition, *pain*, serves exclusively to introduce subordinate clauses. (For GB-oriented readers, we analyse the COMP word as occurring in the SPEC of COMP position and INFL as, at the surface only, the head of COMP.)

When a COMP appears, INFL is obligatory and the VICS may not be marked for tense/mood. This is simply accounted for if we assume that tense/mood ((ir)realis mood) must always appear in the second position of the sentence. Agreement between INFL and COMP is also obligatory, an additional reason for INFL to immediately follow COMP in some theoretical frameworks.

The movement or appearance of subject or object in COMP occurs in left-dislocation/clefted sentences, in relative clauses and in *wh*- (or information) questions. An item may only appear in COMP if it is potentially referenceable on the VIC in the sentence in question (i.e. according to the hierarchy of semantic roles above). Thus a theme cannot be questioned, relativized, or left-dislocated if a goal NP is expressed. A location cannot be moved to COMP if a benefactive is expressed, and so on. Interestingly, however, there is an Anti-agreement Effect observed with fronted objects. The VIC may not agree with an object moved to COMP. Subjects moved to COMP, however, require agreement on the VIC, just as in the nonmoved case.

<sup>1</sup> Note that we are using these as grammatical features only. If we were using these as 'real world' semantic values, the results would come out wrong, since many nonhuman items in the real world may be masculine. The three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter, are simply our labels for these feature combinations.

# Chapter 1

## Syntax

### 1.1. GENERAL QUESTIONS

#### 1.1.1. Sentence types

A complete discussion of the three major 'ON sentence types can be found in 1.1.1.4. The three general classifications are simple, COMP and verbalized (direct speech type) sentences. A general discussion of direct and indirect speech sentence types, interrogatives and imperatives, however, follows in sections 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.2 and 1.1.1.3. In this section we distinguish sentences based on a combination of functional and formal criteria. It is not our claim that the types we identify could not be reduced (or expanded), merely that distinguishing them here gives the reader the clearest view of how different communicative functions are accomplished via different forms.

##### 1.1.1.1. Direct and indirect speech sentence types

Direct speech forms are common in 'ON narrative, although they are not always glossed as literal direct speech. See 1.1.1.4.3 for a discussion of verbalized sentences, and 1.1.1.4.3.2.1 for the description of the structure of verbalized direct speech sentences.

There is no indirect speech type in the language, though the concept can be expressed in a direct speech present or past tense construction, in which the verbal inflectional clitic of the matrix clause must be either plural realis past/present or plural passive, as in (1a) and (2a) respectively. In the case of the latter, the subject of the embedded speech is coreferential with the object of the matrix clause, and the subject of the matrix clause must be third person plural, marked only by the VIC, not by a free-form nominal. When such is not the case, the construction is considered a literal direct speech. The examples in (1b) and (2b) are only acceptable if they are interpreted as direct speech. An indirect speech interpretation would not be allowed. The embedded speech in the examples below is italicized.

- |        |   |            |           |                  |        |
|--------|---|------------|-----------|------------------|--------|
| (1) a. | <i>Mi'</i>  | <i>pin</i> | <i>na</i> | nonon<br>nana-on | Jimon. |
|        | give  | completely | 3s:rp/p   | 3p:rp/p-3sm      | m:name |
|        | 'They say (that) Jimon <i>died</i> .' (lit. '“ <i>He died</i> ”, they (say) of Jimon.') |            |           |                  |        |
| (1) b. | <i>*Mi'</i>   | <i>pin</i> | <i>na</i> | mon<br>ma-on     | Jimon? |
|        | give  | completely | 3s:rp/p   | 2s:rp/p-3sm      | m:name |

“‘He died”, you (say) of Jimon?’ (not ‘Did you say (that) Jimon died?’)

- (2) a. *Mama'* *nana* *tata.*  
 go:p 3p:rp/p pass:3p

‘It is said of them (that) *they went*.’ (lit. “‘*They went*”, it is (said) of them.’)

- (2) b. *\*Mama'* *nana* *nunuhu'.*  
*nana-hu'*  
 go:p 3p:rp/p 3p:rp/p-2p

“‘*They went*”, they (say) of you.’ (not ‘They say (that) you went’.)

This use of the direct speech sentence type to report indirect speech is not available with future tense. In the past/present direct speech type constructions illustrated in (1) and (2), the subject of the embedded speech must be coreferential with the object of an active matrix clause or the subject of a passive clause. In future tense constructions, however, the subject of the embedded speech must be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. The ungrammatical example in (3b) is wrong for two reasons: (i) as a future tense construction (see 1.1.1.4.3.2.2), the subject marked in the embedded clause should be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause (in the example, it is coreferential with the object); and (ii) as a so-called indirect speech type, the subject marked in the matrix clause should be third person (in the example, it is first person). (We gloss *carawa* as ‘animal’ throughout, because animal is more central to its meaning; but it can also mean ‘thing’.)

- (3) a. *Pa'* *ta'* *carawa* *na* *Minain.*  
 kill 1s:rf animal 3s:rp/p m:name

‘Minain will go hunting.’ (lit. “‘*I will kill* an animal”, Minain (says)’.)

- (3) b. *\*Pa'* *ta'* *carawa* *'inon* *Minain.*  
*'ina-on*  
 kill 1s:rf animal 1s:rp/p-3sm m:name

‘I said Minain will go hunting.’ (lit. “‘*I will kill* an animal”, I (say) of Minain.’)

### 1.1.1.2. Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences in 'ON belong to two separate classes: simple and COMP sentences. See 1.1.1.4.2 for a complete discussion of interrogative sentences and their relation to declarative sentences. The basic structure of simple yes-no and leading questions is described in 1.1.1.2.1–2, and the basic structure of COMP question-word questions is described in 1.1.1.4.2.

There is only one basic intonation pattern in the language: rising pitch through the verb, reaching high on the last syllable of the verb, and falling sharply on the next syllable (VIC or postverbal modifier that does not carry stress); it then holds through any optional arguments until the end of the sentence, or until a demonstrative or sentence-final particle, in which case it rises on the last syllable of the argument preceding the

demonstrative or particle and falls sharply on the demonstrative or particle (see 3.3.4). In normal speech, the succeeding high pitch is lower than the first high pitch. When there is emphasis, however, on an argument following the first high pitch, the pitch on the emphasized argument is higher than the first high pitch—see 3.3.4.1–2 and 1.11.2.1.1. Interrogative and declarative intonation patterns are basically the same, differing only in the fact that the pitches of intonation are higher in interrogatives than in declaratives.

(4) a.

Wawaran mama' na mijac?

scatter:p

go:p

3s:rp/p

pig

'Did the pigs scatter?'

(4) b.

Wawaran mama' na mijac ma'?

scatter:p

go:p

3s:rp/p

pig

that

'Did those pigs scatter?'

(4) c.

Pa' hwe hwam?

kill

2p:rp/p

fish

'Did you kill fish?'

(4) d.

Pa' hwe hwam ma' quem hwijima'?

kill

2p:rp/p

fish

that:prox:hearer

ref

children

'Did you kill fish, children?'

The sentence boundary falls between *quem* and *hwijima'*, and we consider *hwijima'* to be an appositional vocative, thus outside the scope of sentence intonation. It receives a default level intonation.

(5)

Pa' hwe hwam ma' quem hwijima'?

kill

2p:rp/p

fish

that:prox:hearer

ref

children

'Did you kill fish, children?'

(4d) and (5) differ intonationally, because in (5), it is *hwam* rather than *pa'* that is emphasized, so *hwam* gets higher intonation.

#### 1.1.1.2.1. Yes-no questions

Simple yes-no interrogative sentences are similar to simple declarative sentences (see 1.1.1.4.1.) in their basic structure: both use any of the three subtypes of Tense or reflexive verbal inflectional clitics. Interrogative intonation, however, distinguishes yes-no interrogatives from declarative sentences.



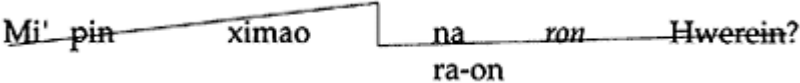
The sentence-final particle *quem* is frequently used in yes-no questions. It refers to something already mentioned or implied.

- (6) Pa' ma hwam ma' quem?  
kill 2s:rp/p fish that:prox:hearer ref  
'Did you kill fish?'


**1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral questions** Yes-no questions are understood to be neutral questions, expecting either an affirmative or negative answer, unless marked by the special 'rhetorical' uses of VICS. See next section.

**1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading questions** Yes-no questions are often expressed in the form of leading questions using *ra* '2s:rf', *ron* '2s:rf-3sm', *ram* '2s:rf-3sf', *roron* '2s:rf-3pm', *raram* '2s:rf-3pf', or *rain* '2s:rf-3n'. In addition, yes-no questions may also be expressed in the form of leading questions using *xin* (1pincl:rf-3n) in conjunction with the sentence-final particles *ne* 'rec. past' and/or *pane* 'rem:past', with either declarative or interrogative intonation. A final type of leading question uses *na' nam* '3s:rp/p 3s:rp/p-3sf' (addressing a mixed or feminine audience) and *na' non* '3s:rp/p 3s:rp/p-3sm' (addressing a masculine audience).

*Ra* (*ron* '2s:rf-3sm', *ram* '2s:rf-3sf', *roron* '2s:rf-3pm', *raram* '2s:rf-3pf', *rain* '2s:rf-3n') can be used in two different ways: (i) when used in an affirmative sentence with interrogative intonation, it demands a negative answer; when used in a negative sentence with interrogative intonation, it demands an affirmative answer; and (ii) when used with declarative intonation, it demands agreement. We have italicized the leading question particles and their glosses in the following examples.

- (7) a.   
give completely for:no:reason:s 3s:rp/p 2s:rf-3sm m:name  
'Did Hwerein die for no reason?'

- (7) b. ('Om na.)  
not:exist 3s:rp/p  
('No.')

- (8) a.   
not:exist INFL:nrp/p come 3sm 2s:rf  
'Won't he come?'

- (8) b. (Maqui' tara.)  
Come 3s:rf  
('He'll come.')

(9) a.

Mija nana pain carawa roroh.  
ra-ocon

much 3p:rp/p prep:3n animal 2s:rf-3pm

'They have a lot of things, don't they?'

(9) b.

('E'e.')

yes

('Yes, they do.')

When the action of the verb is in the first or second person, *ra* is always used. When the action is in the third person, either *ra* or its variations are used. The gender of the noun to which the object suffix on the VIC refers (either stated or implied) determines which will be used. The *ra* form only occurs in the sentence-final position. When one of the variations is used, it either occurs sentence-final, or, if there is an expressed subject of the sentence, it precedes it. In the latter case, it always reflects the gender of the subject.

(10) a.

Xut xut ma' ma' na carawa ra?  
walks walk:s exist that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p animal 2s:rf

'Did the animals just appear?'

(10) b.

Tomi 'in pin non cote  
na-on co-te  
speak return completely 3s:rp/p-3sm INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s  
ca ron Jimain?  
ra-on

3sm 2s:rf-3sm m:name

'Did Jimain disobey his father?'

(10) c.

Pi'am nana roron?  
ra-ocon  
sleep 3p:rp/p 2s:rf-3pm

'They are sleeping, aren't they?'

(10) d.

'Om ca pi' querec ne rain.  
ra-in  
not:exist INFL:nrp/p finish see (yet) 3n 2s:rf-3n

'It isn't finished yet, is it?'

(10) e.

Xirao' na ram To'o ma'  
ra-m  
write 3s:rp/p 2s:rf-3sf f:name that:prox:hearer

'Does To'o write?'

(10) f.	'Om	ca	hoc	mi'	cacapari' caca-pari'	con	hwam
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	cook	give	3pm-1pincl	prep:3sm	fish
	<i>raram</i>	mana	pantiri'?				
	ra-vcvm		panxi-'iri'				
	2s:rf-3pf	coll	child-1pincl				
	'Don't our daughters cook fish for us?' (lit. '...cook and give to us fish?')						

See 1.11.1.1, where *ra* is used to express noncontradictory sentence emphasis.

*Xin* is the first person plural inclusive realis future VIC suffixed by the third person neuter object VIC. It may also be used idiomatically as a leading question particle, which reveals a measure of curiosity or amazement on the part of the speaker and expects an affirmative answer. It is often accompanied by the temporal particles *ne* 'recent past' or *pane* 'remote past', and more rarely the referent particle *quem*, or the emphatic particle *ta*. *Ne* is the most common particle to occur with *xin*. It occurs sentence-finally and seems to have the following functions in many environments: it modifies the verb in some subordinate sentences (see time clauses—1.1.2.4.2.1; and contraexpective clauses—1.1.2.4.2.8); it is a type of 'attention-getter', drawing attention to a spoken or unspoken situation (i.e. 'I'm expecting a response from you'); it expresses uncertainty; and as one of a set of temporal particles, it means 'recent/ immediate past'. When occurring with *xin*, it seems to function as an 'attention-getter'. No doubt its meaning of uncertainty or recent/ immediate past also plays a role here, and since another temporal particle, *pane* 'rem:past' also appears with *xin*, we will gloss *ne* as a temporal particle in leading questions.

(11) a.	Wiricam	na	xin xi'-in	ne?
	emph:3sf	3s:rp/p	1pincl:rf-3n	rec:past
	'It's she, isn't it?'			

(11) b.	Tomi'	ha'	tarapa' tara-pa'	xin? xi'-in
	speak	pay:attention(obey)	3s:rf-1s	1pincl:rf-3n
	'Will he obey me?' or 'Do you suppose he'll obey me?'			

(11) c.	'Om	na	xin xi'-in	ximicam ximi-cam	ta?
	not:exist	3s:rp/p	1pincl:rf-3n	heart-3sf	emph
	'She has no scruples, has she?' (lit. 'Her heart does not exist to her, does it?')				

(11) d.	Ma'	na	xin xi'-in	wari'	co	ho'
	exist	3s:rp/p	1pincl:rf-3n	person	INFL:m/frp/p	put:in

pawin	non na-on
height (lit. make a hiding place to lie in wait)	3s:rp/p-3sm
quem ne.	
ref rec:past	

‘Somebody has made a hiding place to lie in wait for him, hasn’t he?’ (lit. ‘There exists someone who has made a hiding place...’)

- (11) e. Na xin pane.  
xi'-in  
3s:rp/p 1pincl:rf-3n rem:past  
‘(That) was (so), wasn’t it?’

*Na' nam/na' non* demands agreement from the hearer. When the response is voiced, it is usually ‘e’e’ ‘yes’. *Na' nam/na' non* usually occurs after a declarative statement, but it can also precede it. It can also stand quite free of any other statement, though usually in mid discourse, so that it is loosely connected to either the preceding or following statement. In narrative discourse, it often introduces a parenthetical explanation or diversion. *Na' nam* is used when addressing a female or mixed audience; *na' non* is used when addressing a strictly male audience. (The example in (12a) is a minor sentence type—see 1.15.)

- (12) a. Pacara xim ne na' nam.  
na-m  
long:ago night rec:past 3s:rp/p 3s:rp/p-3sf  
‘It is late, isn’t it?’
- (12) b. Xica' pe na cotere'  
co-te-'iri'  
alone be:at:s 3s:rp/p INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-1pincl  
co xiram pa' napari'. Na'  
INFL:m/frp/p press:down upon 3s:rp/p-1pincl 3s:rp/p  
nam. Wirico co xiram pa'  
na-m  
3s:rp/p-3sf emph:3sm INFL:m/frp/p press:down upon  
nanam xerexi' pane. Wirico co  
nana-vcvm xere-xi'  
3p:rp/p-3pf siblings-1pincl rem:past emph:3sm INFL:m/frp/p  
xiram pa' napari' pain xocori ca'  
na-pari'  
press:down upon 3s:rp/p-1pincl prep:3n newness-3n this:n  
quem. Na' nam, xica' pe na

		na-m			
ref	3s:rp/p	3s:rp/p-3sf	alone	be:at:s	3s:rp/p
cotere			co		xiram
co-te-'iri					
INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-1pincl			INFL:m/frp/p		press:down
pa'	taxi'	napari'			cwa'.
		na-pari'			
upon	know	3s:rp/p-1pincl			this:m/f

'It is only our father who has pity on us. Rhet(=*na' nam*). He is the one who had pity on our brothers and sisters long ago. He is the one who has pity on us nowadays also. Rhet(=*na' nam*), it is only our father who knows how to have pity on us.'

**1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative questions** Alternative questions are expressed by juxtaposing affirmative and negative, or contrasting, yes-no questions.

(13) a.	Mao	ta'	ma?	'Om	ta	mao	ma?
	go:s	1s:rf	2s:rp/p	not:exist	INFL:rf	go:s	2s

'Are you going or not?' (lit. 'Are you going? Are you not going?')

(13) b.	Pa'	ta'	carawa	ma?	Pa'	ta'	hwam	ma?
	kill	1s:rf	animal	2s:rp/p	kill	1s:rf	fish	2s:rp/p

'Are you going hunting or fishing?' (lit. 'Are you going to kill an animal? Are you going to kill fish?')

(13) c.	'Ep	na	capam'?	'Ep	na	tocwa?
	grind	3s:rp/p	cornbread	grind	3s:p/p	corndrink

'Did she make cornbread or corndrink?' (lit. 'Did she make cornbread? Did she make corndrink?')

#### 1.1.1.2.2. Question-word questions

Question-word questions take the form of COMP sentences. The question word always occurs sentence-initially as the operator word in COMP. See 1.1.1.4.2, where we discuss the functions that operator words signal, the basic structure of COMP sentences, and the ways various concepts of question words are expressed.

##### 1.1.1.2.2.1. Elements of the sentence that can be questioned

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. Constituents of the main clause that can be questioned: Although most 'ON sentences consist of only the VP (verb, with possible pre- and/or postverbal modifiers, and the VIC), the occurrence of one argument (expressed subject, object, indirect object,

locative, instrumental, or temporal phrase) is common. Two or more arguments may also occur, though rarely. It is, however, possible to construct a (rather unnatural) sentence with up to four phrases in addition to the verb, as seen in the examples in (14) below:

- (14) a. Pa' to nonon hwam mon tarama' pain  
           nana-on  
           kill be:at:p 3p:rp/p-3sm fish coll man prep:3n  
           'iri' cwerein com pain xec ca' ne.  
           cwere-in  
           truly body-3n water prep:3n day this:n rec:past  
           'The men killed fish at the river (lit. water's truly body) this morning.'
- (14) b. Pa' mi' nonon con hwam mana panxicaca mon  
           nana-ocon  
           kill give 3p:rp/p-3pm prep:3sm fish coll child-3pm coll  
           tarama' pain xec ca' ne.  
           man prep:3n day this:n rec:past  
           'The men killed fish for their sons this morning.'
- (14) c. Mam pa' nonon hwam pain pi pain xec  
           nana-on  
           instr kill 3p:rp/p-3sm fish prep:3n thorn prep:3n day  
           ca' ne.  
           this:n rec:past  
           'They killed fish this morning with hooks.'

Any constituent of the main clause can be questioned, as in the examples in (15) below:

#### *Questioning the verb*

- (15) a. Cain' cain' caca mon tarama'?  
           that:n:distant that:n:distant 3pm coll man  
           'What did the men (do)?'

In the example in (15b), the direct object is missing from its normal position, and instead we have in sentence-initial position the string *ma' carawa*, which signals that the direct object is being questioned. The INFL is neuter because the questioner is assuming a neuter direct object.

#### *Questioning the direct object*

- (15) b. Ma' carawa ca pa' caca mon tarama'?  
           that:prox:hearer animal INFL:nrp/p kill 3pm coll man

‘What thing/animal did the men kill?’

In (15c), the subject is missing from its normal position, and in its place is *ma'* and a masculine/feminine INFL, indicating that a masculine/ feminine subject is assumed. Also, *nana*, a Tense VIC, is used, because it is questioning the subject. As (15b) shows, if we were questioning the object, a Tenseless VIC would be used following the verb.

### Questioning the subject

(15) c.	Ma'	co	pa'	nana	hwam	pain
	that:prox:hearer	INFL:m/frp/p	kill	3p:rp/p	fish	prep:3n
	xec	ca'	ne?			
	day	this:n	rec:past			
	'Who killed fish this morning?'					

In (15d), the indirect object is missing; instead we find the question word *ma'*, followed by the masculine/feminine INFL, in sentence-initial position. Following the verb, the Tenseless VIC is used, indicating that an object is being questioned, not the subject.

### Questioning the indirect object

(15) d.	Ma'	co	pa'	mi'	caca	hwam	mon
	that:prox:hearer	INFL:m/fp/p	kill	give	3pm	fish	coll
	tarama'?						
	man						
	'For whom did the men kill fish?'						

### Questioning the locational phrase

(15) e.	Main	ca	pa'	to	caca	hwam
	ma'-in					
	that:prox:hearer-n	INFL:nrp/p	kill	be:at:p	3pm	fish
	mon	tarama'?				
	coll	man				
	'Where did the men kill fish?'					

### Questioning the temporal phrase

(15) f.    Ma'                    xec    ca                    pa'    caca    hwam    mon    tarama'?

          that:prox:hearer    day    INFL:nrp/p    kill    3pm    fish    coll    man

          ‘When did the men kill fish?’

*Questioning the instrumental phrase*

(15) g.	Cain'	ca	mam	pa'	cocon caca-on	hwam
	that:n:distal	INFL:nrp/p	instr	kill	3pm-3sm	fish
	mon	tarama'?				
	coll	man				
	'How (with what) did the men kill fish?'					

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. Constituents of subordinate clauses that can be questioned: Subordinate clause constituents cannot be questioned. In what follows, we illustrate the way information from the various types of subordinate clauses can be questioned. But none of these involves actual question-word formation. We have already seen that question words may not remain *in situ* but that they must appear sentence-initial, i.e. in the COMP position. If we assume that question words must appear in the matrix COMP but that movement out of subordinate clauses is prohibited, we derive the fact that subordinate clause constituents cannot be questioned. Let us now turn to consider how information from subordinate clauses can be questioned.

We begin first with verbalized or direct speech sentences.

## (i) Verbalized (direct speech type) sentences

Direct objects, indirect objects and subjects of verbalized (direct speech type) sentences (supposition, direct speech and future tense), such as those found in (16), (17) and (18) may be inquired about, as shown in (16) to (18). If the matrix clause is expressed, then only the entire purpose clause may be questioned, as in (19).

*Verbalized supposition sentence*

(16)	Pa'	tara	hwam	pain	xec	ca'	ma'
a.	kill	3s:rf	fish	prep:3n	day	this:n	that:prox:hearer
	'inon		Minain				
	'ina-on						
	1s:rp/p-3sm		m:name				
	'I thought Minain killed fish this morning.' (lit. "He probably killed fish this morning", I (thought) of Minain.)						

*Inquiring about the direct object*

(16)	Ma'	carawa	ca	pa'	tara	ma'
b.	that:prox:hearer	animal	INFL:nrp/p	kill	3s:rf	that:prox:hearer
	mon	Minain?				
	ma-on					



2s-3sm m:name

‘What did you think Minain killed?’ (lit. ‘What did you (think) regarding Minain, “He probably will kill”?’)

*Inquiring about the subject*

(16) Ma' co pa' tara ma' ma  
c.

that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p kill 3s:rf that:prox:hearer 2s  
pain xec ca' ne?

prep:3n day this:n rec:past

‘Who did you think killed fish this morning?’ (lit. ‘Of whom did you (think), “He probably killed fish this morning”?’)

*Direct speech sentence*

(17) Mi' ne carawa non Xijam Jimain To.  
a. na-on

give 2s:1s:rf animal 3s:rp/p-3sm m:name m:name

‘Jimain To asked Xijam to give him some meat.’ (lit. “‘Give me some meat”, Jimain To (said) to Xijam.’)

*Inquiring about the direct object*

(17) Ma' carawa ca mi' ne con  
b. ca-on

that:prox:hearer animal INFL:nrp/p give 2s:1s:rf 3sm-3sm  
Xijam Jimain To?  
m:name m:name

‘What did Jimain To ask Xijam to give him?’ (lit. ‘What did Jimain To (say) to Xijam, “Give me”?’)

*Inquiring about the indirect object*

(17) Ma' co mi' ne ca pain  
c.

that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p give 2s:1s:rf 3sm prep:3n  
carawa Minain?  
animal m:name

‘Whom did Minain ask to give him some meat?’ (lit. ‘To whom did Minain (say), “Give me meat”?’)

*Inquiring about the subject*

- (17) Ma' co mi' ne non  
 d. na-on  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p give 2s:1s:rf 3s:rp/p-3sm  
 pain carawa Xijam?  
 prep:3n animal m:name  
 'Who asked Xijam to give him some meat?' (lit. 'Who (said) to Xijam, "Give me some meat"?')

*Future tense construction*

- (18) a. Pa' ta' hwam na Minain.  
 kill 1s:rf fish 3s:rp/p m:name  
 'Minain will kill fish.' (lit. "I will kill fish", (says) Minain.)

*Inquiring about the direct object*

- (18) b. Ma' carawa ca pa' ta' ca Minain?  
 that:prox:hearer animal INFL:nrp/p kill 1s:rf 3sm m:name  
 'What will Minain kill?' (lit. 'What does Minain (say), "I will kill"?')

*Inquiring about the subject*

The subject of the embedded future tense clause cannot be questioned. This is because it is a direct speech form. A way of asking about the subject, although not literally of the embedded subject, would be as in (18c).

- (18) c. Ma' co pa' ta' na hwam?  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p kill 1s:rf 3s:rp/p fish  
 'Who will kill fish?' (lit. 'Who (says) of fish, "I will kill"?')

*Purpose sentence*

- (19) Mama' nanain Guajará. Ma' ta  
 a. nana-in  
 go:p 3p:rp/p-3n place:name that:prox:hearer INFL:rf  
 comprar xi' carawa 'urut nana.  
 buy 1pincl:rf animal 1pexcl 3p:rp/p  
 'They went to Guajará to buy food.' (lit. 'They went to Guajará. "So that we (say), 'We will buy food"', they (said).')

*Questioning the entire purpose clause*

- (19) b. Para mama' cacain Guajará?  
 caca-in

therefore                      go:p                      3pm-3n                      Guajará  
 'Why did they go to Guajará?'

(ii) Subordinate clauses introduced by the preposition operator word *pain* in COMP

The subordinate clauses in the examples in (20) and (21) are introduced by the preposition operator word *pain* in COMP. Only the entire clause/ phrase may be questioned directly.

(20) a.        Param            'inem                      pain                      ca                      mao            wa.  
                                  'ina -em  
                     desire        1s:rp/p-2s                      prep:3n                      INFL:nrp/p                      go:s            inf  
                     'I want you to go.'

*Questioning the entire prepositional phrase*

(20) b.        Ma'                                      carawa                      ca                      param            ma?  
                     that:prox:hearer                      animal                      INFL:nrp/p                      desire            2s  
                     'What do you want?'

(20) c.        \*Ma'        ca                      param        mapa'        pain                      ca                      'ara        wa?  
    ma-pa'  
                     exist        INFL:nrp/p                      desire        2s-1s                      prep:3n                      INFL:nrp/p                      do            gen  
                     'What do you want me to do?'

(21) a.        Tomi'                      xaxa'                                      'iripain                                      ca                                      caxi  
    'urut-pain  
                     speak                      distractedly                      1pexcl:rp/p-3n                      INFL:nrp/p                      sick  
                     cacama                      mana                      pantiri'.  
    panxi-'iri'  
                     3pf                      coll                      child-1pincl  
                     'We are sad when (if, because) our children are sick.'

(21) b.        Para                                      tomi'                      xaxa'                                      hwe?  
                     therefore                      speak                      distractedly                      2p  
                     'Why are you sad?'

(21) c.        \*Ma'                                      co                                      tomi'        xaxa'                      hwe  
                     that:prox:hearer                      INFL:m/frp/p                      speak        distractedly                      2p  
                     pain                      ca                      caxi        cacama?  
                     prep:3n                      INFL:nrp/p                      sick        3pf  
                     (lit.) 'Of whom are you sad?'

Information about specific constituents within subordinate clauses can be inquired about in the form of main clause questions. For example, consider (22) and (23):

- |         |   |           |                      |                 |          |           |        |
|---------|---|-----------|----------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------|--------|
| (22) a. | Querec  | 'i        | 'inonon<br>'ina-ocon | hwijima'        | ne.      | Tomi      | 'ac    |
|         | see   | already:s | 1s:rp/p-3pm          | children        | rec:past | speak     | travel |
|         | toton<br>ta'-ocon   | na.       |                      |                 |          |           |        |
|         | 1s-3pm  | 3s:rp/p   |                      |                 |          |           |        |
|         | 'When I saw the children, then I spoke to them.'          |           |                      |                 |          |           |        |
| (22) b. | Ma'   |           | co                   |                 | querec   |           | ma?    |
|         | that:prox:hearer  |           | INFL:m/frp/p         |                 | see      |           | 2s     |
|         | 'Whom did you see?'                                       |           |                      |                 |          |           |        |
| (23) a. | Ton   | ho        | 'inain<br>'ina-in    | xuru.<br>xiri-u | Xi       | 'om       | ne     |
|         | chop  | floats    | 1s:rp/p-3n           | house-1s        | INFL:irr | not:exist | 3n     |
|         | ca  |           | tarama'              | tamana          | ne       | nahwarac. |        |
|         | INFL:nrp/p  | man       | much                 | 3n              | weeds    |           |        |
|         | 'I hoed around my house, because the weeds had grown up.' |           |                      |                 |          |           |        |
| (23) b. | Ma'   |           | ca                   |                 | tarama'  |           | ne?    |
|         | that:prox:hearer  |           | INFL:nrp/p           |                 | man      |           | 3n     |
|         | 'What grew up?'   |           |                      |                 |          |           |        |

This strategy can also be used to question subordinate clause constituents in examples such as (19) to (21). For example, consider (19a), repeated below as (24a):

- |      |   |            |            |                  |         |         |
|------|---|------------|------------|------------------|---------|---------|
| (24) | Mama'   | nanain     | Guajará.   | Ma'              | ta      | comprar |
| a.   |   | nana-in    |            |                  |         |         |
|      | go:p  | 3p:rp/p-3n | place:name | that:prox:hearer | INFL:rf | buy     |
|      | xi'   | carawa     | 'urut      | nana.            |         |         |
|      | 1pincl:rf   | animal     | 1pexcl     | 3p:rp/p          |         |         |
|      | 'They went to Guajará to buy food.' (lit. 'They went to Guajará. "So that we (say), 'We will buy food"', they (said).') |            |            |                  |         |         |

A question about the subordinate direct object could take the form of (24b):

- (24) b.      Ma'                      carawa              ca                      comprar              caca?  
                  that:prox:hearer              animal              INFL:nrp/p              buy              3pm  
                  ‘What thing did they buy?’

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. Constituents of a noun phrase that can be questioned: The possessor or the entire NP may be questioned. When the possessor is questioned, the head of the NP must appear in the question-word position and the possessor cannot be expressed. If the NP contains a modifier, it cannot appear in the question-word position. Although it need not be expressed, if a demonstrative is expressed, it must appear in its original position and may not be moved. Note the ungrammatical examples in (25) and (26).

- |         |                          |            |         |                     |        |          |
|---------|--------------------------|------------|---------|---------------------|--------|----------|
| (25) a. | Mi'                      | pin        | na      | panxica<br>panxi-ca | Xijam  | cwa'.    |
|         | give                     | completely | 3s:rp/p | child-3sm           | m:name | this:m/f |
|         | 'This Xijam's son died.' |            |         |                     |        |          |

*Questioning the possessor of an NP (demonstrative must appear in postverbal position)*

- |         |                   |                     |              |      |
|---------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|------|
| (25) b. | Ma'               | panxine<br>panxi-ne | co           | mi'  |
|         | that:prox:hearer  | child-3n            | INFL:m/frp/p | give |
|         | pin               | na                  | cwa'?        |      |
|         | completely        | 3s:rp/p             | this:m/f     |      |
|         | 'Whose son died?' |                     |              |      |

*Ungrammatically moving the demonstrative to the question-word position*

- |         |                   |                     |          |              |      |
|---------|-------------------|---------------------|----------|--------------|------|
| (25) c. | *Ma'              | panxine<br>panxi-ne | cwa'     | co           | mi'  |
|         | that:prox:hearer  | child-3n            | this:m/f | INFL:m/frp/p | give |
|         | pin               | na?                 |          |              |      |
|         | completely        | 3s:rp/p             |          |              |      |
|         | 'Whose son died?' |                     |          |              |      |

### *Ungrammatically leaving the head in place*

- |         |   |              |        |                    |         |
|---------|---|--------------|--------|--------------------|---------|
| (25) d. | *Ma'                                    | co           | mi'    | pin                | na      |
|         | that:prox:hearer                        | INFL:m/frp/p | give   | completely         | 3s:rp/p |
|         | panxica                                 | cwa'?        |        |                    |         |
|         | panxi-ca                                |              |        |                    |         |
|         | child-3n                                | this:m/f     |        |                    |         |
|         | 'Whose son died?'                       |              |        |                    |         |
| (26) a. | Ja'                                     | na           | wari'  | paca'.             |         |
|         | shoot                                   | 3s:rp/p      | person | that:just:occurred |         |
|         | 'Somebody (near, unseen) shot (a gun).' |              |        |                    |         |

*Ungrammatically moving the demonstrative to the question-word position*

(26) b.	*Ma'	wari'	paca'	co
	that:prox:hearer	person	that:just:occurred	INFL:m/frp/p
	ja'	na?		
	shoot	3s:rp/p		
	'Who shot?'			

*Ungrammatically leaving the head in place*

(26) c.	*Ma'	co	ja'	na	wari'
	that:prox:hearer	INFL:m/frp/p	shoot	3s:rp/p	person
	paca'?				
	that:just:occurred				
	'Who shot?'				

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. Elements of a prepositional phrase that can be questioned: Elements of a prepositional phrase cannot be questioned. The entire prepositional phrase must be questioned. The head cannot be left behind, but neither can it be moved to the question-word position. (See also (20) and (21), where subordinate clauses headed by the third person form of the preposition are illustrated.)

(27) a.	Mam	wac	'inon 'ina-on	hwam	pain	quit.
	instr	cut	1s:rp/p-3sm	fish	prep:3n	knife
	'I cut the fish with a knife.'					

*Questioning the entire prepositional phrase*

(27) b.	Ma'	ca	mam	wac	mon ma-on	hwam?
	that:prox:hearer	INFL:nrp/p	instr	cut	2s-3sm	fish
	'With what did you cut the fish?'					

*Ungrammatically leaving the preposition in place*

(27) c.	*Ma'	ca	mam	wac	mon ma-on	hwam	pain?
	that:prox:hearer	INFL:nrp/p	instr	cut	2s-3sm	fish	prep:3n
	'With what did you cut the fish?'						

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. Elements of coordinate structures that can be questioned: Coordination is expressed mainly by juxtaposition, with limited use of certain emphatic pronouns and forms of the preposition—see 1.3. The emphatic pronouns and forms of the preposition

that express coordination cannot be questioned; only the individual clauses or words of these juxtaposed structures can be questioned. The questions may be juxtaposed, thus preserving the notion of coordination expressed in this manner. The fact that either 'conjunct' may be questioned, as in (29c), further illustrates the fact that these are not true coordination.

(28) a. 'In qui' 'urut. Cao' 'ac 'urut na.  
return coming:this:way 1pexcl:rp/p eat travel 1pexcl 3s:rp/p  
'We returned and then we ate.'

(28) b. 'In qui' hwe? Cao' 'ac hwe na  
return coming:this:way 2p:rp/p eat travel 2p 3s:rp/p  
quem?  
ref  
'Did you return? Then did you eat?'

(29) a. Cao' 'urut capam', xac 'urut memem,  
eat 1pexcl:rp/p cornbread eat:fruit 1pexcl:rp/p fruit  
ca' na.  
this:n 3s:rp/p  
'We ate cornbread and fruit.'

(29) b. Ma' carawa ca cao' hwe? Ma'  
that:prox:hearer animal INFL:nrp/p eat 2p that:prox:hearer  
carawa ca xac hwe?  
animal INFL:nrp/p eat:fruit 2p  
'What did you eat? What did you suck (eat fruit)?'

(29) c. Cao' ma carawa. Ma' carawa ca  
eat 2s:rp/p animal that:prox:hearer animal INFL:nrp/p  
toc ma?  
drink 2s  
'You ate meat. What did you drink?'

(30) a. Cut cut pi' pin 'inain orojimain  
'ina-in orojima-in  
take:p take:p finish completely 1s:rp/p-3n smallness-3n  
wawu pain orojimain cota  
wawi-u orojima-in cota-0  
type:of:basket-1s prep:3n. smallness-3n type:of:basket-1s  
'I gathered my small *wao'* and *coco* baskets.'

- |         |            |            |              |                   |        |
|---------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------|--------|
| (30) b. | Cut        | main       | 'orojimain   | wawum?            | Cut    |
|         |            | ma-in      | 'orojima-in  | wawi-um           |        |
|         | take:p     | 2s:rp/p-3n | smallness-3n | type:of:basket-2s | take:p |
|         | main       |            | 'orojimain   | cotam?            |        |
|         |            |            |              | cota-m            |        |
|         | 2s:rp/p-3n |            | smallness-3n | type:of:basket-2s |        |

'Did you gather your small *wao'* baskets? Did you gather your small *coco* baskets?'

- |         |                 |                    |          |         |                 |         |          |
|---------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|---------|-----------------|---------|----------|
| (31) a. | Cut             | nana-in<br>nana-in | pi,      | je      | tocoi<br>toco-i | naran,  | je       |
|         | take:p          | 3p:rp/p-3n         | thorn    | emph:3n | eye-3n          | light   | emph:3n  |
|         | tocoi<br>toco-i | too,               | wirico   | wom,    | ca'             | na      | cocon.   |
|         | eye-3n          | metal              | emph:3sm | cotton  | this:n          | 3s:rp/p | prep:3pm |

‘They got fishhooks, flashlight batteries, ammunition, and clothes.’

- |                 |                   |                  |                   |                   |       |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------|
| (31) b.         | Ma'               | carawa           | ca                | cut               | caca? |
|                 | that:prox:hearer  | animal           | INFL:nrp/p        | take:p            | 3pm   |
| Cut             | nanain<br>nana-in | pi?              | Cut               | nanain<br>nana-in |       |
| take:p          | 3p:rp/p-3n        | thorn            | take:p            | 3p:rp/p-3n        |       |
| tocoi<br>toco-i | naran?            | Cut              | nanain<br>nana-in | tocoi<br>toco-i   |       |
| eye-3n          | light             | take:p           | 3p:rp/p-3n        | eye-3n            |       |
| too?            | Cut               | nonon<br>nana-on |                   | wom?              |       |
| metal           | take:p            | 3p:rp/p-3sm      |                   | cotton            |       |

‘What did they get? Did they get fishhooks? Did they get flashlight batteries? Did they get ammunition? Did they get clothes?’

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. Number of sentence constituents that can be questioned: Since question words can only occur in the initial position of the matrix clause as operator words in COMP, and since only one operator word can occur in a sentence, no more than one constituent can be questioned at a time.

- |         |                                   |      |            |          |        |           |
|---------|-----------------------------------|------|------------|----------|--------|-----------|
| (32) a. | 'Oc                               | mi'  | napa'      | con      | wom    | na'.      |
|         | stitch                            | give | 3s:rp/p-1s | prep:3sm | cotton | mother:1s |
|         | 'My mother sewed clothes for me.' |      |            |          |        |           |

- (32) b.    \*Ma'                  co                  'oc       mi'       nem



na -em

that:prox:hearer      INFL:m/frp/p      stitch      give      3s:rp/p-2s

con      ma'      carawa?

prep:3sm      that:prox:hearer      animal

'Who sewed what for you?'

(33) a.      Xec      mama'      xin      Pitop      nana      'oro      narima'.  
    xi'-in

day      go:p      1pincl:rf-3n      place:name      3p:rp/p      coll      woman

'The women will go to Pitop tomorrow.' (lit. "'Tomorrow we will go to Pitop", the women (say).')

(33) b.      \*Ma'      co      mama'      xin  
    xi'-in

that:prox:hearer      INFL:m/frp/p      go:p      1pincl:rf-3n

main      quem      nana?

that:n:prox:hearer      ref      3p:rp/p

'Who will go where?'

**1.1.1.2.2.2. Position of the questioned element** The questioned element is always placed in sentence-initial position. This is illustrated in all the examples that have been given, from (14) to (33). The only instance of clefting occurs when constituents of a NP are questioned. The head must be moved to sentence-initial position when the possessor is questioned, but the demonstrative must remain in place if expressed. See 1.1.1.2.2.1.3, (25) and (26) for grammatical and ungrammatical examples.

### 1.1.1.2.3. Echo questions

**1.1.1.2.3.1. Yes-no echo questions** Polite conversation makes use of frequent yes-no echo questions. The verb is obligatory in the response to these questions, but repetition of other elements is optional.

(34) a.      Maqui'      'urut.  
                  come      1pexcl:rp/p  
                  'We came.'

(34) b.      Maqui'      hwe?  
                  come      2p:rp/p  
                  'You came?'

(35) a.      Ja'      ta'      com      'ina.  
                  splash      1s:rf      water      1s:rp/p

‘I will take a bath.’ (lit. “I will splash water”, I (say).)’

- (35) b.
- |   |       |         |
|---|-------|---------|
| Ja'   | ta'   | ma?     |
| splash  | 1s:rf | 2s:rp/p |
| 'You will take a bath?' (lit. 'You (say), "I will splash (water)"') |       |         |

- (35) c.      Ja'                      ta'                      com                      ma?  
                 splash                      1s:rf                      water                      2s:rp/p  
                 'You will take a bath?' (lit. 'You (say), "I will splash water"?)

**1.1.1.2.3.2. Question-word echo questions** Question-word echo questions do not occur in the language (again, this is because question words can only appear in sentence-initial position). The closest equivalent to a question-word echo question is illustrated in (36) and (37), where the question word occurs, together with a complement, as the only element in the ‘echo’. It is not a valid question-word echo question, however, because the question word must precede the complement. Note the ungrammatical examples, which show that the ‘echo question’ word cannot occur in the echo position. The ‘echo responses’ in (36b) and (37b) can be completed to form normal question-word questions, as illustrated in (36c) and (37c)

- |         |   |                  |              |                         |                |
|---------|---|------------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| (36) a. | Pan'  | mao              | na           | cawinacam<br>cawina-cam | Pijim'.        |
|         | fall:s  | go:s             | 3s:rp/p      | son-3sf                 | f:name         |
|         | 'Pijim's son was born.'                                     |                  |              |                         |                |
| (36) b. | Ma'   |                  |              | co                      | ma'?           |
|         | that:prox:hearer  |                  |              | m                       | that:prox:hear |
|         | 'Who?'  |                  |              |                         |                |
| (36) c. | Ma'   |                  | co           | pan'                    | mao            |
|         | that:prox:hear  |                  | INFL:m/frp/p | fall:s                  | go:s           |
|         | 'Who was born?'   |                  |              |                         |                |
| (36) d. | *Pan'   | mao              | na           | ma'                     | co             |
|         | fall:s  | go:s             | 3s:rp/p      | that:prox:hearer        | m              |
|         | 'Who was born?'   |                  |              |                         |                |
| (37) a. | To'   | ta'              |              | wom                     | 'ina.          |
|         | hit   | 1s:rf            |              | cotton                  | 1s:rp/p        |
|         | 'I will wash clothes.' (lit. "I will hit clothes", (say).') |                  |              |                         |                |
| (37) b. |   | Ma'              |              |                         | carawa?        |
|         |   | that:prox:hearer |              |                         | animal         |
|         |   | 'What?'          |              |                         |                |

- (37) c.
- |                  |          |            |     |       |     |
|------------------|----------|------------|-----|-------|-----|
| Ma'              | (carawa) | ca         | to' | ta'   | ma? |
| that:prox:hearer | (animal) | INFL:nrp/p | hit | 1s:rf | 2s  |
- 'What will you wash?' (lit. 'What do you (say), "I will hit"?')
- (37) d.
- |      |       |                  |        |         |
|------|-------|------------------|--------|---------|
| *To' | ta'   | ma'              | carawa | ma?     |
| hit  | 1s:rf | that:prox:hearer | animal | 2s:rp/p |
- 'You will wash what?' (lit. "'I will hit what?" you (say)?')

**1.1.1.2.3.3–4. Question echo questions** We have not recorded any examples of question echo questions. An exchange, as shown in (38) would not be ill-formed, but we do not think it would be used.

- |         |                          |                |                   |       |         |
|---------|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------|---------|
| (38) a. | Mao                      | tain<br>ta'-in | winain<br>wina-in | com   | ma?     |
|         | go:s                     | 1s:rf-3n       | head-3n           | water | 2s:rp/p |
|         | 'Are you going upriver?' |                |                   |       |         |
| (38) b. | Mao                      | tain<br>ta'-in | winain<br>wina-in | com   | 'ina?   |
|         | go:s                     | 1s:rf-3n       | head-3n           | water | 1s:rp/p |
|         | 'Am I going upriver?'    |                |                   |       |         |

Such an echo response could, however, be given naturally to a command, as in the exchange in (39).

- |         |                        |                    |                   |       |
|---------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------|
| (39) a. | Mao                    | rain<br>ra-in      | winain<br>wina-in | com.  |
|         | go:s                   | 2s:rf-3n           | head-3n           | water |
|         | 'Go upriver!'          |                    |                   |       |
| (39) b. | Mao                    | xitain<br>xita'-in | winain<br>wina-in | com?  |
|         | go:s                   | 1s:irr-3n          | head-3n           | water |
|         | 'Should I go upriver?' |                    |                   |       |

**1.1.1.2.3.5–7 Elements of the sentence that can be questioned by question echo questions** These do not apply for Wari'.

**1.1.1.2.3.8. Echo responses** Echo responses are common, whether the speaker is involved in a monologue or a dialogue. The response usually consists of a more-or-less complete echo of the speaker's previous sentence, or just the verbal element, with appropriate changes in the verbal inflectional clitics. However the response is worded, it often ends with some kind of emphatic element, such as the sentence-final particles in (40b), or the dubitative particle with Tenseless VIC and demonstrative in (41b). This indicates the hearer's empathy with what the speaker is saying.

- (40) a. 'Om ca tomi' ton.  
ta'-on  
not:exist INFL:nrp/p speak 1s-3sm  
'I did not speak to him.'
- (40) b. 'Om ne ma' 'ira.  
not:exist 3n that:prox:hearer emph  
'Of course not!'
- (41) a. Mija na homacon.  
homa-con  
much 3s:rp/p fat-3sm  
'He is really fat.'
- (41) b. Mija xi' ne homacon ca'.  
homa-con  
much irr 3n fat-3sm this:n  
'He sure is fat!'

#### 1.1.1.2.4. Answers

**1.1.1.2.4.1. Answers marked as a distinct speech act** The only special marking of answers not found with other speech acts is the optional use of response particles before them.

**1.1.1.2.4.2. Answers in the form of incomplete sentences** The affirmative answer to yes-no questions is frequently given by the response particle 'e'e' 'yes'. It may occur alone, or it may be followed by a declarative sentence.

- (42) a. Mao ma?  
go:s 2s:rp/p  
'Are you going?'
- (42) b. 'E'e'. (Mao 'ina.)  
yes (go:s 1s:rp/p)  
'Yes, I am going.'

An affirmative answer can also take the form of an echo response, as in (43):

- (43) Mao 'ina.  
go:s 1s:rp/p  
'I am going.'

The negative answer to yes-no questions is the verb *'om* 'to not exist', with or without its accompanying VIC. It may occur alone, or it may be followed by a declarative sentence.

- (44) a. Com                      ta'                      tamara'                      ma?  
sing                      1s:rf                      song                      2s:rp/p  
'Will you sing a song?' (lit. 'Do you (say), "I will sing a song"?')
- (44) b. 'Om.  
not:exist  
'No.'
- (44) c. 'Om                      na.  
not:exist                      3s:rp/p  
'No.' (lit. 'It does not exist.')
- (44) d. 'Om                      na,                      noc                      'inain                      ta.  
   'ina-in  
not:exist                      3s:rp/p                      dislike                      1s:rp/p-3n                      emph  
'No, I don't want to.'

An uncertain answer to yes-no questions is given by the third person singular realis future clitic, *tara*. Loosely translated, it means 'I don't know' or 'Who knows?' More literally, it means '(Somebody) probably (knows)' or '(It) probably (depends).' It frequently occurs followed by an inflected form of the preposition, for example, *tara con* (3s:rf prep:3sm) which could be translated as 'I don't know about him', or 'that depends on him'. *Tara* alone or with an inflected form of the preposition may also be followed by the particle *ta'a*, which intensifies the meaning of doubt on the part of the speaker.

- (45) 'Om                      ca                      pa                      xi'                      carawa                      caca  
a.  
not:exist                      INFL:nrp/p                      kill                      1pincl:rf                      animal                      3pm  
xerem?  
xerem-m  
siblings-2s  
'Aren't your brothers going to go hunting?' (lit. 'Don't your brothers (say), "We will go hunting"?')
- (45) b. Tara                      cocon.  
3s:rf                      prep:3pm  
'Who knows?' (lit. '(It) probably (depends on) them.').
- (46) a. Pi'                      pin                      na                      ca                      xain                      nem?  
finish                      completely                      3s:rp/p                      INFL:nrp/p                      hot                      poss:2s  
'Is your fever gone?'

- (46) b. Tara.  
3s:rf  
'Who knows?' (lit. '(It) probably (depends).')
- (46) c. Tara pata'  
3s:rf prep:1s  
'Who knows?' (lit. '(It) probably (depends on) me.')
- (46) d. Tara pata' ta'a.  
3s:rf prep:1s emph  
'I doubt it.' ('I don't at all know about myself.')

There is another uncertainty response, *na ne*, which is the third person singular realis past/present VIC plus the recent past-uncertainty particle. This response is often given in answer to question-word questions consisting of *je* in COMP and *xi* 'irrealis' in INFL. *Je xi* questions, because of their irrealis tense/mood character, can be interpreted as mild imperatives (see 1.1.1.3.3, where we describe this and other irrealis constructions appearing as mild imperatives). *Na ne*, as a response to such questions/ imperatives, expresses the notion of 'I wish you hadn't asked' or 'I wish you hadn't said that', an idiomatic but frequent reading of *na ne*.

- (47) a. Je xi tomi' qui' mapa'?  
ma-pa'  
emph:3n INFL:irr speak coming:this:way 2s-1s  
'Why didn't you speak to me?' or 'You should have spoken to me.'
- (47) b. Na ne.  
3s:rp/p rec:past  
'I wish you hadn't asked.' or 'I wish you hadn't said that.'

See 1.15, where other VIC responses function as a kind of minor sentence type.

### 1.1.1.3. Imperative sentences

Normal imperative sentences are marked by the use of the realis future tense/mood. There are also emphatic final particles which typically occur in imperative sentences, though their use is not limited to imperatives.

#### 1.1.1.3.1. (Positive) imperative

There is no difference in the basic structure of (positive) imperative and simple declarative sentences. They constitute a single sentence type formally: neither have an operator word in COMP, both have simple verb structures, and both employ Tense

VICS—see 1.1.1.4. Their one distinguishing characteristic is the use of the second person realis future VIC in imperatives.

The emphatic morphemes '*e*' 'motion away from the speaker' and *me* 'motion toward the speaker' are used frequently with imperatives. '*E*' intensifies the imperative; *me* is used when the action is for the benefit of the speaker. Their distribution is complementary. They occur optionally at the end of the sentence.

Two other emphatic particles optionally occur with imperative sentences: *wira* (spoken by men) and *cama* (spoken by women). These morphemes simply intensify the action of the verb. They do not usually occur with '*e*' and *me*, but when they do, they follow them at the end of the sentence.

The emphatic particle *ta* also occurs optionally at the end of imperative sentences. It immediately follows '*e*'. (We have not registered *me ta* in imperatives, though it is very common in prohibitives.) It is also optionally followed by *wira* or *cama*.

(48) a.      Quep          ne                  con                  'aji'                                  (wira).

do                  2s:1s:rf                  prep:3sm                  elder:brother:1s                  (emph)

'Do (prepare for burial) my brother for me!'

(48) b.                  Tacam'                  horon                  rain                                  (me).

ra-in

cut                  big:p                  2s:rf-3n                  (emph)

'Cut them big!'

(48) c.      Cam          paca'          jun                  'ara                  ma'                                  (ta).

je-on

a:little          leave          2p:rf-3sm          so-and-so          that:prox:hearer          (emph)

'Move away from so-and-so!'

But as the following example illustrates, realis future is not always necessary. Imperatives may also be given with the second person reflexive.

(49)                  Xiram                                  pa'                                  xijem                                  (ta)!

press:down                                  (upon)                                  refl:2s                                  (emph)

'Feel sorry for yourself!'

These are the only means we are aware of for expressing positive imperative.

**1.1.1.3.1.1. Person-number combinations of (positive) imperatives** See discussion above in 1.1.1.3.1.

**1.1.1.3.1.2. Degrees of imperative** There are no specially marked degrees of imperative, though other means of expressing imperative appear as mild imperatives—see 1.1.1.3.3.

### 1.1.1.3.2. Prohibitive

In contrast to (positive) imperative sentences, which are of the 'ON simple sentence type, prohibitive sentences are similar in basic structure to COMP sentence types, which, among others, include question-word questions, conditional, negative and purpose sentences. They differ from most COMP sentences in that no operator word occurs in COMP (see 2.1.8.2.5). The realis future INFL morpheme occurs sentence-initially and the emphatic morpheme *me* usually occurs at the end of the sentence. The occurrence of *me* and other sentence-final particles are, however, optional.

- (50) a. Ta 'ari mon (me ta).  
ma-on  
INFL:rf resist 2s-3sm (emph emph)  
'Don't resist him!'
- (50) b. Ta hwet hun co ma' (me) (ta).  
hwe-on  
INFL:rf approach 2p-3sm m that:prox:hearer (emph) (emph)  
'Don't approach him!'
- (50) c. Ta wixicam mahu' cam caina (me).  
caina-0  
INFL:rf go:near 2p:1s prep:3sf daughter-1s (emph)  
'Don't come near my daughter (regarding me).' (lit. 'Don't come near me regarding my daughter.')

#### 1.1.1.3.3. Other means of expressing imperative

The only true imperative forms in the language are those that have just been described in the preceding sections. There are, however, three ways to express a kind of mild imperative via indirect speech acts, where assertions are used as indirect directives:

(i) The irrealis tense/mood often appears as a mild imperative

This may be either in simple sentences (51a, 51b), or COMP interrogative sentences using the operator word *je* in COMP and the irrealis INFL morpheme *xi* in INFL (51c).

- (51) a. 'U'um 'o ximomon waram winaxi'.  
xima-ocon wina-xi'  
dawn/dusk lead 2s:irr-3pm coll grandchild-1pincl  
'You should take our grandsons early in the morning.'
- (51) b. Xac 'a ximon memem.  
xima-on  
eat:fruit neg:s 2s:irr-3sm fruit  
'You should not eat the fruit.'
- (51) c. Je xi pa' qui' hwein?  
hwe-in  
emph:3n INFL:irr kill coming:this:way 2p-3n



‘So that’s why you should have killed it.’

(ii) The use of the postverbal modifier *mao* ‘negative’

This also expresses mild imperative in an indirect directive. It is used with Tenseless VICS and, when carrying an imperative meaning, can only be used with the second person clitics.

- |      |   |       |     |                 |        |
|------|---|-------|-----|-----------------|--------|
| (52) | 'Ara  | mip   | mao | hwein<br>hwe-in | naran. |
|      | do  | force | neg | 2p-3n           | light  |
|      | 'Turn up the light a little.' (lit. 'You are not doing forcing the light.') |       |     |                 |        |

(iii) The realis past/present VICS

These also express mild imperative when used in a sentence that follows a realis future type imperative. The ‘mildness’ of this imperative is reflected in the literal translation of the form. The preverbal modifier *wara* ‘already’ usually occurs in this mild imperative.

- (53) Xirao'      je      mawin      ma'.      Wara      toc      hwe  
          write    2p:rf    urucu      that:prox:hearer      already    drink    2p:rp/p  
          taracop                    ta.  
          corndrink                emph  
          'Paint up with urucu. (So) you (can) drink corndrink.' (lit. 'Paint up with urucu. You already drank corndrink.')

A hortatory construction can also be used to reduce illocutionary force. This is formed by a contraction of *mama'* 'go:p' and the first person plural inclusive realis future VIC, *xi'*, *maji*. This hortatory construction is the only contraction of verb and VIC in the language.

- (54) Maji,                      wara                      ja'                      ma                      com.  
       let's:go,                      already                      splash                      2s:rp/p                      water  
       'Let's go, (so) you (can) take a bath.' (lit. 'Let's go, you already splashed water.')

#### 1.1.1.3.4. Responses to imperatives

There are two verbal responses to positive imperatives: *ma* is spoken only by men; *ma'e* is spoken only by women. They mean roughly 'all right' or 'okay'. Negative responses are expressed via semantically appropriate negative constructions, as shown in (55c) and (56c).

- (55) a. Tom ra waram ca' Pacao.  
burn:s 2s:rf monkey:species this:n f:name  
'Singe this *waram* monkey, Pacao.'

- (55) b. Ma'e.

‘Okay.’

(55) c. Na ne.  
3s:rp/p rec:past  
'I wish you hadn't asked.' (lit. 'It recent past.')

(56) a.	Mo	tota	ra	'e'	Xijam.
		tota -0			
	run:s	garden-1s	2s:rf	emph	m:name
	'Go make a garden, Xijam.'				

(56) b. Ma.

‘Okay.’

(56) c.	Noc	'inain. 'ina-in
	dislike	1s:rp/p-3n
	'I don't want to.' (lit. 'I dislike it.')	

#### 1.1.1.4. 'Oro Nao' sentence types

All major 'ON sentence types can be classified into three general types: simple, COMP, and verbalized (direct speech type) sentences. Declarative and interrogative intonation can be used with any of the three sentence types—see 3.3.4.1–2.

#### 1.1.1.4.1. Simple sentences

Simple sentences include declarative, imperative, and yes-no interrogative sentences. They are distinguished from COMP and verbalized sentences by the following criteria:

- 1 No operator word occurs in COMP.
- 2 They have a simple verb structure, i.e. the verb is optionally preceded and/or followed by a verbal modifier, and the verb/modifier compound is then followed by one verbal inflectional clitic.
- 3 Tense VICS usually follow the verb. This is due to the fact that tense itself (with one exception) only appears once in the clause, in second position; see 2.1.8.2.5 and the discussion preceding the examples in (64) below.

(57) a.      Quep      nain      xirim      te      pane      ta.  
                 na-in  
                 do      3s:rp/p-3n      house      father:1s      rem:past      emph  
                 ‘My father made a house long ago.’

(57) b.	Tacam'	horon	rain ra-in	me.
	cut	big:p	2s:rf-3n	emph

- |         |                                     |                  |                       |                  |
|---------|-------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
|         |                                     | ‘Cut them big!’  |                       |                  |
| (57) c. | Xec                                 | mama'            | tatarain<br>tatara-in | Guajará.         |
|         | day                                 | go:p             | 3p:rf-3n              | place:name       |
|         | ‘They will go to Guajará tomorrow.’ |                  |                       |                  |
| (57) d. | To'                                 | ximon<br>xima-on | womum<br>womi-um      | ta.              |
|         | hit                                 | 2s:irr-3sm       | cotton-2s             | emph             |
|         | ‘You should wash your clothes.’     |                  |                       |                  |
| (57) e. | Ten                                 | ta               | wao'.                 |                  |
|         | weave                               | pass:3s          | type:of:basket        |                  |
|         | ‘Baskets are woven.’                |                  |                       |                  |
| (57) f. | Quep                                | xucucun          | hwijima'              | ma'.             |
|         | touch                               | refl:3pm         | children              | that:prox:hearer |
|         | ‘The children fought each other.’   |                  |                       |                  |

As we have said, Tense VICS usually accompany the verb in simple sentences. However, the use of a small class of verbal modifiers (*a'ara* 'negative', *mao'* 'negative', *para* 'therefore'), one nonderived verb (*win* 'to be the same'), another verb zero-derived from a demonstrative (*cain'* 'to be that (n.distal)'), and one type of sentence-final emphatic particle (*Ca'/ ma'/ne/pane 'ira* and *ca'/ma'/ne/pane quira*) 'emphatic particles') requires instead the use of Tenseless VICS (with no INFL morpheme), as shown in the sets of examples in (58) to (63) below:

(1) 'A/ara and *mao* 'negative'

Note that the use of the double negative in example (58d) expresses a strong positive.

- |         |   |       |           |               |        |          |
|---------|---|-------|-----------|---------------|--------|----------|
| (58) a. | Querec                                      | 'a    | tocwa     | wari'.        |        |          |
|         | see   | neg:s | pass:3sm  | person        |        |          |
|         | 'The person was not seen.'                  |       |           |               |        |          |
| (58) b. | 'Awi  | 'ara  | ca        | pije'.        |        |          |
|         | good  | neg:p | 3sm       | child         |        |          |
|         | 'The child is not good.'                    |       |           |               |        |          |
| (58) c. | Mana'                                       | mao   | xequequem | 'oro narima'. |        |          |
|         | angry                                       | neg   | refl:3pf  | coll woman    |        |          |
|         | 'The women were not angry with each other.' |       |           |               |        |          |
| (58) d. | Mija  | 'ara  | mao       | ne            | carawa | pane.    |
|         | much  | neg:p | neg       | 3n            | animal | rem:past |

‘There was really a lot of meat.’

(2) *Para* ‘therefore’

With interrogative intonation on the sentence, the notion of ‘why?’ or ‘how?’ is expressed.

(59) a.	'Ane	ma'	capa' ca-pa'	Cowo	ne.	Para	wa'
	different	exist	3sm-1s	m:name	rec:past	therefore	arrive:s
	ta'	ca'.					
	1s	this:n					

'But Cowo helped me (lit. existed to me). Therefore I arrived.'

(59) b.	Para	maqui'	cama?
	therefore	come	3sf
	'How did she come?'		

(59) c.	Para	Xijam	ma?
	therefore	m:name	2s
	'Why do you (ask for) Xijam?' (lit. 'Why do you (say), "Xijam"?')		

(3) *'Am/'aram*

When used with Tense VICS, *'am* and its plural/intensifier variant *'aram* mean ‘finally’ (60a–b). When used with Tenseless VICS, they express the notion of ‘perhaps’ or ‘possibly’ (60c–d).

(60) a.	'Am	maqui'	ta'	na.
	finally:s	come	1s:rf	3s:rp/p
	'He finally (said), "I will come".'			

(60) b. 'Aram            'aram            maqui'            nana            caram            cwa'.  
 finally:p            finally:p            come            3p:rp/p            p            this:m/f  
 'They finally came.'

(60) c.	'Am	maqui'	cain ca-in	xim	ne.
	perhaps	come	3sm-3n	night	rec:past
	'Perhaps he came last night.'				

(60) d.	'Aram	maqui'	cacain caca-in	xim	ne.
	perhaps	come	3pm-3n	night	rec:past
	'Perhaps they came last night.'				

(4) *Win* 'to be the same'

- (61) a. Win cama pane.  
 same 3sf rem:past  
 '(She should do the) same (as) she (did) long ago.'
- (61) b. Win ne ca mi' mon con wom quem?  
 ma-on  
 same 3n INFL:nrp/p give 2s-3sm prep:3sm cotton ref  
 '(You should give me clothes the) same (as) you gave him clothes.'

(5) *Cain'* and/or its variant *cain' cain'*, 'interrogative', derived from the demonstrative *cain* 'that neuter distal'.

In addition to appearing with Tenseless VICS, *cain'* may also appear with irrealis VICS. Compare this use of *cain'* with its use as an operator word in COMP sentences (78), where it signals interrogation.

- (62) a. Cain' cain' cama?  
 that:n:distal that:n:distal 3sf  
 'What is she (doing)?'
- (62) b. Cain' cain' ne wuxum ne?  
 wixi-um  
 that:n:distal that:n:distal 3n name-2s rec:past?  
 'What is your name?'
- (62) c. Cain' cain' xita?  
 that:n:distal that:n:distal 1s:irr  
 'What should I (do)?'
- (62) d. Cain' xira cain' con?  
 that:n:distal 3s:irr that:n:distal prep:3sm  
 'What is (wrong) with him?' (lit. 'How should it (be) regarding him?')

(6) *Ca'/ma'/ne/pane 'ira* and *ca'/ma'/ne/pane quira* 'emphatic particles' occur at the end of the sentence

- (63) a. Maqui' cama ca' quira!  
 come 3sf this:n emph  
 'She certainly did come!'
- (63) b. 'Awi ne ma' 'ira.  
 good 3n that:prox:hearer emph  
 'It certainly is good.'

1.1.1.4.2. *COMP sentences*

COMP sentences are distinguished from simple and verbalized sentences by the following criteria:

- 1 They have an overt expression in their sentence-initial position, or COMP, what we will refer to as ‘operator words’ or ‘COMP words’.
- 2 An INFL morpheme usually follows the operator word. This is because Tense must appear in second position of the sentence (with few exceptions, to be noted in the course of our discussion)—see 2.1.8.2.5.
- 3 Tenseless VICS usually follow the verb in the VP (there are exceptions to this, noted in the paragraph preceding (64) and the paragraph following (73)).

By ‘operator word’, we mean a word which sets the value of a particular logical connective for the entire sentence, or which is interpreted logically as binding a variable in the sentence. By ‘INFL’, we mean a preverbal word which gives information about tense, mood and in some cases gender. That operator words are separate syntactic words, and not prefixes, can be shown in information questions, where questioned NPS can be placed between the operator word and INFL. Also, some operator words form compounds with different nouns or demonstratives in preverbal positions, as shown in some of the examples which follow ((68a), (73e–f), (74c), (82c–e)). This is also not expected if these are prefixes. We analyse INFL as a separate morpheme, because the language otherwise lacks prefixes, although nothing crucial for our descriptive task here hinges on this.

There are ten COMP words in ‘ON that appear in matrix or embedded clauses, and one, *pain*, that serves exclusively to introduce subordinate clauses. Some of these COMP words also interact with certain pre-/post-verbal modifiers and verbs in order to express different types of interrogation. These COMP words select for specific INFL morphemes to accompany them, as discussed below. COMP words occur elsewhere in the language in different word classes, as shown in Table 1.1, where we list each COMP word with its basic meaning as well as the function it signals as a COMP word—see also 2.2.2.3. ‘Interrogation’ means question-word interrogation.

Three operator words (*mo*, ‘*ac*’, and ‘*ane*’) can occur only with declarative intonation; four (*mon*, *mam*, *main* and *cain*’) can occur only with interrogative intonation (see, however, 1.2.1.1, where *mon*, *mam* and *main* also appear with declarative intonation in copular-type sentences); and four *ma*’, ‘*om*’, *je* and *pain*) can occur with either declarative or interrogative intonation. Table 1.2 illustrates this. When *ma*’ occurs with interrogative intonation, it asks a question-word question; when ‘*om*’ and *pain* occur with interrogative intonation, they ask a yes-no question; when *je* occurs

Table 1.1 COMP operator words: form and function

Operator word	Morphological composition	Function
<i>ma'</i>	demonstrative 'that:prox:hearer'	interrogation
<i>mon</i>	<i>ma'</i> + <i>-on</i> '3sm object'	interrogation (masculine)
<i>mam</i>	<i>ma'</i> + <i>-m</i> '3sf object'	interrogation (feminine)
<i>main</i>	<i>ma'</i> + <i>-in</i> '3n object'	interrogation (neuter)
<i>'om</i>	verb 'to not exist'	negation
<i>mo</i>	(?)verb 'list presentation'	condition
<i>'ac</i>	preverbal modifier 'like'	indication of resemblance
<i>je</i>	emphatic pronoun '3n'	affirmation/ interrogation
<i>'ane</i>	verb 'to be different'	contraexpectation
<i>cain'</i>	demonstrative 'that neuter distal'	interrogation
<i>pain</i>	preposition '3n'	subordination/ (?)distant past

Table 1.2 Intonation which may accompany specific COMP words

Declarative only	Interrogative only	Both
<i>mo</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>ma</i>
<i>'ac</i>	<i>mam'</i>	<i>'om</i>
<i>'ane</i>	<i>main</i>	<i>je</i>
	<i>cain'</i>	<i>pain</i>

with interrogative intonation, the implication is a 'why?' or 'why not?' question, but the speaker does not normally expect other than a yes or no answer.

There are five INFL morphemes in 'ON. They appear in INFL following COMP in COMP sentences: *ca* 'neuter realis past/present', *co* 'masculine/ feminine realis past/present', *'iri* 'realis past/present', *ta* 'realis future', and *xi* 'irrealis'. Since INFL morphemes express tense/mood in COMP sentences (and elsewhere, in noun and relative clauses), they may not co-occur with a Tense VIC, except as mentioned in the following paragraph. See also 1.1.2.2 and 1.1.2.3 below. INFL morphemes indicate the gender of the (overt or covert) word or phrase in COMP.

While Tenseless VICS are usually the only VICS which appear in COMP sentences, the Tense third person realis past/present VICS must occur when a masculine/feminine subject is referenced in COMP (whether overt or covert; this does not necessarily hold for relative clauses—see the discussion on relative clauses in 1.1.2.3, where it is shown that in some cases, no VIC follows the verb. See also (64d) below). So, for example, a Tense VIC is required when questioning a masculine/feminine subject, which always involves

an overt COMP word (64a–b), or when relativizing the masculine/feminine subject, which always involves a covert COMP (64c–d).

- |         |   |               |                    |               |              |
|---------|---|---------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (64) a. | Ma'   |               | co                 | tomi'         | na?          |
|         | that:prox:hearer  |               | INFL:m/frp/p       | speak         | 3s:rp/p      |
|         | 'Who is speaking?'  |               |                    |               |              |
| (64) b. | Ma'   | xi            | 'awin              | nain<br>na-in | cwa'?        |
|         | that:prox:hearer  | INFL:irr      | take               | 3s:rp/p-3n    | this:m/f     |
|         | 'Who shall take it?'  |               |                    |               |              |
| (64) c. | Jam'  | pin           | nana               | hwijima'      | co           |
|         | tired   | completely    | 3p:rp/p            | children      | INFL:m/frp/p |
|         | nana  | pic.          |                    |               | xin          |
|         | 3p:rp/p   | rubber        |                    |               | throw:s      |
|         | 'The children who are playing ball are tired.' (lit. '...who are throwing the rubber.') |               |                    |               |              |
| (64) d. | Taxi'   | nain<br>na-in | i' ma'             | co            | tucuninim'.  |
|         | know  | 3s:rp/p-3n    | n that:prox:hearer | INFL:m/frp/p  | shaman       |
|         | 'The one who is a shaman knows that.'   |               |                    |               |              |

In all other circumstances, only Tenseless VICS appear in COMP sentences. The examples in (65–71) show nonsubjects, or in the case of (68), a neuter subject, being questioned or referenced in COMP, illustrating the fact that Tenseless VICS must be used. Note the ungrammatical examples in the pairs of examples below, where a Tense, rather than Tenseless, VIC appears.

- |         |                           |              |        |         |
|---------|---------------------------|--------------|--------|---------|
| (65)    | Ma'                       | co           | tomi'  | ca?     |
|         | that:prox:hearer          | INFL:m/frp/p | speak  | 3sm     |
|         | 'Of whom is he speaking?' |              |        |         |
| (66) a. | Ma'                       | ca           | querec | ca?     |
|         | that:prox:hearer          | INFL:nrp/p   | see    | 3sm     |
|         | 'What did he see?'        |              |        |         |
| (66) b. | *Ma'                      | ca           | querec | na?     |
|         | that:prox:hearer          | INFL:nrp/p   | see    | 3s:rp/p |
|         | 'What did he see?'        |              |        |         |
| (67) a. | Main                      | ca           | mao    | ca?     |
|         | ma'-in                    |              |        |         |
|         | that:prox:hearer-n        | INFL:nrp/p   | go:s   | 3sm     |



‘Where did he go?’

(67) b.	*Main ma'-in		ca		mao	na?
	that:prox:hearer-n		INFL:nrp/p		go:s	3s:rp/p

‘Where did he go?’

(68) a.	Ma'	mijac	ca	mi'	pin	ne?
	that:prox:hearer	pig	INFL:nrp/p	give	completely	3n

‘Which pig died?’

(68) b.	*Ma'	mijac	ca	mi'	pin	
	that:prox:hearer	pig	INFL:nrp/p	give	completely	
	na?					
	3s:rp/p					

‘Which pig died?’

(69) a.	Ma'		ta		mama'	caca.
	that:prox:hearer		INFL:rf		go:p	3pm

‘So that they will go.’

(69) b.	*Ma'		ta		mama'	nana.
	that:prox:hearer		INFL:rf		go:p	3p:rp/p

‘So that they will go.’

(70) a.	Mo	xi		pi'am		cacama.
	conditional	INFL:irr		sleep		3pf

‘If they slept...’

(70) b.	*Mo	xi		pi'am		nana.
	conditional	INFL:irr		sleep		3p:rp/p

‘If they slept...’

(71) a.	'Om	ca		xirao'		ca.
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p		mark		3sm

‘He did not go.’

(71) b.	*'Om	ca		xirao'		na.
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p		mark		3s:rp/p

‘He did not go.’

As can be seen in the examples above, object VICS are not permitted when the object is questioned in COMP sentences. In fact, whenever an object NP is moved to the front of the sentence, it may not be referenced on the VIC. However, subject VICS are always required in COMP sentences. (The only exception we have noticed is *Ma' xi mo cwa' ne?* 'Who will run?' There is no Tense VIC in this example, and we have no other account except to note that we believe it is an idiomatic construction.)

- |         |                                     |              |       |                |
|---------|-------------------------------------|--------------|-------|----------------|
| (72) a. | *Ma'                                | co           | tomi' | con?<br>ca-on  |
|         | that:prox:hearer                    | INFL:m/frp/p | speak | 3sm-3sm        |
|         | 'Of whom is he speaking to him?'    |              |       |                |
| (72) b. | *Main                               | ca           | mao   | main?<br>ma-in |
|         | ma'-in                              |              |       |                |
|         | that:prox:hearer-n                  | INFL:nrp/p   | go:s  | 2s-3n          |
|         | (lit.) 'Where are you going to it?' |              |       |                |

We now describe the use of each operator word, the INFL morpheme(s) which it selects, and its meanings. The first example following the introduction of each operator word illustrates the operator word in what we consider to be its basic function. The subsequent examples illustrate its functions in COMP.

(1) *Ma'* 'that proximate to hearer'

When *ma'* is followed by the INFL morpheme *ca* 'neuter realis past/ present', it signals interrogation and expresses the notion of 'what?', 'why?' or 'how?' Since the questioned element is nonsubject, Tenseless VICS follow the verb. When *ma'* expresses the notion of 'why?', it frequently employs the use of the preverbal modifier *para* 'therefore' and/or the verb *mi* 'give' occurring in postverbal modifier position. Both of these verbal modifiers are optional, but one or the other is usually used in 'why?' questions. The three sentences in (73b–d) are synonymous and have the same distribution, so far as we can tell. Note the examples in (73e–f), where a noun follows *ma'* to form a COMP phrase and asks specifically 'What thing do you want?' and 'What day will the chief come?' (73a) shows *ma'* appearing in its nonderived form as a demonstrative.

- |         |                             |                  |           |       |      |       |
|---------|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------|-------|------|-------|
| (73) a. | xirim                       | ma'.             |           |       |      |       |
|         | house                       | that:prox:hearer |           |       |      |       |
|         | 'That house'                |                  |           |       |      |       |
| (73) b. | Ma'                         | ca               | para      | 'aca  | mi'  | ca    |
|         | that:prox:hearer            | INFL:nrp/p       | therefore | cry:s | give | 3sm   |
|         | pije'                       | ma'?             |           |       |      |       |
|         | child                       | that:prox:hearer |           |       |      |       |
|         | 'Why is that child crying?' |                  |           |       |      |       |
| (73) c. | Ma'                         | ca               | 'aca      | mi'   | ca   | pije' |

- that:prox:hearer                      INFL:nrp/p                      cry:s                      give                      3sm                      child  
 ma'?
- that:prox:hearer  
 'Why is that child crying?'
- (73) d.      Ma'                      ca                      para                      'aca                      ca                      pije'  
 that:prox:hearer                      INFL:nrp/p                      therefore                      cry:s                      3sm                      child  
 ma'?
- that:prox:hearer  
 'Why is that child crying?'
- (73) e.      Ma'                      carawa                      ca                      param                      ma?  
 that:prox:hearer                      animal                      INFL:nrp/p                      desire                      2s  
 'What do you want?' (lit. 'What thing do you want?')
- (73) f.      Ma'                      xec                      ca                      maqui                      ta'                      ca  
 that:prox:hearer                      day                      INFL:nrp/p                      come                      1s:rf                      3sm  
 taramaxicon?  
 chief  
 'When will the chief come?' (lit. 'What day does the chief (say), "I will come"?')
- (73) g.      Ma'                      ca                      xio                      cacama                      pane                      ne?  
 that:prox:hearer                      INFL:nrp/p                      cold                      3pf                      rem:pas                      rec:past  
 'How did they get well?' (lit. 'How/why did they get cold, did their fevers go down?')

When *ma'* is followed by the INFL morpheme *co* 'masculine/feminine realis past/present', it expresses the notion of 'who?' or 'whom?' When the questioned element is masculine or feminine subject, only Tense third person realis past/present VICS can follow the verb (74a); when the questioned element is nonsubject, only Tenseless VICS can be used (first, second, or third person) (74b). Note the COMP phrase in (74c), asking specifically 'What person went?'

- (74) a.      Ma'                      co                      mao                      na?  
 that:prox:hearer                      INFL:m/frp/p                      go:s                      3s:rp/p  
 'Who went?'
- (74) b.      Ma'                      co                      tomi'                      ca                      Xijam?  
 that:prox:hearer                      INFL:m/frp/p                      speak                      3sm                      m:name  
 'Of whom is Xijam speaking?'
- (74) c.      Ma'                      wari'                      co                      mao                      na?

that:prox:hearer	person	INFL:m/frp/p	go:s	3s:rp/p
'What person went?'				

When *ma'* is followed by the INFL morpheme *ta* 'realis future', it signals declaration, declarative intonation is used, and it expresses the notion of purpose. Since the element referenced in COMP is nonsubject, Tenseless VICS follow the verb. See 1.1.2.4.2.3 where we discuss purpose clauses in detail.

- |      |                |            |                  |         |       |                     |
|------|----------------|------------|------------------|---------|-------|---------------------|
| (75) | Tota<br>tota-0 | xi'.       | Ma'              | ta      | ma'   | capari'<br>ca-pari' |
|      | garden-1s      | 1pincl:rf  | that:prox:hearer | INFL:rf | exist | 3sm-1pincl          |
|      | carawa         | ca         | cao'             | wa.     |       |                     |
|      | animal         | INFL:nrp/p | eat              | inf     |       |                     |

‘Let’s make a garden, so we will have something to eat.’ (lit. ‘...that food will exist to us.’)

- (2-4) *Mon* 'that proximate to hearer+3sm object suffix'  
*Mam* 'that proximate to hearer+3sf object suffix'  
*Main* 'that proximate to hearer+3n object suffix'

*Mon*, *mam* and *main*, inflected variants of *ma'* (masculine, feminine, and neuter respectively), may occur in COMP followed by a noun, forming a COMP phrase similar to that illustrated in (73e–f) and (74c). This construction asks ‘which?’ Note example (76b), where a noun derived by the irrealis INFL morpheme *xi* occurs in the COMP phrase.

- |         |                                   |          |              |              |               |
|---------|-----------------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| (76) a. | Mon<br>ma'-on                     | tarama'  | co           | mao          | nain<br>na-in |
|         | that:prox:hearer-m                | man      | INFL:m/frp/p | go:s         | 3s:rp/p-3n    |
|         | Guajar                            |          |              |              |               |
|         | place:name                        |          |              |              |               |
|         | ‘Which man went to Guajar ?’      |          |              |              |               |
| (76) b. | Mon<br>ma'-on                     | xi       | wari'        | co           | tomi' 'iri'   |
|         | that:prox:hearer-m                | INFL:irr | person       | INFL:m/frp/p | speak 1pincl  |
|         | cwa'                              | ne?      |              |              |               |
|         | this:m/f                          | rec:past |              |              |               |
|         | ‘Of which person shall we speak?’ |          |              |              |               |
| (76) c. | Mam<br>ma'-m                      | narima'  | co           | xain         | na?           |
|         | that:prox:hearer-f                | woman    | INFL:m/frp/p | hot          | 3s:rp/p       |

'Which woman has a fever?'

(76) d.	Mam ma'-m	pije'	co	pe	horona horona-0	ma?
	that:prox:hearer-f	child	INFL:m/frp/p	be:at:s	bigness-1s	2s

'Which child did you raise (lit. be (with) and cause to be big)?'

(76) e.	Main	capam'	ca	xo'	'ep	ma?
	that:prox:hearer-n	cornbread	INFL:nrp/p	recently	grind	2s

'Which cornbread did you just make?'

When *main* is followed by an INFL morpheme, it is used to ask 'where?' or 'how?' Either of the INFL morphemes *ca* 'neuter realis past present' or *xi* 'irrealis' may be used, and, since the questioned element is nonsubject, Tenseless VICS are used. When *main* expresses the notion of 'where?', it employs the use of the verbs *pe/to* 'to be (s/p)', *'ac* 'to travel', and *mao/ mama'* 'to go (s/p)'.

(77) a.	Main ma'-in		ca		mao	ca?
	that:prox:hearer-n		INFL:nrp/p		go:s	3sm

'Where did he go?'

(77) b.	Main ma'-in		ca	to'	pe	quem? ca-em
	that:prox:hearer-n		INFL:nrp/p	hit	be:at:s	3sm-2s

'Where (on the path) did he hit you?'

(77) c.	Main ma'-in		ca	pi'am	to	caca?
	that:prox:hearer-n		INFL:nrp/p	sleep	be:at:p	3pm

'Where did they sleep?'

(77) d.	Main ma'-in		ca	to'	'ac	quem? ca-em
	that:prox:hearer-n		INFL:nrp/p	hit	travel	3sm-2s

'Where (on your body) did he hit you?'

(77) e.	Main ma'-in		xi	taramaja	mao	ta'?
	that:prox:hearer-n		INFL:irr	work	go:s	1s

'Where shall I work?'

(77) f.	Main ma'-in		xi	taramaja	mama'	'iri'?
	that:prox:hearer-n		INFL:irr	work	go:p	1pincl

‘Where shall we work?’

(5) *cain'* ‘that neuter distal’

*Cain'* signals interrogation. It expresses the notion of ‘what?’ (as applied to a proposition, e.g. the content of an utterance or thought), ‘when?’, ‘how?’, ‘how many?’ and ‘how long?’ Either of the INFL morphemes *ca* ‘neuter realis past present’ or *xi* ‘irrealis’ may be used, and since the questioned element is nonsubject, Tenseless VICS are used. When *cain'* expresses the notion of ‘how?’, it frequently employs the use of the verb ‘*ac* ‘to travel’, occurring in postverbal modifier position (78d). When it expresses the notion of ‘how many?’ or ‘how long?’, it employs the use of the verb *ma'* ‘to exist’ (78f–i). See 2.2.5, where we discuss the derivational process by which *cain'* is derived from the demonstrative *cain*. See also the examples in (62), where *cain'* occurs as the verb in a simple sentence. (78a) shows *cain* appearing as a demonstrative.

- (78) a.                      xirim                                      cain  
                                 house                                      that:n:distal  
                                 ‘that (distant) house’
- (78) b.                      Cain'                                      ca                                      tomi'                                      cama?  
                                 that:n:distal                                      INFL:nrp/p                                      speak                                      3sf  
                                 ‘What did she say?’
- (78) c.                      Cain'                                      xi                                      tomi'                                      hwe?  
                                 that:n:distal                                      INFL:irr                                      speak                                      2p  
                                 ‘When will you speak?’
- (78) d.                      Cain'                                      ca                                      tomi'                                      'ac                                      caca?  
                                 that:n:distal                                      INFL:nrp/p                                      speak                                      travel                                      3pm  
                                 ‘How can they speak?’
- (78) e.                      Cain'                                      xi                                      xirao'                                      ta'?  
                                 that:n:distal                                      INFL:irr                                      mark                                      1s  
                                 ‘How shall I write?’
- (78) f.                      Cain'                                      ca                                      ma'                                      ca                                      wari'?  
                                 that:n:distal                                      INFL:nrp/p                                      exist                                      3s                                      person  
                                 ‘How many people are there?’
- (78) g.                      Cain'                                      xi                                      ma'                                      ne                                      xirim?  
                                 that:n:distal                                      INFL:irr                                      exist                                      3n                                      house  
                                 ‘How many houses will there be?’
- (78) h.                      Cain'                                      ca                                      ma'                                      ne                                      xec                                      ca                                      xain  
                                 that:n:distal                                      INFL:nrp/p                                      exist                                      3n                                      day                                      INFL:nrp/p                                      hot

cama ne?

3sf rec:past

'How long has she had a fever?' (lit. 'How many days is it that she has had a fever?')

- (78) Cain' xi ma' ca panawo' ca mon  
i.  
that:n:distal INFL:irr exist 3n moon INFL:nrp/p slowly:s  
to wet xi' pain cain hwe?  
be:p still 1pincl:rp/p prep:3n that:n:distal 2p  
'How long will you stay there?' (lit. 'How many moons will it be that you (say), "We will stay there"?'')

(6) 'om 'to not exist'

When 'om is followed by an INFL morpheme, it signals negation. It may be used with declarative or interrogative intonation, in which case it asks a yes-no question. Either of the INFL morphemes *ca* 'neuter realis past present', *ta* 'realis future', or *xi* 'irrealis' may be used, and since the element referenced in COMP is nonsubject, Tenseless VICS are used. See 1.4, where negation is described in detail. (79a) shows 'om appearing as a verb.

- (79) a. 'Om na.  
not:exist 3s:rp/p  
'No.' (lit. 'It does not exist.')
- (79) b. 'Om ca mao ca.  
not:exist INFL:nrp/p go:s 3sm  
'He did not go.'
- (79) c. 'Om ta mao ca.  
not:exist INFL:rf go:s 3sm  
'He will not go.'
- (79) d. 'Om xi mao ca.  
not:exist INFL:irr go:s 3sm  
'He should not go.'
- (79) e. 'Om ca mao ca?  
not:exist INFL:nrp/p go:s 3sm  
'Didn't he go?'

(7) 'ac 'like'

When 'ac is in COMP, it must be followed by the INFL morpheme *ca* 'neuter realis past/present', it signals resemblance between two objects, and must always have declarative intonation. Since 'ac references a nonsubject element, only Tenseless VICS

may be used following the verb. An *'ac* sentence is always embedded in a verbalized sentence—see 1.1.1.4.3.3.6, where we describe verbalized comparative sentences in detail. (80a) shows *'ac* appearing as the leftmost member of a compound verb in what we consider to be its basic use. Note that in (80a), unlike the examples which follow, a Tense VIC follows the verb, there is no INFL, and the sentence is not embedded. Therefore we analyse this *'ac* as a verb rather than a COMP word.

(80) a.	'Ac	pana	na.
	like	tree	3s:rp/p
	'It is like a tree.'		

(80) b.	'Ac	ca	mao	cama	na.
	like	INFL:nrp/p	go:s	3sf	3s:rp/p
	'It seems like she went?'				

#### (8) *mo* 'conditional'

The morpheme *mo* 'conditional' may be derived from *mo* 'list presentation'. An example of the latter is found in (81a). When *mo* appears in COMP, followed by an INFL morpheme, it signals condition and must always have declarative intonation. It expresses the notion of 'if'. Either of the INFL morphemes *ta* 'realis future' or *xi* 'irrealis' may be used, and since *mo* does not reference the subject, Tenseless VICS are used. See 1.1.2.4.2.5, where we discuss condition sentences in detail, and 1.1.1.4.3.3.1, where we discuss condition sentences appearing in a verbalized sentence.

(81) a.	Mo	nana	co	mama'	nanain nana-in
	list:presentation	3p:rp/p	INFL:m/frp/p	go:p	3p:rp/p-3n
	Guajará.	Xijam,	'Orowao',	Minain,	ca'
	place:name	m:name	m:name	m:name	this:n
	nana	mon	tarama'	co	mama'
	3p:rp/p	coll	man	INFL:m/frp/p	go:p
	nanain nana-in	Guajará	pane.		
	3p:rp/p-3n	place:name	rem:past		

'Here are the ones who went to Guajará. Xijam, 'Orowao', Minain, thus are the men who went to Guajará long ago.'

(81) b.	Mo	ta	mao	ca.
	conditional	INFL:rf	go:s	3sm
	'If he goes.'			

(81) c.	Mo	xi	mao	ca.
	conditional	INFL:irr	go:s	3sm



‘If he would go.’

(9) *je* ‘third person neuter emphatic pronoun’

When *je* appears in COMP position, it may be used to express affirmation or interrogation. When *je* is followed by the INFL morpheme *ca* ‘neuter realis past present’ or *ta* ‘realis future’, it has declarative intonation and signals affirmation. When followed by the INFL morpheme *xi* ‘irrealis’, it has interrogative intonation and is used to elicit an agreement from the hearer. Since *je* does not reference the subject, it may only co-occur with Tenseless VICS (as in (82b–e) below). When it is followed by *ta* or *xi*, it often employs the use of the postverbal modifier *qui* ‘coming this way’. Note the examples in (82c–e), where a demonstrative pronoun follows *je* in COMP to form a COMP phrase; note also the examples in (82g–h), where the gloss of the irrealis constructions is affirmation (i.e. ‘So you should have talked to me’ and ‘He should not have gone’), but the implication is that the speaker is asking the hearer for agreement. (82a) shows *je* appearing in its nonderived form as an emphatic pronoun. As with all other cases above, this illustrates what we consider to be its basic use. See also 1.11.2.1.3, on pseudoclefts and other emphatic pronouns in COMP.

- |         |   |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
|---------|---|--------------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (82) a. | Cat   | non<br>na-on       |            | macojam       | je          |                  | banana.             |
|         | break:s   | 3s:rp/p-3sm        |            | papaya        | emph:3n     |                  | banana              |
|         | 'She picked papayas and bananas.'                       |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
| (82) b. | Je  | ca                 | tomi'      | ton<br>ta'-on | taramaxicon |                  | nexi'               |
|         | emph:3n   | INFL:nrp/p         | speak      | 1s-3sm        | chief       |                  | poss:1pincl         |
|         | pane.   |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
|         | rem:past  |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
|         | 'So that's what I said (or why I talked) to our chief.' |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
| (82) c. | Je  | 'i ma'             |            | ca            | to'         | 'awi             | napari'<br>na-pari' |
|         | emph:3n   | n that:prox:hearer |            | INFL:nrp/p    | hit         | good             | 3n-1pincl           |
|         | ma'.  |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
|         | that:prox:hearer  |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
|         | 'That is what causes us to be good.'                    |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
| (82) d. | Je  | 'i ca'             | ca         |               | tomi'       | cocon<br>ca-ocon | Xijam.              |
|         | emph:3n   | n this:n           | INFL:nrp/p |               | speak       | 3sm-3pm          | m:name              |
|         | 'This is what Xijam said to them.'                      |                    |            |               |             |                  |                     |
| (82) e. | Je  | ma'                |            | 'iri'         | mi'         | taxipa'          | cocon.<br>ca-ocon   |

- |         |   |                  |           |                 |                 |                  |
|---------|---|------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
|         | emph:3n   | that:prox:hearer | INFL:rp/p | give            | customary       | 3sm-3pm          |
|         | 'That is what he customarily gives them.'                 |                  |           |                 |                 |                  |
| (82) f. | Je  | ta               | cut       | qui'            | main<br>ma-in   | too<br>nem.      |
|         | emph:3n   | INFL:rf          | take:p    | coming:this:way | 2s-3n           | metal<br>poss:2s |
|         | 'So you shall bring your cans.'                           |                  |           |                 |                 |                  |
| (82) g. | Je  | xi               | tomi'     | qui'            |                 | mapa'?<br>ma-pa' |
|         | emph:3n   | INFL:irr         | speak     | coming:this:way |                 | 2s-1s            |
|         | 'You should have talked to me (but you didn't, did you)?' |                  |           |                 |                 |                  |
| (82) h. | Je  | xi               | 'om       | mao             | qui'            | ca?              |
|         | emph:3n   | INFL:irr         | not:exist | go:s            | coming:this:way | 3sm              |
|         | 'He should not have gone (but he did, didn't he)?'        |                  |           |                 |                 |                  |

We have one example in our corpus of the INFL morpheme deleting when *je 'i ma'* occurs in COMP. BK also thinks she has heard other examples like this. This phenomenon may have nothing to do with *je 'i ma'*; there are other instances of INFL deleting when the verb is reduplicated—see discussion and examples in 2.2.4.1.2. (83a) seems to be an idiomatic way of saying (83b). They are synonymous.

- |         |                                |    |                  |            |      |      |      |      |        |
|---------|--------------------------------|----|------------------|------------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| (83) a. | Je                             | 'i | ma'              | cao'       | mao  | cao' | mao  | caca | 'oro   |
|         | emph:3n                        | n  | that:prox:hearer | eat        | go:s | eat  | go:s | 3pm  | coll   |
|         | wari'.                         |    |                  |            |      |      |      |      |        |
|         | person                         |    |                  |            |      |      |      |      |        |
|         | 'That is what the people eat.' |    |                  |            |      |      |      |      |        |
| (83) b. | Je                             | 'i | ma'              | ca         |      | cao' | caca | 'oro | wari'. |
|         | emph:3n                        | n  | that:prox:hearer | INFL:nrp/p |      | eat  | 3pm  | coll | person |
|         | 'That is what the people eat.' |    |                  |            |      |      |      |      |        |

Some idiolects also delete the INFL morpheme *ca* in *je* COMP sentences when the preverbal modifier *para* ‘therefore’ occurs with the verb. The INFL morpheme *ca* may be used without altering the meaning in any way.

- |         |                                      |           |            |       |                          |
|---------|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------|-------|--------------------------|
| (84) a. | Je                                   | para      | xiram      | pa'   | caparut.<br>ca-parut     |
|         | emph:3n                              | therefore | press:down | upon  | 3sm-1pexcl               |
|         | 'That is why he feels sorry for us.' |           |            |       |                          |
| (84) b. | je                                   | ca        | para       | xiram | pa' caparut.<br>ca-parut |

emph:3n INFL:nrp/p therefore press:down upon 3sm-1pexcl

'That is why he feels sorry for us.'

(10) *'ane* 'to be different'

*'Ane* signals contraexpectation and must always have declarative intonation. It is not followed by an INFL morpheme when the VP is headed by a nonderived verb. It is followed by the INFL morpheme *ca* 'neuter realis past/present' when the VP is headed by a verbalized noun. The sentence-final particle *ne* 'recent past' must always occur. (85a) shows *'ane* appearing as a verb, which we consider to be its basic use. (85b–c) illustrate the use of *'ane* as a COMP word, where it means 'but' or 'because'. See 1.1.2.4.2.8, where we discuss contraexpectives in detail.

(85) a. 'Ane nana 'oro ca nari nexi' cwa'.  
different 3p:rp/p coll INFL:nrp/p related poss:1pincl this:m/f  
'Our relatives are different.'

(85) b. 'Ane ca wari' 'iri' ca' ne.  
different INFL:nrp/p person 1pincl this:n rec:past  
'But/because we are people (Indians).'

(85) c. 'Ane wijima toco' ta' ne.  
different wijima-0 smallness-1s lie:down:p 1s rec:past  
'But/because I had lots of children.' (lit. 'But/because I had children and they lay (p) (all around the place).'

(11) *pain* 'third person neuter preposition'

When *pain* is followed by an INFL morpheme, it signals subordination. The only INFL morpheme that can follow *pain* is *ca* 'neuter realis past/ present'. (86a) shows *pain* in what we consider to be its basic function, used as a preposition followed by a nonderived noun.

(86) a. Tama' cut 'in pin rain macan' pain  
ra-in  
always take:p return completely 2s:rf-3n dirt prep:3n  
'oro caximain ma'.  
caxima-in  
coll foot-3n that:prox:hearer  
'Always gather dirt around its roots.'

(86) b. Tomi' xaxa' 'urut pain ca cono'  
speak distractedly 1pexcl:rp/p prep:3n INFL:nrp/p die:p  
cacama xuruxut pane.  
xere-xut

- |         |  |                    |          |     |               |         |           |       |
|---------|--|--------------------|----------|-----|---------------|---------|-----------|-------|
|         | 3pf  | siblings-1pexcl    | rem:past |     |               |         |           |       |
|         | 'We are sad because our brothers died.'                        |                    |          |     |               |         |           |       |
| (86) c. | Xiram  | pa'                | 'ara     | mao | xim<br>ta'-em | pain    | 'iri'     | tomi' |
|         | press:down   | upon               | neg:p    | neg | 1s-2s         | prep:3n | INFL:rp/p | speak |
|         | mana'  | quequem<br>caca-em | ca.'     |     |               |         |           |       |
|         | angry  | 3pm-2s             | his:n    |     |               |         |           |       |
|         | 'I feel very sorry for you because they speak angrily to you.' |                    |          |     |               |         |           |       |

There is one use of *pain* that could be said to be used on a superordinate clause level, in which it means 'long ago'. Although the surface structure looks like a regular COMP sentence, we question, however, whether it could really be described as such. In order to express the notion of 'long ago', exaggerated emphasis must be applied to *pain*.

- (87) *Paaaaaain*            ca                            maqui'            'urut            pane.  
prep:3n            INFL:nrp/p            come            1pexcl            rem:past  
'We came a long time ago.'

#### 1.1.1.4.3. Verbalized sentences

**1.1.1.4.3.1. Introduction** By ‘verbalized sentences’, we mean to refer to those sentences in which the predicate is manifested by one of the derived predicate types described in this section. Strictly speaking, of course, the verbalized sentence is only the derived predicate itself. However, due to the range of functions peculiar to this construction type, we will refer to the construction as a whole as a ‘verbalized sentence’, and hope that this does not cause undue confusion for the reader. The derived predicate of verbalized sentences can often be interpreted as an embedded speech, but not always. Verbalized sentences fall into two groups. The first group includes direct speech, future tense constructions, supposition, and purpose sentences. The distinguishing characteristic of this group is that their derived predicates have the form of a quotation. The second group includes conditional, desiderative, refusal, sequential and comparative sentences. These differ from the first group in that either the embedded portion would not be a well-formed sentence on its own, or the form of the construction as a whole is not that of a quotative sentence.

Verbalized sentences have one common denominator: the derived predicate is a sentence that has been verbalized, that is, the entire embedded clause is treated phonologically and morphosyntactically as a single verb. This verbalization of the embedded clause is manifested by the following syntactic and phonological changes:

- (a) The embedded clause occurs in the verb position of the matrix clause.
- (b) The embedded verbalized sentence may undergo modification, inflection and compounding just like any other verb.

- (c) Only the last syllable of the embedded sentence carries primary stress, just as the last syllable of a verb compound carries primary stress. (This would violate the normal stress rule that places primary stress on the final syllable of each word, were it not for the fact that the embedded sentence is now a single verb.)

The matrix clause of verbalized sentences is not marked in any special way. In general, any of the Tense or Tenseless verbal inflectional clitics may be used. Restrictions on their use, as well as the basic structure of each verbalized sentence type, are described below.

**1.1.1.4.3.2. Group I verbalized sentences** The derived predicate of Group I verbalized sentences is interpretable as a quotation. The derived predicates are italicized in the examples in this section.

1.1.1.4.3.2.1. Verbalized direct speech sentences: The verbal element of direct speech sentences consists of the embedded sentence. The constituent order of the matrix clause is:

0 speech verb+Tense VIC

which marks the addressee and speaker as the object and subject of the sentence. The order of the arguments and adjuncts of the matrix clause is the same as that of simple and COMP sentences.

(88) a.	<i>Ma'</i>		<i>co</i>		<i>mao</i>	<i>nain</i> na-in	<i>Guajará</i>
	that:prox.hearer		INFL:m/frp/p		go:s	3s:rp/p-3n	place:name
	nanam na-vcvm	'oro	narima'		taramaxicon.		
	3s:rp/p-3pf	coll	woman		chief		
	‘“ <i>Who went to Guajará?</i> ” (said) the chief to the women.’						
(88) b.	<i>Caxi</i>	<i>'urut</i>	paxi'		nana	humaxicam humaji-cam	Piro.
	sick	1pexcl:rp/p	not:find		3p:rp/p	children-3sf	f:name
	‘“ <i>We are sick</i> ”, Piro’s children (said) in vain.’						
(88) c.	'Om	ca	<i>hwap</i>	<i>ra</i>	con ca-on	pije'	taxi? taxi-0
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	fast:s	2s:rf	3sm-3sm	child	husband-1s
	‘Didn’t my husband (say) to the child, “ <i>Hurry!</i> ”?’						

See 1.1.1.1 for a discussion of the direct speech type and its use to express the concept of indirect speech.

1.1.1.4.3.2.2. Verbalized future tense constructions: The constituent order of the derived predicate of verbalized future tense constructions is:

v+1s/1pincl rf VIC+opt o/adjunct

The constituent order of the matrix clause of these sentences is:

## rp/p or rf VIC+arguments

The last syllable of the derived predicate, that is, the word preceding the realis past/present or future verbal inflectional clitic, carries primary stress. The verbalized future tense construction is preferred over the use of realis future verbal inflectional clitics alone to express future tense.

Only first person singular or plural inclusive realis future verbal inflectional clitics can occur in the derived predicate (i.e. the embedded sentence) of verbalized future tense constructions. Either realis past/ present or realis future verbal inflectional clitics can occur in the matrix clause. The VIC in the matrix clause marks the subject of the future tense construction as a whole, since the subject marked in the derived predicate and that marked in the matrix clause are always coreferential (this contrasts with an indirect speech interpretation (see 1.1.1.1), in which the subject of the derived predicate is always coreferential with the object of the matrix clause). The subject NP must occur externally, as illustrated below in (89).

- (89) a. *Cao' xi' carawa nana hwijima'.*  
eat 1pincl:rf animal 3p:rp/p children  
'The children will eat food.' (lit. '“We will eat food”, the children (say).')
- (89) b. *Quep ton napa' ca hi wa.*  
do 1s:rf-3sm 3s:rp/p-1s INFL:nrp/p blow:nose inf  
'I will get a cold.' (lit. 'Blowing of the nose (says) of me, “I will do him”'.')
- (89) c. *Mao ta' tara Xijam ra?*  
go:s 1s:rf 3s:rf m:name 2s:rf  
'Xijam is going to go, isn't he?' (lit. '“I will go”, Xijam will (say), won't he?')
- (89) d. *\*Mao ta' Xijam tara ra?*  
go:s 1s:rf m:name 3s:rf 2s:rf  
'“I will go Xijam”, he will (say), won't he?'

The conditions on marking the object and subject in verbalized future tense constructions are as follows:

(i) Object VICS (of matrix or embedded clauses) can always be omitted with indefinite objects, as per their behaviour in all clauses (see 1.2.5.2.4).

- (90) a. *Ja' xi' com pain 'iri cwerein nana*  
a. splash 1pincl:rf water prep:3n truly body-3n 3p:rp/p  
'oro wari.'  
coll person  
'The neonele will bathe in the river.' (lit. '“We will splash water in the river” the neonele

(say).'

- (90) *Ja'* *xin* *com* *pain* 'iri' *cwerein* nana  
b. *xi'-in* *cwere-in*  
splash 1pincl:rf-3n water prep:3n truly body-3n 3p:rp/p  
'oro wari.'  
coll person  
'The people will bathe in the river.' (lit. "We will splash the water in the river", the people (say).')

- (91) *Querec* *xun* *wijam* nana hwijima'.  
a. *xi'-on*  
see 1pincl:rf-3sm non:Indian 3p:rp/p children  
'The children will see the non-Indians.' (lit. "We will see the non-Indians", (say) the children.')

- (91) *Querec* *xun* *wijam* nonon hwijima'.  
b. *xi'-on* *nana-on*  
see 1pincl:rf-3sm non:Indian 3p:rp/p-3sm children  
'The children will see the non-Indians.' (lit. "We will see the non-Indians", (say) the children of him.')

(ii) If an NP object appears in the matrix clause, it can be referenced on both the embedded and matrix VICS.

- (92) *Hwet* *xun* nonon taramaxicon.  
*xi'-on* *nana-on*  
approach 1pincl:rf-3sm 3p:rp/p-3sm chief  
'They will go to the chief.' (lit. "We will go to him", they (say) of the chief.')

(iii) If a third person object (covert or overt) is referenced on the VIC of the matrix clause, then it must be marked on the embedded VIC.

- (93) a. *To'* *ton* mon wom?  
*ta'-on* *ma-on*  
hit 1s:rf-3sm 2s:rp/p-3sm cotton  
'Are you going to wash clothes?' (lit. "I will hit them", you (say) of clothes?')

- (93) b. *\*To'* *ta'* mon wom?  
*ma-on*  
hit 1s:rf 2s:rp/p-3sm cotton  
'Are you going to wash clothes?' (lit. "I will hit", you (say) of clothes?')

- (94) a. *Xac* *xin* 'iripain memem.  
*xi'-in* 'urut-pain

- |         |   |                      |                        |        |
|---------|---|----------------------|------------------------|--------|
|         | suck  | 1pincl:rf-3n         | 1pexcl:rp/p-3n         | fruit  |
|         | 'We will eat (suck) fruit.' (lit. "“ <i>We will eat (suck) it</i> ”, we (say) of fruit.') |                      |                        |        |
| (94) b. | * <i>Xac</i>  | <i>xi'</i>           | 'iripain<br>'urut-pain | memem. |
|         | suck  | 1pincl:rf            | 1pexcl:rp/p-3n         | fruit  |
|         | 'We will eat (suck) fruit.' (lit. "“ <i>We will eat (suck)</i> ”, we (say) of fruit.')    |                      |                        |        |
| (95) a. | <i>Tomi'</i>  | <i>ton</i><br>ta'-on | 'inon.<br>'ina-on      |        |
|         | speak   | 1s:rf-3sm            | 1s:rp/p-3sm            |        |
|         | 'I will speak to him.' (lit. "“ <i>I will speak to him</i> ”, I (say) of him.')           |                      |                        |        |
| (95) b. | * <i>Tomi'</i>  | <i>ta'</i>           | 'inon.<br>'ina-on      |        |
|         | speak   | 1s:rf                | 1s:rp/p-3sm            |        |
|         | 'I will speak to him.' (lit. "“ <i>I will speak</i> ”, I (say) of him.')                  |                      |                        |        |

(iv) If an NP object appears in the embedded, derived predicate, then it cannot be referenced on the matrix VIC.

- |         |  |            |               |                                 |                 |
|---------|--|------------|---------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| (96) a. | <i>Cao'</i>  | <i>xi'</i> | <i>carawa</i> | <i>nana</i>                     | <i>hwijima'</i> |
|         | eat  | 1p:incl:rf | animal        | 3p:rp/p                         | children        |
|         | 'The children will eat food.' (lit. "We will eat food", the children (say).')              |            |               |                                 |                 |
| (96) b. | <i>*Cao'</i>   | <i>xi'</i> | <i>carawa</i> | <i>nanain</i><br><i>nana-in</i> | <i>hwijima'</i> |
|         | eat  | 1p:incl:rf | animal        | 3p:rp/p-3n                      | children        |
|         | 'The children will eat the food.' (lit. "We will eat the food", the children (say) of it.) |            |               |                                 |                 |
| (97) a. | <i>Ten</i>   | <i>ta'</i> | <i>wi</i>     | <i>ma?</i>                      |                 |
|         | weave  | 1s:rf      | mat           | 2s:rp/p                         |                 |
|         | 'Are you going to weave a mat?' (lit. "I will weave a mat", you (say)?)                    |            |               |                                 |                 |
| (97) b. | <i>*Ten</i>  | <i>ta'</i> | <i>wi</i>     | <i>main?</i><br><i>ma-in</i>    |                 |
|         | weave  | 1s:rf      | mat           | 2s:rp/p-3n                      |                 |
|         | 'Are you going to weave a mat?' (lit. "I will weave a mat", you (say) of it?)              |            |               |                                 |                 |

(v) If the object is nonthird person, it must be marked on both embedded and matrix VICS, even in cases where the embedded VIC is formally third person but is understood as coreferent with the matrix first or second person.

- (98) a. *Tomi'* *xim* 'inem.



- |         |   |                      |                 |                   |               |
|---------|---|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|
|         |   | ta'-em               |                 | 'ina-em           |               |
|         | speak   | 1s:rf-2s             |                 | 1s:rp/p-2s        |               |
|         | 'I will talk to you.' (lit. ' <i>I will talk to you</i> ", I (say) of you.')            |                      |                 |                   |               |
| (98) b. | <i>*Tomi'</i>   | <i>ta'</i>           |                 | 'inem.<br>'ina-em |               |
|         | speak   | 1s:rf                |                 | 1s:rp/p-2s        |               |
|         | 'I will talk to you.' (lit. " <i>I will talk</i> ", I (say) of you.')                   |                      |                 |                   |               |
| (99) a. | <i>Quep</i>   | <i>ton</i><br>ta'-on | napa'<br>na-pa' | ca                | hi wa.        |
|         | do  | 1s:rf-3sm            | 3s:rp/p-1s      | INFL:nrp/p        | blow:nose inf |
|         | 'I will get a cold.' (lit. "Blowing of the nose (says) of me, <i>I will do him</i> ".') |                      |                 |                   |               |
| (99) b. | <i>*Quep</i>  | <i>ta'</i>           | napa'<br>na-pa' | ca                | hi wa.        |
|         | do  | 1s:rf                | 3s:rp/p-1s      | INFL:nrp/p        | blow:nose inf |
|         | 'I will get a cold.' (lit. "Blowing of the nose (says) of me, <i>I will touch</i> ".')  |                      |                 |                   |               |

1.1.1.4.3.2.3. Verbalized supposition sentences: Verbalized supposition sentences are used to express mistaken speculation or expectation of the speaker. The constituent order of the derived predicate of verbalized supposition sentences when third person is marked on the embedded VIC is:

v+3s/p rf VIC (+o or S NP)+postvm *ma'* 'that:prox:hearer'

Note that only a third person singular or plural VIC may occur in the embedded clause, whether referring to third person or second person. The constituent order of the matrix clause is:

rp/p VIC+opt arguments

Only realis past/present verbal inflectional clitics can be used in the matrix clause, and only third person realis future VICS can be used in the derived predicate. The subject marked in the derived predicate is always coreferential with the object marked in the matrix clause.

The embedded clause may contain an NP subject or an NP direct object but not both. If an NP direct object appears in the embedded clause, then an NP subject may not appear there—see (100g–h). A VIC within the embedded clause, referencing the subject, is always obligatory however. This embedded VIC coreferences the object of the matrix clause, whether it is overt or merely understood. Since the postverbal modifier *ma'* belongs to the class of postverbal modifiers that do not carry stress when occurring in a verb compound, the last syllable of the word preceding it carries primary stress—see 1.2.1.3.1.1.

- [illegible]

panxita'?

child-1s

(100)	<i>Pi'</i>	<i>pin</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>ma'</i>	nanain	carawa
b.					nana-in	

hwijima'.

'The children thought the food was all gone.' (lit. "‘*It is probably gone*’, the children (thought) of the food.')

'ina.

'I thought my younger brother was going to get lost.' (lit. '“*My younger brother is probably (saying), ‘I will get lost,’*” I (thought).')

[illegible] $\chi a'$ 

'I thought my younger brother was going to get lost.' (lit. "‘*He is probably (saying), ‘I will get lost’*,” I (thought) of my younger brother.)

na

3s:rp/p      siblings-1s

'I thought my brothers would then obey me.' (lit. "“*They will probably obey me*”, I (thought) of my brothers.')

or

(100) f.	<i>Tomi'</i>	<i>ha'</i>	<i>tatarapa'</i> tatarapa-	<i>xere</i> xere-0	<i>ma'</i>
	speak	pay:attention	3p:rf-1s	siblings-1s	that:prox:hearer
	'ac	toton ta'-ocon	na.		
	travel	1s-3pm	3s:rp/p		

'I thought my brothers would then obey me.' (lit. "“*My brothers will probably obey me*”, then I (thought) of them.')

(100) g.	<i>Pa'</i>	<i>taram</i> tara-m	<i>manacon</i> mana-con	<i>ma'</i>	'inon 'ina-on
	kill(hit)	3s:rf-3sf	wife-3sm	that:prox:hearer	1s:rp/p-3sm
	Jimon.				
	m:name				

'I thought Jimon hit (lit. killed) his wife.' (lit. "“*He probably hit (killed) his wife*”, I (thought) of Jimon.')

(100) h.	* <i>Pa'</i>	<i>taram</i> tara-m	<i>manacon</i> mana-con	<i>Jimon</i>	<i>ma'</i>	'ina.
	kill	3s:rf-3sf	wife-3sm	m:name	that:prox:hearer	1s:rp/p
	'I thought Jimon hit (killed) his wife.'					

A verbalized supposition sentence may be negated by embedding a COMP negation sentence into it. Consider the following examples (the verb is italicized in (101a), and the derived predicate is italicized in (101b)):

*COMP negative sentence*

(101) a.	'Om	ca	<i>mao</i>	ca.
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	go:s	3sm
	'He did not go.'			

*COMP negative sentence embedded in a verbalized supposition sentence*

(101) b.	'Om	<i>ta</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>ma'</i>	'inon. 'ina-on
	not:exist	INFL:rf	go:s	3sm	that:prox:hearer	1s:rp/p-3sm
	'I didn't think he went.' (lit. "“ <i>He probably didn't go</i> ”, I (thought) of him.')					

The realis future INFL morpheme *ta* is obligatory in negative supposition sentences. In both, therefore, just as in affirmative supposition sentences, only realis future may be used in the derived predicate. The postverbal modifier *ma'* also must follow (be compounded to) the derived predicate, just as in affirmative supposition sentences, and

the object suffix on the realis past/present VIC in the matrix clause is coreferential with the subject marked in the VIC of the derived predicate. The derived predicate is italicized in the following examples:

- |             |  |           |                  |             |                  |                   |
|-------------|--|-----------|------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (102)<br>a. | <i>'Om</i>   | <i>ta</i> | <i>pi'</i>       | <i>caca</i> | <i>hwijima'</i>  | <i>ma'</i>        |
|             | not:exist  | INFL:rf   | dance            | 3pm         | children         | that:prox.hearer  |
|             | 'inonon.<br>'ina-ocon  |           |                  |             |                  |                   |
|             | 1s:rp/p-3pm  |           |                  |             |                  |                   |
|             | 'I didn't think the children had danced.' (lit. "The children probably didn't dance", I (thought).')                           |           |                  |             |                  |                   |
| (102)<br>b. | <i>'Om</i>   | <i>ta</i> | <i>mana'</i>     | <i>cam</i>  | <i>jicon</i>     |                   |
|             |  |           |                  | ca-m        | xi-con           |                   |
|             | not:exist  | INFL:rf   | be:angry         | 3sm-3sf     | mother-3sm       |                   |
|             | <i>ma'</i>   |           | 'inon<br>'ina-on |             | Moroxin.         |                   |
|             | that:prox.hearer   |           | 1s:rp/p-3sm      |             | m:name           |                   |
|             | 'I didn't think Moroxin was angry with his mother.' (lit. "He probably isn't angry with his mother", I (thought) of Moroxin.') |           |                  |             |                  |                   |
| (102)<br>c. | <i>'Om</i>   | <i>ta</i> | <i>'awori</i>    | <i>ne</i>   | <i>ma'</i>       | nanain<br>nana-in |
|             | not:exist  | INFL:rf   | be:ready         | 3n          | that:prox.hearer | 3p:rp/p-3n        |
|             | mapac  | 'oro      | narima'.         |             |                  |                   |
|             | corn   | coll      | woman            |             |                  |                   |
|             | 'The women didn't think the corn was ready.' (lit. "It probably isn't ready", the women (thought) of the corn.')               |           |                  |             |                  |                   |

The constituent order of the derived predicate of verbalized supposition sentences, in which first person occurs, is:

v+1s rp/p+xi' 'dub'+*ma* 'emph' (spoken by a man)

or

v+1s rp/p+xi' 'dub'+e' 'emph' (spoken by a woman)

and the constituent order of the matrix clause is:

1s rp/p+opt. 'ira 'past prog'

The emphatic particle *ma* is not to be confused with *ma'* 'that proximate to hearer'.

- (103) a. 'An 'inain xi' ma 'ina 'ira.  
              'ina-in

- take:s      1s:rp/p-3n      dub      emph      1s:rp/p      past:prog  
 'I thought I had brought it.' (spoken by a man)
- (103) b.      'An      'inain      xi'      'e'      'ina      'ira.  
                               'ina-in
- take:s      1s:rp/p-3n      dub      emph      1s:rp/p      past:prog  
 'I thought I had brought it.' (spoken by a woman)

1.1.1.4.3.2.4. Verbalized purpose sentences: The embedded verbalized clause portion of these sentences consists of the COMP purpose sentence illustrated in the example in (75) and discussed in 1.1.2.4.2.3. The constituent order of the matrix clause is:

Tense VIC+optional arguments and adjuncts

The subject of the matrix clause of the verbalized purpose sentence is always coreferential with the subject of its superordinate clause, whether expressed or not.

- (104) T      nana      mapac      'oro      narima'.      *Ma'*      *ta*  
 a.
- tear      3p:rp/p      corn      coll      woman      that:prox:hearer      INFL:rf  
*'ep*      *xi'*      *capam'*      *'iri'*      nana      pane.  
 grind:corn      1pincl      cornbread      1pincl:rp/p      3p:rp/p      rem:past  
 'The women shucked corn to make cornbread. (lit. 'The women shucked (tore) corn. "So that we (say) 'We will make cornbread"', they (said).')
- (104) Wap      nanam      hwijima',      *ma'*      *ta*      *cwirin'*  
 b.      nana-vcvm
- spank      3p:rp/p-3pf      children      that:prox:hearer      INFL:rf      repent  
*cacama*      nanam.  
                               nana-vcvm  
 3pf      3p:rp/p-3pf  
 'They spanked the children so they would repent.' (lit. 'They spanked the children, "so they will repent", they (said) of them.')
- (104) Pijim'      inem      cocon      hwanana.      *Ma'*      *ta*  
 c.      'ina-em
- tell      1s:rp/p-2s      prep:3pm      ancestors      that:prox:hearer      INFL:rf  
*taxi'*      *momon*      'inem      pane.  
                               ma-ocon      'ina-em
- know      2s-3pm      1s:rp/p-2s      rem:past  
 'I told you about the ancestors so you would know about them.' (lit. 'I told you about the ancestors. "So you will know about them", I (said) of you long ago.')









a. not:exist INFL:nrp/p finish 2s:rf consent 3n corn  
 'The corn will never finish.' (lit. 'The corn does not *consent* (when it is told), "Be finished!"')

(109) 'Om ca hot ra na con wom  
 b. ca-on  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p come:out 2s:rf consent 3sm-3sm cotton  
 'orop.  
 jenip  
 'The jenip will never come out of the clothes.' (lit. 'The jenip does not *consent* (when it is told), "Come out!" regarding the clothes.')

1.1.1.4.3.3.4. Verbalized emphatic sentences: The constituent order of the derived predicate of verbalized emphatic sentences is:

**v + 3srp/p VIC + na 'consent' + ma' 'that:prox:hearer'**

and the constituent order of the matrix clause is:

**2s/p rp/p VIC + xi' 'dubitative'**

Verbalized emphatic sentences are similar to verbalized desiderative and refusal sentences, in that they all employ the verb *na* 'to consent' in their derived predicates. Verbalized emphatic sentences are distinguished from the other two by the obligatory use of the demonstrative *ma'* in embedded clause, and the second person realis VIC, together with the 'dubitative' particle in the matrix clause. The choice of the singular or plural VIC in the matrix clause is determined by the number of persons addressed. This construction could be loosely translated, in addition to the derived predicate, as '...and you better believe it', or '...you can say that again'. Primary stress falls on the verb *na*. (See 1.1.2.4.2.1(2) for a complete discussion of the 'dubitative' particle *xi'*.)

(110) *Mija na na ma' hwe xi'.*  
 much 3s:rp/p consent that:prox:hearer 2p:rp/p dub  
 'It is really too much!' (lit. "It is a lot consenting", (say).')

1.1.1.4.3.3.5. Verbalized sequential sentences: The constituent order of the derived predicate of verbalized sequential sentences is:

**v + 'ac 'travel' / mao 'go' + Tenseless/reflexive VIC + opt O NP + opt pvm ma' 'that:prox:hearer'**

and the constituent order of the matrix clause is:

**3s Tense VIC + opt O/s/adju NP**

The person of sequential sentence types is found in the Tenseless or reflexive verbal inflectional clitics in the derived predicate (which has no tense/ mood marked in it); the tense/mood of sequential sentences is found in the verbal inflectional clitic of the matrix clause. Only third person singular Tense verbal inflectional clitics (*na* 'realis past/present', *tara* 'realis future', or *xira* 'irrealis') may occur in the matrix clause. The choice of '*ac* 'to travel' or *mao* 'to go (s)' in the derived predicate seems to be based on idiolectal preference.

When there is an overt object or subject of the sentence, it usually follows the derived predicate, just as the object or subject follows the verb of a simple sentence; however, about 50 per cent of the time, the overt object may occur inside the derived predicate of verbalized sequential sentences, in which case its last syllable carries primary stress. The overt subject never occurs inside the derived predicate of verbalized sequential sentences. Whether the overt object occurs inside or outside the derived predicate seems to be a choice of stylistic preference. The use of the verbalized sequential sentence is a common way to begin a narrative discourse. The derived predicate is italicized in the following examples:

- (111) a. *Cao'*        '*ac*            *cacain*            *carawa*            *na*            *hwijima*'.  
    *caca-in*  
                  eat            travel            3pm-3n            animal            3s:rp/p            children  
                  'Then the children ate food.' (lit. '(Then) it (was that) the children *ate food*.')

- (111) *Win*        *mama'*        '*ac*            '*iripain*            '*iri'*        *mi*        *na*            *quem*.  
 b.    '*urut-pain*  
                  same        go:p            travel        1pexcl-3n            truly        forest        3s:rp/p        ref  
                  'Then at the same time we went to the true forest.' (lit. '(Then) it (was that) *we went to the true forest*.')

- (111) *Cut*        *wajim'*        '*ac*            *cacama*            *tara*        *cota*            '*oro*        *narima*'.  
 c.    take:p        beg            travel        3pf            3s:rf        cornmeal        coll        woman  
                  'Then the women shall get cornmeal, begging for it.' (lit. '(Then) it (will be that) the women *will get cornmeal, begging for it*.')

- (111) *Cat*        '*ac*            *con*            *cop*            *xira*            '*Orowao*'        *Jein*.  
 d.    ca-on  
                  breaks        travel            3sm-3sm            manioc            3s:irr            m:name  
                  'Orowao' *Jein* should have then dug up manioc.' (lit. '(Then) it (should have been that) 'Orowao' *Jein dug up manioc*.')

- (111) *Jein*            *hwet*                                    '*ac*            *tococwa*                                    *na*.  
 e.    run:p            approach                                    travel            pass:3pm                                    3s:rp/p  
                  'Then they were approached (lit. run toward)'. (lit. '(Then) it (was that) *they were run toward*.')

- (111) f. *Tomi'*            *mao*            *xucucun*                                    *ma'*    *na*.

speak            go:s            refl:3pm            that:prox:hearer            3s:rp/p  
 'Then they spoke to each other.' (lit. '(Then) it (was that) *they spoke to each other.*')

1.1.1.4.3.3.6. Verbalized comparative sentences: The derived predicate of verbalized comparative sentences is the COMP comparison sentence described in 1.1.1.4.2 and illustrated in the examples in (80). Unlike other COMP sentences, which can occur alone as utterances, the COMP comparison sentence cannot occur alone as an utterance; it can only be used when in its verbalized sentence form.

The constituent order of the derived predicate of verbalized comparative sentences is: COMP comparison sentence+pvm *ma'* 'that:prox:hearer' + opt arguments. The constituent order of the matrix clause is:

3s rp/p VIC *na* + opt ONP and/or SNP

The only verbal inflectional clitic that can occur in the matrix clause of verbalized comparative sentences is the third person singular realis past/ present morpheme *na*. If both an object and subject are expressed, the object NP may occur inside or outside of the derived predicate, but the subject NP must occur outside. If no object NP is expressed, the subject NP may occur inside the derived predicate. No NP can occur simultaneously within the derived predicate and matrix clause. The derived predicate is italicized in the following examples:

(112) a.

'Ac	ca	toc	cain	tocwa	ma'
			ca-in		
like	INFL:nrp/p	drink	3sm-3n	corndrink	that:prox:hearer
na		Mon'	ma'.		
3s:rp/p		m:name	that:prox:hearer		

'It seems like Mon' drank corndrink.'

(112) b.	'Ac	<i>ca</i>	<i>mama'</i>	<i>cacain</i>	<i>xijein</i>	<i>wana</i>
				caca-in	xije-in	
	like	INFL:nrp/p	go:p	3pm-3n	otherness-3n	path
	<i>ma'</i>		<i>ca'</i>	<i>'iri</i>	na.	
	that:prox:hearer		be:thus	already:p	3s:rp/p	
	<i>'It seems like they had just (already) gone on another path.'</i>					

(112) c.	'Ac	ca		mi'	ne	pain	carawa	con	na
								ca-on	
	like	INFL:nrp/p		give	2s:1s:rf	prep:3n	animal	3sm-3sm	3s:rp/p
	Minain		taramaxicon		pane.				
	m:name		chief		rem:past				

'It seemed like the chief (said) to Minain, "Give me some meat".'

- (112) d. 'Ac ca jain jain 'e' cacamain na  
 cacama-in  
 like INFL:nrp/p be:anxious be:anxious only 3pf-3n 3s:rp/p  
 caramaxicon wijam hwijima'.  
 caramaji-con  
 animal-3sm non:Indian children

'It seems like the children only want the civilized people's things.'

- (112) e. 'Ac ca tan' qui' caca mon tarama'  
 like INFL:nrp/p arrive:p coming:this:way 3pm coll man  
 na.  
 3s:rp/p

'It seems like the men arrived.'

#### 1.1.1.4.4. Interactions among verbalized predicates and other constructions

The derived predicate of verbalized sentences may be embedded in various constructions, including other verbalized sentences. Each embedded derived predicate is marked by primary stress on its last syllable. However, when this is embedded into another derived predicate, the primary stress then becomes secondary stress. Thus, primary stress on the verb goes only on the final syllable of the least embedded predicate. In the following examples, primary stress is shown by [<sup>1</sup>] and secondary stress is shown by [<sup>2</sup>]. The most deeply embedded derived predicates are italicized, and the dominating derived predicate or clause is in brackets. In (113b) and (113h), where there are three cases of embedding, the surface predicate is in parentheses. Degree of embedding is signalled by, among other things, the number of VICS. There is only one VIC per clause, therefore, two VICS indicate one level of embedding, three indicate two levels of embedding, etc.

Direct speech embedded in sequential sentence

- (113) [Pi'am to xin ca' <sup>2</sup>e' 'ac cacama na].  
 a. xi'-in  
 sleep be:at:p 1pincl:rf-3n this:n emph travel 3pf 3s:rp/p  
 "We will sleep here", then they (said). (lit. '[*We will sleep here*'], (then) it (was that) they (said).']

Desiderative derived predicate embedded in subordinate clause in sequential sentence

- (113) (Pa' pa' 'ac xucu<sup>1</sup>cun na [pain ca querec  
 b. kill kill travel refl:3pm 3s:rp/p prep:3n INFL:rp/p see

*xixi'*                      *cwerexi'*                      <sup>1</sup>na                      caca]                      quem).

cwere-xi'

1pincl:irr      body-1pincl      consent      3pm      ref

'Then they hit (lit. kill) each other because they want to see the body.' (lit. '(Then) it (is that) they hit (kill) each other [because they (say), "*We should see the body consenting*".']')

COMP negation sentence embedded in desiderative verbalized sentence

(113) [*'Om xi 'an ca xijein man panxita'*]

c. xije-in panxi-ta'

not:exist      INFL:irr      take:s      3sm      otherness-3n      wife      child-1s

<sup>1</sup>na                    'ina                    me].

consent      1s:rp/p      emph

'I wish my son wouldn't marry another wife.' (lit. ['*My son should not take another wife consenting*', I (say)].')

Future tense derived predicate embedded in COMP question-word interrogation sentence

(113) d.    Ma'                          carawa       ca                          'an       <sup>1</sup>ta'       ma

that:prox:hearer	animal	INFL:rp/p	takers	1s:rf	2s
------------------	--------	-----------	--------	-------	----

ma']?

that:prox:hearer

'What are you going to take?' (lit. '[What do you (say), "I *will take*"?']')

## Future tense derived predicate embedded in supposition verbalized sentence

(113) [Pan'       'am                    <sup>2</sup>ta'       tara       <sup>1</sup>xa'                    ma']

e. fall:s be:lost:s 1s:rf 3s:rf younger:brother:1s that:prox:hearer

'ina].

1s:rp/p

'I thought my younger brother was going to get lost.' (lit. ['"My younger brother will probably (say), *I will get lost*"', I (thought)].')

Supposition derived predicate embedded in sequential verbalized sentence

(113) [Tomi'            ha'                            tatarat<sup>2</sup>pa'                            ma'                            'ac

f. tatara-pa'

speak      pay:attention      3p:rf-1s      that:prox:hearer      travel

to<sup>1</sup>ton            na                            xere].

ta'-ocon	xere-0
----------	--------

1s-3pm      3s:rp/p      siblings-1s

'Then I thought my brothers would obey me.' (lit. '[(Then) it (was that) I (thought) concerning my brothers, "*They will probably obey me*".'])

### Comparative derived predicate embedded in sequential verbalized sentence

(113) g.

	[Ac	ca	'an	noc	xa	<sup>2</sup> ca	'ac	ca <sup>1</sup> pa'
								ca-pa'
	like INFL:rp/p	takers	dislike	hide(steal)	3sm	travel	3sm-1s	
	na].							
	3s:rp/p							
	[‘Then it (came) to me (that) it <i>seemed like he had stolen.</i> ’]							

Direct speech sentence embedding in sequential derived predicate which is embedded in comparative verbalized sentence

(113) h ([Ac ca taramaja <sup>2</sup>ra 'ac ca<sup>1</sup>pa'] na pane  
like INFL:rp/p work 2s:rf travel 3sm-1s 3s:rp/p rem:past  
'ira.)  
prog:past  
'Then it seemed like he said to me, "Work!"' (lit. '[(Then) it (was that) it seemed like he  
(said) to me,] "Work!"')

### 1.1.2. Subordination

Subordinate clauses in 'ON consist of noun clauses, relative clauses, and verbal modification (adverb) clauses. Some types of relative constructions are actually derived nouns rather than subordinate clauses. See 2.2.1, where we discuss the similarity between derived nouns and noun and relative clauses. There are no general markers that apply to all types of subordination. See the following subsections for the markers of each type of subordination.

## 1.1.2.1. General markers of subordination

Not applicable in Wari'.

## 1.1.2.2. Noun clauses

## 1.1.2.2.1. Marking of noun clauses

In general, noun clauses are marked by the use of the INFL morpheme *ca* 'neuter realis past/present' or '*iri*' 'realis past/present' preceding the verb, and one of the Tenseless verbal inflectional clitics, a nominal inflectional clitic, or the infinitival/participial marker *wa* following the verb. Noun clauses appear as the object or subject of the superordinate clause, and, in this function, they follow the VP of the superordinate clause. The noun clauses are italicized in the following examples:

- (114) a. Mija      na      *ca*      'in      ne      *mataxut*.  
mata-xut  
much      3s:rp/p      INFL:nrp/p      return      3n      sleepiness-1pexcl  
'We are very sleepy.' (lit. 'It is much *that our sleepiness is returning.*')  
(114) b. Tomi'      tain      *ca*      *mi'*      *ne*.  
ta'-in  
speak      1s:rf-3n      INFL:nrp/p      give(die)      poss:1s  
'I will tell *about my death.*' (lit. '...about my dying (lit. giving).')  
(114) c. 'Ao      nain      *ca*      'om      *hwara'*  
na-in  
sound:of:creeping      3s:rp/p-3n      INFL:nrp/p      not:exist      big:s  
*homa      nein      'Orowao'      Xo'      Cwaji.*  
much      poss:3n      m:name  
'"Ao" (went the sound of) 'Orowao' Xo' Cwaji creeping after a *not so big one.*'  
(114) d. Querec      wet      nain      *ca*      *maqui'*      *ne      capijacon*  
na-in      capija-con  
see      still      3s:rp/p-3n      INFL:nrp/p      come      3n      mouth-3sm  
*Cowo'.*  
m:name  
'He paid (close) attention to *where Cowo's voice was coming from.*'  
(114) e. 'Am      ma'      xi'      napari'      *ca*      *caxi      wa.*  
na-pari'

finally:s exist dub 3s:rp/p-1pincl INFL:nrp/p sick inf  
 ‘Whenever we are finally sick.’ (lit. ‘Whenever *sickness, or being sick*, finally exists to us.’)

- (114) f. 'A'a naparut 'iri' 'on ca.  
 na-parut  
 sound:of:whistling 3s:rp/p-1pexcl INFL:rp/p whistle 3sm  
 “‘A'a’ (went the sound of) *when he whistled to us.*’

- (114) g. Mija na 'oro história 'iri' tomi' cacama  
 much 3s:rp/p coll story INFL:rp/p speak 3pf  
*xerexi'* *ma'*.  
*xere-xi'*  
 siblings-1pincl that:prox:hearer  
 ‘Our brothers and sisters tell a lot of stories.’ (lit. ‘It is many stories that our brothers and sisters tell.’)

#### 1.1.2.2.2. Types of noun clause

There are three types of noun clauses, distinguished by the kind of verbal inflectional clitic that follows the verb:

(1) Those marked by Tenseless verbal inflectional clitics

Noun clauses with Tenseless VICS are finite (tense/mood is marked on INFL).

- (115) a. Toroooo na ca toin ne tocoi  
 a. toco-i  
 sound:of:something:flying 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p fly:p 3n eye-3n  
*mapac ma'*.  
 corn that:prox:hearer  
 “‘Toroooo’ (went the sound of) the kernel of corn as it flew.’ (lit. “‘Torooo’ it (said) *when the kernel of corn flew.*’)

- (115) b. 'Om ca pira ne ca maqui' ta' ca  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p distance 3n INFL:nrp/p come 1s:rf 3sm  
 taramaxicon.  
 chief  
 ‘It won’t be long before the chief comes.’ (lit. ‘*That the chief (says) “I will come”* is not distant.’)

- (115) c. 'Ac nuhu' ca pe ni ca' capa'  
 na-uhu' ca-pa'



please 3s:rp/p-2p INFL:nrp/p be:at:s separate this:n 3sm-1s  
*ma'?*  
 that:prox:hearer  
 'Does it please you *that he stay away from me?*'

(2) Those marked by possessive marking nominal inflectional clitics

Clauses in which possessive marking NICS appear are 'less' finite (due to the absence of a VIC), but not completely nonfinite (due to the presence of INFL). We will, however, call these constructions 'nonfinite' throughout, asking the reader to bear in mind what we mean. They are derived nouns—see 2.2.1.

(116) a. 'Om ca camain' ne ca tomi' nucun.  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p bitter 3n INFL:nrp/p speak poss:3sm  
 'He will do what he says.' (lit. 'His speaking is not bitter.')

(116) b. Mip na ca nonoc nein curucun  
 cwere-con  
 strong 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p warm poss:3n body-3sm  
 pantiri' ta.  
 panxi-'iri'  
 child-1pincl emph  
 'Our child has a lot of fever.' (lit. 'Our child's body's *warmness* is strong.')

(3) Those marked by the infinitival/participial marker *wa*

Clauses in which the infinitival/participial marker appear are nonfinite. They are derived nouns.

(117) a. Hwaraman napa' ca com wa tamara'.  
 na-pa'  
 distasteful 3s:rp/p-1s INFL:nrp/p sing inf song  
 'The *singing* of a song is distasteful to me.'

(117) b. Maho' 'iripain ca mapam' wa.  
 'urut'-pain  
 stop 1pexcl:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p search inf  
 'We have stopped *stealing* (lit. *searching*).'

1.1.2.2.3–5. Indirect statements, questions and commands

The only way to express indirect statements, questions and commands is by direct speech forms. See 1.1.1.1.

- (118) a. *Pa' nana hwam xere ta na Maxun.*  
xere-0  
kill 3p:rp/p fish siblings-1s emph 3s:rp/p m:name  
“‘*My brothers killed fish*”, (said) Maxun.’ (or, ‘Maxun said my brothers killed fish.’)”
- (118) b. *Mama' je nuhu'? na-uhu'*  
go:p 2p:rf 3s:rp/p-2p  
“‘*Go(p)!*” did he (say) to you?’ (or, ‘Did he tell you to go?’)”
- (118) c. *Hwap ra nem. na-em*  
fast:s 2s:rf 3s:rp/p-2s  
“‘*Hurry!*” he (said) to you.’ (or, ‘He told you to hurry.’)”

#### 1.1.2.2.6. Nonfinite noun clauses

As explained above, noun clauses in which a nominal inflectional clitic or the infinitival/participial marker *wa* appear are nonfinite.

**1.1.2.2.6.1. Verbal categories in nonfinite clauses** No verbal categories are lost in nonfinite noun clauses in which the possessive marking nominal inflectional clitics occur. The categories of person, number and gender are retained in the inflectional clitic marker following the verb, and tense/ mood is retained in the INFL morpheme preceding it. The verbal categories of person, number and gender are lost in nonfinite clauses in which the infinitival/participial marker *wa* occurs, but tense/mood is retained in the INFL morpheme preceding the verb.

**1.1.2.2.6.2. Nonfinite form of the verb** The only difference between finite and nonfinite verbs is the choice of the inflectional clitic following the verb. Thus, finite verbs are made nonfinite by removing a Tenseless VIC following the verb, inserting in its place a nominal inflectional clitic expressing possession, or the infinitival/participial marker *wa*.

- |          |   |            |         |    |            |       |         |
|----------|---|------------|---------|----|------------|-------|---------|
| (119) a. | 'Om   | ca         | camain' | ne | ca         | tomi' | ta'.    |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:nrp/p | bitter  | 3n | INFL:nrp/p | speak | 1s      |
|          | 'What I say I will do.' (lit. 'It is not bitter when I speak.') |            |         |    |            |       |         |
| (119) b. | 'Om   | ca         | camain' | ne | ca         | tomi' | ne.     |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:nrp/p | bitter  | 3n | INFL:nrp/p | speak | poss:1s |
|          | 'What I say I will do.' (lit. 'My speaking is not bitter.')     |            |         |    |            |       |         |
| (119) c. | 'Om   | ca         | camain' | ne | ca         | tomi' | wa.     |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:nrp/p | bitter  | 3n | INFL:nrp/p | speak | inf     |

'Speaking is not bitter.'

**1.1.2.2.6.3. Arguments in nonfinite clauses** Arguments in a clause in which the infinitival/participial marker *wa* appear are limited to objects; no subjects may occur. Moreover, the object cannot appear in the *wa* clause itself, but must follow it. When a subject follows such a nonfinite clause, it is the subject of the superordinate clause, not of the noun clause. Thus, the infinitival/participial marker *wa* is also a way to express a passive meaning. Note the alternate passive glosses of the examples in (120). The object NPS in the following examples are italicized.

(120) a. Hwaraman napa' ca com wa *tamara'*.

na-pa'

distantful 3s:rp/p-1s INFL:nrp/p sing inf song

'The singing of a *song* is distantful to me.'

(120) b. Maho' nanain ca mapam' wa *carawa* 'oro wari'.

nana-in

stop 3p:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p search inf animal coll person

'The people stopped the stealing of *things*.'

Arguments in a clause in which a nominal inflectional clitic marking possession appears are limited to subjects; no object may occur.

(121) a. Mija na ca cao' nuncun 'Orowao'.

much 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p eat poss:3sm m:name

'Orowao' eats a lot.' (lit. 'Orowao''s eating is a lot.')

(121) b. \*Mija na ca cao' nuncun *hwam* 'Orowao'.

much 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p eat poss:3sm fish m:name

'Orowao''s eating *fish* is a lot.'

**1.1.2.2.6.4–7 Form of arguments, verbal modification and constituent order in nonfinite clauses** The form of arguments in nonfinite clauses is the same as that in finite clauses. Verbal modification (i.e. pre- and postverbal modifiers) occurs in nonfinite clauses, although less frequently than in finite clauses. The constituent order is the same for nonfinite clauses as that for finite clauses, that is, the subject and/or object follows the verb, in the order os.

### 1.1.2.3. Relative clauses

## 1.1.2.3.1. Marking of relative clauses

While finite nominal argument clauses are formed only by the neuter or nongender realis past/present INFL morphemes *ca* or '*iri*' before the verb and a Tenseless VIC after it, finite relative clauses may be marked by any of the three realis past/present INFL morphemes (*ca* 'neuter realis past/ present', *co* 'masculine/feminine realis past/present', '*iri*' (nonspecific gender)) or the irrealis INFL morpheme *xi* preceding the verb and/or a VIC following it. In contrast to finite nominal argument clauses, where the INFL morpheme and VIC must be present, the VIC may be deleted in relative clauses when the subject of the relative clause is third person. Moreover, when the verb is reduplicated, the INFL morpheme is often deleted, as in (122j) below. Note the ungrammatical example in (122b), where the nonreduplicated verb prohibits the deletion of the INFL morpheme. As shown in (122k), the relative clause need not always follow its head. Also, note that these relative clauses lack relative pronouns, this function being largely subsumed by the INFL morphemes. The relative clauses are italicized in the following examples:

- (122) a. Com xi' tamara' ca wiriwio (ne)  
sing 1pincl:rf song INFL:nrp/p loud (3n)  
ma'.  
that:prox:hearer  
'We will sing a loud song.' (lit. 'We will sing a song *that is loud*.')
- (122) b. \*Com xi' tamara' wiriwio (ne) ma'.  
sing 1pincl:rf song loud 3n that:prox:hearer  
'We will sing a loud song.'
- (122) c. Ma' na waram ca cao' quiwo'.  
exist 3s:rp/p monkey:species INFL:nrp/p eat arrow  
'There is a *waram* monkey that breaks (eats) arrows.'
- (122) d. 'On 'ac ca na wari' co 'om  
whistle travel 3sm 3s:rp/p person INFL:m/frp/p not:exist  
pa' quem.  
kill ref  
'Then a person whistled *who did not kill*.'
- (122) e. Ma' je na tahot ca  
that:prox:hearer emph:3n 3s:rp/p palm:shelter INFL:nrp/p  
tao' pe cocon Jao To'a ma'.  
caca-on  
close be:at:s 3pm-3sm m:name that:prox:hearer  
'There was the palm shelter *where they closed in Jao To'a*.'

- |          |   |                                   |                                   |                  |           |          |              |
|----------|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| (122) f. | Wirico  | na                                | cwajiri'                          |                  |           |          | Xijam        |
|          |   |                                   | co-'aji'-'iri'                    |                  |           |          |              |
|          | emph:3sm  | 3s:rp/p                           | INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother-1pincl |                  |           |          | m:name       |
|          | 'iri'   | <i>pijim'</i>                     | <i>napari'</i>                    |                  |           |          |              |
|          |   |                                   | na-pari'                          |                  |           |          |              |
|          | INFL:rp/p   | tell                              | 3s:rp/p-1pincl                    |                  |           |          |              |
|          | 'It is our older brother Xijam <i>who told us</i> (a story).'   |                                   |                                   |                  |           |          |              |
| (122) g. | 'An   | xiho'                             | xun                               | Hwerein          | 'iri'     |          | <i>tomi'</i> |
|          |   |                                   | xi'-on                            |                  |           |          |              |
|          | take:s  | together(imitate)                 | 1pincl:rf-3sm                     | m:name           | INFL:rp/p |          | speak        |
|          | <i>ca</i>   | <i>cwajiri'</i>                   |                                   | <i>ma'</i>       |           | ne.      |              |
|          |   | co-'aji'-'iri'                    |                                   |                  |           |          |              |
|          | 3sm   | INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother-1pincl |                                   | that:prox:hearer |           | rec:past |              |
|          | 'We will imitate Hwerein of <i>whom our older brother spoke</i> .'  |                                   |                                   |                  |           |          |              |
| (122) h. | 'Om   | ca                                | querec                            | camain'          | tocwa     |          | wari'        |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:nrp/p                        | see                               | bitter           | pass:3sm  |          | person       |
|          | <i>co</i>   | <i>xut</i>                        | <i>bobo.</i>                      |                  |           |          |              |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p  | walk:s                            | pleasantly                        |                  |           |          |              |
|          | 'There isn't a single person who does right.' (lit. 'A person <i>who walks pleasantly</i> is not seen at all.')                         |                                   |                                   |                  |           |          |              |
| (122) i. | Wirico  | xi                                | <i>tomi'</i>                      | <i>ha'</i>       | 'iri'     |          | <i>cwa'</i>  |
|          | emph:3sm  | INFL:irr                          | speak                             | pay:attention    | 1pincl    | this:m/f |              |
|          | 'He (is) the one <i>whom we should obey</i> .'  |                                   |                                   |                  |           |          |              |
| (122) j. | Ton   | ho                                | 'ac                               | cacain           | na        | wanaji   | <i>ja'</i>   |
|          |   |                                   |                                   | caca-in          |           | wanaji-0 | <i>ja'</i>   |
|          | chop  | floats                            | travel                            | 3pm-3n           | 3s:rp/p   | path-3n  | splash       |
|          | <i>pe</i>   | <i>nein</i>                       | <i>com</i>                        | <i>ca'</i>       | na        | cocon    | splash       |
|          |   | ne-in                             |                                   |                  |           |          |              |
|          | be:at:s   | 3n-3n                             | water                             | this:n           | 3s:rp/p   | prep:3pm |              |
|          | 'Then they swept the path of bathing, thus it was by them.' (lit. '...the path <i>where the splashing of water</i> (took place),...'.') |                                   |                                   |                  |           |          |              |
| (122) k. | Pa'   | ta'                               | 'i                                | na               | wari'     | quem     | ne,          |
|          | kill  | 1s:rf                             | already:s                         | 3s:rp/p          | person    | ref      | rec:past     |

<i>co</i>	<i>'om</i>	<i>pa'</i>	<i>taxi'</i>	<i>quem</i>	<i>ne.</i>
INFL:m/frp/p	not:exist	kill	know	ref	rec:past

'When a person goes hunting, who doesn't know how to hunt.' (lit. 'When a person (says), "I will kill"', *who does not know how to kill* (lit. *kill knowing.*'))

Since VICS are required of all independent clauses, their optionality in relative clauses indicates that these clauses are indeed subordinate and not merely juxtaposed.

### 1.1.2.3.2. Restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses

There are no distinctions between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses.

### 1.1.2.3.3. Position of the head noun

The head noun need not always occur. When it does, it will precede the relative clause, but it need not immediately precede the relative clause, as stated in 1.1.2.3.1. Additional examples are:

- (123) a. Taxi' nain 'i ma' co  
na-in  
know 3s:rp/p-3n n that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p  
*tucuninim'* *ma'*.  
shaman that:prox:hearer  
'(He) *who is a shaman* knows that.'

- (123) b. Ma' na co mi' pin con quem,  
exist 3s:rp/p INFL:m/frp/p give:completely prep:3sm ref  
'It happens *that someone dies* regarding him.' (lit. 'He exists *who dies* regarding him.')

- (123) c. 'Om ca cao' caca 'iri' pa' nana  
not:exist INFL:nrp/p eat 3pm INFL:rp/p kill 3p:rp/p  
*ma'*.  
that:prox:hearer  
'They do not eat *who kill.*'

- (123) d. Xao to 'e' ma' tatara co  
pound be:at:p only that:prox:hearer 3p:rf INFL:m/frp/p  
*xo'* *tan'* *nana.*  
recently arrive:p 3p:rp/p  
'(Those) *who recently arrived* will just sit.'

- (123) e.
- |         |           |  |        |              |  |             |                   |
|---------|-----------|--|--------|--------------|--|-------------|-------------------|
| Naroin' | jujun     |  | carawa | <i>co</i>    |  | <i>jam'</i> | <i>curucucun.</i> |
|         | je-ocon   |  |        |              |  |             | cwere-ocon        |
| deny    | 2p:rf-3pm |  | animal | INFL:m/frp/p |  | tired       | body-3pm          |
- 'Deny food to lazy (people)!'<sup>9</sup> (lit. 'Deny food to (those) *who "tired-body"*'.')
- (123) f.
- |        |        |           |  |              |  |            |            |           |
|--------|--------|-----------|--|--------------|--|------------|------------|-----------|
| Querec | ca'    | jujun     |  | <i>co</i>    |  | <i>'an</i> | <i>noc</i> | <i>xa</i> |
|        |        | je-ocon   |  |              |  |            |            |           |
| see    | this:n | 2p:rf-3pm |  | INFL:m/frp/p |  | take:s     | dislike    | hide      |
- carawa.*
- animal
- 'Be careful about (those) *who steal things*'.

#### 1.1.2.3.4–5. Treatment of the relativized element

The relativized element is only expressed in the subordinate clause (optionally) via an INFL morpheme. It seems restricted to a nominal which could be the subject or object of the relative verb. The choice of VIC and INFL morpheme (whether *ca* ‘neuter realis past/present’, *co* ‘masculine/ feminine realis past/present’, or *iri* ‘realis past/present’) depends on the gender and grammatical relation of the head noun: when the head noun is masculine or feminine subject, *co* ‘masculine/feminine realis past/ present’ or *iri* ‘realis past/present’ and third person realis past/present VICS (*na* ‘singular’ or *nana* ‘plural’) are used; otherwise, *ca* ‘neuter realis past/present’ or *iri* and any one of the Tenseless VICS may be used. See 1.1.1.4.2, preceding examples (64) and (65), where we discuss the choice of INFL morpheme and VIC in relation to interrogatives; and 2.1.3.6.2.2. for the paradigms of VICS. The relative clauses are italicized in the following examples:

- |          |  |                   |           |                 |              |           |
|----------|--|-------------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| (124) a. | Wara   | mao na            | wari'     | co              | <i>mo</i>    | <i>'o</i> |
|          | already  | go:s 3s:rp/p      | person    | INFL:m/frp/p    | run:s        | lead      |
|          | pain   | xijein            | xirim.    |                 |              |           |
|          |  | xije-in           |           |                 |              |           |
|          | prep:3n  | otherness-3n      | house     |                 |              |           |
|          | 'The person <i>who went to bring (mourners)</i> has already left'. |                   |           |                 |              |           |
| (124) b. | Querec   | te                | roron     | xerexi'         | <i>'iri'</i> | <i>to</i> |
|          |  |                   | ra-ocon   | xere-xi'        |              |           |
|          | see  | father:1s         | 2s:rf-3pm | siblings-1pincl | INFL:rp/p    | be:at:p   |
|          | <i>ho'</i>   | <i>nanaparut.</i> |           |                 |              |           |
|          |  | nana-parut        |           |                 |              |           |
|          | now  | 3p:rp/p-1pexcl    |           |                 |              |           |

‘Like (be happy with) our siblings *who are living with us!*’

- (124) c. Mija            na                    carawa            *ca*                    *cut*                    *ne*.  
much            3s:rp/p                    animal            INFL:nrp/p                    take:p                    3n  
‘It carries lots of things’. (lit. ‘They are many things *that it carries*.’)
- (124) d. Maqui’        tara        carawa        ‘iri’                    *param*        *hwe*        *ma’*.  
come            3s:rf        animal            INFL:rp/p                    desire        2p            that:prox:hearer  
‘The things *you want* will come.’

#### 1.1.2.3.6. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are very common. They are marked like any other relative clause—see examples in 1.1.2.3.3.

#### 1.1.2.3.7. Elements of the sentence that can be relativized

Only constituents that could be referenced on the VIC (see 1.2.1.2.3) can be relativized. We have no record of more than one relativized constituent in a sentence. We illustrate here relativization of different semantic roles (see 1.2.1.2.7). The relative clauses are italicized in the following examples:

### Relativization of the actor

- (125) a.   Hoc     mi'       jujun             con             hwam   hwijima'   *co*  
                                 je-ocon  
          cook   give   2p:rf-3pm     prep:3sm     fish       children   INFL:m/frp/p  
          *xain   nana           ma'*.  
          hot     3p:rp/p           that:prox:hearer  
          ‘Cook fish for those children *who have fever.*’

### Relativization of the theme

- |          |   |     |             |                  |       |            |              |        |
|----------|---|-----|-------------|------------------|-------|------------|--------------|--------|
| (125) b. | Mam   | wac | nonon       | pain             | quit  | ca         | mi'          | mapa'  |
|          |   |     | nana-on     |                  |       |            |              | ma-pa' |
|          | instr   | cut | 3p:rp/p-3sm | prep:3n          | knife | INFL:nrp/p | give         | 2s-1s  |
|          | <i>pane.</i>  |     |             |                  |       |            |              |        |
|          | rem:past  |     |             |                  |       |            |              |        |
|          | 'They cut it with the knife <i>that you gave me long ago.</i> ' |     |             |                  |       |            |              |        |
| (125) c. | Mon   |     |             | ma'              |       | tarama'    | co           |        |
|          | ma'-on  |     |             |                  |       |            |              |        |
|          | that:prox:hearer-m  |     |             | that:prox:hearer |       | man        | INFL:m/frp/p |        |



*querec ta' pane.*

see 1s rem:past

'There is the man *whom I saw*.'

### Relativization of the goal

- (125) d. Mon ma' tarama' co  
 ma'-on  
 that:prox:hearer-m that:prox:hearer man INFL:m/frp/p  
*mi' ta' con hwam pane.*  
 give 1s prep:3sm fish rem:past  
 'There is the man *to whom I gave a fish*.'

### Relativization of location

- (125) e. Ma' je na tahot ca  
 that:prox:hearer emph:3n 3s:rp/p palm:shelter INFL:nrp/p  
*tao' pe cocon Jao To'a ma'.*  
 caca-on  
 close be:at:s 3pm-3sm m:name that:prox:hearer  
 'There was the palm shelter *where they closed in Jao To'a*.'

### Relativization of instrument

- (125) f. Param 'inain quit ca mam wac cocon  
 'ina-in caca-on  
 desire 1s:rp/p-3n knife INFL:nrp/p instr cut 3pm-3sm  
*cotowa' me.*  
 deer emph  
 'I want the knife *with which they cut the deer*.'

### Relativization of a possessor

- (125) Naroin' jujun carawa co jam' curucucun.  
 g. je-ocon cwere-ocon  
 deny 2p:rf-3pm animal INFL:m/frp/p tired body-3pm  
 'Deny food to lazy (people)!' (lit. 'Deny food to those *who "tired-body"* (*whose bodies are tired*).')

#### 1.1.2.3.8. Movement of elements in relative clauses

Only the relativized element moves to the beginning of the clause immediately following the (optional) head noun (and perhaps the preposition, see (125b)).

#### 1.1.2.3.9. Nonfinite relative clauses

Quasi-nonfinite relative clauses occur. They are marked by the use of the infinitival/participial marker *wa* instead of the VICS used in finite relative clauses. Unlike finite relative clauses, in which the INFL morpheme introducing them is optional, we have no record of quasi-nonfinite clauses occurring without an INFL morpheme (hence the qualifier ‘quasi’); and unlike finite relative clauses, whose head nouns can serve as either subject or object of the relative clause, head nouns of nonfinite relative clauses can appear only as the object of the verb of the subordinate clause. This is partially responsible for the fact that the infinitival/participial marker *wa* often receives a gloss of ‘passive’—see 2.1.3.1.1. Like nonfinite noun clauses, nonfinite relative clauses are treated morphosyntactically as derived nouns. Examples (126) illustrate nonfinite relative clauses. The relative clauses are italicized in these examples:

- |          |   |             |            |                      |             |                |           |
|----------|---|-------------|------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|
| (126) a. | Wara  | hwara'      | pin        | na                   | taraxicon   | wari'          |           |
|          |   |             |            |                      | taraji-con  |                |           |
|          | already   | big:s       | completely | 3s:rp/p              | ear-3sm     | person         |           |
|          | <i>co</i>   | <i>wara</i> | <i>'oc</i> | <i>wa ma'.</i>       |             |                |           |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p  | already     | stick      | inf that:prox:hearer |             |                |           |
|          | 'The (hole in the) ear of the person <i>who was already pierced</i> was already large.' |             |            |                      |             |                |           |
| (126) b. | Mija  | na          | carawa     | <i>ca</i>            | <i>cao'</i> | <i>wa</i> pain | xiricon   |
|          |   |             |            |                      |             |                | xiri-con  |
|          | much  | 3s:rp/p     | animal     | INFL:nrp/p           | eat         | inf prep:3n    | house-3sm |
|          | te.   |             |            |                      |             |                |           |
|          | father:1s   |             |            |                      |             |                |           |
|          | 'There is a lot of food <i>to eat</i> in my father's house.'                            |             |            |                      |             |                |           |
| (126) c. | *Mija   | na          | hwam       | <i>ca</i>            | <i>xain</i> | <i>wa</i> pain | xiricon   |
|          |   |             |            |                      |             |                | xiri-con  |
|          | much  | 3s:rp/p     | fish       | INFL:nrp/p           | hot         | inf prep:3n    | house-3sm |
|          | te.   |             |            |                      |             |                |           |
|          | father:1s   |             |            |                      |             |                |           |
|          | 'There is a lot of fish <i>roasting</i> in my father's house'.                          |             |            |                      |             |                |           |

### 1.1.2.4. Verbal modification clauses

#### 1.1.2.4.1. Marking and position of verbal modification clauses

In general, verbal modification clauses take the form of COMP sentence types. There are, however, many different ways to express verbal modification clauses. The position of most verbal modification clauses is rigidly fixed by the type of clause: some types always precede the superordinate clause, while others always follow it. However, two types can either precede or follow the superordinate clause. Each clause type is treated separately below.

Although verbal modification clauses are subordinate to their main clauses, there is usually a pause and falling intonation between some of them, indicating that they may be separate sentences. In addition, some main clauses are often left unexpressed, understood by the context. While this does not make them any less subordinate semantically, it could again indicate that they are not syntactically subordinate, although more study of their independent occurrence is needed. This phenomenon is described where relevant in the subsections below.

#### 1.1.2.4.2. Marking of particular verbal modification clauses

**1.1.2.4.2.1. Time** There are five different ways to express time clauses:

##### (1) v 'i...ne clauses

The most common time clause is marked by the use of the postverbal modifier 'i:s/'iri:p 'already' immediately following the verb, and the occurrence of the recent past/uncertainty particle *ne* at the end of the sentence. It should be noted that the 'number' of the verbal modifier does not necessarily refer to the number of the actors of the verb; singular/ plural in verbal elements also refers to the intensity of the action. In this case, 'iri 'already:p' describes an action that took place more recently than one modified simply by 'i 'already:s'. Tense/mood (realis past/ present (127a), realis future (127b) and irrealis (127c)) is indicated by the choice of VIC accompanying the verb. There is always agreement of tense/ mood between the subordinate and superordinate clauses, v 'i...ne time clauses always precede the superordinate clause. They must be followed by a superordinate clause, although the superordinate clause need not necessarily immediately follow the subordinate clause. While pause and falling intonation between the two clauses indicate that they are two separate sentences phonologically, we take the restriction that both clauses agree in tense/mood to mean that they are still syntactically related. Strings of v 'i...ne clauses can occur. The example in (127d) shows two v 'i...ne time clauses separated from their superordinate clause by a parenthetical clause to which they are not subordinate. The superordinate clause of a v 'i...ne time clause often takes the form of a sequential verbalized sentence (see 1.1.1.4.3.3.5).

(127) a.	Cao'	pin	'iri	nana	ne,	mama'	'ac
	eat	completely	already:p	3p:rp/p	rec:past	go:p	travel
	cacama	na	quem.				
	3pf	3s:rp/p	ref				

'As soon as they had eaten, then they went'.

- (127) b. *Mao* 'i *tara* *ne.* *Tomi'* *xaxa'* 'ac *cacama*  
 go:s already:s 3s:rf rec:past speak distractedly travel 3pf  
*tara* *mana* *panxica.*  
*panxi-ca*  
 3s:rf coll child-3sm

'When he goes, then his children will be sad.'

- (127) c. 'Oin' 'oin' *pi'* *pin* 'i *xirarain* *mapac*  
*xirara-in*  
 plant plant finish completely already:s 3p:irr-3n corn  
*ne.* *Wac* 'ac *cacain* *pic* *xira.*  
*caca-in*  
 rec:past cut travel 3pm-3n rubber 3s:irr

'When they would have planted corn, then they should have cut rubber'.

- (127) d. *Xaxi'* *ta'* 'iri *na* *pain* *ne,* 'ac *ca*  
 thin 1s:rf already:p 3s:rp/p prep:3n rec:past like INFL:nrp/p  
*mi'* *ta'* 'i *na* *ne.* 'Ac *ca* *ma'*  
 give 1s already:s 3s:rp/p rec:past travel 3sm that:prox:hearer  
 'ac *ca* *ma'* *mao* *na.* *Mi'* *pin*  
 travel 3sm that:prox:hearer go:s 3s:rp/p give completely  
 'ac *ca* *na* *quem.*  
 travel 3sm 3s:rp/p ref

'When he got thin because of it, when it seemed like he was dying, then he continued on like that for a while. Then he died.' (lit. 'When he (said), "I will get thin", because of it, when he (said), "It seems like I will die." Then he continued like that. Then he died.')

- (127) e. *Parac* 'i *nain* *wara* *ne,* *nac* *ho'*  
*na-in* *wara-0*  
 enter already:s 3s:rp/p-3n back-1s rec:past smell now  
*naparut.*  
*na-parut*  
 3s:rp/p-1pexcl

'When they (pigs) entered my path, then (now) they smelled us'

- (127) f. 'Oc 'iri *tain* *ca'* *ne,* 'oc *rain*

		ta'-in				ra-in
stick	already:p	1s:rf-3n	this:n	rec:past	stick	2s:rf-3n
xijein		taraxicon		ma'.		
xije-in		taraji-con				
otherness-3n		ear-3sm		that:prox:hearer		
'When I pierce this ear, you pierce his other ear.'						

(2)  $xi'$  time clauses

*xi'* time clauses are marked by the use of the particle *xi'* immediately preceding the VIC, compounded as a postverbal modifier with the verb. We are not sure what *xi'* means. We are going to gloss it here as 'dubitative', although we are still not certain that it is in fact the same morpheme. It occurs elsewhere as a sentence-final particle, expressing doubt or supposition; it may also appear as a postverbal modifier to express negation; it interacts with negative postverbal modifiers to express a strong positive causal meaning; it appears with certain nonsubordinate condition clauses; it can mean 'certainly' to express emphasis; and it seems to be able to express indefinite or hypothetical time in *xi'* time clauses. It is not to be confused with the irrealis INFL morpheme *xi* (note the absence of the glottal plosive), nor the first person inclusive realis future VIC *xi'*. In *xi'* time clauses, only third person realis past/present VICS (*na/nana*) may appear. *Xi'* time clauses precede their superordinate clauses and, like v '*i...ne* time clauses, pause and falling intonation indicate that they are independent phonologically. There does not seem to be as much connection between *xi'* time clauses and their superordinate clauses as is the case with v '*i...ne* clauses, in that they are less likely to occur with a superordinate clause. However, there does seem to be an apparent morphosyntactic constraint holding between the VICS of the two clauses, namely, they must both be in realis past/present. Note in example (128c) that a string of *xi'* clauses precedes a series of main clauses that seem to be functioning as the clauses to which the *xi'* clauses are subordinate. Note also that the second *xi'* clause is a sequential sentence which generally functions as the superordinate clause of time clauses, as in the v '*i...ne* discussed previously.

It should be noted that, while we have found many examples of *xi'* time clauses in text, native speakers declare that its use is bad grammar. We do not yet understand this discrepancy between frequent use versus intuitions of unacceptability of *xi'* clauses by native speakers. They say v 'i... *ne* constructions are the most correct way to express time clauses. *Xi'* time clauses are italicized in the following examples:

(128) a.	<i>Caxi</i>	<i>xi'</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>wari'</i> .	Mo	'o	nonon.
							nana-on
	sick	dub	3s:rp/p	person	run:s	lead	3p:rp/p-3sm
	'Whenever a person gets sick, they go bring him'.						
(128) b.	<i>Xain</i>	<i>xi'</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>hwijima'</i>	<i>con</i>	<i>quem.</i>	Taxi'
	hot	dub	3p:rp/p	children	prep:3sm	ref	know

	nain	'i	ma'		quem.			
	na-in							
	3s:rp/p-3n	n	that:prox:hearer	ref				
	'Whenever children are sick regarding him, he knows (how to do) that also'.							
(128) c.	'Aramaca'	xi'	nonon na-ocon	'em'.	Quep	'ac	ca	xi'
	cast:spell	dub	3s:rp/p-3pm	snake	do	travel	3sm	dub
na	co		tucuninim'	ma'.				To'
3s:rp/p	INFL:m/frp/p		shaman	that:prox:hearer				hit
pa'	mon ma-on	em'	con	pantiri'. panxi-'iri'			'Om	
kill	2s-3sm	snake	prep:3sm	child-1pincl			not:exist	
ca		to' pa'	ton, ta'-on	caji caji-0			ximicam ximi-cam	
INFL:nrp/p	hit	kill	1s-3sm	strangeness-3n			heart-3sf	
jicon xi-con		ta		ca'	nonon. nana-on			
mother-3sm		emph	this:n	3p:rp/p-3sm				
'Whenever a snake casts a spell on them, then whenever the shaman does them. "You killed a snake regarding our child", (he says). "No I didn't kill it, it's the bad heart of his mother", thus they (say) to him.'								

### (3) *Pain* subordinate clauses used as time clauses

*Pain* subordinate clauses express time, manner, and cause. The temporal reading (as opposed to other readings of these sentences; see 1.1.2.4.2.2 and 1.1.2.4.2.4(5)) is contextually determined. The preverbal modifier '*aram* 'finally:p' is optionally used and has the effect of clarifying that a particular *pain* clause expresses a temporal notion. A *pain* subordinate clause usually follows its superordinate clause, and it cannot be separated from it, except when topicalized. In this case only, it may precede its superordinate clause. There is a slight pause between the clauses, but high intonation held to the end of the time clause indicates that it cannot be completely separated from its main clause. Thus *pain* initial clauses are much more like grammatically subordinate clauses than those mentioned previously. *Pain* subordinate clauses, used as time clauses, are italicized in the following examples:

(129) a.	Tomi'	xaxa'	'iri'	<i>pain</i>	ca	<i>caxi</i>	<i>cacama</i>
	speak	distractedly	1pincl	prep:3n	INFL:nrp/p	sick	3pf
	mana	<i>pantiri'.</i> <i>panxi-'iri'</i>					
	coll	children-1pincl					

'We are sad *when our children are sick.*'

- (129) b. *Pain* *ca* *caxi* *cacama* *mana* *pantiri'*, *tomi'*  
*panxi-'iri'*  
 prep:3n INFL:nrp/p sick 3pf coll children-1pincl speak  
*xaxa'* *'iri'*.  
 distractedly 1pincl:rp/p  
 'When our children are sick, we are sad.'

- (129) c. *Cut* *ra* *caxicon* *wom* *ta* *Topa' Eo'*, *pain*  
*caji-con*  
 take:p 2s:rf strangeness-3sm cotton emph f:name:voc prep:3n  
*ca* *'aram* *'aram* *mao* *ta'* *ma.*  
 INFL:nrp/p finally:p finally:p go:s 1s:rf 2s  
 'Get old clothes, Topa' Eo', *when you finally go.*'

- (129) d. *Ma'* *ta* *'om* *jain* *jain* *ta'* *pain*  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:rf not:exist suffer suffer 1s prep:3n  
*ca* *'aram* *mi'* *pin* *ta'*.  
 INFL:nrp/p finally:p give completely 1s  
 'So that I won't suffer *when I finally die.*'

- (129) e. *Ma'* *ta* *querec* *te* *capa'* *ta* *ca'*  
*ca-pa'*  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:rf see father:1s 3sm-1s emph this:n  
*pan* *xi'* *pain* *'iri'* *tomi'* *mi'* *xun*  
*xi'-on*  
 emph 1pincl prep:3n INFL:rp/p speak give 1pincl-3sm  
*ca'* *ca'* *tara* *ximixi.*  
*ximi-xi'*  
 this:n this:n 3s:rf heart-1pincl  
 '“So that he will be happy with us’, thus we (emph) will (say) *when we speak to him here*”, thus shall (say) our hearts’.

#### (4) Condition clauses used as time clauses

Realis future condition clauses (introduced by *mo ta...* ‘conditional INFL:rf’) may be used to express time—see 1.1.2.4.2.5. The preverbal modifier *'aram* ‘finally:p’ is often used with the verb. The condition clause precedes its main clause, and pause and falling

intonation between the clauses suggest, like other clauses we have seen, that these may be two separate, juxtaposed sentences.

- |          |  |           |              |              |             |                 |              |                  |
|----------|--|-----------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
| (130) a. | <i>Mo</i>  | <i>ta</i> | <i>mama'</i> | <i>hwe.</i>  | <i>Tao'</i> | <i>mip</i>      | <i>jein</i>  | <i>xuruhu'</i> . |
|          |  |           |              |              |             |                 | <i>je-in</i> | <i>xiri-hu'</i>  |
|          | conditional  | INFL:rf   | go:p         | 2p           | close       | strong          | 2p:rf-3n     | house-2p         |
|          | 'When you go, close your houses tightly.' (lit. 'If you go,...')           |           |              |              |             |                 |              |                  |
| (130) b. | <i>Mo</i>  | <i>ta</i> | <i>'aram</i> | <i>'aram</i> | <i>ma'</i>  | <i>capari'</i>  | <i>tan.</i>  |                  |
|          |  |           |              |              |             | <i>ca-pari'</i> |              |                  |
|          | conditional  | INFL:rf   | finally:p    | finally:p    | exist       | 3sm-1pincl      | leaf         |                  |
|          | 'When we finally have money...'. (lit. 'If money finally exists to us...') |           |              |              |             |                 |              |                  |

(5) Sequential type construction used as time clauses

A sequential type of construction, using the sequential verbalized sentence type described in 1.1.1.4.3.3.5 (see the discussion preceding examples (111)), expresses an action simultaneous to the action of the superordinate clause. The time clause is introduced by the neuter realis past/present INFL morpheme *ca*, which is immediately followed by the sequential verbalized sentence type. This time clause follows its superordinate clause. There is no pause between the clauses, and they cannot be separated.

- (131) Noro                    xin                    *ca*                    *now* 'ac                    *ta' tara*.  
                                  xi'-in
- look 1pincl:rf-3n INFL:nrp/p look travel 1s 3s:rf 'We will read (silently) *while I read (aloud)*'.

**1.1.2.4.2.2. Manner** The closest thing to a manner clause takes the form of a nominalized *pain* subordinate clause like that expressing time and cause—see the discussion in 1.1.2.4.2.1.(3). It follows its superordinate clause and cannot be separated from it. The preverbal modifier *mam* ‘instrument’ must accompany the verb of the superordinate clause. The nominalized *pain* subordinate clause expressing manner is italicized in the following example:

- |       |   |                |               |             |            |               |
|-------|---|----------------|---------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| (132) | Mam   | winim'         | xun           | <i>pain</i> | <i>ca</i>  | <i>querec</i> |
|       |   |                | xi'-on        |             |            |               |
|       | instrument  | wait           | 1pincl:rf-3sm | prep:3n     | INFL:nrp/p | see           |
|       | <i>te</i>   | <i>nexi'</i> . |               |             |            |               |
|       | father:1s   | poss:1pincl    |               |             |            |               |
|       | 'We will wait for him happily'. (lit. 'We will wait for him <i>with our happiness</i> '.) |                |               |             |            |               |

Otherwise, manner is normally expressed by pre- and postverbal modifiers (133a–b) and verbs occurring in postverbal modifier position (133c).



- (133) a. *Mon* *tomi'* *na.*  
 slowly speak 3s:rp/p  
 'He spoke *slowly*'.
- (133) b. *Quep* *xo'* *nain.*  
*na-in*  
 do correctly 3s:rp/p-3n  
 'He did it *correctly*'.
- (133) c. *Maqui'* *hwap* *na.*  
 come fast:s 3s:rp/p  
 'He came *quickly*'.

**1.1.2.4.2.3. Purpose** Purpose clauses are COMP sentences, marked by the use of *ma'* 'that proximate to hearer' as the operator word in COMP, immediately followed by the INFL morpheme *ta* 'realis future'. A purpose clause follows its superordinate clause. There is usually a pause and falling intonation between the clauses, indicating that they may be separate sentences. Moreover, there are no morphosyntactic constraints, such as interclausal tense/mood agreement, indicating that they may simply be juxtaposed. The (semantically) superordinate clause must be expressed, however, or at least well understood by the context.

- (134) *Mi'* *xun* *pain* *carawa* *ca* *cao'* *wa.*  
*xi'-on*  
 give 1pincl:rf-3sm prep:3n animal INFL:nrp/p eat inf  
*Ma'* *ta* *ma'am* *ca.*  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:rf full 3sm  
 'We will give him something to eat, so *that he will be full*'.

A purpose clause is often expressed as a direct speech, thereby expressing the thoughts that motivate the situation. The VICS may identify the one who is thinking as well as the object of his thoughts—see 1.1.1.4.3.2.4.

- (135) *Quep* *mi'* *non* *pain* *temem'* *panxica,*  
*na-on* *panxi-ca*  
 do give 3s:rp/p-3sm prep:3n bow child-3sm  
*ma'* *ta* *waraju* *ca* *non.*  
*na-on*  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:rf play 3sm 3s:rp/p-3sm  
 'He made a bow for his son, "*So that he will play*", he (said) of him'.

Example (136) is taken from a prayer. Note that more than one purpose clause may follow the main clause.

(136)	Mi'	maparut	con	pane.	Ma'		
	give	2s:rp/p-1pexcl	prep:3sm	rem:past	that:prox:hearer		
ta	'e'	caca.	Ma'	ta	'om	cono'	caca
INFL:rf	live	3pm	that:prox:hearer	INFL:rf	not:exist	die:p	3pm
pain	ca	caracat	nucucun	mon	ma-on	panxima	panxi-ma
prep:3n	INFL:rp/p	break:p	poss:3pm	2s:rp/p-3sm	child-2s		
pane		quem	te	'Iri'	Jam.		
rem:past		ref	father:1s	truly	spirit		

'You gave him to us long ago. "So that they will live. So that they will not die because of their sins (lit. *breaking*)", you (said) to your son long ago, Father God.'

**1.1.2.4.2.4. Cause** Most cause clauses employ a kind of negation. This happens in a number of ways:

- 1 The dubitative particle *xi'* (see time clauses—1.1.2.4.2.1(2)) interacts with negative postverbal modifiers to produce a strong positive. This is then interpreted as 'because'.
- 2 Irrealis verbal modification clauses are used in such a way that their basic reading of affirmative is interpreted as negative, and vice versa.
- 3 The verb 'om 'not exist' is negated or otherwise modified in three different ways.
- 4 Contraexpective verbal modification clauses which, by their nature carry a negative connotation, are sometimes used to express cause.

There are also two other unrelated ways to express cause:

5 *Pain* subordinate clauses

6 Equative clauses.

(1) The dubitative particle *xi'* functioning in cause clauses

Where *xi'* seems to express indefinite or hypothetical time in time clauses, it interacts with the postverbal modifier *'ara* to produce a reading of either 'because' or noncontradictory sentence emphasis (see 1.11.1.1). Either a causal or emphatic reading may be derived when *'ara xi'* occurs in a fully independent clause. But only the causal interpretation is possible when the clause containing *'ara xi'* occurs with another clause, to which it exhibits a semantically subordinate relationship. A subordinate *'ara xi'* clause must follow its matrix clause. However, pause and intonation indicate that they are separate clauses, at least phonologically. Therefore, here as in other cases above, the terms superordinate, matrix, and subordinate indicate semantic relations and possibly syntactic relations as well.

(137)	Xica'	pe	na	carawa	ca	param	ca.	Pe'
	alone	be:at:s	3s:rp/p	animal	INFL:nrp/p	desire	3sm	hungry

'ara	xi'	nana	mana	panxica.
				panxi-ca
neg:p	dub	3p:rp/p	coll	child-3m

'It is only meat that he wants, because his children are hungry'.

This is not the only way *xi'* can combine with *'ara* (or its singular form *'a*), however. In the previous examples, *xi'* immediately followed *'ara*. In the following examples, a VIC may intervene between *'ara* and *xi'*, to produce a causal reading as well. The principal difference in distribution between these clauses and the type illustrated in (137) above is that these latter clauses occur independently of an expressed superordinate clause. This type of cause clause may also involve the co-occurrence of *xi'* and the postverbal modifier *'awin* 'negative'. This type of construction is often ended with the particle *'ira* 'past progressive'.

- (138) a. Teretem                      'ara                      hwe                      xi'                      'ira.  
noisy                      neg:p                      2p:rp/p                      dub                      past:prog  
'Because you make noise!'
- (138) b. Mixem                      'a                      na                      xi'                      too                      quem                      'ira.  
black                      neg:s                      3s:rp/p                      dub                      metal                      ref                      past:prog  
'Because the pan was dirty.'
- (138) c. Howa                      mip                      'awin                      non                      xi'.  
   na-on  
believe                      strong                      neg                      3s:rp/p-3sm                      dub  
'Because he believes him strongly.'

## (2) Irrealis verbal modification clauses functioning as cause clauses

Irrealis verbal modification clauses must be introduced by the INFL morpheme *xi* 'irrealis'. There is no distinction between cause, condition, and grounds/conclusion clauses when they take the form of simple irrealis verbal modification clauses—see 1.1.2.4.2.5(2) and 1.1.2.4.2.9. They may be interpreted as either 'because', 'if, or 'or', depending upon the context. When they mean 'because', the affirmative surface meaning is interpreted as negative, and vice versa. Irrealis verbal modification clauses often end with the emphatic particle *ta*. The irrealis verbal modification clause follows the clause it modifies and may be separated from it. In fact, it is very often used with its modified clause left unexpressed. Though unexpressed, the modified clause is clear from context.

- (139) a. Ta                      jin'                      hun                      me.                      Xi                      jin'                      ton                      ta.  
   hwe-on                      ta'-on  
INFL:rf                      fear                      2p-3sm                      emph                      INFL:irr                      fear                      1s-3sm                      emph  
'Don't be afraid of him, *because I'm not afraid of him.*'
- (139) b. Jam'                      tamana                      nana                      hwijima'.                      Xi                      waraju                      'ara                      caca

tired much 3p:rp/p children INFL:irr play neg:p 3pm  
*pic ta.*  
 rubber emph

'The children are very tired, *because they played ball.*'

### (3) Negated 'om clauses functioning as cause clauses

There are three ways in which the verb 'om 'not exist' can be negated or otherwise modified to render a causal reading. Two of these ways render a positive reading and one way renders a negative reading.

(i) The most common way of deriving the relevant causal reading from an 'om clause is via the irrealis INFL *xi*, as described in the preceding section (illustrated in examples (139)). 'Om 'not exist' is the main verb and, since the 'subject' of this clause is a noun clause and its gender is neuter, only the Tenseless third person neuter VIC *ne* may accompany the verb. These clauses must follow the clause they modify semantically. We see little evidence of a syntactic or phonological link between these 'om clauses and the clauses they modify however. The relationship seems mainly semantic. It is interesting to compare examples (140a–b) and (140c–d): (140a) and (140c) are taken from the text gathered fifteen to twenty years ago; these same sentences are now expressed by young native speakers as (140b) and (140d), with the postverbal modifier 'ara 'negative plural' accompanying the verb. The presence of 'ara makes no difference in the meaning of the cause construction.

(140) a. Jam' tamana nana hwijima'. Xi 'om ne  
 tired much 3p:rp/p children INFL:irr not:exist 3n  
*ca waraju caca pic.*  
 INFL:nrp/p play 3pm rubber

'The children are very tired, *because they played ball.*'

(140) b. Jam' tamana nana hwijima'. Xi 'om ne  
 tired much 3p:rp/p children INFL:irr not:exist 3n  
*ca waraju 'ara caca pic*  
 INFL:nrp/p play neg:p 3pm rubber

'The children are very tired, *because they played ball.*'

(140) c. Mao xirain 'i cain, xi 'om ne  
 xira-in  
 go:s 3s:irr-3n n that:n:distal INFL:irr not:exist 3n  
*ca ma' cacama xurucun.*  
 xere-con  
 INFL:nrp/p exist 3pf siblings-3sm

'He should go there, *because his brothers and sisters are there.*'

(140) d.	Mao	xirain	'i cain,	xi	'om	ne	ca
		xira-in					
	go:s	3s:irr-3n	n that:n:distal	INFL:irr	not:exist	3n	INFL:nrp/p
ma'		'ara	cacama		xurucun.		
					xere-con		
exist		neg:p	3pf		siblings-3sm		

'He should go there, *because his brothers and sisters are there.*'

(ii) The other type of 'om 'because' clause that renders a positive meaning is a simple sentence which follows the sentence it modifies. Like the *xi 'om ne* clause, this second, positive 'om clause seems to combine paratactically with its preceding clause in that it is interpreted as a single semantic unit with the preceding clause, but is phonologically and syntactically separate. This type of 'om clause is a simple sentence whose subject is a noun clause, in which the postverbal modifier 'a 'negative' following the verb 'om 'not exist' requires the use of a Tenseless VIC—see the discussion in 1.1.1.4.1. The only possible syntactic link we can see between the two clauses is that 'om 'a ne clauses can follow only superordinate clauses that manifest the realis past/present tense/mood. The only examples of 'om 'a ne that we have in our corpus are in text gathered many years ago. It is used rarely nowadays.

(141) a.	Jam'	tamana	nana	hwijima'.	'Om	'a	ne
	tired	much	3p:rp/p	children	not:exist	neg:s	3n
ca			waraju		caca pic.		
INFL:nrp/p			play		3pm rubber		

'The children are very tired, *because they played ball.*'

(141) b.	Mao	nain	'i cain.	'Om	'a	ne	ca
		na-in					
	go:s	3s:rp/p-3n	n that:n:distal	not:exist	neg:s	3n	INFL:nrp/p
ma'		cacama		xurucun.			
				xere-con			
exist		3pf		siblings-3sm			

'He went there, *because his brothers and sisters were there.*'

(141) c.	*Mao	xirain	'i cain.	'Om	'a	ne	ca
		xira-in					
	go:s	3s:irr-3n	n that:n:distal	not:exist	neg:s	3n	INFL:nrp/p
ma'		cacama		xurucun.			

xere-con

3pf

siblings-3sm

‘He should go there, *because his brothers and sisters are there.*’

Some 'om clauses produce a negative meaning even when 'om forms a double negative, unlike the cases of double negatives mentioned in 1.1.1.4.1(1) and 1.4.3. These are marked by the use of the particle *xi* 'dubitative' used elsewhere in cause clauses—see 1.1.2.4.2.4(1). This type of cause clause, shown in (142a), is rare. Cause with a negative meaning is usually expressed by a simple negative statement, as in (142b).

(142) Taxi hwe. 'Om xi' ne ca pijim' joc xim

a.

know      2p:rp/p      not:exist      dub      3n      INFL:nrp/p      tell      push      night

*xuhu'*      *pane*.

ta'-uhu'

1s-2p      rem:past

'You know, *because I didn't tell you, keeping it a secret (lit. pushing into the dark) long ago.*'

(142) b. Taxi                      hwe.                      'Om                      ca                      pijim'                      joc                      xim

know      2p:rp/p      not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      tell      push      night

xuhu'      *pane.*

ta'-uhu'

1s-2p      rem:past

'You know. *I didn't tell you, keeping it a secret* (lit. *pushing into the dark*) long ago.'

#### (4) Contraexpective clauses functioning as cause clauses

Contraexpective clauses are interpreted as ‘because’ or ‘but’, depending on the context. When they occur independently, without overtly modifying another clause, they usually have a reading of ‘because’. See 1.1.2.4.2.8 for the structure and uses of contraexpective clauses.

(5) *Pain* subordinate clauses functioning as cause clauses

This type of cause clause is identical to its corresponding time and manner clause. The clause follows the superordinate clause and cannot be separated from it—see examples (129) and (132). The *pain* subordinate clause expressing cause is often accompanied by the verb *mi* ‘give’ in postverbal modifier position in its superordinate clause. *Mi* also occurs in postverbal modifier position in certain interrogatives to render a meaning of ‘why?’

(143) a.    Querec    te                    mi'       'inon                    *pain*                    *ca*                    *tomi'*

'ina-on

see      father:1s      give      1s:rp/p-3sm      prep:3n      INFL:nrp/p      speak

<i>ha'</i>				<i>capa'</i>		<i>ca'</i>
				<i>ca-pa'</i>		
pay:attention				3sm-1s		this:n
'I am happy with him, <i>because he obeys me.</i> '						
(143) b.	Xiram	pa'	'ara	mao	xim	<i>pain</i> 'iri'
					ta'-em	
	press:down:on	upon	neg:p	neg	1s:rf-2s	prep:3n INFL:rp/p
<i>tomi'</i>	<i>mana'</i>				<i>quequem.</i>	
					caca-em	
speak	angry				3pm-2s	
'I will really feel sorry for you <i>because they spoke angrily to you.</i> '						

#### (6) Equative clauses functioning as cause clauses

Examples (144) shows an equative clause that can be interpreted as 'because' or 'just as'.

(144)	Mi'	ne	con	wom.	Win	ne	ca	mi'	mon
									ma-on
	give	2s:1s:rf	prep:3sm	cotton	like	3n	INFL:nrp/p	give	2s-3sm
	con		wom.		Jimain To			quem	
	prep:3sm		clothes		m:name			ref	
'Give me clothes, (just) as you gave clothes to Jimain To.'									

**1.1.2.4.2.5. Condition** There are two different ways to express condition clauses: by means of *mo* COMP clauses, and by means of irrealis modification clauses.

(1) COMP clauses with the operator word *mo* 'conditional' functioning as condition clauses

The most common way to express condition is by a COMP sentence marked by the use of the word *mo* 'conditional' appearing in COMP. Two different INFL morphemes can appear in condition clauses: *ta* 'realis future' or *xi* 'irrealis'. The *mo* condition clause precedes the clause it modifies, although each receives separate intonation and they are separated by a pause. They do seem syntactically related however, in that there must be agreement in tense/mood between the modifying and modified clauses, i.e. modified clauses manifesting either realis past/ present or realis future tense/mood may follow modifying clauses manifesting realis future, but if the modifying clause manifests irrealis tense/ mood, the modifying clause must also manifest irrealis; see (145d) where this is violated. BK has heard one 'Oro Nao' speaker use the operator word *ma'* instead of *mo* in *mo* condition clauses. She believes this is due to the influence of that speaker's wife, who belongs to another subgroup.

(145) a.	Mo	ta	'ao	pi'	capari'	wic	quem.	Cono'
----------	----	----	-----	-----	---------	-----	-------	-------

- ca-pari'
- conditional INFL:rf flow finish 3sm-1pincl blood ref die:p  
 pin 'iri'.  
 completely 1pincl:rp/p  
 'If all our blood runs out (lit. if blood flows all out of us), we die.'
- (145) b. Mo ta tatam' mapa'. Wixipa' 'ac ta' tara.  
 ma-pa'  
 conditional INFL:rf laugh 2s-1s embarrassed travel 1s 3s:rf  
 'If you laugh at me, then I will be embarrassed.'
- (145) c. Mo xi cao' ca. Ma'am xira.  
 conditional INFL:irr eat 3sm full 3s:irr  
 'If he would eat, he would be full.'
- (145) d. \*Mo xi pan' ne xowi'. 'Om ta mama'  
 conditional INFL:irr fall 3n rain not:exist INFL:rf go:p  
 'iri'.  
 1pincl  
 'If it should rain, we won't go.'

Strings of *mo* condition clauses often occur before the modified clause.

- (146) a. *Mo ta mixita caca. Mo ta to*  
 mixita-0  
 conditional INFL:rf fight-1s 3pm conditional INFL:rf be:at:p  
*tiquin' caca. Mo ta to' mami' cacam*  
 caca-vcvm  
 continue 3pm conditional INFL:rf hit again 3pm-3pf  
 'oro *manacocon. Mana' mami' totoron mana*  
 mana-cocon tatara-ocon  
 coll wife-3pm angry again 3p:rf-3pm coll  
 cote cacama.  
 co-te  
 INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s 3pf  
 'If they fight. If they continue living (there). If they hit their wives again. Their fathers will get angry again.'



(146) b.	<i>Mo</i>	<i>xi</i>	<i>tacana</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>caca.</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>xi</i>
	conditional	INFL:irr	quiet	be:at:p	3pm	conditional	INFL:irr
'ari	<i>cacain</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>mana'</i>	<i>wa.</i>	'Om	<i>xi</i>	<i>mixita</i>
	<i>caca-in</i>						<i>mixita-0</i>
resist	3pm-3n	INFL:nrp/p	angry	inf	not:exist	INFL:irr	fight-1s
cocon					quem.		
caca-ocon							
3pm-3pm					ref		
'If they would have kept quiet. If they would have refused to get angry. They would not have fought with them.'							

*Mo* condition clauses can also occur without an overt modified clause. Example (147) below was taken from a legend, in which a man and his sister are talking about papaya. Note the absence of a modified clause following the second *mo ta* clause.

(147)	<i>Mo</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>paca'</i>	<i>ca.</i>	Nacam'	mao	nacam'	mao
	conditional	INFL:rf	red	3sm	cut	go:s	cut	go:s
xun		me	we.	<i>Mo</i>	<i>ta</i>	'om		
<i>xi'-on</i>								
1pincl:rf-3sm	emph	older:sister:1s		conditional	INFL:rf	not:exist		
<i>paca'</i>	<i>ca.</i>	Tara.	<i>Mo</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>paca'</i>	<i>ca.</i>	'An	mao 'an
red	3sm	3s:rf	conditional	INFL:rf	red	3sm	takers	go:s takers
mao	pi'	xun.	<i>Mo</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>xica'</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>ca.</i>	
		<i>xi'-on</i>						
go:s	finish	1pincl:rf-3sm	conditional	INFL:rf	alone	be:at:s	3sm	
Nacam'	mao	nacam'	mao	xun	me	we.		
				<i>xi'-on</i>				
cut	go:s	cut	go:s	1pincl:rf-3sm	emph	older:sister:1s		

If it's ripe. We'll divide it, sister. If it isn't ripe... Who knows? If it's ripe, we'll both take some. If only one is ripe, we'll divide it, sister.'

When *mo xi* clauses do not modify another clause, they are embedded as the derived predicate of the verbalized sentence described in 1.1.1.4.3.3.1. The dubitative particle *xi'* (with perhaps a gloss of 'negative' here; see 1.1.2.4.2.1(2)) attaches to the embedded clause as a postverbal modifier, and the realis past/present VIC *na* appears in the matrix clause. The whole sentence is understood as modifying an unexpressed clause which is understood in the context.

- (148) a. Mo xi hoc xo' cacama carawa xi'  
 conditional INFL:irr cook correctly 3pf animal dub  
 na.  
 3s:rp/p  
 If they just cooked food right...(but) it (is) not so.'
- (148) b. \*Mo xi hoc xo' cacama carawa xi'  
 conditional INFL:irr cook correctly 3pf animal dub  
 na. Cao' xixi.'  
 3s:rp/p eat 1pincl:irr  
 'If they cooked food right, we would eat.'

*Mo ta* condition clauses may be used to express time—see 1.1.2.4.2.1(4).

(2) Irrealis verbal modification clauses functioning as condition clauses

See 1.1.2.4.2.4(2) for the description of irrealis verbal modification clauses used as cause clauses. When used as condition clauses, irrealis verbal modification clauses maintain their basic reading, in contrast to their use in cause clauses, where their affirmative form is interpreted as negative, and vice versa. Irrealis verbal modification clauses follow their superordinate clauses. There is usually no pause or falling intonation between the clauses.

- (149) a. Mao xira xi taxi' ca.  
 to:s 3s:irr INFL:irr know 3sm  
 'He would have gone if he had known.'
- (149) b. 'In qui' xita' xi 'om capa' xowi'  
 ca-pa'  
 return coming:this:way 1s:irr INFL:irr not:exist 3sm-1s rain  
 ca'.  
 this:n  
 'I would have returned if it had not rained.' (lit. '...if rain had not have existed to me.')

Just as when they are used in cause clauses, irrealis verbal modification condition clauses may also occur with their modified clauses unexpressed, in which case the meaning that would have been expected from the modified clause is clear from the context. The irrealis verbal modification clause often ends with the emphatic particle *ta*.

- (150) a. Xi taxi' ca ta!  
 INFL:irr know 3sm emph  
 'If he just knew...!'

(150) b. Xi 'om capa' xowi' ca' ta!  
 ca -pa'  
 INFL:irr not:exist 3sm-1s rain this:n emph  
 'If it just hadn't rain...!' (lit. 'If rain just hadn't existed to me...!')

(150) c. Xi wara tomi' 'ara ca cote ca.  
 co-te  
 INFL:irr already speak neg:p 3sm INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s 3sm  
 'If his father had not already spoken...!'

Strings of irrealis verbal modification clauses may also occur before their superordinate clause. The following example was taken from a Wari' sermon, explaining why God was unable to write the Bible personally.

(151) Je para tomi' 'e' ma' cain 'oro  
 ca-in  
 emph:3n therefore speak only that:prox:hearer 3sm-3n coll  
 capijacon 'Iri' Jam. Mo xi xirao' cain  
 capija-con ca-in  
 mouth-3sm truly spirit, conditional INFL:irr mark 3sm-3n  
 'Iri' Jam, xirao' xirao'. 'An quiji' mi' xirapari'  
 xira-pari'  
 truly spirit mark mark takers lower give 3s:irr-1pincl  
 pain. Main ca' ca xirao' ne  
 ma'-in  
 prep:3n that:prox:hearer-3n this:n INFL:nrp/p mark poss:1s  
 ca' ta xira. 'Om na. Xi ma' ne  
 this:n emph 3s:irr not:exist 3s:rp/p INFL:irr exist 3n  
 curucun ta na' nam. Xi ma' ne  
 cwere-con na-m  
 body-3sm emph 3s:rp/p 3s:rp/p-3sf INFL:irr exist 3n  
 curucun. Xi ma' ne ca xirao' 'ac  
 cwere-con  
 body-3sm INFL:irr exist 3n INFL:nrp/p mark able  
 ca papel quem ta na' nam Xi ma' ne

					na-m			
3sm	paper	ref	emph	3s:rp/p	3s:rp/p-3sf	INFL:irr	exist	3n
caximacon		ca		xut	cain	macan'	ca'	quem.
caxima-con					ca-in			
foot-3sm		INFL:nrp/p		walk:s	3sm-3n	dirt	this:n	ref
Xi	ma'	ne	winacon		ca	noro	xaxa'	
			wina-con					
INFL:irr	exist	3n	head-3sm		INFL:nrp/p	look	distractedly	
noro	xaxa'		capari'		quem.	'Om	'om	
			ca-pari'					
look	distractedly		3sm-1pincl		ref	not:exist	not:exist	
na	'Iri'	Jam.	'Iri'	Jam	'ara	xi'	na.	'Om
3s:rp/p	truly	spirit	truly	spirit	neg:p	dub	3s:rp/p	not:exist
na		curucun				Iri'	Jam.	
		cwere-con						
3s:rp/p		body-3sm				truly	spirit	

'That is why God only spoke his words. If God had have written them, write, write, he would have handed them down to us and (said), "This is my writing." No (it wasn't like that). If his body existed...isn't that right? If his body existed... If it existed that he were able to write on paper also,...isn't that right? If his feet existed where he (could) walk on the earth... If his head existed where he (could) look around at us.... The true spirit (God) is not (like that). Because he is a true spirit (God). The body of the true spirit (God) does not exist.'

**1.1.2.4.2.6. Result** The notion of reason/result is often manifested by a COMP sentence in which *je* 'third person neuter emphatic pronoun' appears in COMP, and *ca* 'neuter realis past/present', *'iri* 'realis past/ present', *ta* 'realis future', or *xi* 'irrealis' appears in INFL. The postverbal modifier *qui* 'coming this way' often follows the verb when *ta* or *xi* occur in INFL. *Je* clauses are fully independent clauses. They often mark the beginning of paragraphs, in which capacity they function as a kind of link or transition from one theme to another, as though what follows is a result of what precedes. Note the meaning of (152c), where either reason/result could be understood or interrogative 'why?'—see 1.1.1.4.2(9), where we discuss the use of irrealis reason/result clauses to express the interrogative 'why?' and 'why not?'

(152) a. Je ca tomi' ton taramaxicon nexi'  
ta'-on

emph:3n INFL:nrp/p speak 1s-3sm chief poss:1pincl

pane.

rem:past

'So that's what I said (or why I talked) to our chief.'

(152) b. Je ta cut qui' main too nem.

ma-in

emph:3n INFL:rf take:p coming:this:way 2s-3n metal poss:2s

'So (for this reason) you shall bring your cans.'

(152) c. Je 'iri' quep xiho' ta' cam pane.

emph:3n INFL:rp/p do together 1s prep:3sf rem:past

'So (for that reason) I helped (did it with) her.'

(152) d. Je xi tomi' qui' mapa'.

ma-pa'

emph:3n INFL:irr speak coming:this:way 2s-1s

'So (for this reason) you should have talked to me.' or 'Why didn't you talk to me?'

*Je* clauses may, however, also follow statements and seem to function in direct (semantic) subordination to them (153a). This is especially true of *je* clauses manifesting irrealis (153b). They often work closely with *mo xi* condition clauses, with reason expressed in the *mo xi* clause and result in a clause begun by *je xi*.

(153) a. Pan' tamana na xowi'. Je ca 'om

fall:s much 3s:rp/p rain emph:3n INFL:nrp/p not:exist

mao ta' ca'.

go:s ls this:n

'It rained a lot, so I didn't go.'

(153) b. Mo xi hoc xo' cacama carawa. Je

conditional INFL:irr cook correctly 3pf animal emph:3n

xi cao' cao' pi' pin qui' xin.

xi'-in

INFL:irr eat eat finish completely coming:this:way 1pincl-3n

'If they cooked right, we would eat it all up.'

The notion of result can also be expressed by use of the preverbal modifier *para* 'therefore'. *Para* explicitly expresses results in (154a), where it occurs in a statement like (153a). It may also occur in a simple sentence as described in the paragraph following

examples (57), where *para* requires the use of Tenseless VICS following the verb. When expressing the notion of result, such a *para* sentence must follow a contraexpective verbal modification clause (154b).

(154) a.	Pan'	tamana	na	xowi'.	je	ca	para
	fall:s	much	3s:rp/p	rain	emph:3n	INFL:nrp/p	therefore
	'om		mao		ta'	ca'.	
	not:exist		go:s		1s	this:n	

'It rained a lot, so I didn't go.' (lit. '...that's why I didn't go.')

(154) b.	'Ane	ma'	capa'	Cowo'	ne.	Para	wa'
			ca-pa'				
	different	exist	3sm-1s	m:name	rec:past	therefore	arrive:s
	ta'	ca'.					
	1s	this:n					

'But Cowo' helped (existed to) me, (so) that's why I arrived.'

**1.1.2.4.2.7. Comparative and equative** The notions of comparative and equative are expressed two ways:

(1) By the verb *win* 'like' or 'same'

It may appear as an equative verb in a simple sentence (155a), where it must be accompanied by Tenseless VICS (see 1.1.1.4.1(4) and the discussion in 1.1.1.4.1, following the examples in (57) and (61)). It may also appear in COMP in a construction similar to the *'om* cause clause described in 1.1.2.4.2.4(3), preceding the examples in (141), in which *win* appears as a verb and the third person neuter Tenseless VIC *ne* follows it, referencing a noun clause subject introduced by *ca* 'neuter realis past/present' INFL morpheme (155b). *Win* may also appear as the leftmost member of a compound verb to express the notion of equative (155c).

(155) a.	Xiram	pa'	non	pain	memem.	Win
			na-on			
	press:down	upon	3s:rp/p-3sm	prep:3n	fruit	like
	con			pane.		
	ca-on					
	3sm-3sm			rem:past		

'He felt sorry for him (lit. pressed down on him) by (giving him) fruit. (Just) as he (did) to him long ago.'

(155) b.	Mi'	ne	con	wom.	Win	ne	ca	mi'	mon
									ma-on
	give	2s:1s:rf	prep:3sm	cotton	like	3n	INFL:nrp/p	give	2s-3sm

con			Jimain To			quem.
prep:3sm			m:name			ref
'Give me clothes. (Just) as you gave some to Jimain To.'						
(155) c.	'Om	na	wari'	co	win	hwara'
	not:exist	3s:rp/p	person	INFL:m/frp/p	like	big:s
	'opa				ca.	
	'opa-0					
	strongness-1s				3sm	
'There is no one who is strong like he is.' (lit. '...who is his same strong.')						

(2) By the verb '*ac* 'like'

'*Ac*, compounded with a denominalized verb appearing in a simple sentence, expresses equative:

(156)	'Ac	pana	na.
	like	wood	3s:rp/p
'It is like a tree.'			

Any other use of '*ac* as a comparative/equative, i.e. when followed by a verb, requires its use in a COMP comparison sentence, in which case '*ac* appears as the operator word in COMP, and the entire COMP sentence must be embedded as the derived predicate in a verbalized comparative sentence—see 1.1.1.4.3.3.6. Note the absence of the INFL morpheme *ca* and reduplication of the verb in the example in (157b). This is typical of what can happen to nominal modification clauses—see again the discussion in 1.1.2.3.1 (see also 2.2.4.1.2, where we discuss the deletion of INFL when the verb is reduplicated).

(157) a.	'Ac	ca		mao	cama	na.
	like	INFL:nrp/p		go:s	3sf	3s:rp/p
'It seems she went.'						
(157) b.	'Ac	querec	querec	cama	we	napa'
						Hatem
						na-pa'
	like	see	see	3sf	older:sister:1s	3s:rp/p-1s
						f:name
	ma'.					
	that:prox:hearer					
'Hatem looks to me like my older sister.'						

**1.1.2.4.2.8. Contraexpective** The notion of contraexpective is expressed by the COMP clause in which '*ane* 'different' appears in COMP. The use of the recent past sentence-final particle, *ne*, is obligatory. When a noun occurs in the verb position of the sentence,

the INFL morpheme *ca* ‘neuter realis past/present’ precedes it; when a verb occurs in the verb position of the sentence, no INFL morpheme follows COMP. When a contraexpective clause is not immediately preceded by a clause setting up the expectation, as in (158a), it is usually interpreted as ‘because’; when it is preceded by a clause setting up the expectation, as in (158c–d), it is interpreted as ‘but’. The clause preceding contraexpective clauses often manifests the verb *paxi* ‘to not find’ in the postverbal modifier position. Note (158d), where the contraexpective clause is both preceded and followed by clauses to which it is related.

- |          |  |             |              |           |           |           |           |
|----------|--|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| (158) a. | 'Ane   |             | wijima       |           | toco'     | ta'       | ne.       |
|          |  |             | wijima-0     |           |           |           |           |
|          | different  |             | smallness-1s |           | lay:p     | 1s        | rec:past  |
|          | '(It's) because I have a lot of children.' (lit. '...I have children and they lay around.')                |             |              |           |           |           |           |
| (158) b. | 'Ane   | ma'         | capa'        | Cowo'     | ne.       | Para      | wa'       |
|          |  |             | ca-pa'       |           |           |           |           |
|          | different  | exist       | 3sm-1s       | m:name    | rec:past  | therefore | arrive:s  |
|          |  |             | ca.'         |           |           |           |           |
| ta'      |  |             |              |           |           |           |           |
| 1s       |  |             | this:n       |           |           |           |           |
|          | '(It's) because Cowo' helped (existed to) me. That's why I arrived.'                                       |             |              |           |           |           |           |
| (158) c. | Param  | paxi'       | nain.        | 'Ane      | mi'       | tiquin'   | cacamain  |
|          |  |             | na-in        |           |           |           | cacama-in |
|          | desire   | not:find    | 3s:rp/p-3n   | different | give      | continue  | 3pf-3n    |
|          | ne.  |             |              |           |           |           |           |
|          | rec:past   |             |              |           |           |           |           |
|          | 'He wanted one, but they gave it (to someone else).' (lit. '...gave it, passing it on (to someone else).') |             |              |           |           |           |           |
| (158) d. | Ximin  | 'urut       | pane         | 'ira.     | 'Ane      | ma'       | maparut   |
|          |  |             |              |           |           |           | ma-parut  |
|          | pathetic   | 1pexcl:rp/p | rem:past     | prog      | different | exist     | 2s-1pexcl |
| ne.      | Para   | 'awi        | pin          |           |           | 'urut     | ca.'      |
| rec:past | therefore  | good        | completely   |           |           | 1pexcl    | this:n    |
|          | 'We used to be pathetic, but you are here (exist) for us. That is why we are (in) good (condition) now.'   |             |              |           |           |           |           |

Contraexpective may also be expressed by the verb *paxi* 'to not find' or 'frustrative' in the postverbal position in a simple sentence, which precedes the clause setting up the expectation. A pause and falling intonation separate the two clauses.



(159) a. Taraju paxi' napa.' 'Om ca tomi'  
 taraji-u na-pa'  
 ear-1s not:find 3s:rp/p-1s not:exist INFL:nrp/p speak  
 ha. ca.  
 pay:attention 3sm  
 'Although he hears me, he doesn't obey.'

(159) b. 'Awi paxi' na xuruxut ca.' 'Ane 'awi  
 xiri-xut  
 good not:find 3s:rp/p house-1pexcl this:n different good  
 tamana pan ne xuruxut pain Pitop  
 xiri-xut  
 much emph 3n house-1pexcl prep:3n place:name  
 pane ne.  
 rem:past rec:past  
 'Although our house is good, our house was better (very good) in Pitop.'

**1.1.2.4.2.9. Grounds/conclusion** The irrealis verbal modification clause that expresses cause and condition can also express grounds/conclusion. It follows the modified clause, and pause and falling intonation indicate that they are separate units. Grounds is expressed in the modifying clause, while conclusion is expressed in the modified clause.

(160) 'Om ca tomi' camain' ca. Xi taraju  
 taraji-u  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p speak at:all 3sm INFL:irr ear-1s  
 'urut ne.  
 1pexcl rec:past  
 'He did not talk at all, or we would have heard.'

#### 1.1.2.4.3. Nonfinite verbal modification clauses

A *pain* subordinate clause can be made nonfinite by replacing the VIC with one of the set of possessive marking NICS, thus making it a derived noun. Compare the sets of examples below:

(161) a. Tomi' xaxa' 'iri' pain ca caxi cacama  
 speak distractedly 1pincl prep:3n INFL:nrp/p sick 3pf  
 mana pantiri'.

panxi-'iri'  
 coll children-1pincl  
 'We are sad when our children are sick.'  
 (161) b. Tomi' xaxa' 'iri' pain ca caxi nequequem  
 speak distractedly 1pincl prep:3n INFL:nrp/p sick poss:3pf

mana pantiri'.  
 panxi-'iri'  
 coll children-1pincl  
 'We are sad because of our children's being sick (or, sickness).'

(162) a. Ma' ta 'om jain jain ta' pain  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:rf not:exist suffer suffer 1s prep:3n  
 ca 'aram mi' pin ta'.  
 INFL:nrp/p finally:p give completely 1s  
 'So that I won't suffer when I finally die.'

(162) b. Ma' ta 'om jain jain ta' pain  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:rf not:exist suffer suffer 1s prep:3n  
 ca 'aram mi' pin ne.  
 INFL:nrp/p finally:p give completely poss:1s  
 'So that I won't suffer at my dying (or, death).'

(163) a. Querec te mi' 'inon pain ca tomi'  
 'ina-on  
 see father:1s give 1s:rp/p-3sm prep:3n INFL:nrp/p speak  
 ha' capa' ca.'  
 ca-pa'  
 pay:attention 3sm-1s this:n  
 'I am happy with him, because he obeys me.'

(163) b. Querec te mi' 'inon pain ca tomi'  
 'ina-on  
 see father:1s give 1s:rp/p-3sm prep:3n INFL:nrp/p speak  
 ha' nucun ca'.  
 pay:attention poss:3sm this:n  
 'I am happy with him, because of his obeying/obedience.'

Verbal modification clauses can also be made nonfinite by replacing the VIC with the infinitival/participial marker, *wa*. When *wa* is used, only the object of a transitive verb can be overtly expressed; no subject can be expressed. Compare the sets of examples below:

- (164) a.      Xi                      querec              te                      ca              Xijam              ta.  
                  INFL:irr              see                      father:1s              3sm              m:name              emph  
                  'If Xijam were just happy...!'
- (164) b.      Xi                      querec                      te                      wa              ta.  
                  INFL:irr              see                      father:1s                      inf              emph  
                  'If there were just happiness!'
- (164) c.      \*Xi                      querec              te                      wa              Xijam              ta.  
                  INFL:irr              see                      father:1s              inf              m:name              emph  
                  'If Xijam were just happiness...!'
- (165) a.      Com              'i                      nana                      tamara'              ne.  
                  sing              already:s              3p:rp/p              song              rec:past  
                  'When they had sung a song.'
- (165) b.      Com              'i                      wa              tamara'              ne.  
                  sing              already:s              inf              song              rec:past  
                  'When singing songs...'
- (165) c.      Com              'i                      wa              ne.  
                  sing              already:s              inf              rec:past  
                  'When singing...'
- (165) d.      \*Com              'i                      wa              'oro              wari'              ne.  
                  sing              already:s              inf              coll              person              rec:past  
                  'When people singing...'
- (166) a.      Pi'am              'i                      na                      pije'              ne.  
                  sleep              already:s              3s:rp/p              child              rec:past  
                  'When the child slept...'
- (166) b.      Pi'am              'i                      wa              ne.  
                  sleep              already:s              inf              rec:past  
                  'When sleeping...'
- (166) c.      \*Pi'am              'i                      wa              pije'              ne.  
                  sleep              already:s              inf              child              rec:past

‘When the child sleeping...’

### 1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses

There are sequence of time requirements between *v i...ne* time clauses and irrealis verbal modification clauses used as condition clauses and their respective superordinate clauses. The use of irrealis in a subordinate clause usually requires agreement in the superordinate clause, but see (139), where the irrealis tense/mood of the irrealis verbal modification clause used as a cause clause does not agree with the realis future tense/ mood in the superordinate clause.

## 1.2. STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

### 1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence

#### 1.2.1.1. Copular sentences

Copular sentences do not exist. This notion is expressed by what would be the nominal, adjectival, or adverbial complement of a copular appearing as the verb of the sentence. The element in the verbal position is accompanied by a VIC like any verb, so that to say, for example, ‘the baby is a man (male)’, ‘the house is small’, or ‘the boy is fast’, one says, ‘the baby mans (males)’, ‘the house smalls’, and ‘the boy fasts’. Nouns may be zero-derived, i.e. occur in the verb position without any morphological changes (167a), or a noun may occur as a derived verb as described in 2.2.2.1.2.2 by using one of its inflections (167b–c). The notion of adverbial is expressed by a regular verb (167d).

- |          |  |         |        |
|----------|--|---------|--------|
| (167) a. | Tarama'  | na      | pije'. |
|          | man  | 3s:rp/p | child  |
|          | ‘The baby is a man (male).’ (lit. ‘The baby mans.’)  |         |        |
| (167) b. | Wijimain   | na      | xirim. |
|          | wijima-in  |         |        |
|          | smallness-3n   | 3s:rp/p | house  |
|          | ‘The house is small.’ (lit. ‘The house smalls.’)     |         |        |
| (167) c. | Xowuru   | na      | coco.  |
|          | xowiri-u   |         |        |
|          | rotteness-1s   | 3s:rp/p | basket |
|          | ‘The basket is rotten.’ (lit. ‘The basket rottens.’) |         |        |
| (167) d. | Hwap   | na      | pije'. |
|          | fast:s   | 3s:rp/p | child  |

‘The child is fast.’ (lit. ‘The child fasts.’)

One might attempt to dispute our analysis of the above clauses, arguing instead that the VIC is acting as a copular verb and that the material on both sides of it is nominal, functioning as a predicate adjective/nominal. However, there are at least five reasons to reject this analysis in favour of the analysis in the text, namely, that the material to the left of the VIC is in fact a zero-derived verb. The reasons are as follows:

- (a) Nouns appearing to the left of the VIC are interpreted descriptively (but predicatively) in the second and third person forms, but actively or even agentively in their first person form.
- (b) These apparent nominals may be compounded with verbs or verbal modifiers.
- (c) When compounded, they may undergo semantic drift.
- (d) When nonfinal in a compound, a nominal may not bear primary stress (unless followed by a stress-rejecting modifier).
- (e) These noun-verb compounds may be preceded by COMP+INFL sequences.

Moreover, if material to the left of VICS in these ‘copular’ constructions was nonverbal, this would be the only case in the language where a VIC attaches to nonverbal material. Segments (a)–(e) are discussed in detail in section 2.2.

The closest thing to a copular construction is a nonverbal sentence in which the demonstrative *ma'* 'that proximate to hearer', or one of its variants (*mon* 'singular masculine', *momon* 'plural masculine', *mam* 'singular feminine', *mamam* 'plural feminine', and *main* 'neuter'), or an emphatic pronoun, occurs in the sentence-initial position, optionally followed by a demonstrative and an NP (which may take the form of a noun derived from a sentence (168h)). There is no overt *be*-copula. The demonstrative in the NP is not obligatory, though it usually occurs.

- |          |                          |                 |                             |
|----------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| (168) a. | Ma'                      | wana            | ma'.                        |
|          | that:prox:speaker        | path            | that:prox:speaker           |
|          | 'There is the path.'     |                 |                             |
| (168) b. | Mon                      | cwa'            | Xijam (cwa').               |
|          | ma'-on                   |                 |                             |
|          | that:prox:hearer-3sm     | this:m/f        | m:name (this:m/f)           |
|          | 'This (here) is Xijam.'  |                 |                             |
| (168) c. | Momon                    | cwa'            | hwijima' (cwa').            |
|          | ma'-oCon                 |                 |                             |
|          | that:prox:hearer-3pm     | this:m/f        | children (this:m/f)         |
|          | 'Here are the children.' |                 |                             |
| (168) d. | Mam                      | cwain           | jim (cwain).                |
|          | ma'-m                    |                 | xi-m                        |
|          | that:prox:hearer-3sf     | that:distal:m/f | mother-2s (that:m/f:distal) |

‘There (that) is your mother.’

- (168) e. Mamam cwa' waram xi' (cwa').  
 ma'-vcMm  
 that:prox:hearer-3pf this:m/f coll mother:1pincl (this:m/f)

‘These are our mothers.’

- (168) f. Main ca'.  
 ma'-in  
 that:prox:hearer-3n this:n  
 ‘This is it.’

- (168) g. Main ca' xuterem' nucun mumum (ca').  
 ma'-in  
 that:prox:hearer-3n this:n lake poss:3sm duck (this:n)  
 ‘Here is the duck’s lake.’

- (168) h. Main ca' ca xirao' ne (ca').  
 ma'-in  
 that:prox:hearer-3n this:n INFL:nrp/p mark poss:1s (this:n)  
 ‘This is my writing.’ (lit. ‘This is (that) which is my writing.’)

- (168) i. Je ma'.  
 emph:3n that:prox:hearer  
 ‘That’s it.’

The demonstrative occurring with *je* may take the form of a demonstrative pronoun.

- (169) a. Je 'i ma'.  
 emph:3n n that:prox:hearer  
 ‘That’s it.’

- (169) b. Wiroco co cwa'.  
 emph:3sm m this:m/f  
 ‘It is he.’

Demonstratives and emphatic pronouns may also occur in copulartype sentences with interrogative intonation, as exemplified in (170). Only the emphatic pronoun may be followed by a demonstrative in these interrogative sentences.

- (170) a. Ma' carawa?  
 that:prox:hearer animal

- ‘What?’ (lit. ‘What thing?’)
- (170) b. Ma' wari'?  
that:prox:hearer person  
‘Who?’ (lit. ‘What person?’)
- (170) c. Mon te?  
ma'-on  
that:prox:hearer-3sm father:1s  
‘Where is my father?’
- (170) d. Momon xerexi'?  
ma'-ocon xere-xi'  
that:prox:hearer-3pm siblings-1pincl  
‘Where are our brothers and sisters?’
- (170) e. Mam To'o cwa'?  
ma'-m  
that:prox:hearer-3sf f:name this:m/f  
‘Where is this To'o?’
- (170) f. Mamam humajixi'?  
ma'-vcvm humaji-xi'  
that:prox:hearer-3pf children-1pincl  
‘Where are our children?’
- (170) g. Main too ne?  
ma'-in  
that:prox:hearer-3n sound:metal:makes poss:1s  
‘Where is my can?’
- (170) h. Je ca' copu cwa' ra?  
copi-u  
emph:3n this:n manioc-1s this:m/f 2s:rf  
‘Is this my manioc?’
- (170) i. Wirico co cwa' conem  
co-nem  
emph:3sm m this:m/f INFL:m/frp/p-brother:in:law:1s  
ma ra?

2s:rf

‘This is your brother-in-law, isn’t it?’

#### 1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences

Most 'ON sentences are manifested (overtly at least) by the verb only. The occurrence of one argument with the VP (either the expressed object, subject, or some other constituent) is common, but the occurrence of two arguments is fairly uncommon. More than two arguments can occur, but this is even rarer.

#### 1.2.1.2.1. Subject

Third person subject may be overtly expressed (171a), or marked only by the VIC (171b–c).

(171) a.                   Mao                   na                   'Orowao'.  
                  go:s                   3s:rp/p                   m:name  
                  'Orowao' went.'

(171) b.	Mao	na.
	go:s	3s:rp/p
	‘He went.’	

(171) c.	'Om	ca	mao	ca.
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	go:s	3sm
	'He didn't go.'			

Even when overtly expressed, the subject is almost always also marked in the VIC (but see the following examples, where the subject is third person and the object is first person, in which case the subject VIC can be omitted, although this is rare).

(172) a.	Tapa'	napa'	wina.
		na-pa'	wina-0
	bursts	3s:rp/p-1s	head-1s
	'My head is bursting (hurting) me.'		

(172) b.

Tapa'	pa'	wina.
		wina-0
bursts	1s:obj	head-1s
'My head is bursting (hurting) me.'		

(173) a. 'Om naparut.  
na-parut



- (173) b.
- |           |   |                |
|-----------|---|----------------|
|           | not:exist   | 3s:rp/p-1pexcl |
|           | 'We don't have any.' (lit. 'It doesn't exist to us.') |                |
| 'Om       |   | parut.         |
| not:exist |   | 1pexcl:obj     |
|           | 'We don't have any.' (lit. 'It doesn't exist to us.') |                |

First and second person subjects can only be marked in the VIC, as in the following examples.

- |          |                    |                 |    |         |      |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------|----|---------|------|
| (174) a. |                    | Mao             |    | 'ina.   |      |
|          |                    | go:s            |    | 1s:rp/p |      |
|          |                    | 'I went.'       |    |         |      |
| (174) b. | 'Om                | ca              |    | mao     | ta'. |
|          | not:exist          | INFL:nrp/p      |    | go:s    | 1s   |
|          | 'I didn't go.'     |                 |    |         |      |
| (174) c. | *Mao               | 'ina            |    | wata.'  |      |
|          | go:s               | 1s:rp/p         |    | emph:1s |      |
|          | 'I went.'          |                 |    |         |      |
| (175) a. |                    | Maqui'          |    | ma?     |      |
|          |                    | come            |    | 2s:rp/p |      |
|          |                    | 'Did you come?' |    |         |      |
| (175) b. | 'Om                | ca              |    | maqui'  | ma?  |
|          | not:exist          | INFL:nrp/p      |    | come    | 2s   |
|          | 'Didn't you come?' |                 |    |         |      |
| (175) c. | *Maqui'            |                 | ma | wum?    |      |
|          | come               |                 | 2s | emph:2s |      |
|          | 'Did you come?'    |                 |    |         |      |

First and second person pronominal subjects are often heard in exchanges between outsiders and the Wari', however we consider this to be merely a form of 'mission language'. The use of first and second person pronominal subjects is never observed in exchanges strictly among the Wari' themselves. Third person subject may, however, be expressed by a demonstrative pronoun, as well as a VIC, as in (176).

- (176) a.      Mao            na                            co            ma'.  
                  go:s            3s:rp/p                            m            that:prox.hearer  
                  'He went.' (lit. 'That masculine one near you went.')

- (176) b. Cao' na cam cwa'.  
eat 3s:rp/p f this:m/f  
'She is eating.' (lit. 'This feminine one is eating.')
- (176) c. Tan' qui' nana caram cwain.  
arrive:p coming:this:way 3p:rp/p p that:distal:m/f  
'They arrived here.' (lit. 'Those masculine/feminine ones over there arrived here.')

The subject VIC may be omitted entirely in long discourses describing series of actions—see 1.12, where the occurrence of verbs without VICS is a device used to signal events on the main thematic line of a discourse. Example (177) is taken from a text about the origin of corn. Note the direct speeches in this example, in which the VICS marking the subject of the nonexistent 'said' verb are also omitted.

- (177) Xique' mao cain ma' na, xique' xique'  
ca-in  
shell go:s 3sm-3n that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p shell shell  
xique' 'ari nain. Xijein coco  
na-in xije-in  
shell sufficiently 3s:rp/p-3n otherness-3n basket  
ma'. Xique' xique' 'ari. Xijein coco  
xije-in  
that:prox:hearer shell shell sufficiently otherness-3n basket  
ma'. Je ma'. 'An  
that:prox:hearer emph:3n that:prox:hearer takers  
xiwap. Ma' ta! Tom to ma  
swing:onto:back that:prox:hearer emph burn:s be:at:p 2s:rp/p  
pain xe ra? Je ma' quira.  
prep:3n fire 2s:rf emph:3n that:prox:hearer emph

'Then he shelled (the corn), he shelled sufficient. (He took) another basket. (He) shelled sufficient. (He took) another basket. "There!" (he said). (He) swung it up on his back. "There, (take it)!" (he said). "You burned it, didn't you?" (he said). "That's all right!" (he said).'

Verbs with (overt) dummy subjects do not exist.

#### 1.2.1.2.2. Direct object

As with a subject, third person direct object may be expressed as an NP (178a), demonstrative pronoun (178b) or marked only in the VIC (178c).

- |          |  |             |    |                  |
|----------|--|-------------|----|------------------|
| (178) a. | To'  | non         |    | 'Orowao'.        |
|          |  | na-on       |    |                  |
|          | hit  | 3s:rp/p-3sm |    | m:name           |
|          | 'He hit 'Orowao'.'                                     |             |    |                  |
| (178) b. | To'  | non         | co | ma'.             |
|          |  | na-on       |    |                  |
|          | hit  | 3s:rp/p-3sm | m  | that:prox:hearer |
|          | 'He hit him.' (lit: '...that masculine one near you.') |             |    |                  |
| (178) c. | To'  | non.        |    |                  |
|          |  | na-on.      |    |                  |
|          | hit  | 3s:rp/p-3sm |    |                  |
|          | 'He hit him.'  |             |    |                  |

First and second person direct object can be marked only in the VIC.

- |          |               |            |         |
|----------|---------------|------------|---------|
| (179) a. | Querec        | napa'.     |         |
|          |               | na-pa'     |         |
|          | see           | 3s:rp/p-1s |         |
|          | 'He saw me.'  |            |         |
| (179) b. | *Querec       | na         | wata'.  |
|          | see           | 3s:rp/p    | emph:1s |
|          | 'He saw me.'  |            |         |
| (180) a. | To'           | nem.       |         |
|          |               | na-em      |         |
|          | hit           | 3s:rp/p-2s |         |
|          | 'He hit you.' |            |         |
| (180) b. | *To'          | na         | wum.    |
|          | hit           | 3s:rp/p    | emph:2s |
|          | 'He hit you.' |            |         |

A transitive verb may occur without expressing the direct object (181a), either as an NP or a VIC. An intransitive verb may occur with an oblique argument that is marked by the object VIC, making it appear transitive (181b)—see 1.2.1.2.3-4. See also 1.2.1.2.4, where we discuss demotion of a direct object to oblique object.

- (181) a. To' na.  
hit 3s:rp/p  
'He is hitting.'
- (181) b. Mao nain Guajará 'Orowao'.  
na-in  
go:s 3s:rp/p-3n place:name m:name  
'Orowao' went to Guajará.'

When an indirect object (i.e. a goal) is expressed, the (logical) direct object (i.e. theme or patient), when definite, must be preceded by or referenced by the appropriate form of the preposition.

- (182) Mi' ram con hwam Hatem.  
ra-m  
give 2s:rf-3sf prep:3sm fish f:name  
'Give Hatem the fish.'

An indefinite theme or patient need not be preceded by the preposition, however (see 1.2.5.2.4).

- (183) a. Mi' ram (con) hwam.  
ra-m  
give 2s:rf-3sf (prep:3sm) fish  
'Give her fish.'
- (183) b. Hoc mi' nonon (con) hwam humaxicam.  
na-ocon humaji-cam  
cook give 3s-3pm (prep:3sm) fish children-3sf  
'She cooked fish for her children.'

### 1.2.1.2.3. Indirect object and ethical dative

**1.2.1.2.3.1. Indirect object** When more than one object-like argument occurs in the sentence, the object referenced in the VIC will be the highest on the hierarchy: indirect object (goal/circumstance)>direct object (theme/patient)>oblique object (although an indirect and oblique object rarely occur in the same sentence). We will use the labels indirect object, direct object and oblique object to refer to grammatical relations borne by goal, theme/patient and oblique arguments in English (or 'underlying grammatical relations'). The object VIC is always required with definite objects, but optional with indefinite objects, as discussed in 1.2.5.2.4. Thus a definite indirect object will always be marked on the VIC. If there is no indirect object, the direct object can be marked on the

VIC. If neither of these two occur, the oblique object may be referenced by the VIC. In the extremely rare cases where more than one oblique object occurs, we have noticed the following preference for marking on the VIC: location>time (see 2.1.1.4.3 and 2.1.1.4.4 for a discussion of instrumental and comitative roles; we will simply say here that instrumental and comitative cannot cooccur). Objects not referenced by the VIC will be marked by an appropriate form of the preposition (except in the cases discussed in 1.2.5.2.4). All NP arguments are optional when referenced by an agreement morpheme.

Goal takes precedence over theme/patient

- (184) a.           Mi'           'inam                           con                           hwam           Hatem.  
   'in-a-m  
                   give       1s:rp/p-3sf                   prep:3sm           fish           f:name  
                   'I gave the fish to Hatem.'

- (184) b.           \*Mi'           'inon   hwam           Hatem.  
   'in-a-on  
                   give       1s:rp/p-3sm   fish           f:name  
                   'I gave the fish Hatem.'

Circumstance takes precedence over theme/patient

- (185) a.       Mam    to'   'inain                   ca                           xain    ne           con  
   'in-a-in  
                   instr   hit   1s:rp/p-3n       INFL:nrp/p       hot    poss:1s       prep:3sm  
                   womu.  
                   womi-u  
                   cotton-1s  
                   'I washed with my fever my clothes.'

- (185) b.       \*Mam   to'   'inon                   womu       pain       ca                   xain  
   'in-a-on       womi-u  
                   instr   hit   1s:rp/p-3sm       cotton-1s   prep:3n   INFL:nrp/p       hot  
                   ne.  
                   poss:1s  
                   'I washed with my clothes my fever.'

Theme/patient takes precedence over instrument

- (186) a.           Mam            wac           nonon                           pain           quit.  
   nana-on  
                   instr       cut       3p:rp/p-3sm                           prep:3n       knife

'They cut it with a knife.'

- (186) b. \*Mam            wac            nanain            quit            con.  
    nana-in  
          instr            cut            3p:rp/p-3n            knife            prep:3sm  
          'They cut it with a knife.'

Theme/patient takes precedence over location

- (187) a. Querec            pe            'inon            'Orowao'            pain            nahwarac.  
    'ina-on  
          see            be:at:s            1s:rp/p-3sm            m:name            prep:3n            jungle  
          'I saw 'Orowao' in the jungle.'
- (187) b. \*Querec            pe            'inain            nahwarac            'Orowao'.  
    'ina-in  
          see            be:at:s            1s:rp/p-3n            jungle            m:name.  
          'I saw in the jungle 'Orowao'.'

Goal takes precedence over time

- (188) a. Mao            'inain            Guajará            pain            xec            ca'            ne.  
    'ina-in  
          go:s            1s:rp/p-3n            place:name            prep:3n            day            this:n            rec:past  
          'I went to Guajará this morning.'
- (188) b. \*Mao            'inain            xec            ca'            ne            pain            Guajará.  
    'ina-in  
          go:s            1s:rp/p-3n            day            this:n            rec:past            prep:3n            place:name  
          'I went this morning to Guajará.'

Theme/patient takes precedence over time

- (189) a. Querec            'inon            'Orowao'            pain            xec            ca'            ne.  
    'ina-on  
          see            1s:rp/p-3sm            m:name            prep:3n            day            this:n            rec:past  
          'I saw 'Orowao' this morning.'
- (189) b. \*Querec            'inain            xec            ca'            ne            'Orowao'.  
    'ina-in  
          see            1s:rp/p-3n            day            this:n            rec:past            m:name

'I saw this morning 'Orowao'.

#### Circumstance takes precedence over time

(190) a. Mam mao 'inain ca xain ne pain  
'ina-in  
instr go:s 1s:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:1s prep:3n  
xec ca' ne.  
day this:n rec:past  
'I went with my fever this morning.'

(190) b. \*Mam mao 'inain xec ca' ne pain ca  
'ina-in  
instr go:s 1s:rp/p-3n day this:n rec:past prep:3n INFL:nrp/p  
xain ne.  
hot poss:1s  
'I went with this morning my fever.'

#### Location takes precedence over time

(191) a. Com pe 'inain nahwarac pain xec ca' ne.  
'ina-in  
sing be:at:s 1s:rp/p-3n jungle prep:3n day this:n rec:past  
'I sang in the jungle this morning.'

(191) b. \*Com pe 'inain xec ca' ne pain nahwarac.  
'ina-in  
sing be:at:s 1s:rp/p-3n day this:n rec:past prep:3n jungle  
'I sang in this morning in the jungle.'

#### Agreement with time

(192) Com 'inain xec ca' ne.  
'ina-in  
sing 1s:rp/p-3n day this:n rec:past  
'I sang this morning.'

#### Goal and circumstance do not co-occur

(193) \*Mam mao 'inain ca xain ne pain  
'ina-in  
instru go:s 1s:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:1s prep:3n

Guajar .

place:name

‘I went with my fever to Guajará.’

The verb *mi'* and the demonstrative *ca'* 'this neuter' (here meaning 'from') may also appear as the rightmost member of a compound verb in postverbal modification position, adding an indirect object to the number of arguments normally taken by the leftmost member (when that member otherwise lacks such an object), as in (194). When *mi'* and *ca'* occur in postverbal modification position, they do not carry stress.

(194) a.	Hoc	mi'	ram ra-m	con	hwam	Hatem.
	cook	give	2s:rf-3sf	prep:3sm	fish	f:name
	'Cook the fish for Hatem.' (lit. 'Cook (it) and give Hatem the fish.')					

(194) b.

Pa'	mi'	ron	pain	man.
		ra-on		
open	give	2s:rf-3sm	prep:3n	hole

'Open for him the door.' (lit. 'Open (it) and give him the door.')

(194) c.	'An	ca'	napa' na-pa'	pain	mapac	To'o.
	takers	this:n	3s:rp/p-1s	prep:3n	corn	f:name
	'To'o took from me the corn.'					

**1.2.1.2.3.2. Ethical dative** In addition to the arguments of the (simple or compound) verb which may be referenced in the object portion of the VIC (according to the hierarchy given in the introduction to 1.2.1.2.3.1), there is one other use of the object VIC. We label this use here ‘ethical dative’ agreement, since it functions like so-called ethical dative clitics in Romance. The ethical dative references a person affected by the action of the verb, even when that person is not actually an argument of the verb itself (i.e. is not directly implicated by the core semantics of the verb). An example from Brazilian Portuguese will help illustrate what we mean:

(195)      Você            me            estragou                            a                    festa.  
                 you            to            me                            ruined            the party  
                 ‘You ruined the party for me.’

In such examples, the ethical dative clitic (*italicized*) may have either a malefactive or benefactive reading, i.e. the action may be interpreted as positive or negative for the person referenced by the dative clitic, depending on the context. Consider the following 'ON' examples, where the ethical dative clitics and their glosses are *italicized*:

(196) a.	Noc	nana <sup>pa'</sup>	con	panxita'.
		nana-pa'		panxi-ta'



- |          |   |                         |                          |                    |
|----------|---|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
|          | dislike   | 3p:rp/p- <i>Is</i>      | prep:3sm                 | son-1s             |
|          | 'They dislike my son.' (lit. 'They dislike to me my son.')                    |                         |                          |                    |
| (196) b. | Xiram   | pa'                     | mapa'<br>ma-pa'          | con<br><br>cawiji. |
|          | press:down  | upon                    | 2s:rp/p- <i>Is</i>       | prep:3sm<br>son:1s |
|          | 'You felt sorry for my son.' (lit. 'You felt sorry for me regarding my son.') |                         |                          |                    |
| (196) c. |   | Pa'                     | <i>ron.</i><br><br>ra-on |                    |
|          |   | open                    | 2s:rf-3sm                |                    |
|          | 'Open to him (the door).'   |                         |                          |                    |
| (196) d. | To'   | 'cat                    | <i>ne</i>                | xe.                |
|          | hit   | break:s                 | 2s:1s:rf                 | fire/firewood      |
|          | 'Cut for me firewood.'  |                         |                          |                    |
| (196) e. | 'Awaran   | <i>nonon</i><br>nana-on |                          | jima'.             |
|          | cry:p   | 3p:rp/p-3sm             |                          | dead:one           |
|          | 'They are crying (over) the dead one.'  |                         |                          |                    |

In these examples, the verb does not normally take an indirect object (i.e. goal). Further, there is no compounding required to 'add' an extra argument position for the NP referenced on the VIC. This, and the fact that the interpretation of the nominal so referenced corresponds to the interpretations available for the Romance ethical dative clitics, suggests that the object VIC may play a similar role in 'ON. The difference is that in 'ON, the ethical dative is marked by an affix rather than a clitic (although the affix is part of a clitic). Therefore, since this affix position is normally 'reserved' for verbal argument portions, the ethical dative reading is only possible if the verb otherwise lacks a logical indirect object (i.e. goal). This is shown in the following:

- |          |  |            |         |            |
|----------|--|------------|---------|------------|
| (197) a. | *Mao   | mapa'      | pain    | Guajará.   |
|          |  | ma-pa'     |         |            |
|          | go:s   | 2s:rp/p-1s | prep:3n | place:name |
|          | 'You went me to Guajará.'                                  |            |         |            |
| (197) b. | *Mi'   | nem        | pain    | papel      |
|          |  | na-em      |         | con.       |
|          | give   | 3s:rp/p-2s | prep:3n | paper      |
|          | 'He gave the book to him on your behalf/for your benefit.' |            |         |            |

Otherwise, ethical datives are treated like indirect objects (in spite of the fact that they are not what generative grammar would call 'subcategorized arguments' of the verb). One could not merely analyse the ethical dative as a goal or indirect object argument of the verb, since (i) they are always optional, whereas definite indirect objects (goals) are obligatorily marked; and (ii) they are not part of the core meaning of the verb.

#### 1.2.1.2.4. *Oblique object*

When an oblique argument is the only object-like argument of a verb, it is usually referenced by the object VIC as discussed above.

- (198) a.            Tomi'            'inain            xim            ne.  
    'ina -in  
    speak            1s:rp/p-3n            night            rec:past  
    'I spoke last night.'
- (198) b.            Com            pe            'inain            nahwarac.  
    'ina-in  
    sing            be:at:s            1s:rp/p-3n            jungle  
    'I sang in the jungle.'

#### 1.2.1.2.5. *Combinations of arguments*

Although it is theoretically possible to have as many as four arguments to a verb, the VP usually functions alone in the sentence. One argument is common, but adding a second is uncommon. We have observed the following combinations:

Direct object/subject

- (199) a.            Pa'            nana            hwam            hwijima'.  
    kill            3p:rp/p            fish            children  
    'The children killed fish.'

Direct object/indirect object

- (199) b.            Mi'            ram            con            hwam            Hatem.  
    ra-m  
    give            2s:rf-3sf            prep:3sm            fish            f:name  
    'Give Hatem the fish.'

Indirect object/subject

- (199) c.            Mi'            nam            con            hwam            'Orowao'.  
    na-m  
    give            3s:rp/p-3sf            prep:3sm            fish            m:name

‘Orowao’ gave her a fish.’

#### Direct object/oblique object

(199) d. Pa' pe ra hwam pain com.  
 kill be:at:s 2s:rf fish prep:3n water  
 ‘Kill fish at the river.’

#### Oblique object/subject

(199) e. Pa' pe nain com 'Orowao'.  
 na-in  
 kill be:at:s 3s:rp/p-3n water m:name  
 ‘‘Orowao’ killed (fish) at the river.’

#### Subject/oblique object

(199) f. Toron na ximicon con panxica.  
 ximi-con panxi-ca  
 groan 3s:rp/p heart-3sm prep:3sm child-3sm  
 ‘He is worried about his son.’ (lit. ‘His heart groans because of his son.’)

#### Oblique object/oblique object, when only one requires the aid of a verbal modifier

(199) g. Pa' pe nain com pain xec cara ne.  
 na-in  
 kill be:at:s 3s:rp/p-3n water prep:3n day that:rec rec:past  
 ‘He killed fish at the river this morning.’

(199) h. \*Pa' mi' pe ram com hwam Hatem.  
 ra-m  
 kill give be:at:s 2s:rf-3sf water fish f:name  
 ‘Kill fish for Hatem at the river.’

Three or more arguments are rare; they are usually obtained only in elicited examples (200).

(200) Mi' nonon con hwam hwijima' mon tarama'.  
 nana-ocon  
 give 3p:rp/p-3pm prep:3sm fish children coll man  
 ‘The men gave the children fish.’

1.2.1.2.6. *Order of constituents*

The occurrence of multiple overtly expressed constituents is uncommon, but the basic order seems to be vos (201 a), and an indirect object occurs between the direct object and the subject (201b).

(201) a.            Quep            nain                            xirim            tarama'.  
    na-in  
                          do            3s:rp/p-3n                            house            man  
                          'The man built a house.'

(201) b.            Quep    mi'            nam                            con            wom            Hatem            Topa'.  
    na-m  
                          do            give    3s:rp/p-3sf            prep:3sm            cotton            f:name            f:name  
                          'Topa' made Hatem a dress.'

An oblique object may precede or follow the subject.

(202) a.            Pa'    to            nonon                            hwam    pain            com            'oro    wari'.  
    nana-on  
                          kill    be:at:p    3p:rp/p-3sm            fish            prep:3n            water    coll            person  
                          'The people killed fish at the river.'

(202) b.            Tatam'            tatam'            naparut                            Moroxin            pain            too.  
    na-parut  
                          laugh            laugh            3s:rp/p-1pexcl            f:name            prep:3n            metal  
                          'Moroxin laughed at us because of the can.'

In contrast to an oblique object in the form of an NP, which may either precede or follow the subject, an oblique object derived from a *pain* subordinate clause may only follow the subject. It should be noted, however, that oblique objects derived from *pain* subordinate clauses rarely occur with another argument.

(203) a.            Tapa'            napa'                            wina            pain            ca                            'om  
    na-pa'  
                          burst            3s:rp/p-1s                            head-1s            prep:3n            INFL:nrp/p            not:exist  
                          pi' am            wa  
                          sleep            inf  
                          'My head is hurting me because of not sleeping.'

(203) b.            'Aram            'aram                            corom    na            manain            pain            ca  
    nana-in

finally:p	finally:p	enter	3s:rp/p	hole-3n	prep:3n	INFL:nrp/p
xoa	to	xao	to	'ac	xine	ca'
pound	be:at:p	pound	be:at:p	travel	pass:3n	this:3n
'The interior cavity where it is sat in eventually goes in.' (describing the process of making a canoe)						

We stated above that the most frequent constituent word order of 'ON is vos. This constituent order does not refer to the agreement affixes which form the VIC (where subject VIC always precedes object VIC). Although the preferred constituent order is object followed by subject, the subject occasionally precedes the object in sentences where both constituents are overtly expressed, especially when there is no ambiguity as to which element is the subject and which is the object. See 1.10, where the verbs *ma* 'to exist' and *om* 'to not exist' usually cause a subject-object order in sentences expressing possession. In the examples below, (204a) shows the normal object-subject order, and (204b) shows the subject-object order.

- (204) a. 'On nonon jowin hwijima'.  
 nana-on  
 whistle 3p:rp/p-3sm monkey:species children  
 'The children whistled to the *jowin* monkeys.'
- (204) b. Camara' pi' ca' nam hwam Pacao'.  
 na-m  
 fall:p completely this:n 3s:rp/p-3sf fish f:name  
 'Pacao' dropped the fish.' (lit. 'The fish fell from Pacao'.')

When both the subject and object (direct or oblique) are overtly expressed, and one of them is an NP containing two nouns (possessed NP or two nouns in apposition to each other), the other constituent can (though rarely does) occur between the constituents of the NP. The examples in (205)–(209) were all taken from text.

In (205) the subject *tocwe* 'Brazil nut' occurs between the two elements of the oblique object, *winacon* 'head(3sm)' and *Jimain* 'masculine name':

- (205) To' ho' non winacon tocwe Jimain.  
 na-on wina-con  
 hit now 3s:rp/p-3sm head-3sm Brazil:nut m:name  
 'The Brazil nut hit Jimain on the head.'

In (206), the oblique object *canoa* 'canoe' occurs between the two elements of the subject, *pije* 'child' and *Samuel* 'masculine name':

- (206) Xao pe na pije' canoa Samuel.  
 pound be:at:s 3s:rp/p child canoe m:name

‘The child Samuel sat in the canoe.’

In (207), the oblique object *macan* ‘dirt’ occurs between the two elements of the subject, *aracon* ‘bones(3sm)’ and *Jeju* ‘Jesus’:

(207)	'Om	ca	to	wet	cain	aracon	macan'
					ca-in	ara-con	
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	be:at:p	still	3sm-3n	bone-3sm	dirt
	Jeju.						
	m:name						
	'Jesus' bones did not stay on the earth.'						

In (208), the subject *wiri* ‘wasp’ occurs between the two elements of the direct object, *winacon* ‘head(3sm)’ and ‘*Orowao*’ *Xoc Waji* ‘masculine name’:

(208)	Narom	pin	ho'	nain	winacon	wiri'
				na-in	wina-con	
	buzz	completely	now	3s:rp/p-3n	head-3sm	wasp
	'Orowao' Xoc Waji					
	m:name					
	'The wasps buzzed 'Orowao' Xoc Waji's head.'					

Note, however, in (209), that the subject *pacun* ‘rock’ precedes the possessed NP object *xiricon wijam* ‘house(3sm) non-Indian’, without separating its two elements, illustrating that this interposition is not obligatory.

(209)	Je	ca	to'	teren	nein	pacun	xiricon
					ne-in		xiri-con
	emph:3n	INFL:nrp/p	hit	stiff	3n-3n	rock	house-3sm
	wijam.						
	non:Indian						
	‘That is how (or why) stone makes the non-Indian’s house strong.’						

#### 1.2.1.2.7. Anti-agreement effects

There is an anti-agreement effect for moved objects but not subjects. Any object which would normally be marked on the VIC is prohibited from being referenced on the VIC when fronted to sentence-initial position, e.g. relative clauses, information questions and clefted sentences. This happens whether the sentence is negative or positive.

### Direct object fronted to sentence-initial position in information questions

- |          |  |              |               |            |               |
|----------|--|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| (210) a. | Querec                                     | <i>mon</i>   | <i>wijam.</i> |            |               |
|          |  | ma-on        |               |            |               |
|          | see  | 2s:rp/p-3sm  | non:Indian    |            |               |
|          | 'You saw the <i>non-Indian</i> .'          |              |               |            |               |
| (210) b. | Ma'  | <i>wijam</i> | co            | querec     | <i>ma?</i>    |
|          | that:prox:hearer                           | non:Indian   | INFL:m/frp/p  | see        | 2s            |
|          | 'Which <i>non-Indian</i> did you see?'     |              |               |            |               |
| (210) c. | *Ma'                                       | <i>wijam</i> | co            | querec     | <i>mon?</i>   |
|          |  |              |               |            | ma-on         |
|          | that:prox:hearer                           | non:Indian   | INFL:m/frp/p  | see        | 2s-3sm        |
|          | 'Which <i>non-Indian</i> did you see?'     |              |               |            |               |
| (211) a. | 'Om  | ca           | querec        | <i>mon</i> | <i>wijam.</i> |
|          |  |              |               | ma-on      |               |
|          | not:exist                                  | INFL:nrp/p   | see           | 2s-3sm     | non:Indian    |
|          | 'You did not see the <i>non-Indian</i> .'  |              |               |            |               |
| (211) b. | Ma'  | <i>wijam</i> | co            | 'om        | querec        |
|          | that:prox:hearer                           | non:Indian   | INFL:m/frp/p  | not:exist  | see           |
|          | <i>ma?</i>                                 |              |               |            |               |
|          | 2s   |              |               |            |               |
|          | 'Which <i>non-Indian</i> did you not see?' |              |               |            |               |
| (211) c. | *Ma'                                       | <i>wijam</i> | co            | 'om        | querec        |
|          | that:prox:hearer                           | non:Indian   | INFL:m/frp/p  | not:exist  | see           |
|          | <i>mon?</i>                                |              |               |            |               |
|          | ma-on                                      |              |               |            |               |
|          | 2s-3sm                                     |              |               |            |               |
|          | 'Which <i>non-Indian</i> do you not see?'  |              |               |            |               |

### Direct object fronted to sentence-initial position in relative clauses

- |          |                                 |             |              |
|----------|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (212) a. | Cao'                            | <i>mon</i>  | <i>hwam?</i> |
|          |                                 | ma-on       |              |
|          | eat                             | 2s:rp/p-3sm | fish         |
|          | 'Did you eat the <i>fish</i> ?' |             |              |

(212) b. Pi' pin na hwam co cao' ma?  
 finish completely 3s:rp/p fish INFL:m/frp/p eat 2s  
 'Is the *fish* that you ate gone?'

(212) c. \*Pi' pin na hwam co cao' mon?  
 ma-on  
 finish completely 3s:rp/p fish INFL:m/frp/p eat 2s-3sm  
 'Is the *fish* that you ate gone?'

(213) a. 'Om ca cao' cocon hwam.  
 caca-on  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p eat 3pm-3sm fish  
 'They did not eat the *fish*.'

(213) b. 'An to pin nonon hwam co  
 nana-on  
 takers be:at:s completely 3p:rp/p-3sm fish INFL:m/frp/p  
 'om cao' caca.  
 not:exist eat 3pm  
 'They put away the *fish* that they didn't eat.'

(213) c. \*'An to pin nonon hwam co  
 nana-on  
 takers be:at:p completely 3p:rp/p-3sm fish INFL:m/frp/p  
 'om cao' cocon.  
 caca-on  
 not:exist eat 3pm-3sm  
 'They put away the *fish* that they didn't eat.'

#### Indirect object fronted to sentence-initial position in relative clauses

(214) a. Mi' 'inon con hwam tarama'.  
 'ina-on  
 give 1s:rp/p-3sm prep:3sm fish man  
 'I gave the *man* the fish.'

(214) b. Wirico co ma' tarama' co mi' ta'  
 emph:3sm m that:prox:hearer man INFL:m/frp/p give 1s  
 con hwam.



prep:3sm fish

'It was that *man* to whom I gave the fish.'

- (214) c. \*Wirico co ma' *tarama'* co mi'  
 emph:3sm m that:prox:hearer man INFL:m/frp/p give  
*ton* con hwam.

ta'-on

1s-3sm prep:3sm fish

'It was that *man* to whom I gave the fish.'

- (215) a. 'Om ca mi' *ton* con hwam *tarama'*.  
 ta'-on

not:exist INFL:nrp/p give 1s-3sm prep:3sm fish man

'I did not give the fish to the *man*.'

- (215) b. Wirico co ma' *tarama'* co 'om  
 emph:3sm m that:prox:hearer man INFL:m/frp/p not:exist  
 mi' *ta* con hwam.  
 give 1s prep:3sm fish

'It was that *man* to whom I did not give a fish.'

- (215) c. \*Wirico co ma' *tarama'* co 'om  
 emph:3sm m that:prox:hearer man INFL:m/frp/p not:exist  
 mi' *ton* con hwam.

ta'-on

give 1s-3sm prep:3sm fish

'It was that *man* to whom I did not give a fish.'

#### Direct object fronted to sentence-initial position in clefted sentences

- (216) a. Noc 'inon *tarama'* cwa'.

'ina-on

dislike 1s:rp/p-3sm man this:m/f

'I dislike this *man*.'

- (216) b. Wirico co cwa' *tarama'* co noc *ta'*

- emph:3sm      m      this:m/f      man      INFL:m/frp/p      dislike      1s  
cwa'.
- this:m/f
- 'It is this *man* that I dislike.'
- (216) c.      \*Wirico      co      cwa'      *tarama'*      co      noc
- emph:3sm      m      this:m/f      man      INFL:m/frp/p      dislike
- ton*      cwa'.
- ta'-on
- 1s-3sm      this:m/f
- 'It is this *man* that I dislike.'
- (217) a.      'Om      ca      noc      *ton*      *tarama'*      cwa'.
- ta'-on
- not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      dislike      1s-3sm      man      this:m/f
- 'I don't dislike this *man*.'
- (217) b.      Wirico      co      cwa'      *tarama'*      co      'om
- emph:3sm      m      this:m/f      man      INFL:m/frp/p      not:exist
- noc      *ta'*      cwa'.
- dislike      1s      this:m/f
- 'It is this *man* that I don't dislike.'
- (217) c.      \*Wirico      co      cwa'      *tarama'*      co      'om
- emph:3sm      m      this:m/f      man      INFL:m/frp/p      not:exist
- noc      *ton*      cwa'.
- ta'-on
- dislike      1s-3sm      this:m/f
- 'It is this *man* that I don't dislike.'

Subject fronted to sentence-initial position in information questions, relative clauses and clefted sentences

- (218) a.      Tomi'      *nem*      *To'o*.
- na-em
- speak      3s:rp/p-2s      f:name
- '*To'o* spoke to *you*.'
- (218) b.      Ma'      *wari'*      co      tomi'      *nem?*
- na-em

- |          |  |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
|----------|--|---------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------------|
|          | that:prox:hearer   | person              | INFL:m/frp/p | sleep        | 3s:rp/p-2s           |               |                     |
|          | 'Which person spoke to you?'                                   |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
| (218) c. | Pi' am na  | <i>To' o</i>        | co           | tomi'        | <i>nem.</i><br>na-em |               |                     |
|          | sleep 3s:rp/p  | f:name              | INFL:m/frp/p | sleep        | 3s:rp/p-2s           |               |                     |
|          | ' <i>To' o</i> who spoke to <i>you</i> is sleeping.'           |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
| (218) d. | Wiricam  | cam                 | cwa'         | <i>To' o</i> | co                   | tomi'         | <i>nem</i><br>na-em |
|          | emph:3sf   | f                   | this:m/f     | f:name       | INFL:m/frp/p         | sleep         | 3s:rp/p-2s          |
|          | cwa.'  |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
|          | this:m/f   |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
|          | 'It is she herself <i>To' o</i> who spoke to <i>you</i> here.' |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
| (219) a. | 'Om  | ca                  |              | tomi'        | quem                 | <i>To' o.</i> |                     |
|          | ca-em  |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
|          | not:exist  | INFL:nrp/p          |              | sleep        | 3sm-2s               | f:name        |                     |
|          | ' <i>To' o</i> did not speak to <i>you</i> .'                  |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
| (219) b. | Ma'  |                     | <i>wari'</i> | co           | 'om                  | tomi'         |                     |
|          | that:prox:hearer   |                     | person       | INFL:m/frp/p | not:exist            | sleep         |                     |
|          | <i>nem?</i><br>na-em   |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
|          | 3s:rp/p-2s   |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
|          | 'Which person did not speak to you?'                           |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
| (219) c. | Pi'am  | na                  | <i>To' o</i> | co           | 'om                  | tomi'         |                     |
|          | sleep  | 3s:rp/p             | f:name       | INFL:m/frp/p | not:exist            | sleep         |                     |
|          | <i>nem.</i><br>na-em   |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
|          | 3s:rp/p-2s   |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
|          | ' <i>To' o</i> who did not speak to you is sleeping.'          |                     |              |              |                      |               |                     |
| (219) d. | Wiricam  | cam                 | cwa'         | <i>To' o</i> | co                   | 'om           |                     |
|          | emph:3sf   | f                   | this:m/f     | f:name       | INFL:m/frp/p         | not:exist     |                     |
|          | tomi'  | <i>nem</i><br>na-em | cwa.'        |              |                      |               |                     |
|          | sleep  | 3s:rp/p-2s          | this:m/f     |              |                      |               |                     |

'It is she herself *To'o* who did not speak to you here.'

### 1.2.1.3. Verbal modification

#### 1.2.1.3.1. Types of adverbials

The following types of verbal modification occur.

**1.2.1.3.1.1. Verbal modifiers** The notion of simple adverbial modification is expressed by verb compounding. What we call pre- and postverbal modifiers immediately precede or follow a verb root, producing a compound verb. The distinguishing characteristic of verbal modifiers is their inability to occur in a noncompounded, simple verb. Some of them display a property of regular verbs: they have singular (less intense) and plural (intense) forms—see 2.1.3.6.2.3. Pairs of singular/plural modifiers are indicated by '/'. Listed below are the preverbal modifiers that we have encountered:

<i>'aji</i>	attachedly
<i>'am/'aram</i>	finally; perhaps; for example; when
<i>'amon / 'aramon</i>	diminutive
<i>'iri'</i>	truly; gradually
<i>jun</i>	suddenly
<i>main</i>	eventually
<i>mam'</i>	immediately
<i>mon/momon</i>	slowly
<i>tama'</i>	always
<i>'u'um</i>	at dawn
<i>wara</i>	already
<i>xec</i>	tomorrow
<i>xim</i>	tonight
<i>xo'</i>	recently
<i>xut xut</i>	suddenly (lit. 'walk walk')

Examples (220) show the way some of these verbal modifiers function:

(220) a.	Main	mi'	teterem	pain.
			tatara-em	
	eventually	give	3p:rf-2s	prep:3n

- |          |            |   |         |
|----------|------------|---|---------|
|          |            | ‘They will eventually give it to you.’                            |         |
| (220) b. | Xo'        | xain  | na.     |
|          | recently   | hot   | 3s:rp/p |
|          |            | ‘He just came down with fever.’                                   |         |
| (220) c. | Tama'      | cao'  | na.     |
|          | always     | eat   | 3s:rp/p |
|          |            | ‘He always eats.’   |         |
| (220) d. | 'Aji       | na'   | na.     |
|          | attachedly | mother: 1s  | 3s:rp/p |
|          |            | ‘He is a mama’s boy.’ (lit. ‘He (says), “My attachedly mother”.’) |         |

Some of the verbal modifiers listed above also have other functions. Three are actually nouns (see 2.2.2 on zero-derivation of verbs): *'u'um* ‘dawn’ or ‘dusk’, *xec* ‘day’, and *xim* ‘night’.

- |          |                                    |        |           |          |
|----------|------------------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|
| (221) a. | 'U' um                             | mama'  | xi'       | 'e'.     |
|          | dawn/dusk                          | go:p   | 1pincl:rf | emph     |
|          | 'We will go early in the morning.' |        |           |          |
| (221) b. | Xec                                | xirao' | ta'       | papel.   |
|          | day                                | mark   | 1s:rf     | paper    |
|          | 'I will write a letter tomorrow.'  |        |           |          |
| (221) c. | Xim                                | com    | xi'       | tamara'. |
|          | night                              | sing   | 1pincl:rf | song     |
|          | 'We will sing tonight.'            |        |           |          |

'Iri' 'truly' and *wara* 'already' can modify verbs ((222a), (223a)) or nouns ((222b), (223b)). They must precede the element they modify.

- |          |                                |          |            |          |         |       |         |
|----------|--------------------------------|----------|------------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| (222) a. | 'Iri'                          | tan'     | 'iri'      | tan'     | nana    | 'oro  | wari'.  |
|          | truly                          | arrive:p | truly      | arrive:p | 3p:rp/p | coll  | person  |
|          | 'The people gradually arrived' |          |            |          |         |       |         |
| (222) b. | Param                          |          | 'inain     |          | 'iri'   |       | carawa. |
|          |                                |          | 'ina-in    |          |         |       |         |
|          | desire                         |          | 1s:rp/p-3n |          | truly   |       | animal  |
|          | 'I want real food.'            |          |            |          |         |       |         |
| (223) a. | Wara                           |          | mama'      |          |         | nana. |         |

- already go:p 3p:rp/p  
 'They have already gone.'
- (223) b. Ma' 'e' napa' wara wom.  
 na-pa'  
 exist only 3s:rp/p-1s already cotton  
 'I have only old clothes' (lit. 'Only old clothing exists to me.')

Postverbal modifiers occur in the compound-final position. Verbs may also occur in this position. We distinguish these by labelling as postverbal modifiers those morphemes which may only occur in this position. It is common for monosyllabic postverbal modifiers in this position to avoid stress. Verbs in this position can undergo some semantic drift (see 2.2.3.1.2.1–2 on compounding for more details). Example (224) illustrates a few verbs occurring in postverbal modification position.

- (224) a. Juc corom nain.  
 na-in  
 push enter 3s:rp/p-3n  
 'He pushed it inside.'
- (224) b. Quep mip ron.  
 ra-on  
 do strong 2s:rf-3sm  
 'Hold it tightly.'
- (224) c. Mi' xiram pa' nain taxicam.  
 na-in taji-cam  
 give press:down upon 3s:rp/p-3n leaf-3sf  
 'She gave her money hesitantly.' (lit. 'She gave feeling sorry for (pressing down on) her leaves (money)')
- (224) d. Pa' mi' non con panxica.  
 na-on panxi-ca  
 kill give 3s:rp/p-3sm prep:3sm child-3sm  
 'He killed it for his son.'

There follows a list of postverbal modifiers. They must appear in a compound verb.

- 'a' ara negative  
 'awin negative  
 ca' a while; from (lit. 'this neuter')

<i>caho'</i>	in place of
<i>cain'</i>	first
<i>cam</i>	near; very
<i>cara</i>	always, forever
<i>caracan</i>	each other
<i>'ec</i>	wrong
<i>'e'</i>	only
<i>homa</i>	very
<i>ho'</i>	now
<i>'i/'iri</i>	already; just now
<i>ma</i>	again
<i>mami'</i>	again
<i>mam'</i>	before leaving
<i>mao</i>	negative
<i>pan</i>	subject focus
<i>papi</i>	accidentally
<i>qui'</i>	coming this way
<i>taca</i>	a little
<i>ten</i>	first
<i>towa</i>	at night
<i>wi</i>	together
<i>xaxa'</i>	distractedly
<i>xiho'</i>	together with
<i>ximao/ximama'</i>	for no reason
<i>xo'</i>	correctly

The examples in (225) show how some of these postverbal modifiers function.

- (225) a.           Xain                           mami'                           na.  
                   hot                           again                           3s:rp/p  
                   'He has fever again.' (lit. 'He again fevers.')
- (225) b.           Taraju                           'ec                           'inam.  
                   taraji-u                           'ina-m  
                   ear-1s                           wrong                           1s:rp/p-3sf

'I misunderstood her.' (lit. 'I heard her wrong.')

- |          |                                     |                 |           |
|----------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| (225) c. | Mama'                               | ximama'         | nana.     |
|          | go:p                                | for:no:reason:p | 3p:rp/p   |
|          | 'They for-no-reason went.'          |                 |           |
| (225) d. | To'                                 | papit           | xeququem. |
|          | hit                                 | accidentally    | refl:3pf  |
|          | 'They accidentally hit each other.' |                 |           |

Two of the postverbal modifiers listed above are used only in negative constructions: *cam* 'very' and *homa* 'very'.

- |          |                       |            |        |      |     |
|----------|-----------------------|------------|--------|------|-----|
| (226) a. | 'Om                   | ca         | hwara' | cam  | ca. |
|          | not:exist             | INFL:nrp/p | big:s  | very | 3sm |
|          | 'He is not very big.' |            |        |      |     |
| (226) b. | 'Om                   | ca         | hwara' | homa | ca. |
|          | not:exist             | INFL:nrp/p | big:s  | very | 3sm |
|          | 'He is not very big.' |            |        |      |     |

One of the postverbal modifiers listed above is actually a noun: *towa* ‘torch’.

- (227) Xain                      towa                      na.  
hot                      torch                      3s:rp/p  
'He had fever (during the night).'

Some monosyllabic postverbal modifiers never take stress. In the following examples, (¹ marks stress:

- |          |  |                  |            |             |
|----------|--|------------------|------------|-------------|
| (228) a. | <sup>1</sup> An                                | ca'              | napa'      | pain.       |
|          |  |                  | na-pa'     |             |
|          | take:s   | this:n           | 3s:rp/p-1s | prep:3n     |
|          | 'He took it away from me.'                     |                  |            |             |
| (228) b. | * <sup>1</sup> An <sup>1</sup> ca' napa' pain. |                  |            |             |
| (229) a. | To <sup>1</sup> mi'                            | ma'              |            | nonon.      |
|          |  |                  |            | na-ocon     |
|          | speak  | that:prox:hearer |            | 3s:rp/p-3pm |
|          | 'He spoke to them.'                            |                  |            |             |
| (229) b. | *Tomi' <sup>1</sup> ma' nonon.                 |                  |            |             |



- (230) a. <sup>1</sup>Mama'                      'i                      nana.  
go:p                      already:s                      3p:rp/p  
'They have already gone.'
- (230) b.                      \*Mama' <sup>1</sup>'i nana.
- (231) a.                      'A <sup>1</sup>wi                      mao                      ne.  
good                      neg                      3n  
'It isn't good.'
- (231) b.                      \*'Awi <sup>1</sup>mao ne.

Some monosyllabic verbs that occur in postverbal modification position take stress optionally. We have noticed that whether they take the primary stress seems to be a matter of speaker preference in free variation. We have treated *pin* 'completely' here as a verb. There is a homophonous verb which means 'to let go' or 'to leave behind' when used alone. If we are correct in equating both *pins*, then it follows our generalization here. If these are not the same element, then *pin* 'completely' is the only monosyllabic postverbal modifier which can optionally take stress.

- (232) a.                      <sup>1</sup>Pi'                      pin                      na.  
finish                      completely                      3s:rp/p  
'It is finished.'
- (232) b.                      Pi' <sup>1</sup>pin na.
- (233) a.                      <sup>1</sup>In                      qui'                      na.  
return                      coming:this:way                      3s:rp/p  
'He came back.'
- (233) b.                      'In <sup>1</sup>qui' na.
- (234) a.                      Param                      <sup>1</sup>mi'                      napa'                      pain.  
na-pa,  
desire                      give                      3s:rp/p-1p                      prep:3n  
'He wants me to do it.' (lit. 'He wants it for me.')
- (234) b.                      Pa<sup>1</sup>ram mi' napa' pain.

Both pre- and postverbal modifiers can accompany the same verb. It is rare, however, to find more than one of each in a single sentence. Two postverbal modifiers can occur in a single VP if they are merely modifiers in an adverbial sense; however, no more than one postverbal modifier that is contributing to the expression of an oblique object may occur in one VP -see 1.2.1.2.4.

- (235) a.                      'Om                      ca                      xut                      hwap                      camain'                      cama.

- not:exist      INFL:nrpp      walk:s      fast:s      at:all      3sf  
 'She doesn't walk at all fast.'
- (235) b.      Xain      tamana      xain      tamana      wet      na      pije'.  
                  hot      much      hot      much      still      3s:rp/p      child  
                  'The child still has a lot of fever.'
- (235) c.      'An      ximao      ca'      napa'      pain.  
                  na-pa'  
                  takers      for:no:reason:s      from      3s:rp/p-1s      prep:3n  
                  'He took it from me for no reason.'
- (235) d.      Tama'      mana'      caracan      xucucun      mon      tarama'.  
                  always      angry      each:other      refl:3pm      coll      man  
                  'The men are always angry with each other.'
- (235) e.      \*Tota      pe      mi'      naparut      pain      ma'.  
                  tota-0      na-parut  
                  garden-1s      be:at:s      give      3s:rp/p-1pexcl      prep:3n      that:prox:hearer  
                  'He is making a garden for us there.'

Another type of verbal modification is accomplished by sentence-final temporal particles: *pa'ao'* 'afterwards, after the others go', *ne* 'recent past', *pane* 'remote past', *pacara pane* 'historic past' and *ira* 'progressive past'. All but *pa'ao'* refer to time in the past; *pa'ao'* can also refer to time in the past, but it refers to a future point in time relative to its context. The use of *ne*, *pane* and *pacara pane* is relative to the thoughts of the speaker, whether the action is considered to be recent, slightly remote or very remote.

- (236) a.      Pa'      ta'      hwam      pa'ao'.  
                  kill      1s:rf      fish      afterwards  
                  'I'll kill fish afterwards (after the others go).'
- (236) b.      Pa'      nana      hwam      ne.  
                  kill      3p:rp/p      fish      rec:past  
                  'They just killed fish (this morning).'
- (236) c.      Pa'      nana      hwam      pane.  
                  kill      3p:rp/p      fish      rem:past  
                  'They killed fish (yesterday or last week).'
- (236) d.      Pa'      nana      hwam      pacara pane.  
                  kill      3p:rp/p      fish      hist:past

‘They killed fish a long time ago.’

- (236) e.            Pa'            nana            hwam            ira.  
                         kill            3p:rp/p            fish            prog:past

‘They were killing fish.’

*Pa' ao'* may also occur immediately following the VIC when the direct object is covert, or when there is no direct object. It may not be referenced on the VIC.

- |          |        |         |            |      |        |
|----------|--------|---------|------------|------|--------|
| (237) a. | Maqui' | nana    | pa'ao'     | 'oro | wari'. |
|          | come   | 3p:rp/p | afterwards | coll | person |

‘The people came afterwards.’

- |          |         |       |       |            |               |
|----------|---------|-------|-------|------------|---------------|
| (237) b. | To      | wet   | tara  | pa'ao'     | caramaxuhu'.  |
|          |         |       |       |            | caramaji-uhu' |
|          | be:at:p | still | 3s:rf | afterwards | things-2p     |

‘Your things will stay behind (afterwards).’

**1.2.1.3.1.2. Prepositional phrases** Prepositional phrases may be used as verbal modifiers—see examples (184)–(194) in 1.2.1.2.3.1.

**1.2.1.3.1.3. Cases of noun phrases** There is no case marking in the language.

#### 1.1.2.4. Verbal modification clauses

#### 1.2.1.3.2. Position of adverbials

See 1.2.1.3.1.1 for the position of verbal modifiers in relation to the verb.

### 1.2.2. Nominal modification phrases

Nominal modification phrases do not occur. This notion is expressed by verbal modifiers—see 1.2.1.3.

### 1.2.3. Verbal modification phrases

Verbal modification phrases do not occur. This notion is expressed by verbal modifiers—see 1.2.1.3.

#### 1.2.4. Prepositional phrases

#### 1.2.4.1. Operational definition for the prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase is defined mainly in terms of its internal composition: the head, consisting of an inflected form of the single 'ON preposition (see 2.1.5), followed by an optional nominal element, composed of an NP (238a–c), noun clause (238d), or derived noun (238e). The first or second person inflection of the preposition appears alone, i.e. no

nominal element may follow it (238f). The prepositional phrase is further defined by its syntactic function as an object-like argument to the verb—see 1.2.1.2.3–4.

- |          |  |              |                 |                 |               |                 |
|----------|--|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (238) a. | 'An  | tiqin'       | wa'             | qui'            | ron           | cop             |
|          | takers   | continue     | arrive:s        | coming:this:way | 2s:rf-3sm     | manioc          |
|          | con  | cojeo'       |                 |                 | 'iri'         | cwain.          |
|          |  | co-jeo'      |                 |                 |               |                 |
|          | prep:3sm   | INFL:m/frp/p | grandfather:1s  |                 | 1pincl        | that:m/f:distal |
|          | 'Bring the manioc regarding our grandfather there.' (lit. 'Carry and arrive (to the house)) coming the manioc regarding, or from, our grandfather there.') |              |                 |                 |               |                 |
| (238) b. | 'An  | pe           | ron             | pain            | pana.         |                 |
|          |  |              | ra-on           |                 |               |                 |
|          | take:s   | be:at:s      | 2s:rf-3sm       | prep:3n         | tree          |                 |
|          | 'Put it on the table (wooden object).'   |              |                 |                 |               |                 |
| (238) c. | Corom  | to           | ximama'         | xin             | nahwarac      |                 |
|          |  |              |                 | xi'-in          |               |                 |
|          | enter  | be:at:p      | for:no:reason:p | 1picnl:rf-3n    | jungle:growth |                 |
|          | con  | comerem      | pain            | camana'         | pain          | hotowa          |
|          | prep:3sm   | thunder      | prep:3n         | stormy:wind     | prep:3n       | wind            |
|          | ca'.   |              |                 |                 |               |                 |
|          | this:n   |              |                 |                 |               |                 |
|          | 'We'll just enter into the jungle growth to get away from (lit. because of) the thunder and stormy wind and wind here.'                                    |              |                 |                 |               |                 |
| (238) d. | Tomi'  | xaxa'        | tamana          | 'urut           | pain          | ca              |
|          | speak  | distractedly | much            | 1pexcl:rp/p     | prep:3n       | INFL:nrp/p      |
|          | to'  | pa'          | pin             | xim             | caparut       | pana            |
|          |  |              |                 | ta'-em          | ne-parut      | pane.           |
|          | hit:s  | kill:s       | completely      | 1s:rf-2s        | 3n-1pexcl     | tree            |
|          |  |              |                 |                 |               | rem:past        |
|          | 'We were very sad because the tree almost killed us'   |              |                 |                 |               |                 |
| (238) e. | Querec   | te           | 'inon           | pain            | ca            | tomi'           |
|          |  |              | 'ina-on         |                 |               |                 |
|          | see  |              | father:1s       | 1s:rp/p-3sm     | prep:3n       | INFL:nrp/p      |
|          | ha'  |              | nucun.          |                 |               | speak           |

pay:attention      poss:3sm

‘I am happy with him because of his obeying.’

- (238) f.      Pan'                      'am                      na                      pata'.  
                  fall:s                      be:lost:s                      3s:rp/p                      prep:l s  
                  'I lost it.' (lit. 'It is lost because of me.')

#### 1.2.4.2. Prepositional phrases and their arguments

The third person form of the prepositions may occur with or without an overt NP or pronoun arguments. However, the first and second person forms of the preposition cannot take overt arguments. Note the ungrammatical occurrence of an emphatic pronoun as the argument of the second person form of the preposition in (239d).

- (239) Mam      toc      'inain      wao'      cocon      hwijima'.  
a.

'ina-in

instr      drink      1s:rp/p-3n      palm:species      prep:3pm      children

'I drank (corn beer) with (while wearing the hat made of) fibres from the *wao'* palm species because of the children.'

- (239) Mam            toc            'inain            wao'            cocon.  
b.

'ina-in

instr      drink      1s:rp/p-3n      palm:species      prep:3sm

'I drank (corn beer) with (while wearing the hat made of) fibres from the *wao'* palm species because of them.'

- |          |       |            |          |         |
|----------|-------|------------|----------|---------|
| (239) c. | Toron | napa'      | xumu     | pum.    |
|          |       | na-pa'     | ximi-u   |         |
|          | groan | 3s:rp/p-1s | heart-1s | prep:2s |

'I am worried about you.' (lit. 'My heart groans because of you.')

- |          |        |            |          |         |         |
|----------|--------|------------|----------|---------|---------|
| (239) d. | *Toron | napa'      | xumu     | pum     | wum.    |
|          |        | na-pa'     | ximi-u   |         |         |
|          | groan  | 3s:rp/p-1s | heart-1s | prep:2s | emph:2s |

‘I am worried about you.’

The preposition cannot agree with more than one NP. The ungrammatical example in (240a) must be expressed as two prepositional phrases, as shown in (240b).

- (240) a. \*Mi' ne con wom caji caxim.  
caji-0

give 2s:1s:rf prep:3sm cotton strangeness-3n foot

'Give me clothes and (with) shoes.'

(240) b. Mi' ne con wom pain caji caxim.  
caji-0

give 2s:1s:rf prep:3sm cotton prep:3n strangeness-3n foot

'Give me clothes and (with) shoes.'

No form of the preposition can be stranded, it cannot be modified, and, since there is no case marking, it does not govern case.

### 1.2.5. Noun phrase

#### 1.2.5.1. Operational definition for a noun phrase

The noun phrase is defined as the structural unit that can occur as the subject (241a), direct object (241a), or indirect object (241b) of the clause, as well as the argument of any prepositional phrase in the clause (241c).

(241) a. 'On 'on nonon jowin hwijima'.  
nana-on

whistle whistle 3p:rp/p-3sm monkey:species children

'The children whistled to the *jowin* monkey.'

(241) b. 'An ca' nam pain too caina  
na-m caina-0

take:s this:n 3s:rp/p-3sf prep:3n metal:object daughter-1s

'She took the can away from my daughter.'

(241) c. Tom tain' nonon pain catocwan'.  
nana-on

burn:s smoke 3p:rp/p-3sm prep:3n pitch

'They burned and made smoke for him from pitch.'

The head of a noun phrase may be a noun or demonstrative pronoun (simple NP) (242a–b), or the possessed element of a possessed NP (242c).

(242) a. 'On nana hwijima' ma'.  
whistle 3p:rp/p children that:prox:hearer  
'The children whistled.'

(242) b. Maqui' nana caram cwa'.

- come 3p:rp/p p this:m/f  
 'These (masculine/feminine ones) came.'
- (242) c. Maji xu cao' xin araxicun totowe' ma'.  
 xi'-in araje-con  
 let's fry eat 1pincl:rf-3n eggs-3sm chicken that:prox:hearer  
 'Let's fry and eat a chicken's egg.'

Peripheral elements may precede (243a–b) or follow (243c) the head.

- (243) a. Hwet 'iripain wara jihot.  
 'urut-pain  
 approach 1pexcl:rp/p-3n already dam  
 'We reached the old dam.'
- (243) b. Cao' nana mana panxica Xijam.  
 panxi-ca  
 eat 3p:rp/p coll child-3sm m:name  
 'Xijam's children ate.'
- (243) c. Cao' wiri' main tocwe ca', 'aji'?  
 ma-in  
 eat roast 2s:rp/p-3n Brazil:nut this:n older:brother:1s  
 'Are you eating these roasted Brazil nuts, older brother?'

### 1.2.5.2. *Modifiers of noun phrases*

#### 1.2.5.2.1. *Adjectives*

The notion of adjective is expressed by other means described below.

#### 1.2.5.2.2. *Relative clauses*

Relative clauses follow their (overt or covert) head noun—see 1.1.2.3 and 1.2.5.2.3.

#### 1.2.5.2.3. *Possessive adjectives*

Possessed nouns agree with their possessor, whether the latter is overt or merely understood.

- (244) a. xiricon Xijam  
 xiri-con  
 house-3sm m:name  
 'Xijam's house'
- (244) b. xiricon  
 xiri-con  
 house-3sm  
 'his house'
- (245) a. piye' nequem Hatem  
 child poss:3sf f:name  
 'Hatem's child'
- (245) b. piye' nequem.  
 child poss:3sf  
 'her child'
- (246) a. jinain mijac  
 xi-nain  
 mother-3n pig  
 'the pig's mother'
- (246) b. jinain  
 xi-nain  
 mother-3n  
 'its mother'

Since first and second person cannot be overtly marked in a possessed NP, the first and second person inflections must occur without a possessor.

- (247) a. xuru  
 xiri-u  
 house-1s  
 'my house'
- (247) b. \*xuru wata'  
 xiri-u  
 house-1s emph:1s  
 'my house'



- (248) a. winam  
wina-m  
head-2s  
'your head'
- (248) b. \*winam wum  
wina-m  
head-2s emph:2s

The notion of pronominal possessive adjective is expressed by the *-xi'* noun *menexi'* 'our possession' (249a–b). This noun can also be modified by possessor nouns (249c–d).

- (249) a. mene  
mene-0  
possession-1s  
'mine' (lit. 'my possession')
- (249) b. menem  
mene-m  
possession-2s  
'yours' (lit. 'your possession')
- (249) c. munucun Xijam  
mene-con  
possession-3sm m:name  
'Xijam's' (lit. 'Xijam's possession')
- (249) d. menequequem hwijima'  
mene-vcvm  
possession-3pf children  
'the children's' (lit. 'the children's possession')

The notion of adjective is expressed by possessed nouns, derived nouns and noun clauses preceding the noun in a possessed NP.

- (250) a. wijimain xirim  
wijima-in  
smallness-3n house  
'small house' (lit. 'the house's smallness')
- (250) b. ca mixem nucun wom

	INFL:nrp/p	black	poss:3sm	cotton
	'dirty clothes' (lit. 'the clothes' blackness')			
(250) c.	ca	mana'	ca	copacao'
	INFL:nrp/p	angry	3sm	jaguar
	'wild jaguar' (lit. 'when the jaguar is angry')			

See 1.10 and 2.1.1.4.6 for further discussion of possessives.

#### 1.2.5.2.4. Article

There are no articles. Definiteness and indefiniteness can be expressed by the use of object VICS (251a) or demonstratives (251d). This is not a hard and fast rule, however, since indefinite objects can still be marked by object VICS.

(251) a.	Cao'	'ina	hwam.
	eat	1s:rp/p	fish
	'I ate fish.'		
(251) b.	Cao'	'inon	hwam.
		'ina-on	
	eat	1s:rp/p-3sm	fish
	'I ate the fish.'		
(251) c.	Cao'	'inon	hwam.
		'ina-on	
	eat	1s:rp/p-3sm	fish
	'I ate (the) fish.'		
(251) d.	Cao'	'inon	hwam cwa'.
		'ina-on	
	eat	1s:rp/p-3sm	fish this:m/f
	'I ate this fish.'		

#### 1.2.5.2.5. Demonstratives as modifiers

There are two classes of demonstratives: spatial and temporal. They rarely follow other than the last noun of the clause. Spatial demonstratives can be divided into three classes. *Cwa'* 'this (m/f)' and *ca'* 'this (n)' refer to someone or something proximate to the speaker; *ma'* 'that (any gender)' refers to someone or something proximate to the hearer; and *cwain* 'that (m/f)' and *cain* 'that (n)' refer to someone or something far away (distal) from the interlocutors. There must be gender agreement where relevant between the noun and its demonstrative.

- |          |               |                  |
|----------|---------------|------------------|
| (252) a. | tarama'       | cwa'             |
|          | man           | this:m/f         |
|          | 'this man'    |                  |
| (252) b. | xirim         | ca'              |
|          | house         | this:n           |
|          | 'this house'  |                  |
| (252) c. | carawa        | ma'              |
|          | animal        | that:prox:hearer |
|          | 'that animal' |                  |
| (252) d. | narima'       | cwain            |
|          | woman         | that:m/f:distal  |
|          | 'that woman'  |                  |
| (252) e. | pana          | cain             |
|          | tree          | that:n:distal    |
|          | 'that tree'   |                  |

There are three temporal demonstratives that distinguish how long the person or thing referred to has been absent: *paca'* 'that just occurred (always heard but never seen)', *cara ne* 'that recently absent', and *cara pane* 'that long absent'. It is hard to say whether *ne* and *pane* are actually part of the demonstrative. We have included them because they always accompany *cara* when used as a demonstrative (*cara* also occurs as a postverbal modifier, meaning 'always' or 'forever'). *Ne* and *pane* are sentence-final temporal particles ('recent past' and 'remote past' respectively). There are no gender distinctions in temporal demonstratives.

- |          |   |               |        |                    |            |
|----------|---|---------------|--------|--------------------|------------|
| (253) a. | Ja'   | na            | wari'  | paca'.             |            |
|          | shoot                                       | 3s:rp/p       | person | that:just:occurred |            |
|          | 'Somebody just shot.'                       |               |        |                    |            |
| (253) b. | Cain'                                       | cain'         | ne     | wixicon            | tarama'    |
|          |   |               |        | wixi-con           |            |
|          | that:n:distal                               | that:n:distal | 3n     | name-3sm           | man        |
|          | cara ne?                                    |               |        |                    |            |
|          | that:recently:absent                        |               |        |                    |            |
|          | 'What was that recently absent man's name?' |               |        |                    |            |
| (253) c. | Coromicat                                   | inon          | nem    |                    | cara pane. |
|          |   | 'ina-on       |        |                    |            |

think                    1s:rp/p-3sm                    sister's:husband:1s                    that:long:absent

'I am remembering my long absent brother-in-law.'

#### 1.2.5.2.6. Quantifiers

There is a set of collective particles that can precede any nominal construction: *'oro*, *mana*, *waram*, *'oromon*, and *mon*. They express the notion of plurality in a group. Their use is determined by the class of noun with which they can be used. Note the glosses of (254a), (256), (257) and (258) with the collective particles, where the notion of plurality in a group means a specific group, not just 'old people' or 'men' in general.

*Mana* can only precede some tree names and kinship terms using the Tenseless VICS:

- |          |   |                                |          |
|----------|---|--------------------------------|----------|
| (254) a. | mana                                    | caxima                         |          |
|          | coll                                    | palm:species                   |          |
|          | ‘the grove of <i>caxima</i> palm trees’ |                                |          |
| (254) b. | Mana                                    | cotere’                        |          |
|          |   | co-te-’iri’                    |          |
|          | coll                                    | INFL:m/frp/p-father: 1s-1pincl |          |
|          | ‘our fathers/paternal uncles’           |                                |          |
| (254) c. | mana                                    |                                | panxica  |
|          |   |                                | panxi-ca |
|          | coll                                    |                                | son-3sm  |
|          | ‘his sons’                              |                                |          |

*Waram* can precede all kinship terms in their first person singular form, as well as all inflections of *-xi'* noun kinship terms:

- |          |                               |                  |
|----------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| (255) a. | waram                         | 'aji'            |
|          | coll                          | older:brother:1s |
|          | 'my older brothers'           |                  |
| (255) b. | waram                         | jim              |
|          |                               | xi-m             |
|          | coll                          | mother-2s        |
|          | 'your mothers/maternal aunts' |                  |

'Oromon can precede *horon* 'old person' and *xojam* 'young girl':

- (256) a.
- |         |            |
|---------|------------|
| 'oromon | horon      |
| coll    | old:person |

- (256) b. 'the old people'  
 'oromon xojam'  
 coll young:girl  
 'the young girls'

*Mon* can precede *tarama* 'man':

- (257) mon tarama'  
 coll man  
 'the men'

'*Oro* can precede all other nouns and nominal constructions. Although collective particles express the notion of plurality in a group, '*oro* often ranges over the individual members of a group to express a kind of 'generic plural', and in this function can mean 'any'. Compare the use of *mana* in (254a) with the use of '*oro* in (258b), where plurality of a specific group is contrasted with 'generic plural'. Note also the use of '*oro* with other nominal constructions in (258c–e).

- (258) a. 'oro wari'  
 coll person  
 'the people'/'people in general'

- (258) b. 'oro caxima  
 coll:palm:species tree  
 'palm species in general'/'any old *caxima* palm species'

- (258) c. Cut 'ac cain na 'oro 'iri' 'aramaca'  
 ca-in  
 take:p travel 3sm-3n 3s:rp/p coll INFL:rp/p cast:spell  
 ximao ne carawa quem.  
 for:no:reason:s 3n animal ref  
 'Then he took out (the things) that were casting a spell for no reason.'

- (258) d. jamicocon 'oro wara co cono' nana.  
 jami-ocon  
 spirit-3pm coll already INFL:m/frp/p die:p 3p:rp/p  
 'the spirits of those who have already died'

- (258) e. 'Awaran ma' nana 'oro ca nari  
 cry:p that:prox:hearer 3p:rp/p coll INFL:nrp/p relative  
 nequequem.

poss:3pf

‘Their relatives (related ones) cried.’

Other types of quantifiers and numerals are expressed by certain verbs, pre- and postverbal modifiers, and *xi'* nouns—see 2.1.6.

*1.2.5.2.7-9. Adverbials, emphatic words and comparative/superlative/equative structures*

Emphatic particles occur at the end of the sentence; adverbials and the notion of comparative/superlative/equative are expressed in verbal constructions, not NPS, as discussed in 1.2.1.3, 1.8 and 1.9.

*1.2.5.2.10. Appositives*

Appositional constructions are quite common, especially when referring to people by their names, in which case the kinship, or descriptive, term precedes the name.

- (259) a.      Maqui'      na      cotere'      Xijam.  
    co-te-'iri'  
                  come      3s:rp/p      INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-1pincl      m:name  
                  ‘Our father Xijam is coming.’
- (259) b.      Tomi'      napari'      taramaxicon      nexi'      José.  
                                  na-pari'  
                  speak      3s:rp/p-1pincl      chief      poss:1pincl      m:name  
                  ‘Our chief José spoke to us.’

*1.2.5.2.11. Verbal modifiers used as nominal modifiers*

Two words appear with nouns to express an adjectival meaning, which may also be used as preverbal modifiers: *'iri'* ‘truly’ and *wara* ‘already’ render the meanings of ‘real or good’ and ‘old’ respectively; the verb *jimao* ‘different’ appears with only two nouns: it renders a generic meaning to *wari'* ‘person’ and *carawa* ‘animal or thing’; and the verb *'om* ‘to not exist’ occurs with a few nouns, but this is rare.

- (260) a.      'iri'      xirim  
                  truly      house  
                  ‘good house’
- (260) b.      wara      jihot  
                  already      dam  
                  ‘old dam’

- (260) c.                      wari'                                      jimao  
                                  person                                      different:s  
                                  'someone'/'something'
- (260) d.                      carawa                                      jimao  
                                  animal                                      different:s  
                                  'something'
- (260) e.                      'om                                      tara'  
                                  not:exist                                      ear  
                                  'deaf person'

*1.2.5.3. Number of modifiers of a particular type which may co-occur*

Two or more possessor modifiers (*xi'* nouns) may occur in an NP, though it is unlikely that more than two would occur. The second possessor can possess either the head or the first possessor.

- (261) a.              wijimain                                      xiricon                                      Xijam  
                                  wijima-in                                      xiri-con  
                                  smallness-3n                                      house-3sm                                      m:name  
                                  'Xijam's small house' (lit. 'Xijam's house's smallness')
- (261) b.              xaxicam                                      caxicam                                      horon  
                                  xaji-cam                                      caji-cam  
                                  fire-3sf                                      strangeness-3sf                                      old:person  
                                  'the strange old woman's fire'

The adjective-like preverbal modifiers, '*iri*' 'truly' and *wara* 'already', may co-occur in a single noun phrase.

- (262)              'iri'                                      wara                                      womu  
                                                                                                            womi-u  
                                  truly                                      already                                      cotton-1s  
                                  'my truly old clothes'

#### 1.2.5.4-5. Constraints on combinations of modifiers and order of the heads and various modifiers

There are no constraints on combinations of modifiers. The tendency, however, is to not overload a sentence, so it is rare that one would find more than three types of modifiers in a single sentence. Thus, (263b) would be preferred to (263a).

- |          |  |            |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
|----------|--|------------|------------------|---------|------------------|------------|------------------|
| (263) a. | Mam'   | 'inain     | 'oro             | wara    | ca               | xirao'     | nucun            |
|          |  | 'ina-in    |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | find   | 1s:rp/p-3n | coll             | already | INFL:nrp/p       | mark       | poss:3sm         |
|          | cwajiri'   |            |                  |         |                  | 'Orowao'   | co               |
|          | co-'aji'-'iri'   |            |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-elder:brother-1pincl  |            |                  |         |                  | m:name     | INFL:m/frp/p     |
|          | taxi'  | tamana     |                  |         | cara pane.       |            |                  |
|          | know   | much       |                  |         | that:long:absent |            |                  |
|          | 'I found the old writings of our long-absent older brother                           |            |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | 'Orowao' who knew a lot.'  |            |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
| (263) b. | Mam'   | 'inain     | wara             |         | ca               | xirao'     | nucun            |
|          |  | 'ina-in    |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | find   | 1s:rp/p-3n | already          |         | INFL:nrp/p       | mark       | poss:3sm         |
|          | cwajiri'   |            |                  |         |                  |            | cara pane,       |
|          | co-'aji'-'iri'   |            |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-elder:brother:1s-1pincl   |            |                  |         |                  |            | that:long:absent |
|          | cwajiri'   |            |                  |         |                  | 'Orowao'   | co               |
|          | co-'aji'-'iri'   |            |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother-1pincl  |            |                  |         |                  | m:name     | INFL:m/frp/p     |
|          | taxi'  | tamana     | cara pane,       |         | mam'             | 'inain     | 'oro             |
|          |  |            |                  |         |                  | 'ina-in    |                  |
|          | know   | much       | that:long:absent | find    |                  | 1s:rp/p-3n | coll             |
|          | ca   | xirao'     | nucun.           |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | INFL:nrp/p   | mark       | poss:3sm         |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | 'I found our long-absent older brother's old writings, our long-absent older brother |            |                  |         |                  |            |                  |
|          | 'Orowao' who knew a lot, I found his writings.'                                      |            |                  |         |                  |            |                  |

According to (263a), the order of elements in the NP is quantifier, adjective, head, possessor, relative clause, demonstrative. Either of the two nouns in apposition, *cwajiri'* or *'Orowao'*, could be considered the possessor.



### 1.3. COORDINATION

#### 1.3.1. Means of expressing coordination

There are no simple equivalents of 'and'-, 'but' - and 'or'-coordination, but there are ways to express this notion in the language. The constructions described here do not exclusively express a coordination relationship however. They have other functions and their form is simply 'exploited' to express coordination as well. Most of the examples in this section are taken from text.

##### 1.3.1.1. 'and'-coordination

There are two ways to accomplish the effect of 'and'-coordination between clauses:

(1) Juxtaposition: When two or more clauses are juxtaposed within a single sentence or across sentence boundaries, 'and'-coordination can be construed. The second and following clauses are often of the verbalized sequential sentence type described in 1.1.1.4.3.3.5.

- (264) a. Cao' 'urut quem, cao' cao' 'ari 'urut,  
eat 1pexcl:rp/p ref eat eat sufficiently 1pexcl:rp/p  
maji ta 'urut.  
let's:go emph 1pexcl:rp/p

'We ate, we ate sufficiently, (and) we (said), "Let's go!"'

- (264) b. Maji ta 'urut quem. 'In qui' 'urut  
let's:go emph 1pexcl:rp/p ref return come 1pexcl:rp/p  
quem. Toco' 'urut quem. Hexec pin  
ref lie:down:p 1pexcl:rp/p ref dawn completely  
na quem. Maji querec xi' 'e' naparut  
na-parut  
3s:rp/p ref let's:go see 1pincl:rf emph 3s:rp/p-1pexcl  
quem.  
ref

"Let's go!" we (said). We returned (and) we slept. The next day dawned, (and) he (said) to us, "Let's go and see it".'

- (264) c. Tom tom 'ari nonon jowin, 'an  
nana-on  
burn:s burn:s sufficiently 3p:rp/p-3sm monkey :species takers  
taratac 'ac cocon na.

caca-on  
place:on:top:s      travel      3pm-3sm      3s:rp/p  
'They sang the *jowin* monkeys sufficiently, (and) then they lay them on top of (the fire).'

(2) The VP *ca' na* 'thus it is/was' at the end of the last clause of a series (within a single sentence or across sentence boundaries) also expresses 'and'-coordination.

- |            |  |                  |              |                 |            |            |             |
|------------|--|------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| (265) a.   | 'Om  | ca               | wijimi       | caca,           | 'om        | ca         | jin'        |
|            | not:exist  | INFL:nrp/p       | stubborn     | 3pm             | not:exist  | INFL:nrp/p | afraid      |
|            | cacain   | ma'              | quem,        | ca'             | na.        |            |             |
|            | caca-in  |                  |              |                 |            |            |             |
|            | 3pm-3n   | that:prox:hearer | ref          | this:n          | 3s:rp/p    |            |             |
|            | 'They were not stubborn, (and) they were not afraid of it, thus it was.'   |                  |              |                 |            |            |             |
| (265) b.   | Mam'   | 'iricon          |              | jowin.          |            | Pa'        | 'inon       |
|            |  | 'urut-con        |              |                 |            |            | 'ina-on     |
|            | find   | 1pexcl:rp/p-3sm  |              | monkey :species |            | kill       | 1s:rp/p-3sm |
|            | wanaran  | quem,            | ca'          | na.             |            |            |             |
|            | bird:species   | ref              | this:n       | 3s:rp/p         |            |            |             |
|            | 'We found a <i>jowin</i> monkey, (and) I killed a <i>wanaran</i> bird, thus it was.'                             |                  |              |                 |            |            |             |
| (265) c.   | Mo   | nana             | co           |                 | mama'      | nanain     |             |
|            |  |                  |              |                 |            | nana-in    |             |
|            | list:presentation  | 3p:rp/p          | INFL:m/frp/p |                 | go:p       | 3p:rp/p-3n |             |
| Guajar .   | Xijam,   | 'Orowao',        | Minain,      | ca'             | nana       | mon        |             |
| place:name | m:name   | m:name           | m:name       | this:n          | 3p:rp/p    | coll       |             |
| tarama'    | co   | mama'            | nanain       |                 | Guajar     |            |             |
|            |  |                  | nana-in      |                 |            |            |             |
| man        | INFL:m/frp/p   | go:p             | 3p:rp/p-3n   |                 | place:name |            |             |
| pane.      |  |                  |              |                 |            |            |             |
| rem:past   |  |                  |              |                 |            |            |             |
|            | 'Here are the ones who went to Guajar . Xijam, 'Orowao', Minain, thus are the men who went to Guajar  long ago.' |                  |              |                 |            |            |             |

#### 1.3.1.2. 'but'-coordination

There are two ways to express the effect of 'but'-coordination between clauses:

## (1) Juxtaposition of clauses

(266)	Tomi'	'iricon.	'Om	ca	ha'	ca.
		'urut-con				
	speak	1pexcl:rp/p-3sm	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	obey	3sm
	'We spoke to him, (but) he does not obey.'					

## (2) The use of contraexpective verbal modification clauses

The only explicitly expressed 'but'-coordination construction is the juxtaposition of a clause manifesting the verb *paxi'* 'to not find' (meaning 'frustrative' in postverbal modification position), followed by the contraexpective clause, described in 1.1.2.4.2.8.

(267)	Param	paxi'	nain.	'Ane	mi'	tiquin'	cacain
			na-in				caca-in
	desire	not:find	3s:rp/p-3n	different	give	continue	3pm-3n
	ne.						
	rec:past						
	'He wanted it, but they gave it (passed it on) (to someone else).'						

## 1.3.1.3. 'or'-coordination

The effect of 'or'-coordination is accomplished in three ways.

## (1) The use of the irrealis verbal modification clause

See 1.1.2.4.2.9, where this is described.

(268)	'Om	ca	tomi'	camain'	ca.	Xi	taraju
							taraji-u
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	speak	at:all	3sm	INFL:irr	ear-1s
	'urut						
	ne.						
	1pexcl						
	rec:past						
	'He did not talk at all, or we would have heard.'						

(2) The juxtaposition of *mo* conditional clauses, described in 1.1.2.4.2.5.

This type of construction renders a general gloss like 'either he will fish, or he will hunt'.

(269)	Mo	ta	pa'	ta'	hwam	ca.	Mo	ta
	conditional	INFL:rf	kill	1s:rf	fish	3sm	conditional	INFL:rf
	pa'	ta'	carawa				ca.	
	kill	1s:rf	animal				3sm	

'Either he will fish, or he will hunt.' (lit. 'If he (savs). "I will kill fish." If he (savs). "I will kill

animals".)

(3) The juxtaposition of clauses repeating the preverbal modifier '*am* 'finally' or 'perhaps' in each clause

This renders a gloss of ‘either he will live or he will die’.

(270) 'Am            'e'            ca.            'Am            mi'            pin            ca.  
perhaps        live        3sm        perhaps        give        completes        3sm  
'Either he will live, or he will die.' (lit. 'Perhaps he will live. Perhaps he will die.')

#### 1.3.1.4. 'like'-coordination

*Win* ‘like’ or ‘same’ coordinates in the same way that *‘ane* ‘different’ (267) and *‘am* ‘perhaps’ (270) coordinate: *win* occurs as the leftmost member of a compound with the verb of the second clause, and Tenseless VICS must be used. See (271) and 1.1.2.4.2.7, where equative verbal modification clauses are discussed and illustrated.

(271)	Quep	xo'	xin	xirim.	Win	quep	xo'	cacain
			xi'-in					caca-in
	do	correctly	1pincl:rf-3n	house	like	do	correctly	3pm-3n
wijam					cwa'.			
non:Indian					this:m/f			

‘Let’s make (do) a house right, like these non-Indians make (do) it right.’

### 1.3.2. Number of coordinators

The only coordinating element which can be repeated for (nearly) all of the conjuncts is an emphatic pronoun or third person form of the preposition when used to express 'and'-coordination of the nominal elements of the clause. In this case, all but the first element is accompanied by a 'coordinator'. It is possible for an emphatic pronoun to accompany the first element, but this is rare. See (273) and (274) below.

### 1.3.3. Coordination of major categories of the sentence

Juxtaposition and/or the VP *ca' na* 'thus it is/was', which express 'and'-coordination between clauses, can also be used to express 'and'-coordination between nominal elements of the clause.

(1) Juxtaposition of the elements is illustrated in (272).

(272)	Ji'am	xi'	jowin	pain	ca'	ma'
	hunt	1pincl:rf	monkey:species	prep:3n	this:n	that:prox:hearer
	'urut	quem,	Jimain Hwara'	Waji,	Wem Xao,	wata.'
	1pexcl:rp/p	ref	m:name		m:name	emph:1s

'Jimain Hwara' Waji, Wem Xao, and I (said), "We will hunt *jowin* monkey around here". (lit. "We will hunt *jowin* monkey around here", we (said), Jimain Hwara' Waji, Wem Xao, and I.)

(2) *Ca' na* 'thus it is/was' is also used in conjunction with other means of expressing 'and'-coordination of major elements of the sentence (e.g. with *je* in (273a)). It occurs at the end of the series. Note the example in (273a), where another noun was added after the series was 'closed' with *ca' na*; the last item was also 'closed' with *ca' na*. We have italicized the VPS *ca' na* in the examples below.

(273) a.	Comprar	xi'	carawa	con	'Oro Waram	ta
	buy	1pincl:rf	animal	prep:3sm	subgroup:name	emph
na	Frederico	quem,	ma	'inon.	Wijimain	quit,
				'ina-on	wijima-in	
3s:rp/p	m:name	ref,	okay	1s:rp/p-3sm	smallness-3n	knife
je	'itac	'itac,	sabão,	je	açucar	<i>Ca'</i>
emph:3n	swallow	swallow	soap	emph:3n	sugar	this:n
<i>na</i>	cocon.	Maji	ta	'urut	quem.	Wirico
3s:rp/p	prep:3pm	let's:go	emph	1pexcl:rp/p	ref	emph:3sm
wuxucun	wom	ma'		quem.	<i>Ca'</i>	<i>na</i>
wije-con						
flower-3sm	cotton	that:prox:hearer		ref	this:n	3s:rp/p
cocon.						
prep:3pm						

"We will buy things with the 'Oro Waram person", (said) Frederico. "Okay", I (said) to him. A small knife, pills, soap, and sugar, thus it was for them. "Let's go", we (said). Also some cotton. Thus it was for them."

(273) b.	Wara	paca'	'iricon	'Amtara'	cwain	ta.
			'urut-con			
	already	leave	1pexcl:rp/p-3sm	m:name	that:m/f:distal	emph
Tocorom Mip	<i>ca'</i>	<i>na</i> ,	wara	paca'	'iricon.	
					'urut-con	
m:name	this:n	3s:rp/p	already	leave	1pexcl:rp/p-3sm	
'We already left 'Amtara'. And Tocorom Mip too, thus it was, we left him.'						

(273) c.	Cotem We,	wata',	<i>ca'</i>	<i>na</i> ,	ca	to	wet
	m:name	emph:1s	this:n	3s:rp/p	INFL:nrp/p	be:at:p	still
'iripain			xirim	ca'		ta.	

'urut-pain

1pincl:rp/p-3n

house

this:n

emph

‘Cotem We and I, thus it was, that stayed here at the house.’

(3) Emphatic pronouns are used with a third person inflection of the preposition or the VP *ca' na* 'thus it is/was' to express 'and'-coordination. The first and second person pronouns can occur alone in these constructions—see (272) and (273c), and a third person pronoun can occur with an appositional NP following it—see (273a), *je 'itac 'itac*, etc. See 2.1.2.1 for the list of emphatic pronouns.

(4) Third person inflections of the preposition (*con* 'singular masculine', *cocon* 'plural masculine', *cam* 'singular feminine', *cacam* 'plural feminine', and *pain* 'neuter') can also be used to express 'and'-coordination between nominal elements of the clause. The literal meaning expressed by the third person inflections of the preposition is in fact comitative rather than 'and'-coordination, but they are included here to exemplify another (pragmatic) means of expressing coordination. This is supported by the fact that singular VICS are used in the VPS with compound subjects or objects (see the examples in (274) below). The second and successive nouns must each be preceded by a preposition. Note the alternate form of *cam* in (274b): *pacam*. Both masculine and feminine third person inflections of the preposition sometimes occur in this form (*paeon* 'singular masculine', *pacocon* 'plural masculine', *pacam* 'singular feminine', *pacacam* 'plural feminine') when appearing as coordinators, but this is rare. Note also (274a), where the postverbal modifier *wet* 'still' appears in preverbal modification position. This is the only example we have of *wet* occurring in anything but postverbal modification position.

(274) a.	Wet	ma'	je	'e'	naparut	Morein	con
					na-parut		
	still	exist	2p:rf	emph	3s:rp/p-1pexcl	m:name	prep:3sm
Jimain Xiparaji				con		Tocorom Mip	
m:name				prep:3sm		m:name	

“‘You stay there’, Morein, Jimain Xiparaji, and Tocarom Mip (said) to us.’ (lit. ‘...Morein with Jimain Xiparaji and with Tocarom Mip (said) to us.’)

(274) b.	Juc	'iricon	Jimain	pacam
		'urut-con		
	push	1pexcl:rp/p-3sm	m:name	prep:3sf
Tocohwet 'Oro Jowin				quem.
f:name				ref

‘We took Jimain with Tocohwet ‘Oro Jowin home.’ (lit. ‘We pushed Jimain and Tocohwet ‘Oro Jowin (down the path to their home).’

The closest thing to ‘and’-coordination between verbal elements in the clause is verb compounding.

- (275) a. Coc hurup mao nain cain  
na-in  
pull:out sound:of:pulling:out go:s 3s:rp/p-3n that:n:distal  
Mamxun Nam.  
m:name  
'Mamxun Nam pulled out (his bow and arrow) and went there.'
- (275) b. Co cao' xi' mamaram ma'.  
dip:out eat 1pincl:rf minnow that:prox:hearer  
'We will dip out and eat those minnows.'

The effect of 'but'-coordination between elements of the clause can be accomplished by juxtaposing contrasting clauses.

- (276) Param 'inain 'i ca.' Noc 'inain 'i  
'ina-in 'ina-in  
desire 1s:rp/p-3n n this:n dislike 1s:rp/p-3n n  
ma'.  
that:prox:hearer  
'I want this, but not that.' (lit. 'I want this. I dislike that.')

The effect of 'or'-coordination between elements of the clause can be accomplished by juxtaposing similar clauses and optionally using the VP *ca'na* 'thus it is/was', as when expressing 'and'-coordination.

- (277) Noc 'inon hwam, noc 'inain carawa ca'  
'ina-on 'ina-in  
dislike 1s:rp/p-3sm fish dislike 1s:rp/p-3n animal this:n  
na.  
3s:rp/p  
'I do not want fish or meat.' (lit. 'I dislike fish, I dislike meat, thus it is.')

### 1.3.4. Coordination and accompaniment

The most common means for expressing accompaniment is with the verb *jajao* 'together'.

- (278) jajao xun taramaxicon.

	xi'-on	
together:p	1pincl:rf-3sm	chief
'We will go with the chief.'		

See also 1.3.3(4), where we discuss the fact that ‘and’-coordination expressed by third person forms of the preposition could also be taken to mean comitative.

### 1.3.5. Structural parallelism in coordination

#### 1.3.5.1. Coordination of nominal modifiers and participial constructions

Coordination of nominal modifiers and participial constructions is not found in text and is rejected as ungrammatical by most speakers. However, a few speakers do use such constructions in their speech, as illustrated in (279).

- |                  |   |            |         |            |         |        |
|------------------|---|------------|---------|------------|---------|--------|
| (279) a.         | 'iri'   | ca         | 'awi    | nucun      | wom     |        |
|                  | truly   | INFL:nrp/p | good    | poss:3sm   | cotton  |        |
|                  | 'truly good clothes'  |            |         |            |         |        |
| (279) b.         | wijimain  | ca         | quep    | xo'        | nein    | xirim  |
|                  | wijima-in   |            |         |            |         |        |
|                  | smallness-3n  | INFL:nrp/p | do      | right      | poss:3n | house  |
|                  | 'a small, well-made house' (lit: 'a small, rightly made house') |            |         |            |         |        |
| (279) c.         | cote  |            | ne      | ca         | quep    | pan'   |
|                  | co-te   |            |         |            |         |        |
|                  | INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s  |            | 3n      | INFL:nrp/p | do      | fall:s |
| tem              |   |            | nein    |            | canoa   |        |
| sound:of:falling |   |            | poss:3n |            | canoe   |        |
|                  | 'a big, badly made canoe'                                       |            |         |            |         |        |

But we believe that these examples are in fact the result of an attempt to conform to Portuguese structures. This view is supported by the fact that Wan Hon (Joel), a relatively well-educated 'ON speaker who teaches in one of the Wari' schools, has told BK that these are, in fact, ungrammatical sentences in the language, and that he himself also believes that speakers only use such structures due to the influence of Portuguese. These notions expressed by coordination in Portuguese, and the examples in (279) above, can be expressed in 'ON by the use of relative clauses, as in the following examples:

- (280) a.
- |                               |              |      |        |
|-------------------------------|--------------|------|--------|
| wom                           | co           | 'awi | tamana |
| cotton                        | INFL:m/frp/p | good | much   |
| 'clothes that are truly good' |              |      |        |



- (280) b.      wijimain                      xirim      ca                      quep      xo'      xine  
                  wijima-in  
                  smallness-3n                      house      INFL:nrp/p                      do      right      pass:3n  
                  'a small house that is done (made) right'
- (280) c.      cote    ne      canoa      ca    quep      pan'  
                  co-te  
                  INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s    3n      canoe      INFL:nrp/p                      do      fall:s  
                  tem    xine  
                  sound:of:falling    pass:3n  
                  'a big canoe that was badly made'

### 1.3.5.2. Coordination of nouns and nominalized constructions

Coordination can be expressed between a noun and nominal construction by means of a third person form of the preposition (see the discussion 1.3.3.(4) above): noun and relative clause (281a), noun and derived noun (281b), and noun and noun clause (281c).

- (281) a.      Mama'      nana                      mon      tarama'      cocon                      co    xo'  
                  go:p      3p:rp/p      coll      man                      prep:3pm      INFL:m/frp/p                      recently  
                  ho'    tarama'    nana.  
                  overtake    man    3p:rp/p  
                  'The men and young men went.' (lit. 'The men with those whom manhood recently overtook went.')
- (281) b.      Cao'      je                      capam'    pain                      ca    xain      nucun  
                  eat      2p:rf      cornbread    prep:3n      INFL:nrp/p    hot      poss:3sm  
                  hwam.  
                  fish  
                  'Eat cornbread and roasted (hot) fish.' (lit. '...with the fish's roastedness.')
- (281) c.      Cao'      je                      hwam      pain                      ca    miri'      ne      capam'  
                  eat      2p:rf      fish                      prep:3n      INFL:nrp/p    roast      3n      cornbread  
                  ma'.  
                  that:prox:speaker  
                  'Eat fish and that roasted cornbread.' (lit. '...that cornbread that roasts.')

### 1.3.5.3. Coordination of various types of adverbials

Adverbials cannot be coordinated.

#### 1.3.5.4. Coordination of active and passive verbs

Active and passive verbs cannot be coordinated.

#### 1.3.5.5. Coordination of verb categories

There is no coordination of verbs. The only construction remotely like verb coordination is compounding. Compounding of various degrees of complexity are found—up to five. Here we illustrate the compounding of: two transitive verb roots (282a); two intransitive verb roots (282b); and an intransitive verb root plus a transitive verb root (282c). Compounding of a transitive plus an intransitive verb root results in a causative construction (282d). See 2.2.3 for the discussion of verb compounding.

- (282) a.                    Co                    cao'                    xi'                    hwam.  
                               dip:out                    eat                    1pincl:rf                    fish  
                               'We will dip out and eat fish.'
- (282) b.                    Xuruxut                    mama'                    'urut.  
                               walk:p                    go:p                    1pexcl:rp/p  
                               'We walked away.' (lit. 'We walked and went.')
- (282) c.                    Mo                    pa'                    non                    jowin.  
    na-on  
                               run:s                    kill                    3s:rp/p-3sm                    monkey:species  
                               'He ran and killed a *jowin* monkey.'
- (282) d.                    Querec                    mama'                    'inonon                    'oro                    wari'.  
    'ina-ocon  
                               see                    go:p                    1s:rp/p-3pm                    coll                    person  
                               'I saw the people off.' (lit. 'I saw and "went" the people.')

#### 1.3.6. Elements of the sentence that can be omitted under identity in coordination

Verbs may be omitted under identity in coordination, when using the VP *ca' na* 'thus it is/was' as the coordinator. Subjects and objects can also be omitted freely under identity in coordination. In fact, this is just part of a larger phenomenon where subjects or objects can be omitted freely when referenced on the VIC.

- (283) a.                    Pa'                    nain                    waram                    'Am Tara'.                    Pa'                    'inain  
    na-in     'ina-in  
                               kill                    3s:rp/p-3n                    monkey:species                    m:name                    kill                    1s:rp/p-3n

quem.	Jowin	ca'	na	Mamxun Nam.
ref	monkey :species	this:n	3s:rp/p	m:name
'Am Tara' killed a <i>waram</i> monkey. I killed one also, and Mamxun Nam (killed) a <i>jowin</i> monkey.'				
(283) b.	Pa'	nonon	jowin,	wanaran, ca' na,
		nana-on		
	kill	3p:rp/p-3sm	monkey:species	bird:species this:n 3s:rp/p
mon			tarama'.	
coll			man	
'The men killed a <i>jowin</i> monkey and a <i>wanaran</i> bird.'				

### 1.3.7. Elements of the noun phrase that can be omitted under identity in coordination

When using the VP *ca' na* 'thus it is/was' as a coordinator, nouns used as the possessor of a *-xi'* noun may be omitted under identity. This is, however, rare. (284b) is preferred to (284a).

(284) a.	Corom	mama'	na	taramaji,	'aramanain,	ca'
				taramaji-0	'aramana-in	
	enter	go:p	3s:rp/p	maleness-3n	femaleness-3n	this:n
	na,		waram.			
	3s:rp/p		monkey:species			
'The male and female <i>waram</i> monkeys entered.'						
(284) b.	Corom	mao	na	taramaji	(waram).	Corom
				taramaji-0		
	enter	go:s	3s:rp/p	maleness-3n	monkey:species	enter
mao	na		'aramanain,		ca'	na.
			'aramana-in			
go:s	3s:rp/p		femaleness-3n		this:n	3s:rf
'The male and female <i>waram</i> monkeys entered.' (lit. 'The male ( <i>waram</i> monkey) entered. The female entered, thus it was.')						

Nouns in apposition to a kinship term cannot be omitted under identity in coordination. In fact, this type of coordination would not even occur in 'ON for cultural reasons, because the kinship term of the youngest people in the audience would be used, which would then necessarily have to apply to all present. Note the ungrammatical example in (285a).

(285) a.	*Mi'	pin	na	coturut
----------	------	-----	----	---------

When nouns occurring with demonstratives are coordinated by a third person form of the preposition, all but the last demonstrative must be omitted.

(286) a.	Param	'inain	capam'	con	jowin
		'ina-in			
	desire	1s:rp/p-3n	cornbread	prep:3sm	monkey:species
cwa'				me.	
this:m/f				emph	
'I want this cornbread and <i>jowin</i> monkey.'					
(286) b.	*Param	'inain	capam'	ca'	con
		'ina-in			jowin
	desire	1s:rp/p-3n	cornbread	this:n	prep:3sm
					monkey:species
cwa'				me.	
this:m/f				emph	
'I want this cornbread and this <i>jowin</i> monkey.'					

Collective particles in an NP cannot be omitted under identity in coordination.

(287) a.	'Awaran	'iricocon		mana
		'urut-cocon		
	cry:p	lpexcl:rp/p-3pm		coll
cotere'		cacam	waram	xi'.
co-te-'iri'				0-xi'
INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-ipincl		prep:3pf	coll	mother-1pincl
'We wailed for our fathers and mothers.'				

(287) b.	*Awaran	'iricocon	mana
		'urut-cocon	
	cry:p	1pexcl:rp/p-3pm	coll
cotere'		cacam	xi.'
co-te-'iri'			0-xi'
INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-1pincl		prep:3pf	mother-1pincl
'We wailed for our fathers and mothers.'			

## 1.4. NEGATION

### 1.4.1. Sentence negation

Sentence negation is expressed in three ways.

(1) The COMP sentence, in which the verb *'om* 'to not exist' appears as the operator word in COMP, is the most common means of expressing sentence negation. Either *ca* 'neuter realis past/present', *ta* 'realis future' or *xi* 'irrealis' may be chosen as the INFL morpheme, and, like almost all COMP sentences, Tenseless VICS must be used. See the discussion of COMP sentences in 1.1.1.4.2 and the sets of contrasting positive/negative examples below.

(288) a.	Cao'	nain	carawa.		
		na-in			
	eat	3s:rp/p-3n	animal		
	'He ate meat.'				
(288) b.	'Om	ca	cao'	cain	carawa.
				ca-in	
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	eat	3sm-3n	animal
	'He did not eat meat.'				

- (289) a. Tomi' jun 'Orowao'.  
 je-on  
 speak 2p:rf-3sm m:name  
 'You shall speak to 'Orowao'/'Speak to 'Orowao'.'
- (289) b. 'Om ta tomi' hun 'Orowao'.  
 hwe-on  
 not:exist INFL:rf speak 2p-3sm m:name  
 'You shall not speak to 'Orowao'.'
- (290) a. 'Oc xiram.  
 xira-m  
 stick 3s:irr-3sf  
 'He should give her an injection.'
- (290) b. 'Om xi 'oc cam.  
 ca-m  
 not:exist INFL:irr stick 3sm-3sf  
 'He should not give her an injection.'

Negative imperatives (prohibitives) are similar in form to the negative sentence that uses the realis future INFL morpheme *ta* illustrated in (289b), except that the operator word *'om* is omitted. See 1.1.1.3.2 for the complete discussion of prohibitives. The example in (291) shows (289b) expressed as a prohibitive.

- (291) Ta tomi' hun 'Orowao' me.  
 hwe-on  
 INFL:rf speak 2p-3sm m:name emph  
 'Don't speak to 'Orowao'!

(2) *'Om* 'to not exist' can also occur as a regular verb in a simple sentence.

- (292) 'Om na carawa ca cao' wa.  
 not:exist 3s:rp/p animal INFL:nrp/p eat inf  
 'There is nothing to eat.'

In addition, *'om* 'to not exist' may occur as the leftmost member of a verb compound in any COMP sentence.

- (293) a. Mo ta 'om mao ca.  
 conditional INFL:rf not:exist go:s 3sm

'If he doesn't go...'

- (293) b. Je ca 'om tomi' capari' ca'.  
 ca-pari'  
 emph:3n INFL:nrp/p not:exist speak 3sm-1pincl this:n  
 'That is why he didn't speak to us.'

- (293) c. 'Ane 'om pa' ca ne.  
 different not:exist kill 3sm rec:past  
 'But (because) he didn't kill (it).'

'*Om* 'to not exist' may also occur as the leftmost member of a verb compound in subordinate clauses. Note that the function of '*om*' in a compound verb could be glossed as constituent negation (294a).

- (294) a. Noc 'inain ca 'om jam' nucun  
 'ina-in  
 dislike 1s:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p not:exist cooked poss:3sm  
 hwam.  
 fish  
 'I dislike uncooked fish.' (lit. '...fish's uncookedness.')
- (294) b. Paric nana hwijima' co 'om xirao' nana  
 few 3p:rp/p children INFL:m/frp/p not:exist mark 3p:rp/p  
 papel.  
 paper  
 'There are few children who do not study (lit. write).'
- (294) c. Hwaraman napa' ca 'om com wa tamara.'  
 na-pa'  
 distasteful 3s:rp/p-1s INFL:nrp/p not:exist sing inf song  
 'The not singing of a song is distasteful to me.'
- (294) d. Pe' tamana 'urut pain ca 'om pa'  
 hungry much 1pexcl:rp/p prep:3n INFL:nrp/p not:exist kill  
 ca hwam coturut.  
 co-te-'urut  
 3sm fish INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-1pexcl  
 'We are very hungry because our father didn't kill fish.'

(3) The postverbal modifiers *xi'*, *'a/ara*, and *mao* also express sentence negation.

(i) *Xi'* 'dubitative' expresses negation with mild ridicule or criticism and is accompanied by high intonation over the entire sentence, although peaks of intonation are lower than normal intonation patterns. Note (296b), where *xi'* could also be interpreted as the first person plural inclusive realis future VIC. Whether it is dubitative or the realis future VIC is clear only by intonation.

- (295) a.                                    'Awi                                    na.  
   good                                    3s:rp/p  
   'It is good.'
- (295) b.                                    'Awi                                    xi'                                    na.  
   good                                    dub                                    3s:rp/p  
   'It's no good.'
- (296) a.                                    Pa'                                    nana                                    carawa.  
   kill                                    3p                                    animal.  
   'They killed something.'
- (296) b.                                    Pa'                                    xi'                                    nana                                    carawa.  
   kill                                    dub                                    3p                                    animal  
   'They didn't kill anything.'

(ii) The postverbal modifier *mao* 'negative' co-occurs only with Tenseless VICS.

- (297) a.                                    'Awi                                    na.  
   good                                    3s:rp/p  
   'It is good.'
- (297) b.                                    'Awi                                    mao                                    ne.  
   good                                    neg                                    3n  
   'It isn't good.'

*Mao* is also used to express mild imperative. See the discussion in 1.1.1.3.3.

(iii) The postverbal modifier *'a/ara* 'negative' can appear in either simple or COMP sentences. When it appears in simple sentences, using the realis past/present tense/mood, Tenseless VICS are obligatory—see 1.1.1.4.1.

- (298) a.                                    Hwara'                                    na.  
   big:s                                    3s:rp/p  
   'He is big.'
- (298) b.                                    Hwara'                                    'a                                    ca.  
   big:s                                    neg:s                                    3sm



'He is not big.'

or

- (298) c.                      Hwara'                      'ara                      ca.  
    big:s                      neg:p                      3sm  
    'He is not big at all.'

When negating the irrealis tense/mood in simple sentences, the irrealis VICS and not Tenseless VICS must be used.

- (299) a.                      Cao'                      xiron  
                         xira-on  
    eat                      3s:irr-3sm  
    'He should eat it.'
- (299) b.                      Cao'                      'a                      xiron.  
                                              xira-on  
    eat                      neg                      3s:irr-3sm  
    'He should not eat it.'

When an irrealis marked sentence is spoken with interrogative intonation, it expresses the notion of 'why?', and the positive surface structure renders a negative gloss ((300a) and (301 a)), while the negative surface structure renders a positive gloss ((300b) and (301b)).

- (300) a.      Mao                      xira                      quem?  
    go:s                      3s:irr                      ref  
    'Why did he not go?' (lit. 'He should have gone (shouldn't he)?')
- (300) b.      Mao                      'a                      xira                      quem?  
    go:s                      neg:s                      3s:irr                      ref  
    'Why did he go?' (lit. 'He should not have gone (should he)?')
- (301) a.      Je                      xi                      mao                      qui'                      ca?  
    emph:3n                      INFL:irr                      go:s                      coming:this:way                      3sm  
    'Why did he not go?' (lit. 'So he should have gone (shouldn't he)?')
- (301) b.      Je                      xi                      'om                      mao                      qui'                      ca?  
    emph:3n                      INFL:irr                      not:exist                      go:s                      coming:this:way                      3sm  
    'Why did he go?' (lit. 'So he should not have gone (should he)?')

While 'om 'to not exist', as the leftmost member of a verb compound, is the most common way to express negation in COMP sentences and subordinate clauses, 'ara

'neg:p' is frequently used in irrealis verbal modification clauses and in negative COMP sentences, to express double negation, as well as in certain cause clauses that employ double negation—see 1.1.2.4.2.4(3ii). See also 1.4.3, where its use is described in more detail in relation to double negation.

- (302) Jam'      tamana      nana      hwijima'.      Xi      waraju      'ara      caca  
a.  
tired      much      3p:rp/p      children      INFL:irr      play      neg:p      3pm  
pic      ta.  
rubber      emph  
'The children are very tired, because they played a lot of ball.' (lit. '...because they  
shouldn't have played ball, (but they did).')

- (302) b.      'Om      ca      tomi'      'ara      ca  
not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      speak      neg:p      3sm  
'He talks a lot.' (lit. 'He does not not talk.')

- (302) c.      Xi      'om      ne      ca      'awi      'ara      ma      ta.  
INFL:irr      not:exist      3n      INFL:nrp/p      good      neg:p      2s      emph  
'Because you are good.'

#### 1.4.2. Constituent negation

Constituent negation is expressed by the same devices that express sentence negation. Compare, for example, the use of 'om 'not exist' as the leftmost member of the verb compound in a derived noun in (294a). It is possible for nouns to be negated by 'om outside of the VP, in which case 'om occurs without VICS before the noun. This is, however, rare. (303b) is preferred to (303a).

- (303) a.      Mija      na      'om      wana      ta.  
much      3s:rp/p      not:exist      path      emph  
'There was no path at all!' (lit. The "no path" was much.)
- (303) b.      Mija      na      ca      'om      ne      wana      ta.  
much      3s:rp/p      INFL:nrp/p      not:exist      3n      path      emph  
'There was no path at all!' (lit. 'It was much that there was no path.')

'Om is, however, readily used without VICS before the free forms of -xi' nouns, as well as their third person neuter inflections, when these are used as vocatives, speaking facetiously or disparagingly.

- (304) a.      Hwap      ra      ta      'om      tara'.  
fast:s      2s:rf      emph      not:exist      ear  
'Hurry up, no ear!'

- (304) b. 'Om ca querec main 'om tocoi?  
 ma-in toco-i  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p see 2s-3n not:exist eye-3n  
 'Don't you see it, no eye?'

### 1.4.3. More than one negative element in a sentence

Any of the negation expressions described in 1.4.1 may itself be negated by the postverbal modifier *'a'ara* 'negative'. The result of this double negation is an emphatic positive reading. While either *'a* (singular, simple form) or *'ara* (plural, intense form) may be used, *'ara* is the form most likely to be chosen for use in double negatives because of its added meaning of intensity. Note (305d), where the combination of *'ara xi'* ('negative dubitative') can be glossed as an emphatic positive or 'because' (see (137), cause clauses, 1.1.2.4.2.4(1)). Note also that when *'am* occurs as the second negative with *xi'*, it does not prohibit the use of the Tense VICS (see 1.1.1.4.1, where it is noted that *'a'ara* normally requires the use of Tenseless VICS).

- (305) a. 'Om ca hwara' 'ara ca.  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p big:s neg:p 3sm  
 'He is really big!' (lit. 'He is not not big.')
- (305) b. Mija na ca 'om pan' 'ara ne xowi'  
 much 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p not:exist fall:s neg:p 3n rain  
 pane.  
 rem:past  
 'It really rained hard!' (lit. 'It was much that it did not not rain.')
- (305) c. Mija 'ara mao ne ca xain nucun pain xim  
 much neg:p neg 3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:3sm prep:3n night  
 ne.  
 rec:past  
 'He really had a lot of fever last night.' (lit. 'His fever was not not much last night.')
- (305) d. Pe' 'ara xi' nana hwijima'.  
 hungry neg:p neg 3p:rp/p children  
 'The children are really hungry.' (lit. 'The children are not not hungry.') or 'Because the children are hungry.'

The combination of *'a'ara mao*, illustrated in (305c), can be contracted to *'ao*, as shown in the examples in (306).

- (306) a. Je                      cwerein                      'ara                      mao                      ne                      ca'                      pane.  
    cwere-in  
    emph:3n                      body-3n                      neg:p                      neg                      3n                      this:n                      rem:past  
    'That is just the way this was long ago.' (lit. '...the way it was not not long ago.')
- (306) b.                      Je                      cwerein                      'ao                      ne                      ca'                      pane.  
    cwere-in  
    emph:3n                      body-3n                      dbl:neg                      3n                      this:n                      rem:past  
    'That is just the way this was long ago.'

We discuss the underlying negative meaning of the irrealis tense/mood in 1.4.1(3iii), following (299). The same principle of double negation works in all irrealis constructions: the already built-in negative ('he should have done it, but he didn't') can be negated, so that the double negation renders an emphatic positive meaning, as in the simple sentence in (307a), the desiderative sentence in (307b) and the irrealis verbal modification clause in (307c).

- (307) a. Tom                      to                      'a                      ximain                      pain                      xe                      ta.  
    xima-in  
    burn:s                      be:at:p                      neg:s                      2s:irr-3n                      prep:3n                      fire                      emph  
    'You sure did scorch it with fire!' (lit. 'You should not have scorched it with fire (but you did).')
- (307) b. Quep                      quep                      'a                      xirapa'                      na                      'inam                      cam                      cwa'  
    xira-pa'                      'ina-m  
    touch                      touch                      neg:s                      3s:irr-1s                      consent                      1s:rp/p-3sf                      f                      this:m/f  
    me.  
    emph  
    'I sure do wish she would stop touching me!' (lit. 'She should stop touching me (but she won't).')
- (307) c. Xi                      xac                      'ara                      wa                      memem                      ta!  
    INFL:irr                      eat:fruit                      neg:p                      inf                      fruit                      emph  
    'If fruit were just eaten!' (lit. 'Fruit should be eaten (but it's not).')

See also 1.1.2.4.2.4(3), where negated *'om* clauses render a gloss of 'because'.

#### 1.4.4. Coordination of negative clauses or sentences

The attraction of negation elements to the coordinator does not occur.

#### 1.4.5. Negation in subordinate and higher clauses

The negation of a verb in a subordinate clause cannot be expressed by the negation of the verb in a higher clause. Negation must be manifested within the clause containing the verb that is being negated.

## 1.5. ANAPHORA

### 1.5.1. Means of expressing anaphora

#### 1.5.1.1. Deletion

Anaphora is expressed by deletion in the following circumstances: (1) deletion of the matrix clause in direct speech sentences; (2) deletion of any or all of the constituents except the verb in long discourses; (3) deletion of any or all of the main constituents other than the VICS in response to statements or questions; (4) deletion of any or all of the constituents other than the questioned element in answer to questions; and (5) deletion of the head of relative clauses.

##### (1) Deletion of the matrix clause in direct speech sentences

Direct speech occurs as the derived predicate of a verbalized direct speech sentence (see 1.1.1.1). Subject VICS mark the speaker, and object VICS (suffixes) mark to whom or of whom the speech is made. The matrix clause (all elements other than the embedded speech) is often deleted in narrative discourse. This is especially common when recounting a dialogue. The example in (308) is taken from text.

(308)	Toro	na	ca	maqui'	ca
	sound:of:footsteps	3s:rp/p	INFL:nrp/p	come	3sm
Tocorom Mip	con	'Amtara'	ta.	Maqui'	hwe?
m:name	prep:3sm	m:name	emph	come	2p:rp/p
Maqui'	'urut.	Pa'	hwe?	Pa'	'urut
come	1pexcl:rp/p	kill	2:rp/p	kill	1pexcl:rp/p
					emph

“‘Toro’ (went the sound) when Tocorom Mip came with ‘Amtara’. “Did you come?” “We came.” “Did you kill (something)?” “We killed (something).”

##### (2) Deletion of any or all of constituents except the verb in long discourses

As in the deletion of the matrix clause in direct speech sentences, all of the constituents other than the verb (including the VICS) can be deleted in long discourses. The deletion of constituents other than the verb seems to be a device used in thematic marking in the language—see 1.12.2. See (177) for examples of this type of deletion.

##### (3) Deletion of all of the main constituents of a sentence other than the VICS

All of the main constituents of a sentence other than the VICS can be deleted when a question is used to respond to a statement (see 1.1.1.2.4.2).

(309) A:	Tapa'	napa'	wina	ca'.
		na-pa'	wina-0	

- burst 3s:rp/p-1s head-1s this:n  
 'I have a headache.' (lit. 'My head is bursting me.')
- B: Tapa' na winam?  
 wina-m  
 burst 3s:rp/p head-2s  
 'Is your head bursting?'
- or B: Na?  
 3s:rp/p  
 '(Is) it?'
- or B: Tapa' na winam ra?  
 wina-m  
 burst 3s:rp/p head-2s 2s:rf  
 'Your head is bursting, isn't it?'
- or B: Na ra?  
 3s:rp/p 2s:rf  
 '(It) is, isn't it?'
- (310) A: Main ca mao ca?  
 ma'-in  
 that:prox:hearer-3n INFL:nrp/p go:s 3sm  
 'Where did he go?'
- B: Mao tarain cain.  
 tara-in  
 go:s 3s:rf-3n that:n:distal  
 'He probably went there.'
- or B: Tara.  
 3s:rf  
 'Who knows?' (lit. 'It is probably (something unforeseeable).')
- or B: Tara con.  
 3s:rf prep:3sm  
 'Who knows regarding him?' (lit. 'It is probably (something unforeseeable) regarding him.')

Note the response in (311), where the statement made in (311A) is repeated to the addressee by a third party, but the embedded speech has been deleted.

(311) A:	Mo	ta	xac	main	orowaji	memem.
				ma-in	orowaji-0	
	conditional	INFL:rf	suck	2s-3n	greenness-3n	fruit

Caxi	tara	munum.
		mono-um
sick	3s:rf	intestines-2s

‘If you eat green fruit, your belly will hurt.’

B:	Na	xi'	quem	ma'.
			ca-em	
	3s:rp/p	dub	3s-2s	that:prox:speaker
	'He certainly (says) "... to you.'			

(4) Deletion of any or all of the constituents other than the questioned element in answer to questions

In response to a question, all constituents but the questioned element can be deleted.

(312) A:	Ma'	carawa	ca	pa'	ma?
	that:prox:hearer	animal	INFL:nrp/p	kill	2s
	'What did you kill?'				

B:	Pa'	'inain	mijac	ta.
		'ina-in		
	kill	1s:rp/p-3n	pig	emph
	'I killed a pig.'			

or B:	Mijac	ta.
	pig	emph
	'Pig.'	

(5) Deletion of the head of relative clauses

The head of a relative clause is frequently deleted.

(313)	'Awaran	nonon	(tucuninim')	co	xo'
		nana-on			
	cry:p	3p:rp/p-3sm	(shaman)	INFL:m/frp/p	recently
	mi'	ma'.			
	givers	that:prox:hearer			
	'They wailed for the (shaman) who recently died.'				

1.5.1.2. *Deletion where element is marked on verb or other constituent*

Deletion of nominate is very common in the following circumstances.

(1) Deletion where the element is marked in the VICS:

- (314) a.           To'           nonon                           cawiji           hwijima'.  
   nana-on  
                   hit           3p:rp/p-3sm                           son:1s           children  
                   'The children hit my son.'

- (314) b.                           To'           nonon.  
   nana-on  
                   hit           3p:rp/p-3sm  
                   'They hit him.'

(2) Complements of third person forms of the preposition can be deleted (the number and gender of the complement is marked in the inflected preposition):

- (315) a.   Toron           na                           ximicon           con           panxica.  
   ximi-con                                   panxi-ca  
           groan           3s:rp/p           heart-3sm           prep:3sm           child-3sm  
           'He is worried about his son.' (lit. 'His heart groans because of his son.')

- (315) b.           Toron           na                           ximicon           con.  
   ximi-con  
           groan           3s:rp/p           heart-3sm           prep:3sm  
           'He is worried about him.'

(3) Third person possessors of possessed NPS can be deleted (the number and gender is marked on the head of the NP):

- (316) a.                           xiricon                           Xijam  
   xiri-con  
                   house-3sm                                   m:name  
                   'Xijam's house'

- (316) b.                                   xiricon  
   xiri-con  
                   house-3sm  
                   'his house'

1.5.1.3. *Demonstrative pronoun anaphora*



Anaphora can also be expressed by the use of demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns only occur in the third person; thus this type of anaphora only occurs with third person referents. See 2.1.2.2 for the complete list of demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns appear as anaphora in two ways.

(1) In narrative discourse, the identity of the main characters is introduced by their name or an NP, being referred to thereafter by the VICS, forms of the preposition, and suffixes on possessed nouns. When the identity of the main characters is well known to the interlocutors, they are often referred to via demonstrative pronouns, rather than nonpronominal NPS. Demonstrative pronouns can also be used to indicate change of focus. The object in (317c) is a dead person; dead people are referred to by plural markers, therefore ‘...caught *them*’):

- (317) a. Je 'i ca' ca tomi' ra pain too ta  
 emph:3n n this:n INFL:nrp/p speak 2s:rf prep:3n metal emph  
 capa' cam cwa' na' nam.  
 ca-pa' na-m  
 3sm-1s f this:m/f 3s:rp/p 3s:rp/p-3sf  
 'This is what (why) this (feminine one here) (said) to me,  
 "Speak into the metal thing (tape recorder)".'

- |          |  |                |    |                  |       |        |
|----------|--|----------------|----|------------------|-------|--------|
| (317) b. | Tomi'                                    | naparut        | co | ma'              | quem, | Manim  |
|          |  | na-parut       |    |                  |       |        |
|          | speak                                    | 3s:rp/p-1pexcl | m  | that:prox:hearer | ref   | m:name |
|          | ma'                                      | quem.          |    |                  |       |        |
|          | that:prox:hearer                         | ref            |    |                  |       |        |
|          | 'That masculine one spoke to us, Manim.' |                |    |                  |       |        |

- |              |                  |          |            |             |        |                  |         |
|--------------|------------------|----------|------------|-------------|--------|------------------|---------|
| (317) c.     | Jao              | hot,     | ca         | quep        | 'ac    | cocon            | na      |
|              |                  |          |            |             |        | ca-ocon          |         |
|              | together:s       | take:out | INFL:nrp/p | catch       | travel | 3sm-3pm          | 3s:rp/p |
| co           | ma'              |          | na'        | nam,        |        | 'aji'            |         |
|              |                  |          |            | na-m        |        |                  |         |
| m            | that:prox:hearer |          | 3s:rp/p    | 3s:rp/p-3sf |        | older:brother:1s |         |
| Tocorom Mip. |                  |          |            |             |        |                  |         |
| m:name       |                  |          |            |             |        |                  |         |

‘(He) fell over, (and at the same time) it (was that) that masculine one caught them, right?, my older brother Tocomom Mip.’

(2) The more common anaphoric use of demonstrative pronouns is as ‘vocal pause’ when ‘stumbling’ in speech, similar to ‘*uh*’ in English. The example in (318) was taken from text. The demonstrative pronouns are italicized.

(318)	'In	ca'	to	naparut na-parut	'Oro Mon	con
	return	this:n	be:at:p	3s:rp/p-1pexcl	subgroup:name	prep:3sm
	'Oro Waram.		<i>Co cwa'</i> ,	'Orowao' Noji,	na	xin xi'-in
	subgroup:name	m	this:m/f	m:name	3s:rp/p	1pincl:rf-3n
	pane,	<i>co</i>	<i>pacara panel</i>	'Orowao' Noji.	'Am	'am ca'
	rem:past	m	hist:past	m:name	be:lost:s	be:lost:s this:n
	napa' na-pa'		'Oro Mon	quem.	<i>Co cwa'</i> ,	Warao',
	3s:rp/p-1s		subgroup:name	ref	m	this:m/f m:name
	ca'			na.		
	this:n			3s:rp/p		

‘The 'Oro Mon person with the 'Oro Waram person left us there. Uh, 'Orowao' Noji, it was he, wasn't it? That historic past one? 'Orowao' Noji. I forget the 'Oro Mon person. Uh, Warao', thus he was.’

#### 1.5.1.4. Reflexive pronoun anaphora

There are no formal reflexive pronouns, but there are reflexive VICS (see 1.6), the third person (NP) antecedents of which can be deleted, just like antecedents of other VICS.

(319) a.	Wac	xucun	cawiji.
	cut	refl:3sm	son:1s
	‘My son cut himself.’		
(319) b.	Wac	xucun.	
	cut	refl:3sm	
	‘He cut himself.’		

#### 1.5.1.5. Special anaphoric pronouns

Neuter demonstratives can be used anaphorically. There is some question as to whether the demonstrative in (320) is simply a demonstrative or actually a demonstrative pronoun. It is very possible that it is the latter, the specific gender marker ‘*i*’, which would make it such, being dropped in rapid speech.

- |          |  |            |     |         |                  |      |       |        |         |
|----------|--|------------|-----|---------|------------------|------|-------|--------|---------|
| (320) a. | Taxi'  | nain       |     | (i)     | ma'              |      |       |        | quem.   |
|          |  | na-in      |     |         |                  |      |       |        |         |
|          | know   | 3s:rp/p-3n |     | (n)     | that:prox:hearer |      |       |        | ref     |
|          | 'He knows that too.'                           |            |     |         |                  |      |       |        |         |
| (320) b. | Mijac  | 'ara       | xi' | na      | ca               |      | 'o    | xut    | non (i) |
|          |  |            |     |         |                  |      |       |        | na-on   |
|          | pig  | neg:p      | dub | 3s:rp/p | INFL:nrp/p       | lead | walks | 3s-3sm | (n)     |
|          | ma'.   |            |     |         |                  |      |       |        |         |
|          | that:prox:hearer                               |            |     |         |                  |      |       |        |         |
|          | 'It was certainly the pigs that led him away.' |            |     |         |                  |      |       |        |         |

#### 1.5.1.6. Anaphoric function of referent particle *quem*

The main function of the particle *quem*, which is frequently used, seems to be anaphoric to something already mentioned or implied in the discourse. It can, however, also be given the gloss of 'also'. Native speakers frequently translate it as 'also' when they speak Portuguese, using the Portuguese word *também* 'also' when they would use *quem* in 'ON'. The result is an overuse of the word *também* in Portuguese. (321d) illustrates how some native speakers would translate (321a).

- |   |         |         |                  |       |                  |            |         |        |
|---|---------|---------|------------------|-------|------------------|------------|---------|--------|
| (321) a.  | Xec     | pa'     | non              | quem, | mi'              | pin        | mami'   | 'ac    |
|   |         |         | na-on            |       |                  |            |         |        |
|   | day     | upon    | 3s:rp/p-3sm      | ref   | give             | completely | again   | travel |
| ca  | na      |         | quem.            | Mao   | na               | jamicon    | pain    |        |
|   |         |         |                  |       |                  | jami-con   |         |        |
| 3sm   | 3s:rp/p |         | ref              | go:s  | 3s:rp/p          | spirit-3sm | prep:3n |        |
| tamatarain  |         |         |                  |       |                  | quem.      |         |        |
| tamatarain  |         |         |                  |       |                  |            |         |        |
| spirit-3n   |         |         |                  |       |                  | ref        |         |        |
| 'The day dawned upon him, then he fainted (died) again. His spirit went to its spirit (of the pigs).' |         |         |                  |       |                  |            |         |        |
| (321) b.  | Tomi'   | na      | jami             | mijac | ma'              |            |         | quem.  |
|   |         |         | jami-0           |       |                  |            |         |        |
|   | speak   | 3s:rp/p | spirit-3n        | pig   | that:prox:hearer |            | ref     |        |
| 'The spirit of the pig also speaks.'  |         |         |                  |       |                  |            |         |        |
| (321) c.  | 'Ac     | 'i      | ma'              |       | 'iri'            | pane       |         | quem,  |
|   | like    | n       | that:prox:hearer |       | 1pincl:rp/p      | rem:past   | ref     |        |

‘We were like that long ago.’

- (321) d.      Outro      dia      para      ele      também,      então      morreu      de novo      ele  
                  other      day      to      him      also      then      he:died      again      he  
 também.  
 Espírito      dele      foi      para      espírito      dele  
 also      spirit      of:him      went      to      spirit      of:him  
 também.  
 also

‘Another day to him also, then died again he also. Spirit of him went to spirit of him also.’

## 1.5.2. Anaphora in various syntactic environments

### 1.5.2.1. Anaphora within the clause

(1) A VIC with its nominal antecedent

- (322)      Cao'      nonon      hwam      'oro      wari.'  
                       nana-on  
                  eat      3p:rp/p-3sm      fish      coll      person  
                  ‘The people ate the fish.’

(2) A possessive suffix or nominal inflectional clitic with its possessor

- (323) a.      xiricon      Xijam  
                  xiri-con  
                  house-3sm      m:name  
                  ‘Xijam’s house’

- (323) b.      ca      xain      nucun      hwam  
                  INFL:nrp/p      hot      poss:3sm      fish  
                  ‘the fish’s roastedness’

(3) A demonstrative pronoun with its nominal antecedent when used in ‘stumbling’ speech—see examples in (318)

### 1.5.2.2-3. Anaphora between coordinate and superordinate and subordinate clauses

All the means of expressing anaphora discussed in 1.5.1 can occur between coordinate structures and superordinate and subordinate clauses.

#### 1.5.2.4. Anaphora between subordinate clauses

There are no anaphoric relations between subordinate clauses. The antecedent of both (if expressed) is found in the superordinate clauses.

(324)	Mija	nana	hwijima'	co	xain	nana
	much	3p:rp/p	children	INFL:m/frp/p	hot	3p:rp/p
	co		hi		tamana	nana.
	INFL:m/frp/p		blow:nose		much	3p:rp/p

'There are many children who have fever, who have bad colds.' (lit. '...are blowing their noses a lot.')

#### 1.5.2.5. Anaphora between different sentences

All of the anaphora described in 1.5.1 can occur across sentence boundaries. The examples in (325) are taken from text. The clauses in (325a) occur as juxtaposed sentences; the antecedent of *pain* 'third person neuter preposition' (in the third sentence) is *mijac* 'pig' (in the first). In (325b), the first sentence precedes the second by eight sentences; the antecedent of the third person neuter suffix of *cwerein* 'its body' (in the second clause) is *mijac* 'pig' in the first.

(325)	Mija	na	mijac.	Xi'	napa'	xumu	pain
a.					na-pa'	ximi-u	
	much	3s:rp/p	pig	asphyxiated	3s:rp/p-1s	heart-1s	prep:3n
	ta.						
	emph						

'The pigs are too much. I can't breathe because of them.' (lit. '...My heart is asphyxiating me because of them.')

(325) b.	Tomi'	xin	mijac	ta...	'Om	ca
		xi'-in				
	speak	1pincl-3n:rf	pig	emph	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p
cao'	xo'		con		cwerein	quem.
			ca-on		cwere-in	
eat	correctly		3s-3sm		body-3n	ref

'We will talk about the pigs... He cannot eat its flesh.' (lit. '...He does not eat and its flesh (reacts) correctly to him.')

### 1.5.3. Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions do not exist.

## 1.6. REFLEXIVES

### 1.6.1. Means of expressing reflexivity

#### 1.6.1.1. Invariable reflexive person marking morphemes

Invariable reflexive person marking morphemes do not occur.

#### 1.6.1.2. Variable reflexive person marking morphemes

There is a set of reflexive verbal inflectional clitics that mark for person, number and third person gender. They do not mark for tense/mood. Like all other VICS, they immediately follow the verb. See the chart of VICS in 2.1.3.6.2.2, where we classify reflexives as belonging to the object nonactive set of VICS. Like other VICS, reflexives are not pronouns; they cannot replace nominals in the sentence. They can appear wherever Tense and Tenseless VICS can appear, in all sentence types; for example, in simple declarative sentences (326a), in COMP negative sentences (326b), and in verbalized comparative sentences (326c). Note that the inflection of the set of reflexive VICS is identical to that of *-xi'* nouns whose roots end with *e*—see 3.4.1.3. The complete paradigm of reflexive VICS is as follows:

first singular	<i>xije</i>
second singular	<i>xijem</i>
third singular masculine	<i>xucun</i>
third singular feminine	<i>xequem</i>
third neuter	<i>xijein</i>
first plural inclusive	<i>xijexi'</i>
first plural exclusive	<i>xujuxut</i>
second plural	<i>xujuhu'</i>
third plural masculine	<i>xucucun</i>
third plural feminine	<i>xeququem</i>

(326) a.	Wac	xucun	pije'.
	cut	refl:3sm	child
	'The child cut himself.'		

(326) b.	'Om	ca	wac	xucun	pije'.
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	cut	refl:3sm	child
	'The child did not cut himself.'				

(326) c.	'Ac	ca	wac	xucun	na	pije'.
	like	INFL:nrp/p	cut	refl:3sm	3s:rp/p	child

'It seems like the child cut himself.'

The plural forms of reflexive VICS can receive a reciprocal gloss.

- (327)      Wac                      xucucun                      hwijima'.  
                  cut                      refl:3pm                      children  
                  'The children cut themselves.'/'The children cut each other.'

### 1.6.2. Scope of reflexivity

As with all VICS, the antecedent of the reflexive element does not have to be in the same clause. It can occur in the same clause with the reflexive element, or in another clause.

- (328) a.      Wac      xucun      pije'      ma'.                      Mija      na      ca  
                  cut      refl:3sm      child      that:prox:hearer      much      3s:rp/p      INFL:nrp/p  
 waraju                      xucun                      pain                      quit.  
 play                      refl:3sm                      prep:3n                      knife

'The child cut himself. He was very careless with himself with the knife.' (lit. '...It was much that he played with himself with the knife.')

- (328) b.      Mo                      ta                      querec      te                      tamana      cam                      manacon  
    ca-m                      mana-con  
                  conditional      INFL:rf      see      father:1s      much      3sm-3sf      wife-3sm  
 wari'.      'Om                      ta                      noc                      pan      xucun                      quem      ta  
 person      not:exist      INFL:rf      dislike      emph      refl:3sm      ref      emph  
 napari'.  
 na-pari'  
 3s:rp/p-1pincl

'"If a person is very happy with his wife. He will not dislike himself", he (says) to us.'

### 1.6.3. Syntactic functions relating to reflexives

The only possible syntactic function of the antecedent is subject.

- (329)                      To'                      xucun                      pije'.  
                                  hit                      refl:3sm                      child  
                                  'The child hit himself.'

The reflexive VIC can mark the direct object (patient/theme) (330a) and indirect object (goal/benefactive) (330b).

- (330) a.                      Wac                      xijem                      pain                      quit?

	cut	refl:2s	prep:3n	knife	
	'Did you cut yourself with a knife?'				
(330) b.	Quep	mi'	xije	pain	temem'.
	do	give	refl:1s	prep:3n	bow
	'I did (made) myself a bow.' (lit. 'I did and gave myself a bow.')				

#### 1.6.4. Position of reflexive within clause

See 1.6.2.

#### 1.6.5. Relations between antecedent and reflexive

See 1.6.2.

#### 1.6.6. Reflexive relations in nominalized clauses

Reflexive relations may not occur in nominalized clauses without any deviations.

#### 1.6.7. Reflexive relations in noun phrases

Reflexives do not occur in noun phrases.

#### 1.6.8. Reflexives without overt antecedents

Reflexive VICS may occur without overt antecedents, but the antecedent must be recoverable in the context. See 1.6.2.

#### 1.6.9. Other uses of reflexive forms

The plural forms of reflexive indicators also express the reciprocal relation. See 1.7.

### 1.7. RECIPROCAL

#### 1.7.1. Means of expressing reciprocity

The reciprocal relation, as noted in the preceding section, is expressed by the plural forms of the reflexive VICS. The use of the reflexive VICS is described in 1.6.

(331) a.	To'	xucucun	hwijima'.
	hit	refl:3pm	children



'The children hit each other (or themselves).'

- (331) b.
- |  |  |       |          |
|--|--|-------|----------|
|  | Para   | mana' | xujuhu'? |
|  | therefore  | angry | refl:2p  |
|  | 'Why are you angry with each other (or yourselves)?' |       |          |

The postverbal modifier *caracan* ‘each other’ is often used in conjunction with the reflexive (reciprocal) VICS to explicitly express reciprocity.

- (332) Mana' caracan xequequem.  
angry each:other refl:3pf  
'They are angry with each other.'

Reciprocals, reflexives, and passive constructions all share a common discourse function—they reduce the topicality difference between the agent-as-subject and the object-as-patient (goal, theme, etc.). The passive (see 2.1.3.1.1) does this by promoting the agreement expressed as an object in the active construction to the subject of the passive. The agent is removed, i.e. is not expressed overtly, in a passive clause. Reciprocals and reflexives reduce the topicality of the agent-as-subject by equating agent with the object upon which it acts in the VIC. That is, a reflexive/reciprocal VIC eliminates the subject-object distinction by failing (like the passive, but unlike the active) to distinguish between subject and object in agreement. Since 'ON lacks case marking and only distinguishes between subject and (primary) object via the VIC (other objects are marked by the preposition), obliteration of any subject-object VIC distinction effectively means that subject=object topically and semantically. This in effect increases the relative prominence of nonsubject arguments. So for example, in (333), the duck referenced by *con* 'prep:3sm' is the topic of the paragraph from which (333) was taken. In the (embedded) clause in which it occurs, there is no distinctive reference to the subject, only the reflexive VIC.

- |        |      |          |          |       |      |       |          |        |       |
|--------|------|----------|----------|-------|------|-------|----------|--------|-------|
| (333)  | Mi'  | ne       | con,     | wina  | pan  | ta'   | na       | Maxun. | 'Awin |
|        | give | 2s:1s:rf | prep:3sm | raise | emph | 1s:rf | 3s:rp/p  | m:name | take  |
| ca'    |      |          | xucucun  |       |      |       | con.     |        |       |
| this:n |      |          | refl:3pm |       |      |       | prep:3sm |        |       |

“‘Give it to me, I will raise (it)”, (said) Maxun. He took it from him.’ (lit. ‘...they took it from each other.’)

In (334), dead people cannot be agents and so dead people cannot be expressed in the most highly topical agent-as-subject form. But the reciprocal translation ('they did not eat each other') obliterates the syntactic distinction between subject (the ones doing the eating) and the object (the dead people). The use of reflexive/reciprocal here promotes 'dead people' to the role of grammatical actor, indicating that it is in focus. (334) is from a report of several deaths during the initial contact with non-Indian society. Note the use

of the third person neuter reflexive in the third clause; the gender of *homacacam* 'their fat' is neuter (the Wari' people used to eat their dead):

(334)	Caraho'	caraho'	pin	'e'	ma'		xucucun
	burn:p	burn:p	completely	only	that:prox:hearer		refl:3pm
ta	wa.	Cao'	'ara	xucucun.	Waraju	waraju	xijein
emph	emph	eat	neg:p	refl:3pm	play	play	refl:3n
homacacam		homari	ta	we.			
homa-cacam							
fat-3pf		emph	emph	elder:sister:1s			

'They (the people) just burned them (the dead ones). They did not eat them. They just wasted their fat, sister.' (lit. 'They just burned each other up. They did not eat each other. Their fat just played with itself, sister.')

(335) is from the story of a man who was carried off by a tapir. When he timidly returned to the edge of the village clearing, the villagers crept up on him to catch him. The man is the topic of the paragraph.

(335)	Je	win	mo'o	ta'	ca	'ira.
	emph:3n	same	run:s	lead	1s:rf	3sm prog:past
'Ao,				quep	xucucun.	
sound:of:creeping				touch	refl:3pm	

'He (the man) was just about ready to run. He (the villager) sneaked up on him and caught him.' (lit. '...they caught each other.')

## 1.8. COMPARISON

### 1.8.1. Means of expressing comparison

There are three ways in which comparison can be expressed (see also 2.1.4.4–5):

(1) By juxtaposed positive/negative sentences

(336) a.	Cut	tamana	main.	'Om	ca	cut	homa
			ma-in				
	take:p	much	2s:rp/p-3n	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	take:p	much
	tain.						
	ta'-in						
	1s-3n						

'You took more than I did.' (lit. 'You took a lot. I did not take much.')

- (336) b. 'Amon mixem na womu cwa'. 'Om ca  
womi-u  
dim black 3s:rp/p cotton-1s this:m/f not:exist INFL:nrp/p  
mixem homa ca womum.  
womi-um  
black much 3sm cotton-2s  
'My clothes are darker than yours.' (lit. 'My clothes are a little black. Your clothes are not very black.')

(2) By juxtaposed positive/positive sentences, the second showing a greater degree or emphasis in the VP

- (337) 'Awi piye' na cona. 'Awi tamana pan na  
cona-0  
good child 3s:rp/p arrow-1s good much emph 3s:rp/p  
conacon 'aji'.  
cona-con  
arrow-3sm elder:brother:1s  
'My older brother's arrow is better than mine.' (lit. 'My arrow is a little good. My older brother's arrow is very good.')

(3) By certain verb compounds

Such verbs as *tiquin' mao* 'to continue on', *tiquin' ca* 'to pass up', *juc 'in pin* 'to push away', and the preverbal modifier *'amon* 'diminutive', all help express the notion of comparative. Sentences using these verbs and preverbal modifier are still often accompanied by the juxtaposition of similar or contrasting sentences. See (336b) for an example of the preverbal modifier *'amon* expressing comparison.

- (338) a. Horon na Tocwan'. Horon na Xijam quem, ca'  
big:p 3s:rp/p m:name big:p 3s:rp/p m:name ref this:n  
na. Tiquin' mao na cawaxi' nucun Xijam.  
3s:rp/p continue go:s 3s:rp/p dry:season poss:3sm m:name  
'Xijam is older than Tocwan'.' (lit. 'Tocwan' is old. Xijam is also old, thus it is. The dry seasons of Xijam have continued on.')

- (338) b. Hwara' pin na cawinam. 'Om  
cawina-m  
big:s completely 3s:rp/p son-2s not:exist  
ca hwara' homa ca cawiji cwa'. Juc 'in

INFL:nrp/p	big:s	much	3sm	son:1s	this:m/f	push	return
pin	non		cawiji	cawinam	ma'.		
	na-on			cawina-m			
completely	3s:rp/p-3sm		son:1s	son-2s	that:prox:hearer		
'Your son is bigger than my son.' (lit. 'Your son is big. My son is not very big. Your son has pushed my son away.')							
(338)	Taxi'	tiquin'	ca'	mon	pain	Jimain To.	
c.							
				ma-on			
know	continue	this:n	2s:rp/p-3sm	prep:3n	m:name		
'You know more than Jimain To.' (lit. 'You have known and passed up Jimain To regarding it.')							

#### 1.8.2-4. Omission of elements under identity

Where comparison is expressed by juxtaposing similar or contrasting sentences, the elements of the first sentence are always repeated (with appropriate inflectional changes) in the second sentence.

#### 1.8.5. Types of comparative structures

'ON only has the types of comparative structures described in 1.8.1 and 1.8.6.

#### 1.8.6. Correlative comparison

Correlative comparison is expressed by repetition and the juxtaposition of contrasting sentences. The following example is a passage taken from a legend about the birth of the sun. The top of the child's head was the sun. As he grew, the sun produced more and more light, until there was plenty of sunlight ('the more he grew, the brighter it got'). Note the use of repetition in the first three clauses, and particularly the repetitive use of comparative sentences in the fourth to the seventh clauses (first the child's growth, then the sun's growth), to express the progressive action of the steadily increasing growth and light.

(339)	'Am	xec	pin	ta'	na.	'Am	xec	pin
	finally:s	day	completely	1s:rf	3s:rp/p	finally:s	day	completely
	ta'	na.	Quimacam	jicon		ma',		
			quima-cam	xi-con				
	1s:rf	3s:rp/p	chest-3sf	mother-3sm		that:prox:hearer		
	quimacam	jicon		ma'		'ari		na.

quima-cam		xi-con						
chest-3sf		mother-3sm		that:prox:hearer		sufficiently		3s:rp/p
Hwara'	hwara'	qui'		ca.		Ca		hwara'
big:s	big:s	coming:this:way		3sm		INFL:nrp/p		big:s
hwara'	ne.	Ca	hwara'	hwara'	ca.	Ca	hwara'	
big:s	3n	INFL:nrp/p	big:s	big:s	3sm	INFL:nrp/p	big:s	
hwara'	ne.	Xec	pin	'ari.		Je		
big:s	3n	day	completely	sufficiently		emph:3n		
ma'.								
that:prox:hearer								

'It started getting light in front of his mother (lit. around his mother's chest). (The light from the sun) grew great. (The more the top of his head) grew, the greater (the light of the sun) grew, until it was completely daylight. That's it.'  
 (lit. 'It finally (said) "I will be day". It finally (said), "I will be day." His mother's chest, it was sufficient at his mother's chest. (The sunlight) grew greater. As (the top of his head) grew. As (the sunlight) grew. As (the top of his head) grew. It became completely and sufficiently day. That's it.')

## 1.9. EQUATIVE

### 1.9.1. Means of expressing equative

There are two ways in which equative can be expressed (see also 2.1.4.4).

(1) By the use of constructions employing the verb 'ac 'like' This can happen in four ways.

(i) 'Ac can occur as the leftmost member of a verb compound with a denominalized verb.

(340) a.	'Ac	pana	na.
	like	tree	3s:rp/p
	'It is like a tree.'		
(340) b.	'Ac	Xijam	na.
	like	m:name	3s:rp/p
	'He is like Xijam.' or 'It looks like Xijam.'		

(ii) 'Ac can occur as the leftmost member of a verb compound with an emphatic pronoun.

(341) a.	'Ac	je	na.
	like	emph:3n	3s:rp/p

'It looks like that.'

- (341) b. 'Ac je 'ac je 'ari na xirim.  
 like emph:3n like emph:3n sufficiently 3s:rp/p house  
 'The houses look alike (sufficiently like that (neuter)).'

- (341) c. 'Ac wiricam 'ac wiricam 'ari nana.  
 like emph:3sf like emph:3sf sufficiently 3p:rp/p  
 'They look alike (sufficiently like them (f)).'

(iii) 'Ac can occur as the only component of the verb stem.

- (342) 'Ac 'iri ca'?  
 like 1pincl:rp/p this:n  
 'Is this all of us?' (lit. 'Are we like this?')

(iv) 'Ac can appear as an operator word in a COMP verbalized comparative sentence—see 1.1.1.4.3.3.6.

- (343) 'Ac ca mama' cacama na.  
 like INFL:nrp/p go:p 3pf 3s:rp/p  
 'It looks like they have gone.'

(2) By juxtaposed positive/positive sentences

Such sentences are often followed by the VP *ca' na* 'thus it is/was', which is a way of expressing 'and'-coordination—see 1.3.1.1.

- (344) Hwara' na Xijam. Hwara' na 'Orowao' quem  
 big:s 3s:rp/p m:name big:s 3s:rp/p m:name ref  
 ca' na.  
 this:n 3s:rp/p  
 'Xijam is as big as 'Orowao'.' (lit. 'Xijam is big. 'Orowao' is also big, thus it is.')

## 1.10. POSSESSION

### 1.10.1. Sentences expressing possession

Possession is expressed by the use of two verbs: *ma'* 'to exist', and *'om* 'to not exist'. Although these verbs are similar to English *have* and *have not*, they differ in the

grammatical relations assigned to possessor and possessed NPS. In 'ON, the possessor is expressed as an (oblique) object.

- (345) a.        Ma'                      napa'                      xirim.  
    na-pa'  
                  exist                      3s:rp/p-1s                      house  
                  'I have a house.' (lit. 'A house exists to me.')
- (345) b.        'Om                      nem                      wom.  
    na-em  
                  not:exist                      3s:rp/p-2s                      cotton  
                  'You do not have a dress.' (lit. 'A dress does not exist to you.')

When third person NP objects are overtly expressed in sentences in which *ma'* 'to exist' or *'om* 'to not exist' appear as the verb, a deviation of the normal vos pattern of the language usually occurs: the overtly expressed subject usually precedes the object. In the following pairs of examples (a), with a vso order, is preferred to (b), which has a vos order.

- (346) a.        Ma'                      non                      xirim                      Xijam.  
    na-on  
                  exist                      3s:rp/p-3sm                      house                      m:name  
                  'Xijam has a house.' (lit. 'A house exists to Xijam.')
- (346) b.        ?Ma'                      non                      Xijam                      xirim.  
    na-on  
                  exist                      3s:rp/p-3sm                      m:name                      house  
                  'Xijam has a house.' (lit. 'A house exists to Xijam.')
- (347) a.        'Om                      nam                      wom                      Hatem.  
    na-m  
                  not:exist                      3s:rp/p-3sf                      cotton                      f:name  
                  'Hatem has no clothes.' (lit. 'Clothes do not exist to Hatem.')
- (347) b.        ?'Om                      nam                      Hatem                      wom.  
    na-m  
                  not:exist                      3s:rp/p-3sf                      f:name                      cotton  
                  'Hatem has no clothes.' (lit. 'Clothes do not exist to Hatem.')

See 1.2.5.2.3, where the structure of possessed NPS is discussed and illustrated, and 2.1.1.4.6, where the means of expressing possession in NPS is discussed and illustrated.

### 1.10.2. Alienable and inalienable possession

See 2.1.1.4.6.1.





(351) b.	'Ac	'i	ma'	jein	pain	ma'
				je-in		
	like	n	that:prox:hearer	2p:rf-3n	prep:3n	that:prox:header
	ron		'e'.			
	ra-on					
	2s:rf-3sm	emph				
	'Do it like that!' (spoken to a male audience by a woman)					

## (3) By the use of the emphatic verbalized sentence described in 1.1.1.4.3.3.4

The effect of the emphatic sentence, after having made the statement, is understood as ‘...and you better believe it’, or ‘You can say that again’, where the hearers seem to be invited to agree with the statement evoking emphasis.

- (352) Mija        na                na                ma'                                hwe                xi'.  
much        3s:rp/p        consent        that:prox:header                2p:rp/p        dub  
‘It is really too much!’ (lit. “‘It is a lot consenting”, (I) suppose you (p) (are saying).’)

1.11.1.1.2. *Noncontradictory sentence emphasis not involving direct address*

## (1) By the use of emphatic phrases

The use of some sentence-final emphatic phrases causes certain morphological changes in the sentence: *ca'/ma' quira* and *ca'/ma' 'ira*, consisting of a demonstrative followed by an emphatic morpheme, require the use of Tenseless VICS in the VP. *Ca'/ma' quira* and *ca'/ma' 'ira* can be spoken by both men and women.

- (353) a.                Maqui'                cama                ca'                quira.  
                             come                3sf                this:n                emph  
                             ‘She certainly did come!’
- (353) b.                'Awi                ne                ma'                                ira.  
                             good                3n                that:porx:header                emph  
                             ‘It’s really good!’

## (2) By the use of sentence-final emphatic morphemes

There are some restrictions in the use of sentence final emphatic morphemes: *wira* and *nowa* are used only by men speakers (354a–b); *cama/ camara* and *je* are used only by women speakers (354c–d); (*cama* is used when addressing one woman; *tacamara* is used when addressing more than one woman); and *wa* (354e) may be used by both men and women speakers, although usually only men use it.

- (354) a.                Mi'                pin                                xita'                quem                nowa.  
                             give                completely                1s:irr                ref                emph  
                             ‘I would have died!’ (spoken by a man)

- (354) Mon                xuc                toc                tarama'                'ina                tawi                pa'ao'  
b.  
                             slowly:s                squeeze                drink                man                1s:rp/p                honey                afterwards  
                             ta                wira.  
                             emph                emph

‘I stayed behind (as a man alone), preparing the honey (lit. squeezing it out) and drinking it!’ (spoken by a man)

(354) c. Tomi' mi' ne cam jim 'e' cama.  
xi-m

speak give 2s:1s:rf prep:3sf mother-2s emph emph

'Speak to your mother for me!' (lit. 'Speak and give me your mother.') (spoken by a woman)

(354) d. Mija 'ina ta je.  
much 1s:rp/p emph emph

'I'm really in a bad way.' (spoken by a woman)

(354) e. Caxi 'ina ta wa.  
sick 1s:rp/p emph emph

'I am really sick!' (spoken by a man or woman)

There are no restrictions on the use of *me* or *ta*, nor the isolated use of *'e'* (see, however, the discussion preceding the examples in 1.11.1.1.1(2) above, where *ron/ram 'e'* is spoken only by women). See 1.1.1.3.1, where most of these emphatic morphemes are discussed in relation to imperatives.

(355) a. Xat to ho' jujun hwijima' 'e'.  
je-ocon

stand:s be:at:p now 2p:rf-3pm children emph

'Wait for the children!' (spoken by a man or woman)

(355) b. Caxi napa' me.  
na-pa'

sick 3s:rp/p-1s emph

'It hurts me!'

(355) c. Pe' 'unit ta!  
hungry 1pexcl:rp/p emph

'We're hungry!'

Combinations of these emphatic morphemes are possible, though no more than two at a time, and in the following order: *e'* or *me*; *ta*; *wira*, *nowa*, *wa*, *cama/carama*, or *je*. In addition to the examples below, see the examples in (354b–e).

(356) a. Mo 'o jujun 'Oro 'Eo ma' me  
je-ocon

run:s lead 2p:rf-3pm subgroup:name that:prox:header emph

ta.

emph

'Go bring the 'Oro 'Eo people!'

- (356) b.           Ja'                   xi'                                   com                   'e'                   ta.  
                   splash               1pincl:rf                   water               emph               emph  
                   'We will splash water (take a bath)!'

- (356) c.       'Oc           rain                   xijein                                   taraxicon               me               wira.  
                           ra-in                   xije-in                                   taraji-con  
                   stitch       2s:rf-3n       otherness-3n       ear-3sm       emph       emph  
                   'You pierce his other ear!'

*Wa* (spoken by men and women) and *je* (spoken by women) seem to be derived from the interjections *howa* (spoken by men) and *hije* (spoken by women). It is interesting to note that *howa* also functions as a verb, meaning 'to believe'.

(3) By the use of double negation

See 1.4.3 for a complete description and examples of the use of double negatives to express a strong, emphasized positive.

(4) By the use of the desiderative verbalized sentence described in 1.1.1.4.3.3.2

- (357) Quep       quep       'a           xirapa'               na               'inam       cam       cwa'  
   xira-pa'                                   'ina-m  
                   do       do       neg:s       3s:irr-1s       consent       1s:rp/p-3sf f       this:m/f  
                   me.  
                   emph

'She's touching me!' (lit. "'She should not do me consenting", I (say) of this feminine one.')

(5) By the combined use of *xi'* 'dubitative', Tenseless VICs and certain sentence-final spatial/temporal morphemes (*ca'* 'this neuter proximate to speaker', *ma'* 'that proximate to hearer', *ne* 'recent past' or *pane* 'remote past')

Although *xi'* expresses doubt or supposition in the emphatic verbalized sentence given in (352) above, it seems to express certainty in its use here. This means of expressing emphasis is used mainly as a supportive commentary on what has already been said, either by the same speaker or another speaker. It also seems to be a device used when there has been a diversion, to bring the hearers back to the subject at hand.

- (358) a.                                   'Awī                                   xi'                                   ne                                   ca'  
    good                                   dub                                   3n                                   this:n  
    'It certainly is good.'

- (358) b.           Xain                   xi'                                   ca                                   pane.  
                   hot                   dub                                   3sm                                   rem:past  
                   'He certainly did have a fever.'

(6) By repetition of the sentence

In this case the first word of each sentence is often spoken with high intonation and exaggeratedly lengthened vowel (359a). Sometimes the 'repetition' is expressed in contrasting sentences, as in (359b). We mention this here, because this phenomenon shares with repetition the function of building redundancy into the text.

- (359) a. 'Om ca 'awi ca, 'om ca 'awi ca.  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p good 3sm not:exist INFL:nrp/p good 3sm  
 'He is no good at all!  
 ('Ooooooooooom ca'awi ca, 'oooooooooom ca awi ca.)
- (359) b. 'Oin' xam' pin nanain. Pije' ca' na  
 nana-in  
 plant all:of:it completely 3p:rp/p-3n child this:n 3 s:rp/p  
 xitot. 'Om ca hwara' ne xitot  
 garden not:exist INFL:nrp/p big:s 3n garden  
 ma'. Pije' ca' na.  
 that:prox:hearer child this:n 3 s:rp/p  
 'They planted all of it. It was a small garden. It wasn't a large garden. It was small.'

#### 1.11.1.2. Contradictory sentence emphasis

The principal characteristic of contradictory sentence emphasis is high intonation, sustained throughout the sentence. This intonation pattern can be applied to any sentence type.

- (360) a. 'Awī xī' na!  
 good dub 3s:rp/p  
 'It's no good!'
- (360) b. Mao na!  
 go:s 3sr:rp/p  
 'He went!'

- (360) c. Xi ma' ne taraxicon!  
 INFL:irr Exist 3n ear-3sm  
 'It's because he doesn't listen.' (lit. 'If his ear existed.')

#### 1.11.2. Constituent emphasis

##### 1.11.2.1. Means of expressing constituent emphasis

#### 1.11.2.1.1. *Emphasis by stress*

Constituent emphasis may only occur on verb stems and nouns of the sentence. It is commonly expressed by increased intensity and higher pitch on the stressed syllable of the constituent marked by [¹] in the examples below. Emphasis by stress is not permitted on VICS. Note the ungrammatical example in (361c). Such emphasis must be expressed by either the emphatic postverbal modifier *pan*, described in 1.11.2.1.2, or by the movement of the emphasized element to the beginning of the sentence as an emphatic pronoun, as described in 1.11.2.1.3.

- |          |                               |                  |                  |
|----------|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (361) a. | <sup>1</sup> To'              | 'ina             | xe.              |
|          | hit                           | 1s:rp/p          | fire/firewood    |
|          | 'I <i>chopped</i> firewood.'  |                  |                  |
| (361) b. | To'                           | 'ina             | <sup>1</sup> xe. |
|          | hit                           | 1s:rp/p          | fire/firewood    |
|          | 'I chopped <i>firewood</i> .' |                  |                  |
| (361) c. | *To'                          | <sup>1</sup> ina | xe.              |
|          | hit                           | 1s:rp/p          | fire/firewood    |
|          | 'I chopped firewood.'         |                  |                  |

#### 1.11.2.1.2. *Emphatic verbal modifier*

The postverbal modifier *pan* indicates emphasis on the subject. There is not normally any undue change of stress or pitch on the subject when *pan* is used. The function of *pan* is to clarify the identity of the subject in a particular context. In the following example, it was not clear from the preceding context for all the interlocutors, who had danced.

- (362)
- |                               |      |         |           |
|-------------------------------|------|---------|-----------|
| Pi'                           | pan  | nana    | hwijima'. |
| dance                         | emph | 3p:rp/p | children  |
| 'The <i>children</i> danced.' |      |         |           |

*Pan* also has a potentially related meaning, which includes the notion of ‘now’, ‘at the moment’, or ‘for the time being’. It seems to ask for clarification about location (363a) or give clarifying information about location (363b).

- |          |  |            |                   |                 |       |
|----------|--|------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------|
| (363) a. | Main<br>ma'-in                                 | ca         | to                | pan             | caca? |
|          | that:prox:hearer-n                             | INFL:nrp/p | be:at:p           | emph            | 3pm   |
|          | 'Where are they (staying) for the time being?' |            |                   |                 |       |
| (363) b. | To   | pan        | nanain<br>nana-in | xuru.<br>xiri-u |       |
|          | be:at:p  | emph       | 3p:rp/p-3n        | house-1s        |       |

'They are (staying) at my house for the time being.'

#### 1.11.2.1.3. *Emphasis by movement*

Subjects and objects occur postverbally in all regular clauses, and movement within the clause is rare. There is, however, a means of expressing emphasis on the subject or object by the use of emphatic pronouns followed by relative clauses. The emphasized element occurs in (or 'is moved to') initial position in the sentence, i.e. COMP, as in (364).

When the emphasized element is the subject, it is also expressed anaphorically in the VIC of the relative clause (364b). The effect of this sentence type is equivalent to clefting in English. Note that the example in (364a) is, in fact, a kind of copular sentence—see 1.2.1.1.

- |          |                                  |                  |              |                 |         |          |
|----------|----------------------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------|----------|
| (364) a. | Je                               | 'i ma'           | ca           | tomi'<br>ta'-em | xim     | ne.      |
|          | emph:3n n                        | that:prox:hearer | INFL:nrp/p   | speak           | 1s-2s   | rec:past |
|          | 'That is what I told you.'       |                  |              |                 |         |          |
| (364) b. | Wirico                           | Xijam            | co           | 'oin'           | na      | mapac    |
|          | emph:3sm                         | m:name           | INFL:m/frp/p | plant           | 3s:rp/p | corn     |
|          | 'It was Xijam who planted corn.' |                  |              |                 |         |          |

Alternatively, an emphatic pronoun with or without an appositional NP (noun or demonstrative pronoun) can be verbalized and followed by a headless relative clause, as in (365a–d). A COMP phrase headed by *je* can never be followed by a VIC however (365e). We have no other account for this fact, except to speculate that, although *je* may occur as the rightmost member of a verb compound (365f), it may not be verbalized in a COMP phrase.

- |          |  |              |              |              |       |          |
|----------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------|----------|
| (365) a. | Wirico                                   | (Xijam)      | na           | co           | 'oin' | na       |
|          | emph:3sm                                 | (m:name)     | 3s:rp/p      | INFL:m/frp/p | plant | 3 sr:p/p |
|          | mapac.                                   |              |              |              |       |          |
|          | corn                                     |              |              |              |       |          |
|          | 'It was Xijam himself who planted corn.' |              |              |              |       |          |
| (365) b. | Wirico                                   | (co cwa')    | na           | co           | 'oin' | na       |
|          | emph:3sm                                 | (m this:m/f) | 3s:rp/p      | INFL:m/frp/p | plant | 3s:rp/p  |
|          | mapac.                                   |              |              |              |       |          |
|          | corn                                     |              |              |              |       |          |
|          | 'It was Xijam himself who planted corn.' |              |              |              |       |          |
| (365) c. | Wata'                                    | tara         | co           |              | tomi' | na.      |
|          | emph:1s                                  | 3s:rf        | INFL:m/frp/p |              | speak | 3s:rp/p  |

‘It shall be I who speaks.’

- (365) d. Wiricacam xira co mana' wa.  
 emph:1s 3s:irr INFL:m/frp/p angry inf  
 ‘It should have been they with whom one is angry.’ (lit. ‘It should be they (with) whom (being) angry.’)
- (365) e. \*Je 'i ma' na ca tomi' xim  
 ta'-em  
 emph:3n n that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p speak 1s-2s  
 ne.  
 rec:past  
 ‘That is what I told you.’
- (365) f. 'Ac je na.  
 like emph:3n 3s:rp/p  
 ‘It is like that.’

#### 1.11.2.1.4–6. *Emphasis by clefting, pseudoclefting and dislocation*

See 1.11.2.1.3 and 1.11.2.2.3.

#### 1.11.2.1.7. *Emphasis by repetition*

Just as sentence emphasis can be expressed by repetition, so emphasis of the verb can be expressed by repetition. This may be in the form of reduplication of a syllable of the verb (366a), reduplication of a verb root (366b), reduplication of part or all of a compound verb stem (366c–d), or reduplication of the entire verb+VIC (366e). Reduplication of a syllable of a verb derives plural and intensive meaning from singular, simple verbs (see 2.2.4 and 3.4.7).

- (366) a. Cacacao' 'ac cacama na.  
 eat:p travel 3pf 3s:rp/p  
 ‘(Then) it (was that) they ate (and they really ate).’
- (366) b. 'Aca 'aca 'inam na' pahu' ta we.  
 'ina-m  
 cry:s cry:s 1s:rp/p-3sf mother.1s prep:2p emph elder:sister:1s  
 ‘I really cried for my mother because of you (p), auntie (lit. older sister).’
- (366) c. Pi' pi' pi' pin nana ta na'.  
 finish finish finish completely 3p:rp/p emph mother:1s  
 ‘They are all gone, auntie (lit. mother).’



- (366) d. Momon 'aca 'aca momon 'aca 'aca ma'  
 slowly:p cry:s cry:s slowly:p cry:s cry:s that:prox:hearer  
 na ta.  
 3s:rp/p emph  
 'He really cried a long time.'
- (366) e. Xirac 'a xirara xirac 'a xirara win ma' hwe  
 magical neg:s 3p:irr magical neg:s 3p:irr same exist 2p  
 ta!  
 emph.  
 'Your countrymen are terribly magical!'

#### 1.11.2.1.8. Combination of ways of expressing constituent emphasis

Increased loudness and higher pitch on the emphasized constituent, the emphatic postverbal modifier *pan*, emphatic pronouns followed by relative clauses, and verbal reduplication may all be combined to express constituent emphasis.

- (367) Wiricoco 'oro wari' co jin' tamana jin'  
 emph:3pm coll person INFL:m/frp/p afraid much afraid  
 tamana pan nana pane.  
 much emph 3p:rp/p rem:past  
 'The *people* were the ones who were very much afraid long ago.'

#### 1.11.2.2. Elements which may be emphasized

##### 1.11.2.2.1. Noun phrases

Any NP may be emphasized by increased loudness and higher pitch on the head of the phrase. NPS in the subject or object position of the sentence may be emphasized by the postverbal modifier *pan*. If emphasis is desired on both subject and object simultaneously, the subject will be marked by *pan* and the object by increased loudness and pitch. NPS may also be emphasized by co-occurrence with emphatic pronouns preceding a relative clause. See 1.11.2.1.1–3.

##### 1.11.2.2.2. Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers do not occur. This notion is expressed by verbal modifiers (see 1.2.1.3).

### 1.11.2.2.3. Verbs

Verbs may be emphasized by reduplication, as described in 1.11.2.1.7.

#### 1.11.2.2.4. Verbal modifiers

We have only one example of a verbal modifier that is emphasized by means of reduplication (as part of a compound verb) (368a). Other preverbal modifiers and all postverbal modifiers can only be emphasized by repeating the entire compounded verb (368b–c).

- |          |  |           |          |          |            |       |                  |          |
|----------|--|-----------|----------|----------|------------|-------|------------------|----------|
| (368) a. | 'Aram                                  | aram      | maqui'   | ma       | ra?        |       |                  |          |
|          | finally:p                              | finally:p | come     | 2s       | 2s:rf      |       |                  |          |
|          | 'You <i>finally</i> came, didn't you?' |           |          |          |            |       |                  |          |
| (368) b. | Momon                                  | 'aca      | 'aca     | momon    | 'aca       | 'aca  | ma'              |          |
|          | slowly:p                               | cry:s     | cry:s    | slowly:p | cry:s      | cry:s | that:prox:hearer |          |
|          | na                                     | ta.       |          |          |            |       |                  |          |
|          | 3s:rp/p                                | emph      |          |          |            |       |                  |          |
|          | 'He really cried a long time.'         |           |          |          |            |       |                  |          |
| (368) c. | Tan'                                   | mama'     | tan'     | mama'    | nanain     |       | xirim            | pane.    |
|          |  |           |          |          | nana-in    |       |                  |          |
|          | arrive:p                               | go:p      | arrive:p | go:p     | 3p:rp/p-3n |       | house            | rem:past |
|          | 'They arrived home.'                   |           |          |          |            |       |                  |          |

### 1.11.2.3. Movement of emphasized elements

Where movement is involved (see 1.11.2.1.3), nothing is left behind when the emphasized element is the object of the verb (not even a VIC reference); the subject is anaphorically marked in the VIC. Passivization of the construction prior to left dislocation can only be done by *wa* ‘infinitive’, as in (370), not the normal passive VIC. The only elements which can be left dislocated are those which could be referenced on the VIC, as per our discussion in 1.2.1.2.3. However, only subjects can be referenced in the VIC after left dislocation; objects may never be.

### Emphasized subject

- (369) a. Wiricam co mi' napa' pain.  
na-pa'

emph:3sf INFL:m/frp/p give 3s:rp/p-1s prep:3n  
 'She was the one who gave it to me.'

- (369) b. Wiricoco co to' i'ina nanapa'.  
 nana-pa'  
 emph:3pm INFL:m/frp/p hit difficult 3p:rp/p-1s  
 'They are the ones who cause me difficulty.'

## Emphasized object

- (370) a. Wiricacam xira co mana' wa.  
 emph:3pf 3s:irr INFL:m/frp/p angry inf  
 'It should have been they with whom one is angry.' (lit. 'It is they (with) whom (being) angry')
- (370) b. \*Wiricacam xira co mana' tata.  
 emph:3pf 3s:irr INFL:m/frp/p angry pass:3p  
 'It should have been they who was angered at.'
- (371) a. Wirico co tomi' ha' tamana caca  
 emph:3sm INFL:m/frp/p speak pay:attention much 3pm  
 ma'.  
 that:prox:hearer  
 'He is the one whom they obey a lot.'
- (371) b. \*Wirico co tomi' ha' tamana  
 emph:3sm INFL:m/frp/p speak pay:attention much  
 cocon ma'.  
 caca-on  
 3pm -3sm that:prox:hearer  
 'He is the one whom they obey him.'
- (372) a. Je 'i ma' ca tomi' xim.  
 ta'-em  
 emph:3n n that:prox:hearer INFL:nrp/p speak 1s-2s  
 'That is what I told you.'
- (372) b. \*Je 'i ma' ca tomi' xim  
 ta'-em pain  
 emph:3n n that:prox:hearer INFL:nrp/p speak 1s-2s prep:3n  
 ne.

rec:past

‘That is what I told it to you.’

### 1.11.3. The focus of yes-no questions

The focus of neutral yes-no questions is marked by increased loudness and higher pitch on the stressed syllable of the element in focus (see 1.11.2.1.1). The focus of leading yes-no questions is marked by the use of second person realis future VICS (see 1.1.1.2.1.2), where a positive question expects a negative answer, and vice versa. Only the subject can be focused in this manner. So in (373a), for example, *ron* indicates that the focus is on Xijam, and in (373b), *ram* indicates that the focus is on third person singular feminine.

(373) a.	A:	'Om	ca	cao'	con	hwam	ron
					ca-on		ra-on
		not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	eat	3sm-3sm	fish	2s:rf-3sm
		Xijam?					

m:name

‘Didn’t Xijam eat the fish?’

B: Cao' non ta.

na-on

eat                      3s:rp/p-3sm                      emph

‘He ate it.’

(373) b.

A:	Mana'	na	ram?
			ra-m
	angry	3s:rp/p	2s:rf-3sf
	'Is she angry?'		

B: 'Om ca mana' cama.

not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      angry      3sf

‘She isn’t angry.’

## 1.12. TOPIC AND THEMATIC MARKING

In this section we discuss means for indicating discourse topics or signalling events on the main thematic line of a discourse.

The majority of sentences express only the grammatical relations of subject, object, indirect object or oblique object, but these individual grammatical relations may be topicalized by a small range of strategies. These devices are used to indicate topic and the main event line of the text.

### 1.12.1. Topic marking

(1) Left dislocation of the NP, with that NP often repeated in its proper position in the sentence

We have italicized the dislocated elements in the following examples.

## Subject

(374) a.	'Em'	cwa'	quem,	'aramaca'	xi'	nonon na-ocon		'em'.	
	snake	this:m/f	ref	cast:spell	dub	3s:rp/p-3pm		snake	
	'Snakes also, whenever a snake casts a spell on them...'								
(374) b.	'Om	ca		taraju taraji-u	xo'	camain'	cain ca-in	'oro	
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	ear-1s	correctly	at:all	3sm-3n		coll	
carawa	jimao,		'oro	me	cwa',	'ac	tomi'	pa'	'ac
animal	different:s	coll	bird	this:m/f	like	speak	upon	like	
tomi'	pa'	'ac	wari'	pin		non. na-on			
speak	upon	like	person	completely		3s:rp/p-3sm			
	'He doesn't hear different animals correctly, birds (for instance), it's like they talk to him, it's like they're like people to him.'								

(374) c.	<i>'Oro</i>	<i>carawa</i>	<i>jimao,</i>	<i>'oro</i>	<i>macon</i>	<i>'iri'</i>	<i>caroro</i>
	coll	animal	different:s	coll	vine	INFL:rp/p	wind:around
<i>ximama'</i>		<i>xucucun</i>	<i>ca'</i>	<i>na,</i>	je		cocon
for:no:reason:p		refl:3pm	this:n	3s:rp/p	emph:3n		prep:3pm
ta		'ac	caca		xi'		na.
emph		travel	3pm		dub		3s:rp/p
<p>'All kinds of things, the vine that they wrap around them (lit. each other), thus it is, whenever they (say), "That is it regarding them"'</p>							

## Object

(375) a.	<i>Co</i>	<i>cao'</i>	<i>wijimi</i>	<i>nanain</i> nana-in	<i>mana</i>	<i>panxicaca,</i> panxi-caca
	INFL:m/frp/p	eat	stubborn	3p:rp/p-3n	coll	child-3pm
<i>co</i>	<i>cao'</i>	<i>wixicao'</i>	<i>nanain</i> nana-in	<i>winain</i> wina-in	<i>mana</i>	
	INFL:m/frp/p	eat	throw:p	3p:rp/p-3n	head-3n	coll
<i>panxicaca,</i>	<i>tomi'</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jami</i>	<i>mijac</i>	<i>ma'</i>	

panxi-caca jami-0  
 child-3pm speak 3s:rp/p spirit-3n pig that:prox:hearer  
 quem.  
 ref

'Those whose children eat stubbornly, those whose children eat and throw their heads away, the spirit of the pigs speaks about that also.'

(375) b. *Tawi ca mam tomi' mi' tococwa, ji'ao mi'*  
 honey INFL:nrp/p instr speak give pass:3pm pour give  
 tata pain, mija na horonain tawi pain  
 horona-in  
 pass:3p prep:3n much 3s:rp/p largeness-3n honey prep:3n  
 tequipacocon quem ca' na.  
 tequipa-cocon  
 interior-3pm ref this:n 3s:rp/p

'The honey with which they are called (ordered, lit. spoken and given), it is poured out for them, the honey in their thorax is much.'

## (2) Left dislocation of a kind of locative phrase

This locative phrase could be said to have either one of two distinct discourse functions: (i) setting and (ii) topic. The locative phrase is italicized in the following examples.

(376) a. *Pi' pin 'e' na, wari' wari' wari' wari'*  
 finish completely only 3s:rp/p person person person person  
 wari' wari', *wara ca' xi' na caximacon*  
 caxima-con  
 person person already this:n dub 3s:rp/p foot-3sm  
*ma',* caximacon min' waraju xi' nain  
 caxima-con na-in  
 that:prox:hearer foot-3sm tapir play dub 3s:rp/p-3n  
 ca'.  
 this:n

'He was all finished (looked like a person), he was a person, person, person, etc., and when reaching his feet (lit. his feet were already here), when they were little tapir feet (lit. they were playful tapir feet).'

(376) b. 'Awin mamam' nanain.  
 nana-in *Wara ca' na ca*  
 take carry:p 3p:rp/p-3n already this:n 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p

<i>terem'</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>jima'</i>	<i>ma'</i>			<i>'an</i>	<i>terem'</i>
lie:s	emph	3sm	dead:one	that:prox:hearer			takers	lie:s
'ac			cacain caca-in			na.		
travel			3pm-3n			3s:rp/p		
'They lifted and carried it. There was where the dead one was lying, and they put it down.'								
(376) c.	Co'oro	co'oro	co'oro	wara	ca'	na	<i>xirim</i>	<i>ca</i>
	drag	drag	drag	already	this:n	3s:rp/p	house	INFL:nrp/p
<i>pe</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>xirim</i>	<i>ma'</i>			<i>'an</i>	<i>toco'</i>
be:at:s	emph	3n	house	that:prox:hearer			take:s	lie:p
							travel	
xine						na.		
pass:3n						3s:rp/p		
'(They (poles) are) dragged and dragged, there is the house where the house is, then they are put down.'								

### 1.12.2. Thematic marking

(1) Insertion of an appositional *pain* subordinate clause or prepositional phrase: this is used to draw attention to locations or participants which, though not themselves topics, are importantly related to the main event line.

(377) a.	Mama'	xin xi'-in		com	cain		'ac	xucucun	na,
	go:p	1pincl-3n:rf		water	that:n:distal		travel	refl:3pm	3s:rp/p
<i>pain</i>	<i>taparain,</i> <i>tapara-in</i>		wara		ma'	na	<i>taparain</i> <i>tapara-in</i>		com
prep:3n	arm-3n		already		exist	3s:rp/p	arm-3n		water
ca			to			ne	carawa.		
INFL:nrp/p			be:at:p			3n	animal		

“‘Let’s go to the river (water) there’”, then it was that they (said) to one another concerning the stream (arm of water), there was already a stream (arm) of water where there were animals.’

(377) b.	'An	ta'	piriquin		ca'	me	'ac	xucucun	na,
	takers	1s:rf	baby:animal		this:n	emph	travel	refl:3pm	3s:rp/p
<i>pain</i>	<i>ca</i>		<i>ma'</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>pije'</i>	<i>pain</i>	<i>ca</i>		<i>'an</i>
prep:3n	INFL:nrp/p		exist	3n	child	prep:3n	INFL:nrp/p		take:s
<i>tiquin'</i>							<i>xijein.</i>		
continue						refl:3n			

“I will take this baby-animal”, then he (said) to them (lit. they said to each other) regarding when there is a baby, when (the mother) carries it (lit. it carries itself).’

- (377) c. Ma' na mirop ca cao' quiwo' ca'  
 exist 3s:rp/p monkey:species INFL:nrp/p eat arrow this:n  
 na, *pain* *ca* *cao'* *ne* *carawa*.  
 3s:rp/p prep:3n INFL:nrp/p eat 3n animal  
 ‘There is the *mirop* monkey that eats (bites) arrows, thus it is, concerning animals eating (biting).’

- (377) d. Je conaxut ca to' cao' caparut pain  
 cona-xut ca-parut  
 emph:3n arrow-1pexcl INFL:nrp/p hit eat 3sm-1pexcl prep:3n  
 carawa, *pain* *ca* *mi'* *caparut* *pain* *quiwo'*.  
 ca-parut  
 animal prep:3n INFL:nrp/p give 3sm-1pexcl prep:3n arrow  
 ‘(lit.) It is our arrows that cause us to eat meat, regarding when the arrows give it to us.’

- (377) e. Cono' cono' dois non carawa, *pain* *ca*  
 na-on  
 die:p die:p two 3s:rp/p-3sm animal prep:3n INFL:nrp/p  
*cono'* *ne* *con*.  
 die:p 3n prep:3sm  
 ‘(lit.) Two animals died to him, regarding when they died by him.’

(2) Important series of events on the main event line are often organized chronologically, where a statement is made about what will happen, then a statement is made that it was accomplished, for example, ‘I will get fever’, she said, then she got fever.’ The clauses displaying this chronological organization are italicized in the following examples.

- (378) a. 'Tri' wirico na, wirico ta, *to' pa' pin*  
 truly emph:3sm 3s:rp/p emph:3sm emph hit kill completely  
*xun,* *to' pa' pin* *'ac* *cocon* *na*.  
 xi'-on caca-on  
 1pincl:rf-3sm hit kill completely travel 3pm-3sm 3s:rp/p  
 “It’s really him, it’s him, we’ll kill him”, and then they killed him.’

- (378) b. 'Awaran 'awaran 'awaran 'awaran, 'am *memerem*  
 cry:p cry:p cry:p cry:p finally:s bloated  
*pin* *xi'* *nana,* *'am* *meremem* *pin*  
 completely 1pincl:rf 3p:rp/p finally:s bloated completely



*nana* *quem.*

3p:rp/p ref

'They cried and cried, "Let's finally get completely bloated", they (said), and they finally got completely bloated.'

- (378) c. *'Am* *towe* *pin* *'ac* *ta'* *na,* *towe* *pin*  
 finally:s fat completely travel 1s 3s:rp/p fat completely  
*'ac* *ca* *na.*  
 travel 3sm 3s:rp/p  
 'Then he (said) "I will finally get fat", then he got fat.'

(3) Sentence-final or sentence-initial repetition of the verb (or relevant portion of the verb stem) without VICS. The repeated verb element is italicized in the following examples. Like the other strategies of this section, this repetition is used to indicate material central to the main event line.

- (379) a. *Cao'* *'ac* *ca* *na,* *cao'* *cao'* *cao'* *cao'* *cao'*.  
 eat travel 3sm 3s:rp/p eat eat eat eat eat  
 'Then he ate, (he) ate and ate.'

- (379) b. *Mi'* *pin* *'ac* *ca* *na,* *'awaran* *nonon.*  
*give* *completely* *travel* *3sm* *3s:rp/p* *cry:p* *3p:rp/p-3sm*  
*'Awaran* *'awaran* *'awaran* *'awaran.*  
*cry:p* *cry:p* *cry:p* *cry:p*  
 'Then he died, and (they) cried and cried.'

- (379) c. *Mi'* *mi'* *pin* *'ac* *ca* *na* *co* *'o*  
*give* *give* *completely* *travel* *3sm* *3s:rp/p* *INFL:m/frp/p* *lead*  
*ca* *min'* *ma'.*  
*3sm* *tapir* *that:prox:hearer*  
 '(He) fainted (lit. died). Then the one whom the tapir had led away fainted.'

- (379) d. *Quep* *'ac* *cacain* *na.* *Quep* *'awori.*  
*caca-in*  
*do* *travel* *3pm-3n* *3s:rp/p* *do* *ready*  
 'Then they did (made) it. (They) did (made) (it) finished.'

(4) Repetition of the entire sentence, sometimes with minor changes.

- (380) *Mi'* *pin* *xi'* *na* *wari'* *con* *quem.* *Ma'*

	give	completely	dub	3s:rp/p	person	prep:3sm	ref	exist
na	co		<i>mi'</i>	<i>pin</i>		<i>con</i>		<i>quem.</i>
3s:rp/p	INFL:m/frp/p		give	completely		prep:3sm	ref	
'When somebody dies regarding him... It happens (lit. exists) that (there is one) who dies regarding him.'								

### 1.13. HEAVY SHIFT

There is no evidence of heavy shift in the language. The tendency is for short sentences, so there are usually no cumbersome constructions to deal with.

### 1.14. OTHER MOVEMENT PROCESSES

We are not aware of any movement processes other than what has already been described in 1.11 and 1.12.

### 1.15. MINOR SENTENCE TYPES

There are three categories of minor sentence types which diverge from the regular vos sentence structure. These are: (1) exclamatory; (2) VIC sentences; and (3) ideophonic.

(1) Exclamatory sentences include short, nonverbal responses of one or two words, vocatives, and utterances consisting of noun phrases. Vocatives may also be part of normal sentence structure.

- (381) a. 'Iri'o'?  
'Really?'
- (381) b. Ma'e.  
'Okay.' (spoken by a woman)
- (381) c. Xin ne.  
xi'-in  
1pincl:rf-3n rec:past  
'That's right.' (lit. 'We will (say, agree to) it.')
- (381) d. Maji!  
'Let's go!'
- (381) e. Wiri ma' ne!  
wasp that:prox:hearer rec:past  
'Wasps there!'

(381) f. Co ma' ne!  
 m that:prox:hearer rec:past  
 'There he is!' or 'That is he!'

(381) g. Te!  
 father:1s  
 'Dad!'

(381) h. Pacara xim ne?  
 long:ago night rec:past  
 'It is late.' (lit. '(The) night (is) long ago.')

(2) VIC sentences are characterized by the presence of a VIC without a verb. The VIC may occur alone or with a sentence-final particle (382a–b) or an inflected form of the preposition (382c) (these three examples are responses to questions or statements); see, however, (382d), in which there is a subject in the form of a noun clause, and (382e), where a coordinated construction serves as the subject of the clause. The VIC sentence appears as a direct speech in (382e). (382d–e) are 'closures' to discourses. Structurally, it could be said that these sentences are the matrix clauses of complex direct speeches, i.e. the entire discourses.

(382) a. Na?  
 3s:rp/p  
 'Is it (so)?' (expression of sympathy)

(382) b. Xira quem.  
 3s:irr ref  
 'It should be (that way).'

(382) c. Tara con.  
 3s:rf prep:3sm  
 'Perhaps it is (so) regarding him.'

(382) d. Na ca tomi' capa' pane.  
 ca-pa'  
 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p speak 3sm-1s rem:past  
 '(That) was what he told me long ago.'

(382) e. Na mapac con Wirin nana pane ta.  
 3s:rp/p corn prep:3sm m:name 3p:rp/p rem:past emph  
 "'(That) is (the story about) corn and (with) Wirin", they (said) long ago.'

(3) Ideophonic sentences consist of sequences of (though, occasionally, individual) onomatopoeic morphemes. They sometimes occur as constituents of compound verbs, accompanied by VICS, in which case they can be interpreted as direct speeches. Many recognized verbs also have an onomatopoeic ring to them, and in this connection, it can be said that their occurrence in sequences of two or three to as many as fifteen or twenty verbs, without VICS, are further examples of ideophonic sentences. (383) was taken from a story of the origin of fire. The boys, in the form of birds, were carrying the fire; when someone called them, they were startled and flew away. The ideophonic elements are in the last sequence of paratactic clauses.

(383)	Merem	ho'	tata.	'An	hwein hwe-in	xe	ma'
	call	now	pass:3p	take:s	2p:rp/p-3n	fire	that:prox:hearer
	hwijima'?		Tu tu tu tu,		pararain	pararain	pararain,
	children		sound:of:fleeing		sound:of:flapping:wings		
	hmmmm		mama'		nana.		
	sound:of:going		go:p		3p:rp/p		

'They called them (lit. they were called). "Are you bringing fire, boys?" (Sound of fleeing, flapping of wings, and going) they went.'

## 1.16. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS FOR WORD CLASSES

### 1.16.1. Noun

Nouns may be distinguished by the following morphological criteria: (i) they may bear possessive suffixes or NICS—see 2.1.1.4.6; and (ii) they may be followed by any one of the spatial/temporal demonstratives—see 1.2.5.2.5 (note that only two of the demonstratives, *ca'* 'this (neuter) proximate to speaker' and *ma'* 'that proximate to hearer', and one of the temporal demonstratives, *cara* 'absent', though without its accompanying temporal particle, may follow a verb). Besides these morphological characteristics, the following syntactic criteria apply to nouns: (iii) they may appear alone as subject or object of the verb, (iv) they may appear as the complement of a form of the preposition—see 1.2.4; and (v) they may occur in sequence with another noun in a possessed NP, in which the second element (possessor) can be any noun except a derived noun, and the first NP is marked by the possessive marking suffixes or NICS referred to above (functioning semantically as either an actually possessed element or a nominal modifier—see 1.2.5.2.3).

### 1.16.2. Pronoun

There are two classes of pronouns: (1) demonstrative and (2) emphatic.

(1) The demonstrative pronoun is a subclass of nouns. It satisfies three of the syntactic criteria that define the noun: (i) it may appear by itself as the subject or object of the verb;

(ii) it may appear by itself as the complement of a form of the preposition; and (iii) it may appear as the second element (possessor) of a possessed NP. It is different from nonpronominal nouns, however, in that it cannot be suffixed or postposed by an NIC or possessive marking suffix, nor can it be followed by a demonstrative.

(2) The emphatic pronoun is not a subclass of nouns. It cannot occur by itself as the subject or object of the verb, nor can it appear as the complement of a form of the preposition. It is marked by its potential to occur alone (in the case of first and second person) or in apposition to a noun or demonstrative pronoun (in the case of third person) in coordinate constructions (see 1.3.3) or to express emphasis (see 1.11.2.1.3).

### **1.16.3. Verb**

The verb is the main predicate constituent of all major sentence types. It is marked by the following morphological criteria: (i) its potential to be compounded with a verbal modifier or with another verb; and (ii) that it may be followed by verbal inflectional clitics. There are two additional subclasses of verbs, which we label verbal modifiers. These are like main verbs, except they may only occur in compounded verbs (see 1.16.7). There are usually slight semantic differences in the meanings of verbs when compounded in nonhead position.

### **1.16.4. Nominal modifier**

Nominal modifiers do not occur as a separate word class. See 1.16.1.

### **1.16.5. Preposition**

The preposition is marked by its function as the head of the prepositional phrase, which may occur as any nonsubject argument of the verb. It can occur alone (inflected for the person, number and gender of its object) or with a complement, which may be a simple noun or derived noun—see 1.2.4.

### **1.16.6. Numeral/quantifier**

Numeral/quantifiers are collective particles that precede nouns and derived nouns—see 1.2.5.2.6.

### **1.16.7. Verbal modifiers**

Verbal modifiers are a subclass of verb roots. They can only appear in compound verbs. They are divided into two classes: (1) preverbal, which are marked by their occurrence preceding the main verb root; and (2) postverbal, which follow the main verb root immediately before the VIC, modulo compounding (see 2.2.3).

### **1.16.8. Inflectional clitics**

There are two classes of inflectional clitics: (1) verbal inflectional clitics, or VICS, which are marked for person, number and, in some cases, tense/ mood and third person gender of subjects and objects—see 2.1.3.6.2.2; and (2) possessive nominal inflectional clitics, or NICS, which mark person, number, and third person gender, appear in derived nouns and may also follow unpossessed nouns—see 2.1.1.4.6.

### **1.16.9. Particles**

Particles are simple (i.e. phonological) clitics that generally occur at or near the end of the sentence—see 2.1.8.

### **1.16.10. INFL morphemes**

INFL morphemes cliticize to the verb in COMP sentences, noun clauses and derived nouns (see 2.1.8.1.9) and express tense/mood and sometimes gender of the element in COMP (whether overt or covert).

### **1.16.11. Operator words**

Operator words are a small class of words that appear in COMP in COMP sentences—see 2.1.8.1.10.

### **1.16.12. Ideophones**

Ideophones are onomatopoeic words that express the sound of actions. Many ideophones deviate from phonological norms of the language: (1) some employ phonological units not found elsewhere in the language; (2) vowels are often exaggeratedly lengthened; and (3) varied intonation is often employed: high, low, whispered, etc. See 4.1.

# Chapter 2

## Morphology

### 2.1. INFLECTION

#### 2.1.1. Noun inflection

Aside from the marking discussed under 2.1.1.1.1 and 2.1.1.1.3, there are no other ways, other than in kinship terms (see 2.2.2.2.1.5), for directly marking noun functions on the noun. But in what follows, we indicate how the different functions are expressed.

##### *2.1.1.1. Means by which the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases are expressed*

###### *2.1.1.1.1. Bound affixes*

Bound affixes consist of (1) a set of possessive suffixes, which mark the person, number, and third person gender of the possessor on *-xi'* nouns—see 2.1.1.4.6; and (2) a prefix, *co-*, which marks the derivational process whereby certain kinship terms are formed—see 2.2.2.2.1.5.

###### *2.1.1.1.2. Morphophonemic alterations*

Internal morphophonemic alterations to express syntactic and semantic functions in the noun phrase do not occur.

###### *2.1.1.1.3. Nominal inflectional clitics*

A set of possessive nominal inflectional clitics mark person, number, and third person gender of the possessor. They follow the free form of most nouns, and they function in derived nouns—see 2.1.1.4.6 and 2.2.2.2.

###### *2.1.1.1.4. Prepositions*

The single (inflected) preposition marks the theme/patient NP when a goal is present, and marks oblique objects to the verb—see 1.2.1.2.2–4.

(384) a.	Hoc	mi'	nanam	con	hwam	humaxicam.
			na-vcvm			humaji-cam
	cook	give	3s:rp/p-3pf	prep:3sm	fish	children-3sf

‘She cooked fish for her children.’

(384) b.	Cut	ca'	ram	pain	memem	pije'.
			ra-m			
	take:p	this:n	2s:rf-3sf	prep:3n	fruit	child

‘Take the fruit from the child.’

(384) c.	Pijim'	'inanam	cocon	hwanana	pain	xec	pane.
		'ina-vcvm					
	tell	1s:rp/p-3pf	prep:3pm	ancestors	prep:3n	day	rem:past

‘It told them about the ancestors yesterday.’

(384) d.	To'	pa'	pin	tarapari'			comerem	pain
				tara-pari'				
	hits	kill:s	completely	3s:rp/p-1pincl			thunder	prep:3n
camana'		pain	xowi'	ca'	'e'	'ac	'urut	na.
strong:wind		prep:3n	rain	this:n	emph	travel	1pexcl	3s:rp/p

“‘The thunder and strong wind and rain will kill us”, then we (said).’

#### 2.1.1.1.5. Constituent order

Constituent order is useful (but not foolproof) in distinguishing subject, direct object and indirect object (in each of which only third person may be overtly expressed). The basic order of constituents in a transitive/ intransitive clause is verb, object (or object-like argument), subject; in a ditransitive clause, it is verb, direct object, indirect object, subject—see 1.2.1.2. However, as noted in section 1.2.1.2.6, order may vary, so referencing of the grammatical relation on the VIC or NIC is a more reliable means for distinguishing NP functions. Most clauses do not have overtly expressed subjects or objects; they are simply expressed in the VICS. Many clauses have only one overtly expressed constituent (subject or object), while both are expressed in the VIC, and in these clauses, word order is not sufficient to determine whether the constituent is subject or object, and ambiguity can result. The postverbal modifier *pan*, marking subject emphasis, or the use of alternate VICS (i.e. passive or reciprocal mor-phemes) can help disambiguate such structures—see 1.11.2.1.2 and 1.7. Sometimes ambiguity cannot be avoided and can only be resolved by context.

#### 2.1.1.1.6. Derivational processes

Derived nouns can function as the subject (385a), direct object (385b), or oblique object of the verb (385c). They can also function as nominal modifiers, much the same way that *-xi'* nouns do (385d).

(385) a.	Mija	na	ca	'aca	nucun.
----------	------	----	----	------	--------



- much 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p cry:s poss:3sm  
 'He is crying a lot.' (lit. 'His crying is much.')
- (385) b. Tomi' tain ca mi' ne.  
 ta'-in
- speak 2s:rf-3n INFL:nrp/p give poss:1s  
 'You will tell about my death.' (lit. '...my dying.')
- (385) c. Mam xuruxut nanain ca xain nucucun.  
 nana-in
- instr walk:p 3p:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:3pm  
 'They walked while having fever.' (lit. '...with their hotness.')
- (385) d. Noc 'inain ca paca' nucun wom.  
 'ina-in
- dislike 1s:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p red poss:3sm cotton  
 'I don't want a red dress.' (lit. '...cotton's redness.')

#### 2.1.1.1.7. Combinations

Any or all of the means of expressing syntactic and semantic noun phrases described above may be combined, except that the distribution of the bound affixes described in 2.1.1.1.1 and the possessive marking nominal inflectional clitics described in 2.1.1.1.4 are mutually exclusive.

- (386) \*Awori pin na xiricon nucun Xijam.  
 xiri-con
- finish completely 3s:rp/p house-3sm poss:3sm m:name  
 'Xijam's house is finished.'

#### 2.1.1.2. Means for expressing syntactic functions

##### 2.1.1.2.1. Subject of intransitive verb

The subject of an intransitive verb is (usually) marked on the VIC. (The VIC is sometimes deleted in series of actions in discourses.) Third person subject may also be overtly expressed by an NP—see 1.2.1.2.1. Like the direct object of a transitive verb, the subject of an intransitive verb governs the number agreement on suppletive or reduplicated verb forms: a plural intransitive subject requires the plural form of the intransitive verb (a plural object requires the plural form of a transitive verb)—see 2.1.3.6.1.1. There is no distinction between subjects of intransitive verbs as agent or nonagent.

### 2.1.1.2.2. *Subject of transitive verb*

The subject of a transitive verb is (usually) marked on the VIC. Third person subject may also be overtly expressed by an NP—see 1.2.1.2.1. The number of the subject of a transitive verb does not govern plural marking on the verb—see 2.3.1.6.1.1. The form of the overtly expressed subject of a transitive verb is the same as that of an overtly expressed direct object, unless there is an indirect object in the sentence, in which case the (erstwhile) direct object occurs in a prepositional phrase—see 1.2.1.2.3.1. When both subject and object are overtly expressed, the subject almost always follows the object—see 1.2.1.2.6. There is no distinction between subjects of transitive verbs as agent and nonagent.

### 2.1.1.2.3. *Subject of copular constructions*

Copular constructions do not exist, but see 1.2.1.1, for what we consider a functionally similar 'ON construction.

### 2.1.1.2.4. *Direct object*

The direct object is optionally marked on the VIC. Third person object may also be overtly expressed by an NP. When an indirect object is in the sentence, whether overtly expressed or merely marked in the VIC, the direct object may be referenced by an inflected preposition (or simply understood from context)—see 1.2.1.2.2–3. There is no change in the form of the overtly expressed object when the subject is not overtly expressed. Like the subject of intransitive verbs, the object of transitive verbs governs number agreement on the verb—see 2.1.3.6.2–4.

### 2.1.1.2.5. *Indirect object*

See 1.2.1.2.3.

### 2.1.1.2.6. *Object of comparison*

Comparison is expressed by means of juxtaposed sentences that show contrasts. The object of comparison is often the subject or object of such verbs as *tiquin' mao* 'to go on', *tiquin' ca'* 'to pass up' and *juc 'in pin* 'to push away' in the last of the contrasting sentences—see 1.1.2.4.2.7.

### 2.1.1.2.7. *Object of equation*

Equation is expressed by means of the verb '*an xiho*' 'to imitate' (387a) or by verb '*ac* 'to be like' occurring as the leftmost member of a compound with a noun or emphatic pronoun (387b–c), or as the operator word in the verbalized comparative clause described in 1.1.1.4.3.3.6.

(387) a.	'An	xiho'	non	cote	ca.
			na-on	co-te	

- takers      together      3s:rp/p-3sm      INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s      3sm  
 'He is like (imitates) his father.'
- (387) b.      'Ac      wirico      na      womixi'.  
    womi-xi'  
                  like      emph:3sm      3s:rp/p      cotton-1pincl  
                  'Our clothes are like that.'
- (387) c.      'Ac      pana      na.  
                  like      tree      3s:rp/p  
                  'It's like a tree.'

The verb *win* 'to be like' or 'to be the same', described in 1.1.2.4.2.7, usually equates only on a clause level. It can be interpreted, however, to equate on a word level in some contexts, as in (388), repeated here from (155c), where it occurs in a relative clause.

- (388)      'Om      na      wari'      co      win      hwara'  
                  not:exist      3s:rp/p      person      INFL:m/frp/p      same      big:s  
                  'opa      ca.  
                  opa-0  
                  strength-1s      3sm  
                  'There is no one as strong as he.'

#### 2.1.1.2.8. Other objects governed by verbs

For discussion of how other grammatical relations are expressed, see 1.2.1.2.4, 1.3, and 1.2.4.

#### 2.1.1.2.9. Complement of copular construction

Complements of copular constructions are discussed in 1.2.1.1.

#### 2.1.1.2.10. Subject complement

Like the notion of copular construction, the notion of subject complement is also expressed as an intransitive verb. There is no difference in the means of expressing the notion of copular complements and subject complements.

- (389)      Taramaxicon      pin      na      Xijam.  
                  chief      completely      3s:rp/p      m:name  
                  'Xijam has become chief.'

#### 2.1.1.2.11. Object complement

The notion of object complement is expressed by what would be the object complement appearing as the second member of a compound verb.

- (390) Tomi' taramaxicon pin 'iricon Xijam.  
'urut-con  
speak chief completely 1pexcl:rp/p-3sm m:name  
'We made Xijam chief.' (lit. 'We spoke and "chiefed" Xijam.')

#### 2.1.1.2.12. Objects governed by adjectives

Objects are not governed by adjectives. The notion of ‘to be like something or someone’ is expressed by the verb *ʿan xiho* ‘to imitate’ (lit. ‘to take together’) that expresses object of equation—see 2.1.1.2.7, (387a). Its negative form expresses the notion of ‘to be different from something or someone’.

- |          |   |            |             |                        |          |         |     |
|----------|---|------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|---------|-----|
| (391) a. | 'Om   | ca         |             | 'an                    | xiho'    | con     |     |
|          |   |            |             |                        |          | ca-on   |     |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:nrp/p |             | take:s                 | together | 3sm-3sm |     |
|          | cote  |            |             | ca.                    |          |         |     |
|          | co-te   |            |             |                        |          |         |     |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s  |            |             | 3sm                    |          |         |     |
|          | 'He is different from his father.' (lit. 'He does not imitate his father.') |            |             |                        |          |         |     |
| (391) b. | 'An   | xiho'      | non         | cote                   |          |         | ca. |
|          |   |            | na-on       | co-te                  |          |         |     |
|          | take:s  | together   | 3s:rp/p-3sm | INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s |          |         | 3sm |
|          | 'He is similar to his father.'  |            |             |                        |          |         |     |

#### 2.1.1.2.13. Agent in passive constructions

Agent is never expressed in passive constructions.

#### 2.1.1.2.14. Topic

Topic noun phrases are marked by left dislocation. The head of the phrase is often repeated in the main clause. The noun phrase is not specially marked. See 1.12.

#### 2.1.1.2.15. *Emphasis*

There is no inflection for emphasis in the language. Means of emphasizing NPS are discussed in 1.11.

### 2.1.1.3. Syntactic functions in relation to nonfinite forms

Just as with the nouns discussed above, there is no special inflection for nonfinite or nominalized verbs with regard to nominal grammatical function. See 1.1.2.3.

#### 2.1.1.4. Means of expressing nonlocal semantic functions

#### 2.1.1.4.1. Benefactive

Benefactive NPS are licensed by the verb *mi'* 'to give', appearing as the last member of a verb compound. *Mi'* adds a benefactive or goal argument to the array of arguments normally assigned by the root to its immediate left. The added argument is expressed as a surface direct object - see 1.2.1.2.3.

- |       |   |      |                 |          |        |                   |
|-------|---|------|-----------------|----------|--------|-------------------|
| (392) | 'Oc   | mi'  | 'inam<br>'ina-m | con      | wom    | caina.<br>caina-0 |
|       | stitch  | give | 1s:rp/p-3sf     | prep:3sm | cotton | daughter-1s       |
|       | 'I made a dress for my daughter.' (lit. 'I stitched and gave my daughter a dress.') |      |                 |          |        |                   |

#### 2.1.1.4.2. Source

Source is expressed in three ways:

(i) In a prepositional phrase

- |       |                            |                   |    |                  |          |        |
|-------|----------------------------|-------------------|----|------------------|----------|--------|
| (393) | Taraju<br>taraji-u         | 'inain<br>'ina-in | 'i | ma'              | con      | Xijam. |
|       | ear-1s                     | 1s:rp/p-3n        | n  | that:prox:hearer | prep:3sm | m:name |
|       | 'I heard that from Xijam.' |                   |    |                  |          |        |

(ii) As the subject of a verb

Source, as illustrated in (394), would more likely be expressed this way:

- |       |                  |             |        |
|-------|------------------|-------------|--------|
| (394) | Tōmì'            | napa'       | Xijam. |
|       | na-pa'           |             |        |
|       | speak            | 3s:rp/p-1 s | m:name |
|       | 'Xijam told me.' |             |        |

(iii) As the possessed element in a possessed NP

- |       |                        |                   |                     |        |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------|
| (395) | Cao'                   | nanain<br>nana-in | cwerein<br>cwere-in | mijac. |
|       | eat                    | 3p:rp/p-3n        | body-3n             | pig    |
|       | 'They ate pig's meat.' |                   |                     |        |

2.1.1.4.3. *Instrumental*

There is no instrumental case. Instrument is expressed by the preverbal modifier *mam* 'instrument'. The element with which it is related occurs in a prepositional phrase following the direct object of the verb.

- (396) Mam        wac        'inon                    hwam        pain        quit.  
                      'ina-on  
          instr        cut        1s:rp/p-3sm            fish        prep:3n        knife  
          'I cut the fish with a knife.'

Instrument may be expressed without *mam*, although this is much less common:

- (397) ?Wac        'inon                    hwam        pain        quit.  
                      'ina-on  
          cut        1s:rp/p-3sm            fish        prep:3n        knife  
          'I cut the fish with a knife.'

Negative instrument must be expressed by negating a positive instrumental statement, followed by a parallel positive statement. Instrumental, as the preverbal modifier *mam* and a prepositional phrase, may occur in both statements.

- (398) 'Om        ca                    (mam)    to'        ton        pain        pana.    (Mam)  
    ta'-on  
          not:exist    INFL:nrp/p    (instr)    hit        1s-3sm    prep:3n    tree        (instr)  
          to'        'inon                    pain        pacun.  
                      'ina-on  
          hit        1s:rp/p-3sm    prep:3n    rock  
          'I didn't hit him with a stick. I hit him with a rock.'

2.1.1.4.4. *Comitative*

Comitative is expressed by the verb *jajao* 'together'. The comitative NP is its direct object.

- (399) a.        Jajao                    'inam                    xa'.  
    'ina-m  
          together:p        1s:rp/p-3sf            younger:sibling:1s  
          'I accompanied my younger sister.'
- (399) b.        Jajao                    napa'                    xa'.  
    na-pa'  
          together:p        3s:rp/p-1s            younger:sibling:1s  
          'My younger sister accompanied me.'

Comitative is also expressed by a compound verb, in which *jajao* precedes the verb root. When this happens, the comitative NP must appear in a prepositional phrase. This may be due to the fact that the addition of another verb adds a goal argument, though covert in the examples in our corpus. On the other hand, this is somewhat speculative, because there are no examples in the corpus of *jajao* occurring with a goal when compounded with another verb, whether intransitive or transitive, and the example in (400b) was said to be ungrammatical by a native speaker. At this point, we do not have a final account of these facts.

- |            |   |            |             |          |                    |          |
|------------|---|------------|-------------|----------|--------------------|----------|
| (400) a.   | Jajao   | maqui'     | 'ina        | cam      | xa'.               |          |
|            | together:p  | come       | 1s:rp/p     | prep:3sf | younger:sibling:1s |          |
|            | 'I came with my sister.'                                      |            |             |          |                    |          |
| (400) b.   | *Jajao  | maqui'     | 'inam       |          | xa'.               |          |
|            |   |            | 'ina-m      |          |                    |          |
|            | together:p  | come       | 1s:rp/p-3sf |          | younger:sister:1s  |          |
|            | 'I came with my sister.'                                      |            |             |          |                    |          |
| (400) c.   | Je  | xi         | jajao       | howa     | ma                 | ne       |
|            | emph:3n   | INFL:irr   | together:p  | believe  | 2s                 | rec:past |
|            | aji'?   |            |             |          |                    |          |
|            | older :brother: 1s  |            |             |          |                    |          |
|            | 'So you should believe with (me), brother, (shouldn't you?).' |            |             |          |                    |          |
| (400) d.   | 'Awi na   | ca         | jajao       | ma'      | jajao              | ma'      |
|            | good 3s:rp/p  | INFL:nrp/p | together:p  | exist    | together:p         | exist    |
| toto       | qui'  |            |             |          | xijexi'.           |          |
| pleasantly | coming:this:way   |            |             |          | refl:1pincl        |          |
|            | 'It is good that we be together pleasantly.'                  |            |             |          |                    |          |

Comitative is also expressed by the postverbal modifier *wi* 'together' in a compound verb. While there is no evidence in the corpus that a compound verb with *wi* can occur with a direct object marked on the VIC, we do not believe it would be ill-formed to mark the direct object on the VIC, as in (401b) and (401d).

- |          |                                      |          |       |          |                              |
|----------|--------------------------------------|----------|-------|----------|------------------------------|
| (401) a. | Quep                                 | wi       | ra    | con      | coxa'<br>co-xa'              |
|          | do                                   | together | 2s:rf | prep:3sm | INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling |
|          | ma.                                  |          |       |          |                              |
|          | 2s                                   |          |       |          |                              |
|          | 'Do (it) with your younger brother.' |          |       |          |                              |
| (401) b. | Quep                                 | wi       | rain  | con      | coxa'                        |

- ra-in                      co-xa'
- do           together    2s:rf-3n    prep:3sm    INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling  
ma.  
2s  
'Do it with your younger brother.'
- (401) c.      Pa'      pa'      wi                      tiquin'                      tatara                      hwam                      ra?  
kill      kill      together                      continue                      3p:rf                      fish                      2s:rf  
'Will they continue killing fish together?'
- (401) d.      Pa'      pa'      wi                      tiquin'                      totoron                      hwam ra?  
   tatara-on  
kill      kill      together                      continue                      3p:rf-3sm                      fish 2s:rf  
'Will they continue killing the fish together?'

Comitative is also expressed by an inflected form of the preposition in 'and'-coordination—see 1.3.3(4), examples (274).

Negative comitative is expressed by using the verb *jajao* in a negative construction.

- (402) a.      'Om                      ca                      jajao                      tam                      xa'.  
   ta'-m  
not:exist                      INFL:nrp/p                      together:p                      1s-3sf                      younger:sibling:1s  
'I did not accompany my younger sister.'
- (402) b.      'Om                      ca                      jajao                      capa'                      xa'.  
   ca-pa'  
not:exist                      INFL:nrp/p                      together:p                      3sm-1s                      younger:sibling:1s  
'My younger sister did not accompany me.'
- (402) c.      'Om                      ca                      jajao                      maqui'                      ta'                      cam  
not:exist                      INFL:nrp/p                      together:p                      come                      1s                      prep:3sf  
xa'.  
younger :sibling: 1s  
'I did not come with my younger sister.'

#### 2.1.1.4.5. Circumstance

Circumstance is also expressed by the preverbal modifier *mam* (see instrumental—2.1.1.4.3), but unlike instrumental, the element with which it is related cannot occur in a prepositional phrase. It must be referenced on the object portion of the VIC—see 1.2.1.2.3. The examples below would only be grammatical under a bizarre instrumental



interpretation of the circumstance element. Note the actual meanings of (403b) and (358b) (% = semantically anomalous).

- [illegible]

instr    go:s    1s:rp/p-3sm    INFL:nrp/p    black    poss:3sm    cotton-1s

'I went with my dirty clothes.' (lit. '...my clothes' dirtiness.')

- (403) %Mam      mao      'ina      pain      ca      mixem      nucun  
b.

instr      go:s      1s:rp/p      prep:3n      INFL:nrp/p      black      poss:3sm

womu.

womi-u

cotton-1s

'I went, using my dirty clothes (lit. my clothes' dirtiness) as the instrument by which I went.'

- (404) a. Mam      to'      'inain                  ca                  xain      ne                  con  
                              'in-a-in

instr hit 1s:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:1s prep:3sm

womu.

womi-u

cotton-1s

‘I washed my clothes with a fever.’

- (404) b. \*Mam      to'      'inon                  womu                  pain                  ca                  xain  
                              'ina-on                  womi-u

instr hit 1s:rp/p-3sm cotton-1s prep:3n INFL:nrp/p hot

ne.

poss:1s

'I used my fever as the instrument with which I washed my clothes.'

There is no formal means of expressing negative circumstance, other than by negating a positive circumstance statement. In this case, however, the scope of negation seems only to include negative circumstance.

- [illegible]

not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      instr      go:s      1s-3sm      INFL:nrp/p      black

nucun                womu.

womi-u

poss:3sm      cotton-1s

'I did not go with my dirty clothes.' (lit. '...with my clothes' dirtiness.')

- |          |   |                 |       |     |                |            |      |         |
|----------|---|-----------------|-------|-----|----------------|------------|------|---------|
| (405) b. | 'Om                                       | ca              | mam   | to' | tain<br>ta'-in | ca         | xain | ne      |
|          | not:exist                                 | INFL:nrp/p      | instr | hit | 1s-3n          | INFL:nrp/p | hot  | poss:1s |
|          | con                                       | womu.<br>womi-u |       |     |                |            |      |         |
|          | prep:3sm                                  | cotton-1s       |       |     |                |            |      |         |
|          | 'I did not wash my clothes with a fever.' |                 |       |     |                |            |      |         |

One could also negate only the object expressing circumstance of a positive circumstance statement, and this would focus more on negative circumstance, but it is not a readily accepted speech form. (405) is preferred to (406).

- |          |   |           |                   |            |           |       |          |
|----------|---|-----------|-------------------|------------|-----------|-------|----------|
| (406) a. | Mam   | mao       | 'inon<br>'ina-on  | ca         | 'om       | mixem | nucun    |
|          | instr   | go:s      | 1s:rp/p-3sm       | INFL:nrp/p | not:exist | black | poss:3sm |
|          | womu.   |           |                   |            |           |       |          |
|          | womi-u  |           |                   |            |           |       |          |
|          | cotton-1s   |           |                   |            |           |       |          |
|          | 'I went with my nondirty clothes.' (lit. '...with my clothes' nondirtiness.') |           |                   |            |           |       |          |
| (406) b. | Mam   | to'       | 'inain<br>'ina-in | ca         | 'om       | xain  | ne       |
|          | instr   | hit       | 1s:rp/p-3n        | INFL:nrp/p | not:exist | hot   | poss:1s  |
|          | con   |           | womu.<br>womi-u   |            |           |       |          |
|          | prep:3sm  | cotton-1s |                   |            |           |       |          |
|          | 'I washed my clothes with my nonfever.'                                       |           |                   |            |           |       |          |

#### 2.1.1.4.6. Possessive

Possessive is marked on the possessed element. It is expressed three ways, each of which applies to a separate class of nouns:

(1) The class of possession marking suffixes inflects for person, number, and third person gender on the bound form of all *-xi'* nouns, which are inalienably possessed. The paradigm of possession marking suffixes is as follows (each of these suffixes has allomorphs that are phonologically conditioned—see discussion and examples in 3.4):

first singular	-0
second singular	-m
third singular masculine	-con

third singular feminine	- <i>cam</i>
third neuter	- <i>in</i>
first plural inclusive	- <i>xi'</i>
first plural exclusive	- <i>xut</i>
second plural	- <i>hu'</i>
third plural masculine	- <i>cocon</i>
third plural feminine	- <i>cacam</i>

Most *-xi'* nouns also have free forms, some of which make up a class of nonpossessed nouns (they cannot be possessed—see 2.1.1.4.6.1), and others of which, together with all other unpossessed nouns, can be possessed by:

(2) The class of nominal inflectional clitics that also inflect for person, number, and third person gender. None of these NICS has allomorphs. The paradigm of NICS is identical in function and phonologically similar to the possessive suffixes described above. It is as follows:

first singular	<i>ne</i>
second singular	<i>nem</i>
third singular masculine	<i>nucun</i>
third singular feminine	<i>nequem</i>
third neuter	<i>nein</i>
first plural inclusive	<i>nexti'</i>
first plural exclusive	<i>nuxut</i>
second plural	<i>nuhu'</i>
third plural masculine	<i>nucucun</i>
third plural feminine	<i>nequequem</i>

(3) The Tenseless verbal inflectional clitics mark possession on *co'* kinship terms—see the discussion and examples in 2.2.2.2.1.5.

2.1.1.4.6.1. Alienable and inalienable possession *Co-* kinship terms, derived from relative clauses (see 2.2.2.2.1.5), are inalienably possessed, as are *-xi'* nouns, so-called because their citation form ends with the suffix *-xi'* 'first person plural inclusive'. Most *-xi'* nouns have free alternate forms which can be divided into two classes: (1) nonpossessed forms, which cannot be possessed; and (2) unpossessed forms, which are accepted by some speakers in alienable possession. The nonpossessed class of nouns consists of words for body parts: '*at* 'bone', '*waji* 'head', '*caxim* 'foot', '*jat* 'tooth', '*ut* 'nose'. Possession of words in this class of nouns must be expressed by the inflection of their *-xi'* forms, rather than their free forms:

(407) a. 'aracon

- (407) b.                      ara-con  
                                  bone-3sm  
                                  'his bone or leg'  
                                  \*'at nucun  
                                  bone poss:3sm  
                                  'his bone or leg'
- (408) a.                      winahu'  
                                  wina-hu'  
                                  head-2p  
                                  'your (p1) heads'
- (408) b.                      \*waji'                      nuhu'  
                                  head                      poss:2p  
                                  'your (pl) heads'

There is some question as to whether the class of unpossessed nouns, that have *-xi'* alternate forms, is truly possessable. A few of them have been found in the corpus ((409c) is one example), occurring with the possession marking NICS, but some informants have said that the use of NICS with these unpossessed forms is ungrammatical, and that their use is the result of outside pressure from persons who do not speak the language well. Of the pairs of examples below, (a) is preferred to (b).

- (409) a.                      xiricon  
                                  xiri-con  
                                  house-3sm  
                                  'his house'
- (409) b.                      xirim                      nucun  
                                  house                      poss:3sm  
                                  'his house'
- (409) c.                      Corom                      nanain                      xirim                      nucun                      Mirin                      pane.  
                                  enter                      3p:rp/p-3n                      house                      poss:3sm                      m:name                      rem:past  
                                  'They entered Mirin's house.'
- (410) a.                      mijaquicon  
                                  mijaqui-con  
                                  pig-3sm  
                                  'his pig'

(410) b.	mijac	nucun
	pig	poss:3sm
	'his pig'	

Possessable nouns include names of species (most animals, e.g. birds, fish, bees and other insects, trees), as well as names of people. Possession is marked on this class of nouns by the NICS listed above. Many animals and birds, especially significant game animals and birds, have *-xi'* forms, by means of which possession is preferably marked—see the preceding examples.

(411) a.	nanacam'	nucun
	fish:species	poss:3sm
	'his <i>nanacam'</i> fish'	

(411) b.	'orocohu	nem
	tree:species	poss:2s
	'your <i>'orocohu</i> tree'	

#### 2.1.1.4.6.2. Temporary and permanent possession See 1.10.3.

#### 2.1.1.4.6.3. Present-past distinctions in possession See 1.10.5.

#### 2.1.1.4.7. Possessed

Possessive is marked on the possessed element—see 2.1.1.4.6.

#### 2.1.1.4.8. Quality

There is no special nominal inflection marking for quality. The notion of quality (person with or without a certain quality) can be expressed by the preverbal modifier *tama'* 'always' or the verb *taxipa'* 'to befriend' used in the postverbal modification position with the meaning of 'customarily', appearing optionally with the main verb of the sentence.

(412) a.	Waraju	na	co	ma'.
	play	3s:rp/p	m	that:prox:hearer
	'He plays.'			

(412) b.	Tama'	waraju	na	co	ma'.
	always	play	3s:rp/p	m	that:prox:hearer
	'He always plays.'				

(412) c.	Waraju	taxipa'	na	co	ma'.
----------	--------	---------	----	----	------

‘He customarily plays.’

#### 2.1.1.4.8a. Negative quality

Negative quality is expressed by negating statements expressing quality and by replacing the verb *taxipa'* by *taxi'* 'to know' or 'to be able'.

(413) 'Om                    ca                    waraju                    taxi'                    ca.  
not:exist                    INFL:nrp/p                    play                    know                    3sm  
'He doesn't know how (isn't able to) play.'

#### 2.1.1.4.8b. Reference quality

Reference quality is expressed by a relevant verb with the optional use of the preverbal modifier *tama'* 'always' or the verb *taxipa'* 'befriend' used as a postverbal modifier, rendering the meaning of 'customarily'.

(414) a.	Tomi'	'iri'o'	na	taramaxicon.	
	speak	true	3s:rp/p	chief	
	'The chief speaks truthfully.'				
(414) b.	Tomi'	'iri'o'	taxipa'	na	taramaxicon.
	speak	true	customarily	3s:rp/p	chief
	'The chief customarily speaks truthfully.'				
(414) c.	Tama'	tomi'	'iri'o'	na	taramaxicon.
	always	speak	true	3s:rp/p	chief
	'The chief always speaks truthfully.'				

#### 2.1.1.4.9. Quantity

There is no special nominal inflection marking for quantity. Terms of quantity are limited in the language. They occur as verbs, as follows: *xica' pe/to* 'to be alone'/'to be one', *tucu caracan* 'to be face-to-face'/'to be two', *paric* 'to be few', *tocwan* 'to be several', *mija* 'to be much', *'iri' mijo* 'to be many', and *xam'* 'to be all of it'. Numerical terms for 'two' or more have been borrowed from Portuguese, and they are readily used by the younger generation; older people, however, usually use only 'ON equivalents wherever possible. The Portuguese term for 'one', *um* or *uma* is never used as a substitute for *xica' pe/to* 'to be alone'/'to be one'.

(415) a.	'An	xica'	pe	'inain 'ina-in	jaji jaji-0	caji caji-0
	takers	alone	be:at:s	1s:rp/p-3n	container-3n	strangeness-3n

tawi.

# honey

'I took one package of sugar (strange honey).'

- |          |                                     |         |                   |                |                |       |
|----------|-------------------------------------|---------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| (415) b. | *'An                                | um      | 'inain<br>'ina-in | jaji<br>jaji-0 | caji<br>caji-0 | tawi. |
|          | takers                              | one     | 1s:rp/p-3n        | container-3n   | strangeness-3n | honey |
|          | 'I took one package of sugar.'      |         |                   |                |                |       |
| (415) c. | Cut                                 | tocwan  | 'inain<br>'ina-in | jaji<br>jaji-0 | caji<br>caji-0 | tawi. |
|          | take:p                              | several | 1s:rp/p-3n        | container-3n   | strangeness-3n | honey |
|          | 'I took several packages of sugar.' |         |                   |                |                |       |

Cardinal numbers function as verbs (416a) or appear in postverbal modification position in a compound verb (416b).

- |          |  |      |               |          |          |       |         |          |
|----------|--|------|---------------|----------|----------|-------|---------|----------|
| (416) a. | Dois na  |      | litro nein    |          | comi     |       | naran   | pata'.   |
|          |  |      |               |          | comi-0   |       |         |          |
|          | two 3s:rp/p  |      | litre prep:3n |          | water-3n |       | light   | prep:1s  |
|          | 'I got two litres of kerosene.' (lit. 'It is two litres of light water for me.') |      |               |          |          |       |         |          |
| (416) b. | Ji'ao  | dois | mi'           | ne       | pain     | too   | nein    | comi     |
|          |  |      |               |          |          |       |         | comi-0   |
|          | pour   | two  | give          | 2s:1s:rf | prep:3n  | metal | poss:3n | water-3n |
|          |  |      |               |          |          |       |         | light    |
|          | 'Pour me two bottles (litres) of kerosene (light water).'                        |      |               |          |          |       |         |          |

A borrowed term usually appears in the verb, preceded by a cardinal number in the same compound, as in (417a–b).

- |          |   |      |        |      |          |  |                  |                |        |
|----------|---|------|--------|------|----------|--|------------------|----------------|--------|
| (417) a. | Co  |      | vinte  |      | metro    |  | 'inon<br>'ina-on |                | wom.   |
|          | unwind  |      | twenty |      | metre    |  | 1s:rp/p-3sm      |                | cotton |
|          | 'I bought (unwound) twenty metres of cloth.'    |      |        |      |          |  |                  |                |        |
| (417) b. | Ji'ao   | dois | litro  | mi'  | ne       |  | pain             | comi<br>comi-0 | naran. |
|          | pour  | two  | litre  | give | 2s:1s:rf |  | prep:3n          | water-3n       | light  |
|          | 'Pour me two litres of kerosene (light water).' |      |        |      |          |  |                  |                |        |

#### 2.1.1.4.10. Material

There is no special nominal inflection for material. In the Wari' culture, products carry the name of the material from which they are made, e.g. *temem'* 'bow' is made from the

hard palmwood which bears this name, *wao'* 'small woven basket' is made from the leaves of the palm tree which bears this name. A statement such as 'I made the bow with *temem'* wood' would be senseless, because a *temem'* can only be made with *temem'* wood. They would simply say, 'I made a *temem'*.'

(418)	Quep	'inain 'ina-in	temem'.
	make	1s:rp/p-3n	bow
	'I made a bow.'		

There are, however, some articles that can be made from a variety of materials, such as mats, large baskets, house coverings, canoes, etc. Material in relation to these objects can be expressed by verbalizing the noun representing the product (i.e. using the first person singular possessive form), using it as the last member of a compound verb, and expressing the material as the object of this compound verb:

(419) a.	Ten	wita wita-0	'inain 'ina-in	caxima.
	weave	mat -1s	1s:rp/p-3n	palm:species
	'I wove a mat of <i>caxima</i> leaves.' (lit. 'I wove and "matted" <i>caxima</i> leaves.')			
(419) b.	Quep	canoa	ne	'inain 'ina-in
	make	canoe	poss:1s	1s:rp/p-3n
	tree:species			
	'I made a canoe of <i>xipain xirim</i> (wood).' (lit. 'I made and "canoeed" <i>xipain xirim</i> .')			

Either the regular verb or the verbalized noun in the constructions illustrated in (419) can be omitted:

(420) a.	Ten	'inain 'ina-in	caxima.
	weave	1s:rp/p-3n	palm:species
	'I wove <i>caxima</i> leaves.'		
(420) b.	Wita	'inain	caxima.
	wita-0	'ina-in	
	mat-1s	1s:rp/p-3n	palm:species
	'I made a mat of <i>caxima</i> leaves.' (lit. 'I "matted" <i>caxima</i> leaves.')		

Negative material is expressed by negating a positive material statement, followed by a positive parallel statement.

(421)	'Om	ca	wita	tain	caxima.	Wita
			wita-0	ta'-in		wita-0



not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      mat-1s      1s-3n      palm:species      mat-1s  
 'inain      torot.  
 'ina-in

1s:rp/p-3n      palm:species

'I didn't make a mat of *caxima* leaves. I made a mat of *torot* leaves.' (lit. 'I didn't "mat" *caxima* leaves, I "matted" *torot* leaves.')

#### 2.1.1.4.11. Manner

There is no special nominal inflection marking for manner. Manner is expressed in two ways.

(i) As a derived noun in a prepositional phrase

(422)      Maqui'      na      pain.      ca      mana'      nucun.  
              come      3s:rp/p      prep:3n      INFL:nrp/p      angry      poss:3sm  
              'He came angrily.' (lit. '...with anger.')

(ii) As part of a compound verb

It may occur initially or noninitially in the compound, depending on the chronological order of the actions and the underlying semantic features of the verbs.

(423) a.      Tomi'      wixite      nana.  
              speak      careful      3p:rp/p  
              'They spoke slowly (or carefully).'

(423) b.      Mao      hwap      na      wari'.  
              go:s      fast:s      3s:rp/p      person  
              'The person went quickly.' (lit. 'The person went and was fast.')

(423) c.      Mao      querec      te      na.  
              go:s      see      father:1s      3s:rp/p  
              'He went happily.' (lit. 'He went and was happy.')

(423) d.      Xuruxut      jin'      nanain      mi      hwijima'.  
    nana-in  
              walk:p      afraid      3p:rp/p-3n      forest      children  
              'The children walked fearfully in the forest.' (lit. 'The children walked and were afraid in the forest.')

Negative manner is expressed by either negating the forms above illustrating manner (424a) or by substituting the manner verb with an antonym (424b).

(424) a.      'Om      ca      xuruxut      jin'      cacain      mi      hwijima'.

‘The children did not walk fearfully in the forest.’

(424) b.      Xuruxut           quereme           nanain           mi           hwijima'.

‘The children walked courageously in the forest.’

#### 2.1.1.4.12. Cause

Cause as a nonlocal semantic function is described in 1.1.2.4.2.4.

#### 2.1.1.4.13. Purpose

There is no formal means of expressing purpose such as that found in 'I went to Guajar  to get clothes', or 'I cut wood for my house.' This concept may be expressed by two juxtaposed sentences, the second of which conveys purpose in the following ways.

(1) By means of a verbalized future tense sentence, described in 1.1.1.4.3.2.2.

(425) Mao 'inain Guajará. Cut ta' wom ina

'I went to Guajar . "I will get clothes", I (said).'

(2) By means of the purpose type of verbal modification clause described in 1.1.2.4.2.3, in which the purpose clause is expressed as a direct speech, reflecting the thoughts that motivate the situation. Though (425) is not illformed, (426) is preferred.

(426) Mao 'inain Guajará. Ma' ta cut ta'

wom	'ina	pane.
cotton	1s:rp/p	rem:past

'I went to Guajar . "So that I will get clothes", I (said).'

2.1.1.4.14. *Function*

Function is expressed like material (see 2.1.1.4.10): it occurs as a denominalized verb (first person singular possessive form), and the element to which it is related appears as the object of the verb.

(427)	Quit	ne	'inain	pana.
			'ina-in	
	knife	poss:1s	1s:rp/p-3n	tree
	'I used the stick as a knife.'			

2.1.1.4.15. *Reference*

There is no special nominal inflection marking reference. Reference is expressed as a nominal, appearing as the direct object of a verb expressing communication (e.g. *pijim'* 'tell', *tomi'* 'to speak', *coromicat* 'to think'). Note its function with an indirect object in (428b), where the indirect object is marked in the object (suffix) VIC, and the (logical) direct object is expressed by a prepositional phrase.

(428) a.	Tomi'	nonon	copacao'.			
		nana-on				
	speak	3p:rp/p-3sm	jaguar			
	'They spoke about the jaguar.'					
(428) b.	Pijim'	hwet	'inuhu'	pain	ca	mi'
			'ina-hu'			
	tell	approach	1s:rp/p-2p	prep:3n	INFL:nrp/p	give
pin		nequem	na'		pane.	
completely		poss:3sf	mother:1s		rem:past	
'I told you about my mother's death long ago.' (lit. '...about my mother's giving completely (dying)...')						

2.1.1.4.16. *Essive*

Essive is expressed by two juxtaposed sentences, the essive element being in the second sentence:

(429)	Pe	nain	Soterio	José.	Taramaxicon	pe
		na-in				
	be:at:s	3s:rp/p-3n	place:name	m:name	chief	be:at:s
	nain	cain.				
	na-in					
	3s:rp/p-3n	that:n:distal				

'José is on the Soterio (River). He is chief there.'

#### 2.1.1.4.17. Translative

Translative is expressed as direct speech in the form of a first person singular possessed noun.

- |          |   |         |                |        |      |        |
|----------|---|---------|----------------|--------|------|--------|
| (430) a. | Taramaxicon   | ne      | 'iripum.       |        |      |        |
|          | chief   | poss:1s | 1pexcl:rp/p-2s |        |      |        |
|          | 'We made you chief.' (lit. "My chief", we (said) to you.)                     |         |                |        |      |        |
| (430) b. | Taramaxicon   | ne      | nonon          | Xijam  | 'oro | wari'. |
|          |   |         | nana-on        |        |      |        |
|          | chief   | poss:1s | 3p:rp/p-3sm    | m:name | coll | person |
|          | 'The people made Xijam chief.' (lit. "My chief", the people (said) to Xijam.) |         |                |        |      |        |

When the translative element is possessed, it must be rephrased as a direct speech embedded in a direct speech. The translative element may only be expressed in a first person singular possessed form.

- |       |   |         |           |      |        |                 |
|-------|---|---------|-----------|------|--------|-----------------|
| (431) | Taramaxicon   | ne      | teterem   | 'oro | wari'  | 'iricon         |
|       |   |         | tatara-em |      |        | 'urut-con       |
|       | chief   | poss:1s | 3p:rf-2s  | coll | person | 1pexcl:rp/p-3sm |
|       | Xijam.  |         |           |      |        |                 |
|       | m:name  |         |           |      |        |                 |
|       | 'We made Xijam the people's chief.' (lit. "'My chief.' the people will (say) to you", we (said) to Xijam.') |         |           |      |        |                 |

#### 2.1.1.4.18. Part-whole

Part-whole relations are expressed by a possessed noun phrase.

- |          |                                 |                |
|----------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| (432) a. | caximacon                       | jowin          |
|          | caxima-con                      |                |
|          | foot-3sm                        | monkey:species |
|          | 'jowin monkey's foot'           |                |
| (432) b. | taparain                        | pana           |
|          | tapara-in                       |                |
|          | arm-3n                          | tree           |
|          | 'tree's branch' (lit. '...arm') |                |

#### 2.1.1.4.19. Partitive

**2.1.1.4.19.1–4. Partitive and nonpartitive numeral and quantifier** Numeral and quantifier forms are limited in the language. See 2.1.1.4.9, where we list the verbs that express numeral and quantity in 'ON. Numerals, including *dois* 'two', are borrowed from Portuguese (*duas* 'two (f)' is rarely used). *Um* is never used as a substitute for the verb *xica* 'pe/to 'to be alone'/'to be one'.

There are no formal means of expressing partitive. There are no significant syntactic distinctions between numeral and quantifier as they relate to partitive, nor is the line between partitive and nonpartitive clear. Partitive numeral and quantifier employ numerals or numeral/quantifier verbs as postverbal modifiers to form a compound with the verb *ma'* 'to exist'. The verb describing the action of the element to which partitive is related appears in a relative clause whose head is the subject of the verb *ma'*. This construction may also be construed to express nonpartitive.

- |          |   |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
|----------|---|-------|-------|---------|----------|--------------|--------------|--|------|
| (433) a. | Ma'   |       | xica' | pe      | na       | pije'        | co           |  | caxi |
|          | exist   |       | alone | be:at:s | 3s:rp/p  | child        | INFL:m/frp/p |  | sick |
|          | ma'.  |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
|          | that:prox:hearer  |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
|          | 'One of the children is sick.' (lit. 'There is one child who is sick.')         |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
| (433) b. | Ma'   |       | dois  | nana    | hwijima' | co           |              |  | caxi |
|          | exist   |       | two   | 3p:rp/p | children | INFL:m/frp/p |              |  | sick |
|          | ma'.  |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
|          | that:prox:hearer  |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
|          | 'Two of the children are sick.' (lit. 'There are two children who are sick.')   |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
| (433) c. | Ma'   | 'iri' | mijo  | nana    | hwijima' | co           |              |  | caxi |
|          | exist   | truly | much  | 3p:rp/p | children | INFL:m/frp/p |              |  | sick |
|          | ma'.  |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
|          | that:prox:hearer  |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |
|          | 'Many of the children are sick.' (lit. 'There are many children who are sick.') |       |       |         |          |              |              |  |      |

While partitive may be taken to mean nonpartitive, nonpartitive may be expressed more specifically, as in (434), where the number or numeral/ quantifier verb appears in the postverbal modification position with the verb describing the action of the element to which nonpartitive is related. There is no relative clause in nonpartitive constructions.

- (434) a.           Caxi           xica'           pe           na           pije'.  
sick           alone           be:at:s           3s:rp/p           child  
'One child is sick.'
- (434) b.           Caxi           dois           nana           hwijima'.

sick                      two                      3p:rp/p                      children

‘Two children are sick.’

(434) c.                   Caxi                   'iri'                   mijo                   nana                   hwijima'.

sick            truly            much            3p:rp/p            children

‘Many children are sick.’

**2.1.1.4.19.5-6. Partitive and nonpartitive negative quantifier** Partitive and nonpartitive negative quantifier is expressed by negating positive partitive and nonpartitive quantifier statements.

(435) a. 'Om            nana            hwijima'            co                            caxi            ma'.  
not:exist            3p:rp/p            children            INFL:m/frp/p            sick            that:prox/hearer

'None of the children are sick.' (lit. 'There are no children who are sick.')

(435) b.	'Om	ca	caxi	caca	hwijima'.
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	sick	3pm	children

‘The children are not sick.’

**2.1.1.4.20-21. Price and value** Price and value involve concepts that were lacking in the language and culture until recent years (see also 2.1.1.4.9). The nouns *tajixi* 'our leaf or simply *tan* 'leaf' are used by many to express the concept of money, price or value.

(436) a.	Cain'	cain'	ne	taji	comi	naran?
				taji-0	comi-0	
	that:n:distal	that:n:distal	3n	leaf-3n	water-3n	light

'How much is kerosene?' (lit. 'How many are the leaves of light's water?')

(436) b.	Mija	non	tan!
		na-on	
	much	3s:rp/p-3sm	leaf

‘He has a lot of money!’ (lit. ‘Leaves are much to him!’)

Portuguese monetary terms have been incorporated into the language in a limited way: *real* and *centavo* (Brazilian monetary units) usually appear in a compound verb with a preposed number; *dinheiro*, the Portuguese term for ‘money’ but generally used as ‘price’ in ‘ON, usually appears as a noun, invariably accompanied by a postposed possessive marking NIC, as in the following exchange:

(437) a.	Cain'	cain'	ne	dinheiro	nein	comi	naran?
						comi-0	
	how	how	3n	money	poss:3n	water-3n	light

'What is the price of kerosene?' (lit. 'How much is light's water's money?')

(437) b.	Dois	real	na	dinheiro	nein.
	two	real	3s:rp/p	money	poss:3n

'Its price (money) is two *reais*.'

Though both (437) and (438) are acceptable forms, the tendency is to avoid the borrowed terms as much as possible. (438) is usually preferred to (437).

[illegible]

how            how            3n            leaf-3n            water-3n            light

'What is the price of kerosene?' (lit. 'How many are the light's water's leaves?')

(438) b.	Dois	na	taji.
			taji-0
	two	3s:rp/p	leaf-0

'Its price (leaves) is two.'

The relationship shown by English *bought it for* is usually expressed in a sequence of two sentences.

(439)	Ji'ao 'ina	comi	naran.	Dois na	taji.
		comi-0			taji-0
	pour 1s:rp/p	water-3n	light	two 3s:rp/p	leaf-3n

'I bought kerosene for two *reais*.' (lit. 'I poured light's water. Its leaves were two.')

#### 2.1.1.4.22–23. Distance and extent

Specific terms for distance and extent are lacking in the language. Portuguese terms have been borrowed in a limited way; they usually appear as verbs. Relationships are expressed in a sequence of two sentences, similar to that of price and value in (439). The first sentence contains a proposition, the quantity implied in distance or extent being expressed by an 'ON equivalent in the VP. The borrowed term is expressed with a preposed number in the VP of the second sentence, and its subject usually reiterates the verb of the first sentence, or a meaning similar to it, in a noun clause or derived noun.

(440) a.	Xut	tamana	'ina.	Dois	quilometro	na	ca
	walk:s	much	1s:rp/p	two	kilometre	3s:rp/p	INFL:nrp/p
	xut	ta'	ca'.				
	walks	2s	this:n				

'I walked a lot. It was two kilometres that I walked.'

- 'My house is big. Its length (lit. largeness) is eight metres.'

#### 2.1.1.4.24. Concessive

There is no special form for marking nominals for the concessive case. Concessive is expressed by the contraexpective type of verbal modification clause. It is usually preceded by a clause with *paxi* 'not:find', which is described in 1.1.2.4.2.8.

- 'I came despite the rain.' (lit. 'Although it rained, (but) I (still) came.')

#### 2.1.1.4.25. Inclusion

When an element is to be specifically mentioned as included in a group, it is expressed in a second sentence as a topicalized element, either as the subject or the left dislocated topic—see 1.12. The referent particle *quem* is postposed to the topicalized element.

- ‘All the people ate. Xijam also ate.’

- 'I got all of my things. My baskets also, I got all of them also.'



2.1.1.4.26. *Exclusion*

Like inclusion, exclusion is expressed by a sequence of two sentences. The first expresses the proposition; the second specifies the element to be excluded from the group. A relative clause is often used in the second sentence.

- (443) a. Cao' cao' xam' nana 'oro wari'. Xica' pe na  
 eat eat all 3p:rp/p coll person alone be:at:s 3s:rp/p  
 Xijam co 'om cao' ma'.  
 m:name INFL:m/frp/p not:exist eat that:prox:hearer  
 'All the people ate. It was only Xijam who didn't eat.'

- (443) b. Cut cut pi' pin 'inain caramaju.  
 ma'. 'ina-in caramaji-u  
 take:p take:p finish completely 1s:rp/p-3n things-1s  
 Xica' to na 'oro cota ca  
 cota-0  
 alone be:at:p 3s:rp/p coll basket-1s INFL:nrp/p  
 'Om cut ta' ma'.  
 not:exist take:p 1s that:prox:hearer  
 'I got all of my things. It was only my baskets that I didn't get.'

2.1.1.4.27. *Addition*

Addition is expressed by a sequence of two sentences, the first of which states the original proposition, while the second states who is to be 'added' to the action of the first. The referent particle *quem* is also postposed to the element to be 'added' to the action of the first sentence. The verb *mo* 'list presentation' and the VP *ca' na* 'thus it is/was' are often used to specify the participants of the addition element (see coordination 1.3).

- (444) Cao' na Xijam. Cao' nana mana panxica quem.  
 panxi-ca  
 eat 3s:rp/p m:name eat 3p:rp/p coll child-3sm ref  
 Mo nana. Jimain To, Minain, Maxun, ca'  
 list:presentation 3p:rp/p m:name m:name m:name this:n  
 nana.  
 3p:rp/p  
 'Xijam ate. His sons also ate. Here is the list of them: Jimain To, Minain, Maxun, thus they are.'

2.1.1.4.28. *Vocatives*

Vocative nominals usually occur at the end of the sentence. There is no vocative particle.

- (445) a.           Hwap           ra           ta           xa'.  
                   fast:s           2s:rf           emph           younger:sibling:1s  
                   'Hurry, little brother.'
- (445) b.   Main                           ca                   mao   ta'       ma   te?  
              ma'-in  
              that:prox:speaker-3n           INFL:nrp/p       go:s   1s:rf   2s   father:1s  
              'Where do you (say), "I am going", father?'

#### 2.1.1.4.29–30. Citation and label forms

Citation and label forms are expressed in the following forms:

(i) Possessed nouns are expressed in their basic form, which is first person plural inclusive, i.e. *winaxi* 'our heads' for 'heads' in general.

(ii) Verbs and unpossessed nouns may also be expressed as nominals with the infinitival/participial marker *wa*. When the verb is reduplicated, as in (446a–b), the postverbal modifier *qui* 'coming:this:way' always accompanies it.

- (446) a.       ca                   pana       pana       qui'                   wa   ca'  
              INFL:nrp/p       tree       tree       coming:this:way       inf   this:n  
              'trees'
- (446) b.       ca                   pa'       pa'       qui'                   wa   ca'  
              INFL:nrp/p       kill       kill       coming:this:way       inf   this:n  
              'killing'
- (446) c.       \*ca                           pa'       pa'       wa       ca'  
              INFL:nrp/p                   kill       kill       inf       this:n  
              'killing'
- (446) d.       Ma'       na                   ca                   comerem                   wa?  
              exist       3s:rp/p           INFL:nrp/p           comerem           inf  
              'What does *comerem* mean?' (lit. 'Does *comerem* exist?')  
              (Note: *comerem* means 'thunder')
- (446) e.       Ma'       na                   ca                   cwirin'                   wa?  
              exist       3s:rp/p           INFL:nrp/p           cwirin'           inf  
              'What does *cwirin'* mean?' (lit. 'Does *cwirin'* exist?')  
              (Note: *cwirin'* means 'repent')

(iii) The only examples we have of label forms are captions for illustrations of translated material. They must be expressed as subordinate clauses or derived nouns introduced by

the INFL morpheme *ca* 'neuter realis past/present' and using either Tenseless/passive VICS or NICS.

- (447) a.      *ca*                      *tatatain*      *mi'*      *tocwa*              *pain*              *pana*      *Jeju*  
                  INFL:nrp/p      *strike:p*      *give*      *pass:3sm*              *prep:3n*              *tree*      *Jesus*  
                  'when Jesus was nailed to the tree'
- (447) b.      *ca*                      *xo'*              *quep*              *qui'*                              *cain*              *macan'*  
                                               *ca-in*  
                  INFL:nrp/p      *recent*      *make*      *coming:this:way*              *3sm-3n*              *dirt*  
                  'Iri'      *Jam*      *pane*  
                  *truly*      *spirit*      *rem:past*  
                  'When God first made the earth'
- (447) c.      *ca*                      *pan'*              *qui'*                              *nucun*              *Jeju.*  
                  INFL:nrp/p              *fall:s*              *coming:this:way*              *poss:3sm*              *Jesus*  
                  'Jesus' birth'

#### 2.1.1.5. Local semantic functions

##### 2.1.1.5.1. Introduction

Location in space is expressed (1) by verbs (compound or simple); and/or (2) by body-part nouns. While the type of location (general, interior, ulterior, etc.) may be expressed by the body-part noun functioning as the object of the verb, movement in relation to the location ('at rest', 'motion to', 'motion from', or 'motion past') is expressed only by the verb. The noun to which the local function is related appears as an object of the verb, or as the possessor of an object of the verb. We will describe in this section the means for expressing local semantic functions, although none of these involves special case marking on the noun.

##### (1) Location in space expressed by verbs

Some types of location in space are expressed by verbs that indicate specific types of motion or states ('at rest', 'motion to', 'motion from' and 'motion past') inherent in their meaning, e.g. *pe/to* 'to be at' for general 'at rest' location, *wixicam* 'to go near' for proximate 'motion to' location, *xom tacam* 'to cross over a river to the other side' for ulterior 'motion to' location, etc. It is, however, more common for the specific categories of local function to be expressed by a set of verbs and postverbal modifiers that explicitly indicate location: *pe/to* 'to be at', *mao/mama'* 'to go' (meaning 'going that way' when appearing in postverbal modification position), *qui'* 'coming this way' and *ca'* 'this neuter' (meaning 'from' or 'away from' when occurring in postverbal modification position). We call these location verbs.

'Motion at rest' can be expressed by the verb *pe/to* 'to be at', appearing either in a noncompounded verb (448a–b) or as the rightmost member of a compound verb

(postverbal modification position) (448c–d). When appearing in a compound verb, *pe/to* conveys the idea that the action of the verb with which it occurs was executed, and then the participant remained in the position occupied after completing the action. Compare (448c–f) with the other examples in (448) below.

- (448) a. Pe nain xirim.  
na-in  
be:at:s 3s:rp/p-3n house  
'He is at, or in, the house.'
- (448) b. To nain tamaxut jowin.  
na-in tama-xut  
be:at:p 3s:rp/p-3n top:of:head-1pexcl monkey:species  
'The *jowin* monkeys are over us.' (lit. ...at the top of our heads.)
- (448) c. Corom pe nain xirim.  
na-in  
enter be:at:s 3s:rp/p-3n house  
'He is inside the house.'
- (448) d. Piri' to nanain xirim.  
nana-in  
rise be:at:p 3p:rp/p-3n house.  
'They are on top of the house.'
- (448) e. Xao pe na.  
pound be:at:s 3s:rp/p  
'He is sitting down.' (lit. 'He made a pounding motion with his body and remained in that position.')
- (448) f. Tequi' to nana.  
fly:s be:at:p 3p:rp/p  
'They are standing up.' (lit. 'They arose (flew) and remained in that position.')

'Motion to' is expressed by two verbs whose use depends upon the physical location of the speaker: *mao/mama* 'to go' appears either as an independent verb or in compound verbs (postverbal modification position) to express outward motion, or motion away from the speaker; and *qui* 'coming this way' (a postverbal modifier) expresses inward motion, or motion toward the speaker.

- (449) a. Mao nain xirim.  
na-in  
go:s 3s:rp/p-3n house  
'He went to the house.'

- (449) b. Corom                      mao                      nain  
    na-in                      xirim.  
    enter                      go:s                      3s:rp/p-3n                      house  
    'He entered the house, going from the outside to the inside.'

- (449) c. Corom                      qui'                      nain                      xirim'.  
    na-in  
    enter                      coming:this:way                      3s:rp/p-3n                      house  
    'He entered the house, coming from the outside into the inside.'

'Motion from' is usually expressed by the demonstrative *ca'* 'this (n)', appearing in postverbal modification position with the meaning of 'away from or past'. Sometimes the postverbal modifier *qui'* 'coming this way' is used for motion from the source.

- (450) a. Hwet                      ca'                      'inon                      taxi.  
    'ina-on                      taxi-0  
    appears                      this:n                      1s:rp/p-3sm                      husband-1s  
    'I moved away from near my husband.'

- (450) b. Tan'                      qui'                      nanain                      xirinain                      pic.  
    nana-in                      xiri-nain  
    arrive:p                      coming:this:way                      3p:rp/p-3n                      house-3n                      rubber  
    'They arrived from the rubber camp.' (lit. '...rubber's house.')

'Motion past' is expressed by a semantically appropriate 'motion' verb, such as *xut/xuruxut* 'to walk', *tiquin'* 'to continue on', *ac* 'to travel', *mao/ mama'* 'to go' and *hwet/hwerehwet* 'to appear', occurring optionally (but usually) in a compound verb with the demonstrative *ca'* 'this (n)' or 'away from or past'.

- (451) a. Tiquin'                      ca'                      nanapari'.  
    nana-pari'  
    continue                      this:n                      3p:rp/p-1pincl  
    'They continued on past us.'

- (451) b. Jerejein                      ja'                      pan                      ca'                      nanain                      xirim                      hwijjima'.  
    nana-in  
    run:p                      follow                      emph                      this:n                      3p:rp/p-3n                      house                      children  
    'The children ran close by the house.'

- (451) c. Xuruxut                      mama'                      nanain                      warain                      xirim.  
    nana-in                      wara-in  
    walk:p                      go:p                      3p:rp/p-3n                      back-3n                      house



man

'The men are working on top of the house.' (lit. '...on the curve of the house's back.')

(452) d. Hwerekwet      qui'                      nanain              warain              xirim.  
    nana-in              wara-in

appear:p              coming:this:way              3p:rp/p-3n              back-3n              house

'They came out from behind the house.' (lit. 'They appeared, coming from the house's back.')

(452) e. Corom      mama'      nanain              tequipain              xirim      'oro      wari'.  
    nana-in              tequipa-in

enter              go:p              3p:rp/p-3n              thorax-3n              house      coll      person

'The people entered going into the house.' (lit. '...into the house's thorax.')

#### 2.1.1.5.2. General location

General location is expressed by the location verbs described in 2.1.1.5.1(1).

General 'at rest' location ('at')

(453)              To                      'iripain                      Pitop.  
    'urut-pain  
    1pexcl:rp/p-3n                      place:name  
    'We live at Pitop.'

General 'motion to' location ('to')

(454)              Mama'                      nanain                      xiricon.  
    nana-in                      xiri-con  
    go:p                      3p:rp/p-3n                      house-3sm  
    'They went to his house.'

General 'motion from' location ('from')

(455) a.              Maqui'                      nanain                      winain                      com.  
    nana-in                      wina-in  
    come                      3p:rp/p-3n                      head-3n                      water  
    'They came from upriver (lit. the water's head).'

(455) b.              Tan'                      qui'                      nanain                      xirinain                      pic.  
    nana-in                      xiri-nain  
    arrive:p                      coming:this:way                      3p:rp/p-3n                      house-3n                      rubber  
    'They arrived coming from the rubber camp.' (lit. '...rubber's house.')

General 'motion past' location ('past')

- ‘They went on past us.’

#### 2.1.1.5.3. Proximate location

Proximate location is expressed by appropriate verbs and/or location verbs.

Proximate 'at rest' location ('near')

- be:at:p      follow      emph      3p:rp/p-3n      fire      that:prox:hearer

‘They are near the fire.’

Proximate 'motion to' location ('to near')

- go:near                    3p:rp/p-3n                    fire                    that:prox:hearer

‘They went near the fire.’

Proximate ‘motion from’ location (‘from near’)

- leave      follow      emph      2p:rf-3n      fire      that:prox:hearer

‘Move away from near the fire!’

- |          |        |             |            |
|----------|--------|-------------|------------|
| approach | this:n | 1s:rp/p-3sm | husband-1s |
|----------|--------|-------------|------------|

'I moved away from (near) my husband.'

Proximate 'motion past' location ('near')

- travel follow emph 3p:rp/p-3n fire that:prox:hearer

‘They walked near the fire.’

- run:p follow emph this:n 3p:rp/p-3n house children



‘The children ran from close by the house.’

#### 2.1.1.5.4. Interior location

Most means of expressing interior location are characterized by the verb *corom* 'to enter', appearing with appropriate location verbs, which can in turn be postposed to other verbs.

Interior 'at rest' location ('in' or 'inside')

(461) a.	Corom	pe	nain na-in	xirim.
	enter	be:at:s	3s:rp/p-3n	house
	'He is in the house.'			
(461) b.	'An	corom	pe nain na-in	carawa.
	takers	enter	be:at:s 3s:rp/p-3n	animal
	'She put the meat inside.'			
(461) c.	Pi'am	corom	to nanain nana-in	xirim.
	sleep	enter	be:at:p 3p:rp/p-3n	house
	'They are sleeping in the house.'			

Interior ‘motion to’ location (‘into’)

(462) a.	Corom	mao	rain ra-in	xirim!
	enter	go:s	2s:rf-3n	house
	'Go into the house!'			
(462) b.	Juc	corom	mao	ron! ra-on
	push	enter	go:s	2s:rf-3sm
	'Push him inside!'			
(462) c.	Corom	qui'		ra!
	enter	coming:this:way		2s:rf
	'Enter coming this way!'			

Interior ‘motion from’ location (‘out of)

(463)	Hwrehwet	qui'	nanain	com	hwijima'.
a.			nana-in		
	appear:p	coming:this:way	3p:rp/p-3n	water	children

‘The children came out of the water.’ (lit. ‘The children appeared, coming out of the water.’)

(463) b.	Hwet	ca'	nain na-in	xirim.
	appears	this:n	3s:rp/p-3n	house
	‘He came out of the house.’ (lit. ‘He appeared, coming away from the house.’)			

Interior ‘motion past’ location (‘through’)

(464)	Corom	nanain nana-in	xijein xije-in	man	hwijima'.	Hwerehwet
	enter	3p:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n	hole	children	appear:p
	mama'	'ac	cacain caca-in	na	xijein xije-in	man.
	go:p	travel	3pm-3n	3s:rp/p	otherness-3n	hole
	‘The children entered one (lit. the other) door, and they went out the other door.’					

Interior location is also expressed by the body-part noun, *tequipaxi* ‘our thorax’. It can be used to express interior location in the same way as (461a, c), (462a) and (463b) above.

(465) a.	To	nanain nana-in	tequipain tequipa-in	xirim.		
	be:at:p	3p:rp/p-3n	thorax-3n	house		
	‘They are inside the house.’ (lit. ‘...in the house’s thorax.’)					
(465) b.	Corom to	nanain nana-in	tequipain tequipa-in	xirim.		
	enter be:at:p	3p:rp/p-3n	thorax-3n	house		
	‘They are inside the house.’ (lit. ‘...in the house’s thorax.’)					
(465) c.	Pi'am	corom	to	nanain nana-in	tequipain tequipa-in	xirim.
	sleep	enter	be:at:p	3p:rp/p-3n	thorax-3n	house
	‘They are sleeping inside the house.’ (lit. ‘...in the house’s thorax.’)					
(465) d.	Corom	mao	nain na-in	tequipain tequipa-in	xirim.	
	enter	go:s	3s:rp/p-3n	thorax-3n	house	
	‘He entered the house.’ (lit. ‘...into the house’s thorax.’)					
(465) e.	Hwet	ca'	nain na-in	tequipain tequipa-in	xirim.	
	appear:s	this:n	3s:rp/p-3n	thorax-3n	house	

'He came out of the house.' (lit. '...out of the house's thorax.')

#### 2.1.1.5.5. Exterior location

Exterior location is characterized by the verb *hwet/hwerehwet* ‘to appear’ (both the singular and plural form are used as intransitive verbs) or ‘to approach’ (only the singular form, *hwet*, may be used when this meaning is intended). It often functions the same way that *corom* (see (464)) expresses interior location, i.e. *hwet* can be compounded with a location verb, and this compound form can be used as the second member of a compound verb (466b).

Exterior 'at rest' location ('outside')

(466) a.	Hwet	to	nanain nana-in	xirim.
	approach	be:at:p	3p:rp/p-3n	house
	'They are outside the house.' (lit. 'They approached and are outside the house.')			

(466) b.	Pi'am	hwet	to	nana.
	sleep	approach	be:at:p	3p:rp/p
	'They slept outside.'			

Exterior ‘motion to’ location (‘outside’)

(467) a.	Hwet	mao	ra.
	appears	go:s	2s:rf
	'You (s) go outside!'		

(467) b.	Hwerehwet	mama'	je.
	appear:p	go:p	2p:rf
	'You (p) go outside!'		

(467) c.      Hwet            nanain            xirao'      xirao'      to            wa      ma'.  
                                  nana-in  
 approach      3p:rp/p-3n      mark      mark      be:at:p      inf      that:prox:hearer  
 'They approached (went to the outside of) the school.'

(467) d.	Xuruxut	hwet	nanain nana-in	xirim.
	walk:p	approach	3p:rp/p-3n	house
	'They walked to (walked and approached the outside of) the house.'			

Exterior ‘motion from’ location (‘away from’)

(468)    Hwet                  ca'                  rain                  xirim.  
   ra-in

appears	this:n	2s:rf-3n	house
'Come out of the house.' or 'Come away from the house.'			

Exterior 'motion past' location ('past')

(469)	Xuruxut	ca'	nanain nana-in	xirim.
	walk:p	this:n	3p:rp/p-3n	house
'They walked away from the house.' or 'They walked past the house.'				

#### 2.1.1.5.6. Anterior location

Anterior location is characterized by the body-part noun *quimaxi* 'our chest', appearing as the direct or oblique object of appropriate verbs and/or location verbs; or the verb derived from it, *quima* 'to "chest"'.

Anterior 'at rest' location ('in front of')

(470) a.	Pe	'inain 'ina-in	quimain quima-in	xuru. xiri-u
	be:at:s	1s:rp/p-3n	chest-3n	house-1s
'I am in front of my house.' (lit. '...at my house's chest.')				

(470) b.	To	nanain nana-in	quimacocon. quima-cocon
	be:at:p	3p:rp/p-3n	chest-3pm
'They were in front of them.' (lit. '...at their chests.')			

(470) c.	Xiran	xo'	xequequem	hwijima'	pain	quimain quima-in	xirao'
	line:up	correctly	refl:3pf	children	prep:3n	chest-3n	mark
	xirao'	to	wa.				
	mark	be:at:p	inf				
'The children lined up (regarding one another) in front of the school.' (lit. '...at the writing place's chest.')							

(470) d.	Pi'	to	nanain nana-in	quimaxut. quima-xut
	dance	be:at:p	3p:rp/p-3n	chest-1pexcl
'They danced in front of us.' (lit. '...at our chests.')				

(470) e.	Quima quima-0	xijexi'.
	chest-1s	refl:1pincl

'We stood in front of each other.' (lit. 'We "ched" each other.')

Anterior 'motion to' location ('in front of')

(471) a.	Hwet	rain ra-in	quimain quima-in	xirim!
	approach	2s:rf-3n	chest-3n	house

'Go to the front of the house!' (lit. '...to the house's chest.')

(471) b.	Xut	xut	jajao	quima quima-0	napa' na-pa'	panxita'. panxi-ta'
	walks	walk:s	together:p	chest-1s	3s:rp/p-1s	child-1s

'My son walked and came to a point in front of me.' (lit. '...and "ched" me.')

Anterior 'motion from' location ('from in front of')

(472) a.	Hwet	ca'	rain ra-in	quimain quima-in	xirim.
	appears	this:n	2s:rf-3n	chest-3n	house

'Come away from the front of the house.' (lit. '...from the house's chest.')

(472) b.	Cam	paca'	jein je-in	quimain quima-in	xirim.
	little	leave	2p:rf-3n	chest-3n	house

'Move away from the front of the house!' (lit. '...from the house's chest.')

Anterior 'motion past' location ('in front of')

(473)	Jerejein	ca'	nanain nana-in	quimain quima-in	xirim	hwijima'.
	run:p	this:n	3p:rp/p-3n	chest-3n	house	children

'The children ran past the front of the house.' (lit. '...past the house's chest.')

When people are in front of each other, face to face, *tucu hwet* 'to face toward' (used to express cterior-anterior location (see 2.1.1.5.21)) is preferred to a construction using *quimaxi'*, as in (470d), where 'face to face' is not implied.

(474)	Pi'	tucu toco-u	hwet	nanaparut. nana-parut
	dance	face-1s	approach	3p:rp/p-1pexcl

'They danced in front of us, face to face with us.'

The verb *o* 'to precede' or 'to lead' has anterior location inherent in its meaning. Note the unacceptable use of *quimaxi'* in this semantic environment.

- (475) a. 'O 'ina con taxi.  
 taxi-0  
 lead 1s:rp/p prep:3sm husband-1s  
 'I walked in front of my husband.'
- (475) b. \*Xut 'inain quimacon taxi.  
 'ina-in quima-con taxi-0  
 walks 1s:rp/p-3n chest-3sm husband-1s  
 'I walked in front of my husband.' (lit. 'I walked at my husband's chest.')

### 2.1.1.5.7. Posterior location

Posterior location is characterized by the body-part nouns *waraxi* 'our back' ('general area behind') and *nomonoxi* 'our buttocks' ('immediate area, close behind'), appearing as the object of appropriate verbs and/or location verbs.

Posterior 'at rest' location ('behind')

- (476) a. To nanain warain xirim hwijima'.  
 nana-in wara-in  
 be:at:p 3p:rp/p-3n back-3n house children  
 'The children are behind the house.' (lit. '...at the house's back.')
- (476) b. Xao pe rain nomoji canoa.  
 ra-in  
 pound be:at:s 2s:rf-3n buttocks:3n canoe  
 'Sit in the back of the canoe.' (lit. '...at the canoe's buttocks.')

Posterior 'to' location ('behind')

- (477) Hwet mao nain warain xirim.  
 na-in wara-in  
 appear:s go:s 3s:rp/p-3n back-3n house  
 'He went behind the house.' (lit. '...to the house's back.')

Posterior 'from' location ('from behind')

- (478) a. Hwet qui' nain nomoji xirim.  
 na-in  
 appear:s coming:this:way 3s:rp/p-3n buttocks:3n house  
 'It came out from close behind the house.' (lit. '...from the house's buttocks.')
- (478) b. Xuruxut ca' nanain nomoji xirim.  
 nana-in  
 walk:p this:n 3p:rp/p-3n buttocks:3n house

'They walked away from behind the house.' (lit. '...from the house's buttocks.')

#### Posterior 'past' location ('behind')

(479)	Xuruxut	mama'	nain nana-in	warain wara-in	xirim.
	walk:p	go:p	3p:rp/p-3n	back-3n	house

'They walked past the back of the house.' (lit. 'They walked, going to the house's back.')

#### 2.1.1.5.8. Superior location

Superior location can be expressed by the body-part noun *tamaxi* 'top of our head' or the simple noun *pawin* 'height' or 'sky', appearing as the object of an appropriate verb. The verb *piri* is also often used to express superior and superior-contact location—see 2.1.1.5.9.

##### Superior 'at rest' location ('above, over')

(480) a.	To	nain na-in	tamaxut tama-xut	jowin.
	be:at:p	3s:rp/p-3n	top:of:head-1pexcl	monkey:species

'The *jowin* monkeys are over us.' (lit. '...at the top of our heads.')

(480) b.	Xirao'	pe	nain na-in	pawin	tarama'.
	mark	be:at:s	3s:rp/p-3n	height	man

'The man wrote up high, above.'

##### Superior 'motion to' location ('above')

(481)	Tequi'	hwet	nain na-in	pana	pain	tamaxut. tama-xut
	fly:s	approach	3s:rp/p-3n	wood	prep:3n	top:of:head-1pexcl

'It flew to the tree above us.' (lit. '...at the top of our heads.')

##### Superior 'motion from' location ('from above')

(482)	Tequi'	ca'	nain na-in	pana	pain	tamaxut. tama-xut
	fly:s	this:n	3s:rp/p-3n	tree	prep:3n	top:of:head-1pexcl

'It flew from the tree above us.' (lit. '...at the top of our heads.')

##### Superior 'motion past' location ('over')

(483)	Huru	piri'	ca'	'inon 'ina-on	jowin.
-------	------	-------	-----	------------------	--------

shoot:with:arrow      rise      this:n      1s:rp/p-3sm      monkey:species  
 'I shot an arrow over (past) a *jowin* monkey.'

### 2.1.1.5.9. Superior-contact location

Superior-contact location is expressed by appropriate verbs and/or location verbs, whose object may be one of three body-part nouns. The choice of noun depends on the element to which it is related: 'on top of a tall object' is expressed by *tamaxi* 'top of our head'; 'on top of an object, whose surface is considered the outside of that object' is expressed by *xonexi* 'curve of our back'; and 'on the flat surface of an object' is expressed by *quimaxi* 'our chest'. We do not have an expression for superior-contact 'past' location.

Superior-contact 'at rest' location ('on')

(484) a.      Piri'      pe      nain      pana      towarao'.  
    na-in  
                  rise      be:at:s      3s:rp/p-3n      tree      parrot:species  
                  'The *towarao* parrot is up on the tree.'

(484) b.      Coco'      nain      tamain      pana      towarao'.  
    na-in      tama-in  
                  stand:p      3s:rp/p-3n      top:of:head-3n      tree      parrot:species  
                  'The *towarao* parrots are standing on top of the tree.' (lit. '...on the top of the tree's head.')

(484) c.      Xat      pe      nain      xonein      xirim      maho.  
    na-in      xone-in  
                  stand:s      be:at:s      3s:rp/p-3n      curve:of:back-3n      house      vulture  
                  'The vulture is standing on top of the house.' (lit. '...on the curve of the house's back.')

(484) d.      'An      tac      'inain      mam      xirao'      wa      pain  
    'ina-in  
                  takers      place:on:top:s      1s:rp/p-3n      instr      mark      inf      prep:3n  
                  quimain      pana  
                  quima-in  
                  chest-3n      tree  
                  'I placed the pencil on top of the table.' (lit. '...on the wooden (object)'s chest.')

Note that superior-contact 'at rest' location can also be expressed without the explicit mention of the body-part nouns, as shown in the examples below. The specific meaning of 'on top of' is lost when the body-part noun is omitted.

(485) a.      Coco'      nain      pana      towarao'.  
    na-in  
                  stand:p      3s:rp/p-3n      tree      parrot:species



'The *towarao*' parrots are standing on the tree.'

(485) b.	Xat	pe	nain na-in	xirim	maho.
	stand:s	be:at:s	3s:rp/p-3n	house	vulture
	'The vulture is standing on the house.'				

‘The vulture is standing on the house.’

(485) c.	'An	tac	'inain 'ina-in	mam	xirao'	wa	pain	pana.
	takers	place:on:top:s	1s:rp/p-3n	instr	mark	inf	prep:3n	tree
	'I placed the pencil on the table (lit. wooden object).'							

'I placed the pencil on the table (lit. wooden object).'

Superior-contact 'motion to' location ('onto'): The notion of 'onto' is expressed by the verb *pe/to* 'to be at' as the rightmost member of a compound verb.

(486)	'An	to	nain na-in	capam'	pain	wi.
	takers	be:at:p	3s:rp/p-3n	cornbread	prep:3n	mat
	'She put the cornbread on a mat.'					

‘She put the cornbread on a mat.’

Superior-contact ‘motion from’ location (‘off’, ‘off the top of’)

(487)	'An	pin	ron ra-on	wom	pain	pana
	take:s	completely	2s:rf-3sm	cotton	prep:3n	tree
	ma'!					
	that:prox:hearer					
	'Take the shirt off the table (lit. wooden object)!'					

'Take the shirt off the table (lit. wooden object)!'

Surface location is expressed the same way as superior-contact location.

Surface 'at rest' location ('on')

(488)	Ho	nain na-in	quimain quima-in	com	nene nene-0
	floats	3s:rp/p-3n	chest-3n	water	greenness-1s(wiggle)
	cahwerein. cahwerein-				
	tail-3n				
	'The <i>nene cahwerein</i> bird ("wiggle tail") is floating on the water.'				

'The *nene cahwerein* bird ("wobble tail") is floating on the water.'

Surface 'motion to' location ('onto')

(489) Xat                    nain                    com                    mumum.  
                              na-in

stand:s	3s:rp/p-3n	water	duck
---------	------------	-------	------

'The duck landed (stood) on the water.'

Surface 'motion from' location ('off')

(490)	Hwet	ca'	nain na-in	com.
-------	------	-----	---------------	------

approach                      this:n                      3s:rp/p-3n                      water

'It took off from (away from) the water.'

#### 2.1.1.5.10. Inferior location

Inferior location is characterized by the verb *corom* 'to enter', which, it will be noted, is also used to express interior location (see 2.1.1.5.4). It is often preposed by the verb *mo* 'to run' in a compound verb. The variant of *corom*, *com*, is also used in a verb compound, *mo com terem* 'to lie under', to express inferior location. The only examples we have of *mo com terem* in our data are in (491c) and (494a) below. It would seem that *com* is the singular form of *corom* (compare (491c) and (491d)). However, *corom* is the form used in all other environments, differing from all singular/plural verbs where the plural intransitive subject and plural transitive object govern the choice of the plural verb form.

Inferior location in relation to *tapit* 'indigenous bed' and *horop* 'elevated floor of a house' is expressed by a derived noun, appearing as the object of the verb: *tucu tapit* 'under the bed' (lit. 'facing the bed') and *tucu horop* 'under the floor' (lit. 'facing the floor'). These derived forms convey the idea that one is under the floor or bed, facing the underside. They function as normal nouns. See (491) and (492) for examples.

Inferior 'at rest' location ('below, under')

- |          |                                 |       |         |               |      |           |
|----------|---------------------------------|-------|---------|---------------|------|-----------|
| (491) a. | Mo 'o                           | corom | pe      | nain<br>na-in | pana | copacao'. |
|          | run:s lead                      | enter | be:at:s | 3s:rp/p-3n    | tree | jaguar    |
|          | 'The jaguar is under the tree.' |       |         |               |      |           |
- 
- |          |  |       |         |             |                  |
|----------|--|-------|---------|-------------|------------------|
| (491) b. | Mo 'o                                  | corom | to      | nam<br>na-m | jicon.<br>xi-con |
|          | run:s lead                             | enter | be:at:p | 3s:rp/p-3sf | mother-3sm       |
|          | 'The (chicks) are under their mother.' |       |         |             |                  |
- 
- |          |  |       |            |               |                |       |        |
|----------|--|-------|------------|---------------|----------------|-------|--------|
| (491) c. | Mo 'o  | com   | terem'     | nain<br>na-in | tucu<br>toco-u | horop | pije'. |
|          | run:s lead   | enter | lie:down:s | 3s:rp/p-3n    | face-1s        | floor | child  |
|          | 'The child is lying under the floor (of the house).' |       |            |               |                |       |        |
- 
- |          |            |       |            |                   |                |       |           |
|----------|------------|-------|------------|-------------------|----------------|-------|-----------|
| (491) d. | Mo 'o      | corom | toco'      | nanain<br>nana-in | tucu<br>toco-u | tapit | hwijima'. |
|          | run:s lead | enter | lie:down:p | 3p:rp/p-3n        | face-1s        | bed   | children  |

‘The children are lying under the bed.’

- |          |                                       |         |         |                   |        |
|----------|---------------------------------------|---------|---------|-------------------|--------|
| (491) e. | Xao                                   | pe      | pe      | 'inain<br>'ina-in | naran. |
|          | pound                                 | be:at:s | be:at:s | l s:rp/p-3n       | light  |
|          | 'I was sitting under (in) the light.' |         |         |                   |        |

Inferior ‘motion to’ location (‘under’)

- |          |                     |      |               |                |        |
|----------|---------------------|------|---------------|----------------|--------|
| (492) a. | Corom               | mao  | rain<br>ra-in | tucu<br>toco-u | tapit. |
|          | enter               | go:s | 2s:rf-3n      | face-1s        | bed    |
|          | 'Go under the bed!' |      |               |                |        |

- |          |  |                   |               |                |       |         |
|----------|--|-------------------|---------------|----------------|-------|---------|
| (492) b. | Corom                                  | qui'              | rain<br>ra-in | tucu<br>toco-u | horop | ca'!    |
|          | enter                                  | coming: this: way | 2s: rf-3n     | face-1s        | floor | this: n |
|          | 'Come under the floor (of the house)!' |                   |               |                |       |         |

Inferior ‘motion from’ location (‘from under’)

- |       |  |        |               |      |            |
|-------|--|--------|---------------|------|------------|
| (493) | Hwet   | ca'    | nain<br>na-in | pana | 'oromijac. |
|       | appear:s   | this:n | 3s:rp/p-3n    | tree | dog        |
|       | 'The dog came out from under the tree.' (lit. '...appeared away from the tree.') |        |               |      |            |

Inferior 'motion past' location ('passing under')

- |          |                                       |                |       |            |                  |
|----------|---------------------------------------|----------------|-------|------------|------------------|
| (494) a. | Huru                                  | mo 'o          | com   | terem'     | ma'              |
|          | shot:with:arrow                       | run:s lead     | enter | lie:down:s | that:prox:hearer |
|          | 'inon                                 | jowin.         |       |            |                  |
|          | 'ina-on                               |                |       |            |                  |
|          | 1s:rp/p-3sm                           | monkey:species |       |            |                  |
|          | 'I shot under a <i>jowin</i> monkey.' |                |       |            |                  |

- |          |   |          |               |      |            |
|----------|---|----------|---------------|------|------------|
| (494) b. | Xut   | tiquin'  | nain<br>na-in | pana | 'oromijac. |
|          | walks   | continue | 3s:rp/p-3n    | tree | dog        |
|          | 'The dog walked by (passing under) the tree.' |          |               |      |            |

Inferior location can also be expressed by the body-part nouns *quimaxi* 'our chest' and *tequipaxi* 'our thorax'.

- |          |       |       |    |       |           |        |
|----------|-------|-------|----|-------|-----------|--------|
| (495) a. | Mo 'o | corom | to | nain  | quimacam  | jicon. |
|          |       |       |    | na-in | quima-cam | xi-con |

- run:s lead      enter      be:at:p      3s:rp/p-3n      chest-3sf      mother-3sm  
 ‘They (chicks) are under their mother.’ (lit. ‘...at their mother’s chest.’)
- (495) b. Waraju      to      nanain      tequipain      cao'      cao'      pe      wa  
    nana-in      tequipa-in  
 play      be:at:p      3p:rp/p-3n      thorax-3n      eat      eat      be:at:s      inf  
 hwijima'.  
 children  
 ‘The children are playing under the table.’ (lit. ‘...at the eating place’s thorax.’)

#### 2.1.1.5.11. Inferior-contact location

Inferior-contact location is characterized by the body-part noun *xonexi* ‘curve of our back’, appearing as the object of the verb.

Inferior-contact ‘at rest’ location (‘under’)

- (496) Xat      pe      nain      xonein      cao'      cao'      pe      wa  
    na-in      xone-in  
 stand:s      be:at:s      3s:rp/p-3n      curve:of:back-3n      eat      eat      be:at:s      inf  
 tohoro'.  
 cockroach  
 ‘The cockroach is under the table.’ (lit. ‘...on the curve of the eating place’s back.’)

Inferior-contact ‘motion to’ location (‘under’)

- (497) Xirao'      mo 'o      corom      pe      tain      wuxu      pain  
    ta'-in      wixi-u  
 mark      run:s lead      enter      be:at:s      1s:rf-3n      name-1s      prep:3n  
 xonein      cao'      cao'      pe      wa.  
 xone-in  
 curve:of:back-3n      eat      eat      be:at:s      inf  
 ‘I will write my name under the table.’ (lit. ‘...on the curve of the eating place’s back.’)

Inferior-contact ‘motion from’ location (‘from under’)

- (498) Ho'      camara'      pin      ron      tohoro'      pain  
    ra-on  
 floats:s      fall:p      completely      2s:rf-3sm      cockroach      prep:3n  
 xonein      cao'      cao'      pe      wa.  
 xone-in  
 curve:of:back-3n      eat      eat      be:at:s      inf  
 ‘Knock the cockroaches out from under the table!’ (lit. ‘... from the curve of the eating

place's back.')

#### Inferior-contact 'motion past' location ('under')

(499) Xut	nain na-in	xonein xone-in	cao'	cao'	pe	wa
walk:s	3s:rp/p-3n	curve:of:back-3n	eat	eat	be:at:s	inf
tohoroh'.						
cockroach						
'A cockroach is walking under the table.' (lit. '...on the curve of the eating place's back.')						

#### 2.1.1.5.12–13. Lateral location

Lateral location is expressed by appropriate verbs and/or location verbs, whose optional (but usual) objects are any one of four body-part nouns: *cacaraxi* 'our edge', *quirixi* 'our side', 'iri' *cwerexi* 'our right side' (lit. 'our true body'), and *parajixi* 'our left side'. When preposed by *xijein* 'its otherness', *cacaraxi* means 'area at our side' or 'our side'. The resulting possessed NP (*xijein cacarain*) means 'its other side' or 'one of its sides'. *Xijein* also occurs with *quirixi* and functions like *xijein cacaraxi*. The use of *quirixi* is sometimes limited, depending on the element to which it is related. For instance, *quirinain* 'its side' in (500b) cannot be used with *wao* 'basket', because a basket is round, without definite sides; *cacarain* 'area at its side' expresses 'the side of the basket' more adequately. In addition to these body-part nouns, *tapaxixi* 'our wing', occurring in its third person neuter inflection (*tapaxi* 'its wing'), may be used to express lateral location in relation to an inanimate element. When expressing lateral location, it means 'the edge of an area'.

##### Lateral 'at rest' location ('beside')

(500) a.	Xao	pe	'inain 'ina-in	xijein xije-in	cacaracon cacara-con
pound		be:at:s	1s:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n	edge-3sm
(quiricon)		te.			
(quiri-con)					
(side-3sm)		father:1s			
'I sat beside my father.' (lit. '...at my father's other edge (side).')					
(500) b.	Xao	pe	'inain 'ina-in	'iri' curucun cwere-con	(paraxicon) (paraji-con)
pound		be:at:s	1s:rp/p-3n	truly body-3sm	(left:side-3sm)
te.					
father:1s					
'I sat beside my father.' (lit. '...at my father's right side (left side).')					

- (500) c. To nain xijein cacarain (\*quirinain) wao'  
na-in xije-in cacara-in (quiri-nain)  
be:at:p 3s:rp/p-3n otherness-3n edge-3n (side-3n) basket  
capam'.  
cornbread

The cornbread is beside the basket.' (lit. '...at its other side.')

- (500) d. Waraju to nanain tapaxi xitot hwijima'.  
nana-in tapaxi-0  
play be:at:p 3p:rp/p-3n wing-3n garden children  
'The children played beside the garden.' (lit. '...at the garden's wing.')

- (500) e. To ja' pan nain wao' capam'.  
na-in  
be:at:p follow emph 3s:rp/p-3n basket cornbread  
'The cornbread is beside (lit. near) the basket.'

- (500) f. Xao pe ho' ne.  
pound be:at:s now 2s:1s:rf  
'Sit beside me!'/ 'Sit with me!'

#### Lateral 'motion to' location ('beside')

- (501) Pan caracam ja' pan nanain cacarain  
nana-in cacara-in  
stir dip:liquid:p follow emph 3p:rp/p-3n edge-3n  
(quirinain) canoa.  
(quiri-nain)  
(side-3n) canoe  
'They swam to beside the canoe.' (lit. They swam and were near the canoe's side (edge).')

#### Lateral 'motion from' location ('from beside')

- (502) Xut pe ca' rain cacarain xe ca'.  
ra-in cacara-in  
walks be:at:s this:n 2s:rf-3n edge-3n fire this:n  
'Stand back from beside the fire.' (lit. 'Walk away from the edge of the fire.')

#### Lateral 'motion past' location ('alongside')

- (503) Xuruxut tiquin' ca' nanain tapaxi xitot.  
nana-in tapaxi-0  
walk:p continue this:n 3p:rp/p-3n wing-3n garden

'They walked, passing alongside the garden.' (lit. '...the garden's wing.')

#### 2.1.1.5.14. Citerior location

Citerior location is characterized by one or more of the following words, appearing with appropriate verbs: (1) the postverbal modifier *qui'* 'coming this way'; (2) the demonstrative *ca'* 'this (n)', appearing in an NP or as an object of the verb; and (3) *cacarain* 'its side or edge', appearing as an object of the verb. The demonstrative *ca'* 'this (n)' is the element that conveys the notion of citerior location, in contrast to ulterior location.

Citerior 'at rest' location ('on this side of)

(504) a.	Hwet	nain na-in	com	tarama'.	Pe	qui'
	approach	3s:rp/p-3n	water	man	be:at:s	coming:this:way
	nain na-in	xijein xije-in	cacarain cacara-in		pain	ca.'
	3s:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n	edge-3n		prep:3n	this:n

'The man went to the river. He is on this side of it.' (lit. '...on its other side here.')

(504) b.	Terem'	'in	qui'		nain na-in	xijein xije-in
	lie:down:s	return	coming:this:way		3s:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n
	cacarain cacara-in	xirim	'oromijac.			
	edge-3n	house	dog			

'The dog is lying on this side of the house.' (lit. '...on the house's other side.')

Citerior 'at rest' location is frequently expressed by parataxis, the sentence expressing citerior location being accompanied by its ulterior location counterpart.

(505) To	'in	qui'		'iripain		xijein
a.				'urut-pain		xije-in
	be:at:p	return	coming:this:way		1pexcl:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n
	cacarain cacara-in	com	pain	ca.'	Xom tacam'	to
	edge-3n	water	prep:3n	this:n	step cross:s	be:at:p
	mama'	nanain nana-in	xijein xije-in	cacarain cacara-in	com	'oro
	go:p	3p:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n	edge-3n	water	coll
						person

'We live on this side of the river, (lit. 'We are on returning coming from the water's other side here.')

The people crossed and live on the other side of the river' (lit. 'The people are

on returning going to the water's other side.')

(505) b.	Pe	'in	mao	na	totacon tota-con	Xijam
	be:at:s	return	go:s	3s:rp/p	garden-3sm	m:name
	ma'.		Pe	'in	qui'	pan
	that:prox:hearer		be:at:s	return	coming:this:way	emph
	napa'	tota	quem.			
	na-pa'	tota-0				
	3s:rp/p-1s	garden-1s	ref			
	'My garden is this side of Xijam's garden.' (lit. 'Xijam's garden is returning going. My garden is returning coming to me.')					

Citior 'motion to' location ('to this side of)

(506) a.	Mo	mo	xat	nain na-in	xijein xije-in	quirinain quiri-nain	xirim
	run:s	run:s	stand:s	3s:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n	side-3n	house
	pain	ca'					
	prep:3n	this:n					
	'He ran to this side of the house.' (lit. 'He ran and stood at the house's other side here.')						

(506) b.	Xom	tacam'	qui'	na	Xijam.
	step	cross:s	coming:this:way	3s:rp/p	m:name
	'Xijam crossed over coming (to this side).'				

(506) c.	Xom	tacaracam'	'in	qui'	'iripain 'urut-pain	com.
	step	cross:p	return	coming:this:way	1pexcl:rp/p-3n	water
	'We crossed back over to this side of the river.' (lit. 'We crossed returning coming to (this side of the) water.')					

Citior 'motion from' location ('from this side of)

(507)	Xut	qui'	nain na-in	cacarin cacara-in	xirim	pain
	walks	coming:this:way	3s:rp/p-3n	edge-3n	house	prep:3n
	ca'.					
	this:n					

'He walked coming from this side of the house.' (lit. '...from the house's side here.')

Citior 'motion past' location ('on this side of')



- (508) Xut      tiquin'      ca'      nain      cacarain      xirim      piqe'.      'Ac  
    na-in      cacara-in  
          walks      continue      this:n      3s:rp/p-3n      edge-3n      house      child      travel  
          qui'      nain      ca'.  
    na-in  
          coming:this:way      3s:rp/p-3n      this:n  
          'The child walked past the side of the house. He walked, coming this way.' (lit. 'The child  
          walked passing the house's side. He moved coming along here.')

#### 2.1.1.5.15. Citerior/contact location

Citerior and citerior-contact location are expressed alike in most cases (509a–b); however, when one is talking about an object like a mat or a piece of cloth, the body-part noun *quimaxi* 'our chest' must be used, specifying its top or front, rather than 'this side' (509c).

- (509) a.      Hwet      pe      qui'      nain      ca'      ron?  
    na-in      ra-on  
          appear:s      be:at:s      coming:this:way      3s:rp/p-3n      this:n      2s:rf-3sm  
          'It appeared on this (side), didn't it?'  
          (509) b.      To'      pe      na      pain      xijein      cacarain      ca'.  
    xije-in      cacara-in  
          hit      be:at:s      3s:rp/p      prep:3n      otherness-3n      edge-3n      this:n  
          'It hit on this side.' (lit. '...on this its other side.')
- (509) c.      'Ira'      pa'      nain      quimain      wi.  
    na-in      quima-in  
          defecate      upon      3s:rp/p-3n      chest-3n      mat  
          'He defecated on this side (the top) of the mat.' (lit. '...on the mat's chest.') (in contrast to  
          the underside).'

#### 2.1.1.5.16. Ulterior location

Ulterior location is characterized by one or more of the following, appearing with appropriate verbs: (1) the verb *mao/mama* 'going that way'; the demonstrative *cain* 'that neuter distal', appearing in an NP or as an object of the verb; and (3) *cacarain* 'its side or edge', appearing as an object of the verb. Although the use of the verb *mao/mama* 'going that way' is preferred to express ulterior location, *qui* 'coming this way' is also used in some contexts. Note, however, that the demonstrative *cain* 'that neuter distal' makes it clear that ulterior location is being expressed and it is indeed *cain* that, for the most part, conveys the notion of ulterior location, in contrast to citerior location.

Ulterior 'at rest' location ('on that side of' or 'beyond')

- (510) Pe      qui'      nain      xijein      cacarain

		na-in	xije-in	cacara-in
be:at:s	coming:this:way	3s:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n	edge-3n
xirim	cain.			
house	that:n:distal			

'He is on that side of the house.' (lit. 'He is on the house's other side there.')

Uterior 'at rest' location also involves parataxis, the sentence expressing ulterior location being accompanied by its cterior location counterpart.

(511) a.	Pe	'in	qui'	na	totacon	Xijam
					tota-con	
	be:at:s	return	coming:this:way	3s:rp/p	garden-3sm	m:name
	ma'.		Pe	'in	mao pan	napa'
					na-pa'	
	that:prox:hearer	be:at:s	return	go:s	emph	3s:rp/p-1s
	tota		quem.			
	tota-0					
	garden-1s		ref			

'My garden is beyond Xijam's garden.' (lit. 'Xijam's garden is returning coming this way. My garden is returning, going to me that way.')

(511) b.	To	qui'		'iripain	xijein		cacarain
				'urut-pain	xije-in		cacara-in
	be:at:p	coming:this:way		1pexcl:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n		edge-3n
	com	pain	cain.	Xom tacam'	to	'in	qui'
	water	prep:3n	that:n:distal	step cross:s	be:at:p	return	come
	nana	'oro	wari'.				
	3p:rp/p	coll	person				

'We live on that side of the river (lit. '...the water's other side there). The people have come back across and live on this side.' (lit. 'The people came across returning coming.')

Uterior 'motion to' location ('to that side of' or 'beyond')

(512) a.	Xut	hwet	nain	xijein	cacarain	xirim
			na-in	xije-in	cacara-in	
	walk:s	approach	3s:rp/p-3n	otherness-3n	edge-3n	house
	pain	cain.				
	prep:3n	that:n:distal				

'He walked to the other side of the house.' (lit. 'He walked approaching the house's other side there.')

- (512) b.      Xom            tacam'            mama'            'urut.  
                  step            cross:s            go:p            1pexcl:rp/p

'We crossed over to the other side (of the river).'

- (512) c. Xom            tacam'            'in            mao            na            Xijam.  
                  step            cross:s            return            go:s            3s:rp/p            m:name

'Xijam went back across to the other side.' (lit. 'Xijam crossed over returning going.')

Uterior 'motion from' location ('from that side' or 'from beyond')

- (513) a. Tequi'      pe            ca'            nain            xijein            cacarain            tapit  
                     na-in            xije-in            cacara-in  
                  fly:s      be:at:s      this:n      3s:rp/p-3n      otherness-3n      edge-3n      bed  
                  pain      cain.  
                  prep:3n that:n:distal

'He got up from the other side of the bed.' (lit. '...from the bed's other side there.')

- (513) b. Xom            tacam'            piri'            ca'            nain            com.  
                     na-in  
                  step            cross:s            rise            this:n            3s:rp/p-3n            water  
                  'He crossed over and went up (away) from the river.' (lit. 'He crossed over up away from the water.')

Uterior 'motion past' location ('past that side' or 'beyond')

- (514) Xut            tiquin'            ca'            nain            cacarain            xirim            pije'.            'Ac  
                     na-in            cacara-in  
                  walks      continue      this:n            3s:rp/p-3n      edge-3n      house      child      travel  
                  qui'      nain            cain.  
                                     na-in  
                  come      3s:rp/p-3n      that:n:distal

'The child walked past the side of the house. He walked that way.' (lit. 'The child walked passing the house's side. He moved going there.')

#### 2.1.1.5.17. *Uterior-contact location*

Uterior-contact location is expressed, for the most part, like ulterior location. When one is talking about an object like a mat, however, the body-part noun *xonexi* 'curve of our back' must be used, specifying its back or outside, rather than 'that side'.

- (515) a. Pe            qui'            nain            cain            tohoror'            ma'.  
                     na-in  
                  be:at:s      come      3s:rp/p-3n      that:n:distal      fly            that:prox:hearer

'The fly is on that side.' (lit. 'The fly is there.')

- |          |  |         |         |         |                   |                       |               |
|----------|--|---------|---------|---------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (515) b. | To'  | pe      | na      | pain    | xijein<br>xije-in | cacarain<br>cacara-in | cain.         |
|          | hit  | be:at:s | 3s:rp/p | prep:3n | otherness-3n      | edge-3n               | that:n:distal |
|          | 'It hit on that side.' (lit. '...its other side there.') |         |         |         |                   |                       |               |

- |          |   |      |               |                   |     |
|----------|---|------|---------------|-------------------|-----|
| (515) c. | Ira'  | pa'  | nain<br>na-in | xonein<br>xone-in | wi. |
|          | defecate  | upon | 3s:rp/p-3n    | curve:of:back-3n  | mat |
|          | 'He defecated on that side (the back or bottom of the mat).' (lit. '...on the mat's back.') |      |               |                   |     |

#### 2.1.1.5.18–19. Medial location

Medial location is characterized by the verb *ximija* ‘to be in the middle’, or ‘to “middle”’ (516a–d), derived from *ximijaxi* ‘our waist or middle’; or the body-part noun *ximijaxi* ‘our waist or middle’, appearing as the object of an appropriate verb (516e–f). Both ‘between’ and ‘among’ are expressed by *ximijaxi*; the use of the third person neuter inflection, *ximijain* ‘its middle’, implies ‘between (in the middle of) two elements’, and the other inflections imply ‘among (in the middle of) three or more elements’. The element to which medial location is related is expressed either as the object of the verb, or in a prepositional phrase.

Medial 'at rest' location ('between 'or 'among')

- |          |   |         |                      |                     |      |
|----------|---|---------|----------------------|---------------------|------|
| (516) a. | Ximija<br>ximija-0  | pe      | 'inonon<br>'ina-ocon | humaju.<br>humaji-u |      |
|          | middle-1s   | be:at:s | 1s:rp/p-3pm          | children-1s         |      |
|          | 'I was in the middle (lit. I "middled") between, or among, my male children.' |         |                      |                     |      |
| (516) b. | Ximija<br>ximija-0  | pe      | 'inanam<br>'ina-vcvm | win<br>narima'      | ta'. |
|          | middle-1s   | be:at:s | 1s:rp/p-3pf          | same<br>woman       | 1s   |
|          | 'I was in the middle (lit. I "middled") between, or among, my co-women.'      |         |                      |                     |      |

- (516) c. Ximija            xat            na            copacao'            cocon            oro            wari'.  
                  ximija-0  
                  middle-1s            stand:s            3s:rp/p            jaguar            prep:3pm            coll            person  
                  The jaguar was among the people.' (lit. 'The jaguar "middled" concerning the people.')

- |       |           |           |         |          |          |        |
|-------|-----------|-----------|---------|----------|----------|--------|
| (516) | Ximija    | xat       | na      | copacao' | con      | 'A'ain |
| d.    | ximija-0  |           |         |          |          |        |
|       | middle-1s | stand:s   | 3s:rp/p | jaguar   | prep:3sm | m:name |
|       | con       | 'Amtara'. |         |          |          |        |
|       | prep:3sm  | m:name    |         |          |          |        |

'The jaguar was between A'ain and 'Amtara'. (lit. 'The jaguar "middled" regarding A'ain and 'Amtara'.')

- |          |   |         |                   |                             |          |                     |
|----------|---|---------|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------|---------------------|
| (516) e. | Xao   | pe      | 'inain<br>'ina-in | ximijain<br>ximija-in       | cocon    | humaju<br>humaji-u  |
|          | pound   | be:at:s | 1s:rp/p-3n        | middle-3n                   | prep:3pm | children-1s         |
|          | 'I sat between my sons.' (lit. 'I sat in its middle regarding my male children.') |         |                   |                             |          |                     |
| (516) f. | Xao   | pe      | 'inain<br>'ina-in | ximijacocon<br>ximija-cocon |          | humaju.<br>humaji-u |
|          | pound   | be:at:s | 1s:rp/p-3n        | middle-3pm                  |          | children-1s         |
|          | 'I sat among my sons.' (lit. 'I sat in my sons' middle.')                         |         |                   |                             |          |                     |

Medial 'at rest' location ('between' or 'among') is frequently expressed by parataxis. A form of the noun *ximijaxi* is usually used somewhere in the expression.

- |          |   |               |                       |                       |                       |       |                       |         |
|----------|---|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|---------|
| (517) a. | Xat   | nain<br>na-in | xijein<br>xije-in     |                       | cacarain<br>cacara-in | xirim | pana.                 | Xat     |
|          | stand:s   | 3s:rp/p-3n    | otherness-3n          |                       | edge-3n               | house | tree                  | stand:s |
|          | nain<br>na-in   |               | xijein<br>xije-in     | cacarain<br>cacara-in | xijein<br>xije-in     |       | quem.                 | Pe      |
|          | 3s:rp/p-3n  |               | otherness-3n          | edge-3n               | otherness-3n          |       | ref                   | be:at:s |
|          | nain<br>na-in   |               | ximijain<br>ximija-in | xirim.                |                       |       |                       |         |
|          | 3s:rp/p-3n  |               | middle-3n             | house                 |                       |       |                       |         |
|          | 'The house stands between the trees.' (lit. 'A tree stands on the house's other side. The other one stands on its other side. The house is in its middle.') |               |                       |                       |                       |       |                       |         |
| (517) b. | 'O  | na            | 'Orowao'.             | Pe                    | nain<br>na-in         |       | ximijain<br>ximija-in |         |
|          | lead  | 3s:rp/p       | m:name                | be:at:s               | 3s:rp/p-3n            |       | middle-3n             |         |
|          | jicocon.<br>xi-cocon  | Maqui'        | na                    |                       | pa'ao'                |       | Maxun.                |         |
|          | mother-3pm  | come          | 3s:rp/p               |                       | afterwards            |       | m:name                |         |
|          | "Orowao' and Maxun's mother walked between them." (lit. "Orowao' led the way. Their mother was in its middle. Maxun came afterwards.")                      |               |                       |                       |                       |       |                       |         |

Medial ('motion to') location ('between' or 'among')

- |          |   |          |                   |                       |          |                     |
|----------|---|----------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------|---------------------|
| (518) a. | Xut   | hwet     | 'inain<br>'ina-in | ximijain<br>ximija-in | cocon    | humaju.<br>humaji-u |
|          | walk:s  | approach | 1s:rp/p-3n        | middle-3n             | prep:3pm | children-1s         |
|          | 'I walked among my sons.' (lit. 'I walked to its middle regarding my male children.') |          |                   |                       |          |                     |

- 'They ran between the houses.' (lit. 'They ran into the houses' other sides.')

## Medial 'motion from' location ('from between' or 'from among')

- 'He walked coming out from between the houses.' (lit. '...from where the houses were both standing.')

## Medial 'motion past' location ('between' or 'through')

- 'The dog passed between the children.' (lit. 'The dog walked, continuing through its middle regarding the children.')

#### 2.1.1.5.20. Circumferential location

Circumferential location is characterized by two verbs: *morojam'* 'to encircle' or 'to move around the circumference of' and *moji'ac* 'to detour around'.

- |          |  |               |                         |                 |                      |      |         |      |
|----------|--|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|------|---------|------|
| (521) a. | Morojam'                                     | nain<br>na-in | xirim                   | copacao'.       |                      |      |         |      |
|          | encircle                                     | 3s:rp/p-3n    | house                   | jaguar          |                      |      |         |      |
|          | 'The jaguar walked around the house.'        |               |                         |                 |                      |      |         |      |
| (521) b. | Jerejein                                     | morojam'      | nanapari'<br>nana-pari' | hwijima'.       |                      |      |         |      |
|          | run:p  | encircle      | 3p:rp/p-1pincl          | children        |                      |      |         |      |
|          | 'The children ran around us.'                |               |                         |                 |                      |      |         |      |
| (521) c. | Para   | moji          | 'ac                     | mapa'<br>ma-pa' |                      |      |         |      |
|          | therefore                                    | belly-0       | travel                  | 2s-1s           |                      |      |         |      |
|          | 'Why did you detour around me?'              |               |                         |                 |                      |      |         |      |
| (521) d. | Xut  | moji          | 'ac                     | ca'             | 'inanam<br>'ina-vcvm | win  | narima' | ta'. |
|          | walk:s                                       | belly-0       | travel                  | this:n          | 1s:rp/p-3pf          | same | woman   | 1s   |
|          | 'I detoured around (away from) my co-women.' |               |                         |                 |                      |      |         |      |

#### 2.1.1.5.21. Citerior-anterior location

Citerior-anterior location is characterized by the verbalized form of three body-part nouns: *quimaxi* 'our chest' (*quima* 'to "chest"'), *tocoxi* 'our eye or face' (*tucu* 'to face'), and *winaxi* 'our head' (*wina* 'to "head"'). Citerior-anterior location is used in relation to animate elements only. This location in relation to inanimate elements must be expressed as anterior location—see 2.1.1.5.6. The choice of verbalized nouns in citerior-anterior location depends on the physical position of the persons or animals standing opposite one another. If two people are standing opposite one another, 'chest to chest' or 'eye to eye', *quima* 'to "chest"' or *tucu* 'to face' is used. If the elements standing opposite one another are an animal and a human, they cannot be 'chest to chest' to each other, because the animal's chest normally faces the ground. Citerior-anterior location in relation to the human may be expressed by *quima* 'to "chest"' or *tucu* 'to face', but in relation to the animal, it must be expressed by *tucu* 'to face' or *wina* 'to "head"'. We have found no expressions for citerior-anterior 'motion from' and 'motion past' location. This use of body parts to express different citerior/anterior spacial relations indicates to us that the use of body parts in location expressions does not merely involve dead metaphors, but rather we believe that the speakers are consciously aware of the primary meaning as body parts as they use these forms.

Citerior-anterior 'at rest' location ('opposite')

- |          |       |         |                |          |             |
|----------|-------|---------|----------------|----------|-------------|
| (522) a. | Xao   | to      | tucu<br>toco-u | hwet     | xujuxut.    |
|          | pound | be:at:p | face-1s        | approach | refl:1pexcl |

‘We sat opposite (facing) each other.’

(522) b.	Win	quima		'inain		mijac.
		quima-0		'ina-in		
	same	chest-1s		1s:rp/p-3n		pig

‘I was opposite a pig.’ (lit. ‘I “same chested” a pig.’)

(522) c.	Xat	wina	(tucu)	'in	hwet	napa'	mijac.
		wina-0	toco-u			na-pa'	
	stand:s	head-1s	face-1s	return	approach	3s:rp/p-1s	pig

‘The pig was opposite me.’ (lit. ‘The pig was “heading” or facing me.’)

(522) d.	Xao	to	xao	to	quima	pi'	'urut.
					quima-0		
	pound	be:at:p	pound	be:at:p	chest-1s	finish	1pexcl:rp/p

‘We all sat opposite each other.’ (lit. ‘We all sat “chesting”.’)

Citerior-anterior ‘motion to’ location (‘opposite’)

(523)	Xut	win	quima	'inon		Xijam.
			quima-0	'ina-on		
	walk:s	same	chest-1s	1s:rp/p-3sm		m:name

‘I met Xijam.’ (lit. ‘I walked to a position “chesting” Xijam.’)

#### 2.1.1.5.22–30. Motion past a long object in the direction of its length and at right angles to its length

Motion past a long object in the direction of its length and at right angles to its length is expressed by semantically appropriate verbs. There are no particular similarities to the types of local functions already discussed in 2.1.1.5, except that interior and inferior motion past a long object employ verbs used to express interior and inferior location.

Interior motion past (in the direction of its length)

(524)	Corom	mao	nain	manain	maqui'	maqui'	'ac	ne
			na-in	mana-in				
	enter	go:s	3s:rp/p-3n	hole-3n	come	come	travel	3n
	com	ma'.		Hwet	qui'		'ac	ne
	water	that:prox:hearer		appears	coming:this:way		travel	3n
	na	tamain.						
		tama-in						
	3s:rp/p	top-3n						

‘It entered the hole of the pipe (lit. hole where water comes).  
Then it appeared coming out of its end.’



## Exterior and superior motion past (in the direction of its length)

- (525) a. Xut ja' mao ja' mao nain pana copacao'.  
na-in  
walk:s follow go:s follow go:s 3s:rp/p-3n tree jaguar  
'The jaguar walked, following the (fallen) tree.'
- (525) b. Xut nenene nain pana ma'.  
na-in  
walk:s green:p 3s:rp/p-3n tree that:prox:hearer  
'He walked, following the contours (of) the tree.'
- (525) c. Tequi' ja' mao nain wana wijimain me.  
na-in wijima-in  
fly:s follow go:s 3s:rp/p-3n path smallness-3n bird  
'The little bird flew, following the path.'

## Inferior motion past (in the direction of its length)

- (526) Xut mo com terem' nain pana copacao'.  
na-in  
walk:s run:s enter lie:down:s 3s:rp/p-3n tree jaguar  
'The jaguar walked under the (fallen) tree (following its length).'

## Inferior-contact motion past (in the direction of its length)

- (527) Xut mo corom pe nain pana tohoro'.  
na-in  
walk:s run:s enter be:at:s 3s:rp/p-3n tree cockroach  
'The cockroach is walking on (under) the (fallen) tree.'

## Inferior motion past (at right angles to its length)

- (528) Jein tiquin' hwap xi' wana.  
run:p continue fast:s 1pincl:rf path  
'Let's run-continue(cross) the street quickly.'

## Superior and superior-contact motion past (at right angles to its length)

- (529) a. Pantara' xin pana ca'.  
xi'-in  
climb:over 1pincl:rf-3n tree this:n  
'We will climb over this (fallen) tree.'
- (529) b. Piri' piri' pantara' nain pana piye'.  
na-in

'The child climbed up on and climbed over the (fallen) tree.'

#### 2.1.1.6. Locations in time

#### 2.1.1.6.1. General locations of time

There are no special nominal inflection forms to mark general locations of time; however, we will discuss the way such notions would be expressed in 'ON. There are three nouns and one preverbal modifier (*'u' um* 'dusk or dawn') that express periods of the day or night. The nouns may appear either as arguments of the verb (530a–b) or as the leftmost member of verb compounds (530c–d). *'U' um* only appears as a preverbal modifier.

(530) a.	Tan'	qui'	nanain nana-in	ximijain ximija-in	xim.
	arrive:p	coming:this:way	3p:rp/p-3n	middle-3n	night
	'They arrived in the middle of the night.'				

(530) b.	Maqui'	rain	xec.
		ra-in	
	come	2s:rf-3n	day
	'Come tomorrow morning.'		

(530) c.	Maqui'	'iripain 'urut-pain	'irawin.
	come	1pexcl:rp/p-3n	afternoon
	'We came yesterday afternoon.'		

(530) d.	Ximijain ximija-in	xim	tan'	qui'	nana.
	middle-3n	night	arrive:p	coming:this:way	3p:rp/p
	'They arrived in the middle of the night.'				

(530) e.	Xec	maqui'	ra.
	day	come	2s:rf
	'Come tomorrow morning.'		

(530) f.	'Irawin	maqui'	'urut.
	afternoon	come	1pexcl:rp/p
	'We came in the afternoon.'		

(530) g.	'U'um	mama'	nana.
	dusk/dawn	go:p	3p:rp/p

‘They went early in the morning.’

(530) h.	*Mama'	nanain nana-in	'u'u'm.
	go:p	3p:rp/p-3n	dusk/dawn
	'They went early in the morning.'		

More exact reference to periods of the day or night may be made by describing the position of the sun or moon.

(531) a.	Pe	nain na-in	ma'	xina.
	be:at:s	3s:rp/p-3n	that:prox:hearer	sun

'The sun was there (said while pointing to where the sun was at the time).'

(531) b.	Pi'	pin	na	pain	tocon toco-con	xina.
	finish	completely	3s:rp/p	prep:3n	eye-3sm	sun

'It was finished when the sun was high.' (lit. '...at the eye or face of the sun.')

(531) c.            Xo'                    hwet                    na                    xina.  
                 recently                    appear:s                    3s:rp/p                    sun  
                 ‘The sun just appeared.’

(531) d.	Pawin	pin	na	xina.
	high	completely	3s:rp/p	sun
	'It is late morning.'/'It is noon.'			

'It is late morning.'/'It is noon.'

(531) e.	Piquirim	na	xina.
	rock	3s:rp/p	sun

'The sun is rocking (at 3:00 pm position).'

(531) f.	Corom	mao	'i	na	panawo'.
	enter	go:s	already:s	3s:rp/p	moon

'The moon has already set.' (lit. '...gone inside.')

Seasons of the year are expressed by reference to rain, lack of it, or activity in the gardens (clearing land, burning, planting, harvesting, or eating the produce).

(532)	Pan'	qui'	nain na-in	cawaxi'	pane.
	fall:s	coming:this:way	3s:rp/p-3n	dry:season	rem:past
	'He was born during the dry season.'				

All other references to location in time are expressed by the appropriate Portuguese terms. These terms appear as arguments of the verb and/or in compound verbs in preverbal modification position.

- (533) a. Segunda-feira                      mama'                      xi'                      'urut.  
Monday                                      go:p                      1pincl:rf                      1pexcl:rp/p  
'We will go on Monday.' (lit. "'Monday we will go", we (say).')
- (533) b. Maqui'                      tatarain                      Natal                      hwijima'.  
   tatarain-in  
come                      3p:rf-3n                      Christmas                      children  
'The children will come at Christmas.'

### 2.1.1.6.2. *Frequentative*

Frequentative locations in time are marked on the NP by the collective marker 'oro preceding the noun:

- (534) Cut                      'in                      xijexi'                      pain                      'oro                      domingo.  
take:p                      return                      refl/recip:1pincl                      prep:3n                      coll                      Sunday  
'We gather together on Sundays.'

### 2.1.1.6.3–13. *Punctual, duration, anterior-general, posterior-general and point in period locations in time*

Exact references to time are for the most part irrelevant to the Wari'. Generally, they are expressed by parataxis, as the following examples illustrate. There are no precise ways of expressing these notions, so here we simply give the closest equivalents in 'ON.

#### Punctual-future

- (535) a. Pe                      pe                      pan                      ta'                      'e'.                      'In                      qui'                      'ac  
be:at:s                      be:at:s                      emph                      1s:rf                      emph                      return                      coming:this:way                      travel  
ta                      'tara.  
1s                      3s:rf  
'In a little while, I will return.' (lit. 'I will be (wait) a while. Then I will return.')
- (535) b. 'Om                      ta                      'om                      'om                      ta'.                      'In  
not:exist                      INFL:rf                      not:exist                      not:exist                      1s:rf                      return  
qui'                      ho'                      ta'.  
coming:this:way                      now                      1s:rf  
'I will return soon.' (lit. 'I will not delay. I will return now.')

#### Punctual-past

- (536) a.                      Xo'                      maqui'                      'ina.

	recent	come	1s:rp/p
	'I recently came.'		
(536) b.	Wara	maqui'	'ina.
	already	come	1s:rp/p
	'I have already come.'		

## Duration

(537) a.	Pacara pane	ca	pe	tain ta'-in	ca'.	Dois	pin
	hist:past	INFL:nrp/p	be:at:s	1s-3n	this:n	two	completely
	napa' na-pa'	cawaxi'	ca	pe	tain ta'-in	ca'.	
	3s:rp/p-1s	dry:season	INFL:nrp/p	be:at:s	1s-3n	this:n	
	'It has been a long time that I live here. I have lived here for two years.' (lit. The dry seasons are two to me that I have lived here.)'						
(537) b.	Dois	tarapa' tara-pa'	semana	pain	ca'.		
	two	3s:rf-1s	week	prep:3n	this:n		
	'I'll be here two weeks.' (lit. 'Weeks will be two to me here.')						

## Anterior-duration-past

(538)	'Awi	'unit	'ira.	'Om	'om.	'om		
	good	1pexcl:rp/p	past:prog	not:exist	not:exist	not:exist		
	Segunda-feira		'i	na	ne.	Caxi	ho'	'ac
	Monday		already:s	3s:rp/p	rec:past	sick	now	travel
	'urut	na.						
	1pexcl	3s:rp/p						
	'We were fine until Monday. Then we got sick.' (lit. 'We were good. Time passed (nothing happened). When it was Monday. Then we got sick.')							

## Anterior-duration-future

(539)	'Ame	ma	'e'.	'Om	ta	mam'	taramaja
	wait	2s:rp/p	emph	not:exist	INFL:rf	immediately	work
	'iri'.	Segunda-feira	'i	tara	ne.	Taramaja	'ac
	1pincl	Monday	already:s	3s:rf	rec:past	work	travel
	'iri'	tara.					

1pincl 3s:rf

'Wait! We won't work until Monday.' (lit. 'Wait! We will not immediately work. When it is Monday. Then we will work.')

### Posterior-duration-past

(540)	Pacara pane	ca	'om	querec	toton ta'-ocon	xere. xere-0
	hist:past	INFL:nrp/p	not:exist	see	1s-3pm	siblings-1s
	Pain	xijein xije-in	cawaxi'	pane,	'om	ca
	prep:3n	otherness-3n	dry:season	rem:past	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p
	querec	mami'	toton. ta'-ocon			
	see	again	1s-3pm			

'I haven't seen my brothers since last year.' (lit. 'It has been a long time that I haven't seen my brothers. Since the other dry season long ago, I didn't seen them again.')

### Posterior-duration-future

(541)	Segunda-feira	'i	tara	ne.	Maqui'	'ac	ta	'tara,
	Monday	already:s	3s:rf	rec:past	come	travel	1s	3s:rf
	mon	pe	wet	'ac	ta'	tara.		
	slowly:s	be:at:s	still	travel	1s	3s:rf		

I'll stay here after Monday.' (lit. 'When it is Monday. Then I'll come, then I'll stay.')

### Anterior-general

(542)	'Om	ca	maqui'	querec	ne	segunda-feira	pane,
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	come	still	3n	Monday	rem:past
	Wara	maqui'	'ina.				
	already	come	1s:rp/p				

'I came before Monday.' (lit. 'Monday had not yet come. I already came.')

### Posterior-general

(543)	Segunda-feira	'i	tara	ne.	Mon	pe	wet
	Monday	already:s	3s:rf	rec:past	slowly:s	be:at:s	still
	'ac	tain ta'-in	ca'	tara.			
	travel	1s-3n	this:n	3s:rf			

'After Monday, I'll stay here.' (lit. 'When it is Monday. Then I'll stay here.')

## Point in period-past

(544)	Dois	pin	na	panawo'	ca	xain	ho'	xain
	two	completely	3s:rp/p	moon	INFL:nrp/p	hot	now	hot
	ho'	capa' ca-pa'	cawiji	cwa'.				
	now	3sm-1s	son:1s	this:m/f				

'It is two months that my son repeatedly has fever.' (lit. '...has fever to me.')

## Point in period-future

(545)	'In	qui'		ho'	ta'	ta.
	return	coming:this:way		now	1s:rf	emph
	'I will return soon.'					

*2.1.1.7. Double case marking*

There is no double case marking in the language.

*2.1.1.8. Number marking system*

There is no distinction between singular and plural marking on nouns.

*2.1.1.8.1. Number marking systems in nouns*

See 2.1.1.8.3.

*2.1.1.8.2. Optionality of number marking systems in nouns*

See 2.1.1.8.3.

*2.1.1.8.3. Other means of indicating number*

Although there are no obligatory number distinctions on nouns, there are four ways (optionally) to mark number on them.

(1) There is a set of collective markers or particles that can precede nouns to express the general notion of plurality. 'Oro is the most common. It can appear optionally with all common nouns, even on collective nouns (546d).

(546) a.	'oro	pana
	coll	tree
	'trees'	
(546) b.	'oro	wari'
	coll	person





- 'Xijam's sons came.'
- (548) c. Hwarahwap je cacam 'oro narima'.  
 fast:p 2p:rf prep:3pf coll woman  
 'Hurry with the women!'
- (548) d. Pa' xica' pe 'inon jowin.  
 'ina-on  
 kill alone be:at:s 1s:rp/p-3sm monkey:species  
 'I killed one *jowin* monkey.'
- (548) e. \*Pa' tocwan 'inon jowin.  
 'ina-ocon  
 kill several 1s:rp/p-3pm monkey:species  
 'I killed several *jowin* monkeys.'

(3) There are three collective nouns referring to humans that express plural number semantically. There are no collective nouns referring to nonhumans.

- (549) a. humajixi'  
 'our children' (spoken by a woman)
- (549) b. hwijima'  
 'children'
- (549) c. xerexi'  
 'our siblings'

(4) The grammatical number of a noun can also be marked via the form of verbs that have a less intense, or singular, and a more intense, or plural form. The number of the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs is marked via the use of the more intense, or plural form. So although the plural number of a nonhuman noun is not marked on the VIC, if the verb has an intense, or plural form, the number of the subject or object can nevertheless be marked by its use—see 2.1.1.9.3.

- (550) a. Wa' mao na wari'.  
 arrive:s go:s 3s:rp/p person  
 'The person arrived (going).'
- (550) b. Tan' mama' nana wari'.  
 arrive:p go:p 3p:rp/p person  
 'The people arrived (going).'
- (550) d. Cat nanain pana.  
 nana-in

	breaks	3p:rp/p-3n	tree
	'They broke the stick.'		
(550) e.	Caracat	nanain nana-in	pana.
	break:p	3p:rp/p-3n	tree
	'They broke the sticks.'		
(550) f.	Caracat	'inain 'ina-in	pana.
	break:p	1s:rp/p-3n	tree
	'I broke the sticks.'		

(5) Appropriate verbs that mean 'to be many', 'to be few', etc. can also be used to express plural number.

(551) a.	Tucu toco-0	caracan	nana	wari'.
	face-1s	each:other	3p:rp/p	person
	'There are two people.' (lit. 'The people face each other.')			
(551) b.	Mija	na		totowe'.
	much	3s:rp/p		chicken
	'There are many chickens.'			
(551) c.	'Iri'	mijo	na	xirim.
	truly	many	3s:rp/p	house
	'There are many house.'			
(551) d.	Tocwan	na		wom.
	several	3s:rp/p		cotton
	'There are several dresses.'			

#### 2.1.1.8.4. *Collective and distributive plural*

There is no morphological way to distinguish between a collective and a distributive plural. This notion can be expressed, however, by appropriate verbs—see 2.1.6.6.

(552) a.	Cao'	cao'	xam'	nanain nana-in	capam'	'oro	wari'.	
	eat	eat	all:of:it	3p:rp/p-3n	cornbread	coll	person	
	'The people ate all of the cornbread.'							
(552) b.	'An	xica'	'an	xica'	xam'	nonon	wom	'oro

nana-on  
takers alone take:s alone all:of:it 3p:rp/p-3sm cotton coll  
wari'.  
person  
'Each one of the people got a shirt.'

2.1.1.8.5. *Singulatives formed from collective nouns*

It is not possible to form singulatives from collective nouns.

2.1.1.8.6. *Number distinctions marked on nouns*

There are no number distinctions marked on nouns themselves.

2.1.1.8.7. *Number marking on foreign words*

Foreign words are used exclusively in their singular form. Number is marked on them in the same way it is marked on native vocabulary.

- (553) a.                      Pan'                      na                      banana.  
                                 fall:s                      3s:rp/p                      banana  
                                 'The banana fell.'
- (553) b.                      Camara'                      na                      banana.  
                                 fall:p                      3s:rp/p                      banana  
                                 'The bananas fell.'

2.1.1.9. *Division of nouns into classes*

Nouns are divided into distinct grammatical classes by three features:

<i>feature</i>	<i>Value</i>
gender	masculine/feminine/neuter
possession	alienable/inalienable/unpossessable
animacy	human/nonhuman

2.1.1.9.1. *Distinguishing affixes or markers*

There are no distinguishing characteristics to mark gender or humanness/nonhumanness on a noun; they are distinguished semantically and/or elsewhere in the clause via agreement.

There are two sets of nouns that have inalienable possession. The *-xi'* noun class is marked by the set of inflected possessive suffixes (554a). The other class is a set of derived kinship terms. The 'verb' of the kinship term is the first person singular form of

the kinship term, and it has the form of a quote (554b), with the possessor having the form of a subject. See 2.1.1.4.6.1 and 2.2.2.2.1.5, where these two classes of nouns having inalienable possession are described in detail.

- |          |   |     |        |
|----------|---|-----|--------|
| (554) a. | xiricon   |     | Xijam  |
|          | xiri-con  |     |        |
|          | house-3sm   |     | m:name |
|          | ‘Xijam’s house’   |     |        |
| (554) b. | cwaji’  | ca  | Xijam  |
|          | co-aji’   |     |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother:1s   | 3sm | m:name |
|          | ‘Xijam’s older brother’ (lit. ‘he whom Xijam (calls) “my older brother”’) |     |        |

#### 2.1.1.9.2. Characterization of the class meanings of each class

Division of nouns into classes by gender is determined semantically. Human females are the only members that belong to the feminine gender class. However, mixed gender groups (that is, including both males and females), collective nouns (e.g. ‘children’ or ‘siblings’ when males and females are included) are also treated as feminine gender class, and groups of people including both males and females are also referred to with feminine markers. The nouns in the examples in (555a–b) are feminine; ‘*oro wari*’ in (555c) is treated as feminine because it is a mixed gender group.

- |          |   |             |      |        |
|----------|---|-------------|------|--------|
| (555) a. | narima'                                   |             |      |        |
|          | 'woman'                                   |             |      |        |
| (555) b. | cainaxi'                                  |             |      |        |
|          | caina-xi'                                 |             |      |        |
|          | daughter -1pincl                          |             |      |        |
|          | 'our (incl) daughter' (spoken by a woman) |             |      |        |
| (555) c. | Querec                                    | 'inanam     | 'oro | wari'. |
|          |   | 'ina-vcvm   |      |        |
|          | see                                       | 1s:rp/p-3pf | coll | person |
|          | 'I saw the people (both men and women).'  |             |      |        |

All remaining nouns are divided between the masculine and neuter gender classes. Although gender is not marked overtly on nouns, their gender may be marked elsewhere in the clause. The masculine gender class includes all human males and about half of the culturally significant animals and objects. By 'culturally significant', we mean animals and objects that were familiar to the Wari' before their contact with civilization, or that played an important role in their pre-contact world view. These include about half of the small fish, birds, animals and insects; some large fish; about half of the bees; some useful objects; some phenomena of nature; and about half of large game animals. The examples in (556) belong to the masculine gender class.

- (556) a. tarama'

- (556) b. jowin  
'*Macaco prego* species of monkey'
- (556) c. mamaram  
'minnow'
- (556) d. 'awu  
'toucan bird'
- (556) e. towem towem  
'dragon fly'
- (556) f. nanacam'  
'*Tucunaré* species of large fish'
- (556) g. coparac  
'species of bee'
- (556) h. wom  
'cotton'
- (556) i. towapiji  
'cold south wind'
- (556) j. min'  
'tapir'

The neuter gender class includes inanimate objects and most plants, animals and fish which were not familiar to the Wari' before their contact with civilization. It also includes small fish, birds, animals, insects and large game animals indigenous to the Wari' area not included in the masculine gender class. Finally, all subordinate clauses and derived nouns are neuter in gender. All of the constructions in (557) belong to the neuter gender class.

- (557) a. wao'  
'type of small basket'
- (557) b. tononoin  
'grass'
- (557) c. came  
'*Capivara* species of large rodent'
- (557) d. 'aratarawan  
'*Surubim* catfish'
- (557) e. cwari'  
'species of small armadillo'
- (557) f. mijac  
'*Queixada* species of wild pig'

- |          |        |           |                  |         |      |         |                 |
|----------|--------|-----------|------------------|---------|------|---------|-----------------|
| (557) g. | Querec | te        | 'inem<br>'ina-em | pain    | ca   | hwet    | mapa'<br>ma-pa' |
|          | see    | father:1s | 1s:rp/p-2s       | prep:3n | INFL | appears | 2s-1s           |



Division of nouns into classes by their humanness/nonhumanness is also determined semantically. See 2.1.1.9.3 for the significance of this class division.

### 2.1.1.9.3. *Marking of noun classes*

Gender is not marked on the noun itself, but on the verbal inflectional clitic (561a–c), in the possessive suffix (562a–c) or nominal inflectional clitic (562d–f), or by the demonstrative following the noun (563a–c). In the latter case, a distinction is only made between neuter versus nonneuter, i.e. the masculine and feminine distinction is neutralized. In these cases, agreement with the gender of the noun is obligatory. Verbal inflectional clitics are described in 2.1.3.6; genitives in 1.10; and demonstratives in 1.2.5.2.5.

- |          |                           |                   |                |
|----------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| (561) a. | Querec                    | 'inain<br>'ina-in | wao'.          |
|          | see                       | 1s:rp/p-3n        | small:basket   |
|          | 'I see the small basket.' |                   |                |
| (561) b. | Querec                    | 'inon<br>'ina-on  | wom.           |
|          | see                       | 1s:rp/p-3sm       | cotton         |
|          | 'I see the shirt.'        |                   |                |
| (561) c. | Querec                    | 'inam<br>'ina-m   | narima'.       |
|          | see                       | 1s:rp/p-3sf       | woman          |
|          | 'I see the woman.'        |                   |                |
| (562) a. | capijain<br>capija-in     |                   | wao'           |
|          | mouth-3n                  |                   | small basket   |
|          | 'the rim of the basket'   |                   |                |
| (562) b. | capijacon<br>capija-con   |                   | wom            |
|          | mouth-3sm                 |                   | cotton         |
|          | 'the hem of the skirt'    |                   |                |
| (562) c. | capijacam<br>capija-cam   |                   | narima'        |
|          | mouth-3sf                 |                   | woman          |
|          | 'woman's mouth'           |                   |                |
| (562) d. | banana                    | nein              | waram          |
|          | banana                    | 3sn:poss          | monkey:species |

	‘the <i>waram</i> monkey’s banana’		
(562) e.	banana	nucun	jowin
	banana	3sm:poss	monkey:species
	‘the <i>jowin</i> monkey’s banana’		
(562) f.	banana	nequem	pije
	banana	3sf:poss	child
	‘the child’s banana’		
(563) a.	wao’		ca’
	small:basket		this:n
	‘this small basket’		
(563) b.	wom	cwa’	
	cotton	this:m/f	
	‘this item of clothing’		
(563) c.	narima’	cwa’	
	woman	this:m/f	
	‘this woman’		

Humanness/nonhumanness is indicated on the verbal inflectional clitics or possessive suffixes/nominal inflectional clitics via number marking. Plural suffixes/inflectional clitics can only be used in reference to humans; reference can be made to nonhumans only with singular suffixes/inflectional clitics, even when the nonhuman element is plural. The number of the nonhuman element is marked, where possible, in the form of the verb (less intense, or singular, and more intense, or plural—see 2.1.1.8.3).

(564) a.	Mao	na	wari’.
	go:s	3s:rp/p	person
	‘The person went.’		
(564) b.	Mama’	nana	’oro wari’.
	go:p	3p:rp/p	coll person
	‘The people went.’		
(564) c.	Mao	na	mijac.
	go:s	3s:rp/p	pig
	‘The pig went.’		
(564) d.	Mama’	na	mijac.
	go:p	3s:rp/p	pig



	'The pigs went.'		
(564) e.	*Mama'	nana	mijac.
	go:p	3p:rp/p	pig
	'The pigs went.'		
(565) a.	xiricon		wari'
	xiri-con		
	house-3sm		person
	'the person's house'		
(565) b.	xiricocon	'oro	wari'
	xiri-cocon		
	house-3pm	coll	person
	'the people's house'		
(565) c.	manacon	micop	
	mana-con		
	hole-3sm	'agouti:species'	
	'micop agouti's hole/micop agoutis' hole'		
(565) d.	*manacocon	micop	
	mana-cocon		
	hole-3pm	'agouti:species'	
	'agouti's hole'		

#### 2.1.1.9.4. *Classifiers*

There are no classifiers in the language.

#### 2.1.1.9.5. *Gender marking of loan words*

Loan words are assigned to the neuter gender class.

(566) a.	xocori	motor
	xocori-0	
	newness-3n	motor
	'new motor' (masculine in Portuguese) (lit. 'the motor's newness')	
(566) b.	wijimain	mesa
	wijima-in	
	smallness-3n	table
	'little table' (feminine in Portuguese) (lit. 'the table's smallness')	

2.1.1.10. *Marking of definiteness in noun phrases*

The use of the object marker suffix in verbal inflectional clitics (see section 2.1.3.6.2.2) and/or the use of demonstratives in NPS (see 1.2.5.2.5) can express definiteness of a noun phrase, although this marking is optional.

- (567) a. Pa' ma hwam?  
kill 2s:rp/p fish  
'Did you kill (the) fish?'
- (567) b. Pa' mon hwam?  
ma-on  
kill 2s:rp/p-3sm fish  
'Did you kill (the) fish?'
- (567) c. Pa' mon hwam cwa'?  
ma-on  
kill 2s:rp/p-3sm fish this:m/f  
'Did you kill this fish?'
- (567) d. Pa' ma (mon) hwam ma'?  
(ma -on)  
kill 2s:rp/p (2s:rp/p-3sm) fish that:prox:hearer  
'Did you kill that (near you) fish?'
- (567) e. Pa' ma (mon) hwam cwain?  
(ma -on)  
kill 2s:rp/p (2s:rp/p-3sm) fish that:m/f:distal  
'Did you kill that (distant) fish?'
- (567) f. 'Om ca noc ton Xijam cwa'.  
ta'-on  
not:exist INFL:rp/p dislike 1s-3sm m:name this:m/f  
'I like Xijam.'
- (567) g. Mi' napari' pain ca tomi' querec te  
na-pari'  
give 3s:rp/p-1pincl prep:3n INFL:nrp/p speak see father:1s  
wa ca'.  
inf this:n  
'He gives us happiness.'

Absence of these three indicators of marking definiteness can be interpreted as indefiniteness. There is no formal marker to express referential indefiniteness ('He ate a

(specific) fish'), but nonreferential indefiniteness can be expressed by the verb *jimao* 'to be different' following the noun like a modifier. We have recorded *jimao* with only two nouns, as illustrated in (568).

- |          |                       |                |
|----------|-----------------------|----------------|
| (568) a. | carawa                | jimao          |
|          | animal                | be:different:s |
|          | 'something inanimate' |                |
| (568) b. | wari'                 | jimao          |
|          | person                | be:different:s |
|          | 'something animate'   |                |

#### 2.1.1.11–12. *Marking of indefiniteness in noun phrases*

Indefiniteness is not overtly marked in noun phrases, although the absence of VICS and/or demonstrative adjectives can indicate indefiniteness—see 2.1.1.1.1.

#### 2.1.1.13. *Marking of genericness in noun phrases*

Genericness may be marked in noun phrases by the use of the collective morpheme *'oro*, which precedes the noun. The marking of genericness in noun phrases is optional.

- |          |                          |         |
|----------|--------------------------|---------|
| (569) a. | 'oro                     | narima' |
|          | coll                     | woman   |
|          | 'women'                  |         |
| (569) b. | 'oro                     | carawa  |
|          | coll                     | animal  |
|          | 'things' or 'everything' |         |

#### 2.1.1.14. *Distinguishing of more important noun actors from less important ones*

There is no morphosyntactic distinction between more important and less important noun actors, aside from the semantic-role/agreement hierarchy discussed in 1.2.1.2.3. above.

### 2.1.2. Pronouns

The only underived pronouns in the language are emphatic pronouns, discussed in the next subsection. However, demonstrative pronouns may be used as personal pronouns, as discussed in 2.1.2.2.

2.1.2.1. *Emphatic pronouns*

There is a distinct class of emphatic pronouns. There are no distinctions for degrees of emphasis in this class. Emphatic pronouns occur in first, second, and third persons, in both singular and plural forms. Note that the first person plural inclusive emphatic pronoun, *wari'*, is the autodenomination of the Wari' (Pacaas Novos) tribe.

first singular	<i>wata'</i>
second singular	<i>wum</i>
third singular masculine	<i>wirico</i>
third singular feminine	<i>wiricam</i>
third neuter	<i>je</i>
first plural inclusive	<i>wari'</i>
first plural exclusive	<i>warut</i>
second plural	<i>wahu'</i>
third plural masculine	<i>wiricoco</i>
third plural feminine	<i>wiricacam</i>

Emphatic pronouns may not appear alone as arguments of the verb. They may, however, appear alone or in apposition to a noun in left dislocation. They may also appear in apposition to a noun as the object of a verb in 'and'-coordination, where the pronoun and accompanying appositive do not occupy the first position of the series.

(570) a.	Wirico	Mon'	co	pa'	na	mijac
	emph:3sm	m:name	INFL:m/frp/p	kill	3s:rp/p	pig

'It was Mon' who killed a pig.'

(570) b.	Pa'	na	mijac	je	waram	Mon'
	kill	3s:rp/p	pig	emph:3n	monkey:species	m:name

ma'.

that:prox:hearer

'Mon' killed a pig and a *waram* monkey.'

(570) c.	*Pa'	na	je	waram	Mon'
	kill	3s:rp/p	emph:3n	monkey:species	m:name

ma'.

that:prox:hearer

'Mon' killed a *waram* monkey.'

(570) d.	*Pa'	na	je	mijac	je	waram	Mon'
	kill	3s:rp/p	emph:3n	pig	emph:3n	monkey:species	m:name

ma'.

that:prox:hearer

'Mon' killed a pig and a *waram* monkey.'

(570) e.	*Pa'	'ina	mijac	wata'.
----------	------	------	-------	--------

kill                      1s:rp/p                      pig                      emph:1s  
 'I killed a pig.'

Emphatic pronouns are commonly used to mark 'and'-coordination between nominal elements of the clause—see 1.3.3. They may link arguments of the verb, as in (570b) above, or they may connect a series of names given as clarification to an otherwise complete sentence, as in (571) below. It is common for a series so marked to end with the verb phrase *ca' na* 'thus it is' (lit. 'this:n 3s:rp/p'). The first, second and third person forms may be used in 'and'-coordination expressed in a disconnected series.

(571) a.      Ji'am      xi'                      jowin                      pain                      ca'                      ma'  
                  hunt      1pincl:rf      monkey :species                      prep:3n      this:n      that:prox:hearer  
                  'unit,                      Jimain Hwara' Waji,                      Wem Xao,                      wata'.  
                  1pexcl:rp/p                      m:name                      m:name                      emph:1s

“‘We will hunt for *jowin* monkey”, we (said), Jimain Hwara' Waji, Wem Xao and I.’

(571) b.      Wijimain wijima-in                      quit,      je                      'itac                      'itac,                      sabão,      je  
                  smallness-3n                      knife      emph:3n      swallow      swallow      soap      emph:3n  
                  açúcar.                      Ca'                      na                      cocon.  
                  sugar                      this:n                      3s:rp/p                      prep:3pm

‘A small knife, pills, soap, sugar, thus it was for them.’

First and second person emphatic pronouns are frequently used in answer to questions of the type, ‘Who is it?’ or to ask, ‘Is that you?’ Note that these same constructions involving third person are given with demonstrative pronouns—see 2.1.2.2.

(572) a.      A:      Ma'                      wari'                      ma'                      quem?  
                                       that:prox:hearer                      person                      that:prox:hearer                      ref

‘Who is it?’

B:      Wata'.  
                  emph:1s  
                  ‘(It is) I.’

B:      Warut.  
                  emph:1pexcl  
                  ‘(It is) we.’

(572) b.                      Wum                      ra?  
                                       emph:2s                      2s:rf

‘(That is) you, isn't it?’

Emphatic pronouns may also be verbalized and appear in compound verbs, as seen in 2.2.2.1.2.1. These are, however, rare; and have only been found in narrative text.

2.1.2.2. *Demonstrative pronouns*

Demonstrative pronouns occur only in the third person, singular and plural. They are formed when four proclitics (*co* ‘singular masculine’, *cam* ‘singular feminine’, *i* ‘neuter’ and *caram* ‘plural’) precede the demonstratives described in 1.2.5.2.5 (*ca* ‘this:n/m-f proximate to speaker’, *ma* ‘that proximate to hearer’, *cain/cwain* ‘that:n/m-f distal’, *paca* ‘that just occurred’, *cara ne* ‘that recently absent’ and *cara pane* ‘that long absent’).

These proclitics could be interpreted as prefixes; however, if they were prefixes, the word-initial nonphonemic glottal stop on *ma* ‘[?ma?] that proximate to hearer’, on *co ma* ‘that masculine one proximate to hearer’ and *i ma* ‘that neuter one proximate to hearer’ should delete, since word-medial glottal-consonant clusters do not occur. Note that the word-initial glottal does disappear when the INFL clitic *co* ‘m/f realis past/present’ prefixes on to *‘aji* ‘my older brother’ to form *cwaji ma* ‘your older brother’. In the case of *cwaji ma*, *co* is obviously a prefix; but in the cases of *co ma* and *i ma*, we believe *co* and *i* must be interpreted as free clitics, and therefore that *cam* and *caram* must also be interpreted as free clitics.

**Paradigm of demonstrative pronouns**

	proximate to speaker	proximate to hearer	distal
masculine singular	<i>co cwa</i> ’	<i>co ma</i> ’	<i>co cwain</i>
feminine singular	<i>cam cwa</i> ’	<i>cam ma</i> ’	<i>cam cwain</i>
neuter	<i>i ca</i> ’	<i>i ma</i> ’	<i>i cain</i>
plural	<i>caram cwa</i> ’	<i>caram ma</i> ’	<i>caram cwain</i>
	seen/not heard	recently absent	long absent
masculine singular	<i>co paca</i> ’	<i>co pacara ne</i>	<i>co pacara pane</i>
feminine singular	<i>cam paca</i> ’	<i>cam pacara ne</i>	<i>cam pacara pane</i>
neuter	<i>i paca</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>i cara ne</i>	<i>i cara pane</i>
plural	<i>caram paca</i> ’	<i>caram pacara ne</i>	<i>caram pacara pane</i>

<sup>1</sup>BK notes that she does not recall ever hearing *i paca*’, and has no record of it in her field notes or text material. But she sees no reason why it couldn’t be said.

2.1.2.2.1. *Parameters involved in demonstrative pronouns*

The parameters involved in demonstrative pronouns are spatial and temporal: proximity to the participants in the speech act, and relative remoteness in time—see 2.1.2.3 on the use of demonstrative pronouns as personal pronouns.

#### 2.1.2.2.2. *Marking of number in demonstrative pronouns*

See 2.1.2.3.3.

#### 2.1.2.2.3. *Marking of gender in demonstrative pronouns*

See 2.1.2.3.7.

#### 2.1.2.2.4. *Marking of case in demonstrative pronouns*

There is no case marking in the language.

#### 2.1.2.2.5. Adjectival use of demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns cannot be used adjectivally. This is accomplished by the demonstratives from which demonstrative pronouns are derived—see 1.2.5.2.5.

(573)	Quep	nain na-in	xirim	ca'.
	do	3s:rp/p-3n	house	this:n
	'He did (made) this house.'			

### 2.1.2.3. Demonstrative pronouns used as personal pronouns

#### 2.1.2.3.1. Occurrence of free pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns used as personal pronouns may appear (optionally) in the subject and object positions of the sentence. However, they do not occur in the indirect object position.

(574) a.	Maqui'	na		co	ma'.		
	come	3s:rp/p		m	that:prox:hearer		
	'He came.' (lit. 'That masculine being/thing near you came.')						
(574) b.	Querec	nam		cam	ma'		Xijam.
		na-m					
	see	3s:rp/p-3sf		f	that:prox:hearer		m:name
	'Xijam saw her.' (lit. 'That feminine one near you came.')						
(574) c.	*Mi'	nam	con	hwam	cam	cwa'	tarama'.
		na-m					
	give	3s:rp/p-3sf	prep:3sm	fish	f	this:m/f	man
	'The man gave her the fish.' (lit. 'The man gave this feminine one the fish.')						

Wirico	co	cwa'	co	pa'	nain na-in	mijac
emph:3sm	m	this:m/f	INFL:mfrp/p	kill	3s:rp/p-3n	pig
pane.						
rem:past						
'He himself this masculine one was the one who killed the pig.'						

(576) a.	A.	Ma'	wari'	ma'	quem?
		that:prox:hearer	person	that:prox:hearer	ref
		'Who is it?'			
	B:	Co	ma'.		
		m	that:prox:hearer		
		'(It is) he.'			
	B:	Caram	ma'.		
		p	that:prox:hearer		
		'(It is) they.'			
(576) b.		Co	ma'		ra?
		m	that:prox:hearer		2s:rf
		'(That is) he, isn't it?'			

#### 2.1.2.3.2. Person distinctions in demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns used as personal pronouns occur only in the third person.

#### 2.1.2.3.3. Marking of pronouns for number

(577) a. Param 'inain 'i ca'.



- 'ina-in  
desire                      1s:rp/p-3n                      n                      this:n  
'I want these neuter things.'
- (577) b.           Pa'           na           hwam           cam           ma'.  
                    kill           3s:rp/p           fish           f           that:prox:hearer  
                    'That feminine one near you killed fish.'
- (577) c.           Pa'           nana           hwam           caram           cwain.  
                    kill           3p:rp/p           fish           p           that:m/f:distal  
                    'Those masculine/feminine distant ones killed fish.'

#### 2.1.2.3.4. Status of various third person actors

The language does not mark the different status of various third person actors. There are no fourth or fifth person forms of personal pronouns.

#### 2.1.2.3.5. Degrees of proximity

Three degrees of spatial proximity to the participants in the speech act are marked in demonstrative pronouns: 'proximate to the speaker' (578a), 'proximate to the hearer' (578b) and 'distal' (578c). Three degrees of temporal proximity to the participants in the speech act are also marked: 'just occurred' (579a), 'recently absent' (579b) and 'long absent' (579c).

- (578) a.           Caxi           na           co           cwa'.  
                    sick           3s:rp/p           m           this:m/f  
                    'He (nearby) is sick.' (lit. 'This masculine one is sick.')
- (578) b.           Mi'           ne           pain           'i           ma'.  
                    give           2s:1s:rf           prep:3n           n           that:prox:hearer  
                    'Give it (near you) to me.' (lit. 'Give that neuter thing near you to me.')
- (578) c.           'Awaran           nana           caram           cwain.  
                    cry:p           3p:rp/p           p           that:m/f:distal  
                    'They (over there) are crying.' (lit. 'Those masculine/feminine distant ones are crying.')
- (579) a.           Co           paca'.  
                    m           that:just:occurred  
                    'There he is!' ('Do you hear him?') (lit. 'That just occurred, masculine one.')
- (579) b.           Cain'           cain'           ne           wixicon wixi-con           co           pacara ne?

that:n:distal      that:n:distal      3n      name-3sm      m      rec:past

'What was his name, the one who was here a while ago?' (lit. 'What was the masculine recently absent one's name?')

(579) 'Awi      tamana      nana      caram      pacara pane,  
c.

good      much      3p:rp/p      p      hist:past

'They were very good, those who were here a long time ago.' (lit. 'The masculine/feminine long absent ones were very good.')

#### 2.1.2.3.6. *Anaphoric third person pronouns*

There are no special anaphoric third person pronouns.

#### 2.1.2.3.7. *Gender distinctions in pronouns*

Unlike nouns (see 2.1.1.9), gender is marked directly on demonstrative pronouns via proclitics. As with all other references to gender in the language, mixed groups of males and females are referred to as feminine. See the paradigm in 2.1.2.2. above.

#### 2.1.2.3.8. *Kinship affiliations in pronouns*

There are no special pronominal forms indicating the tribal, sectional or family relationships of the referents.

#### 2.1.2.3.9. *Other forms of personal pronouns*

The paradigm of demonstrative pronouns described in 2.1.2.2 is the only form of personal pronouns.

#### 2.1.2.3.10. *Tense agreement of pronouns*

The pronoun does not agree with the verb in tense.

#### 2.1.2.3.11. *Status distinctions in pronouns*

Status distinctions are not marked in pronouns.

#### 2.1.2.3.12. *Nonspecific indefinite pronoun*

There is one term, 'ara 'so-and-so', which is used like an indefinite pronoun. It is rare and used only when describing hypothetical situations.

(580) Noc      ton      'ara      ta      'ac      ca      xi'      na  
ta'-on

dislike 1s:rf-3sm so-and-so emph travel 3sm dub 3s:rp/p  
 wari' ma'.  
 person that:prox:hearer  
 'Then when a person (says), "I will dislike so-and- so".'

#### 2.1.2.3.13. *Specific indefinite pronouns*

There are no special specific indefinite pronouns.

#### 2.1.2.3.14. *Complex pronouns*

There are no complex personal pronouns.

#### 2.1.2.3.15. *Pronoun-noun constructions*

Only third person emphatic pronouns may occur in apposition to nouns. See the examples in 2.1.2.1.

#### 2.1.2.4. *Reflexive, reciprocal and possessive pronouns*

There are no possessive, reflexive or reciprocal pronouns in the language. See 1.6. for a discussion of reflexive/reciprocal verbal inflectional clitics. Also, see 1.10 for discussion of possessive nominal inflectional clitics.

#### 2.1.2.5. *Interrogative pronouns and other question words*

There are no interrogative pronouns in 'ON—see 1.1.1.2.2 on the formation of question-word questions.

#### 2.1.2.6. *Relative pronouns*

The INFL morphemes *ca* 'neuter realis past/present' and *co* 'masculine/ feminine realis past/present', *'iri'* 'realis past/present', and *xi* 'irrealis' discussed in 1.1.1.4.2 are the closest thing there is to a relative pronoun in 'ON. There are no other special forms of relative pronouns.

(581) a. Cao' pin main mijac ca pa'  
           eat completely 2s:rp/p-3n pig INFL:rp/p kill  
           ta' ne?  
           1s rec:past  
           'Did you eat the pig that I just killed?'

(581) b. Querec 'inon tarama' co maqui' nain

- 'ina-on na-in
- see 1s:rp/p-3sm man INFL:m/frp/p come 3s:rp/p-3n
- Guajar .
- place:name
- 'I saw the man who came from Guajar .'
- (581) c. Mam' tata jamicocon 'iri' cono' nana
- jami-ocon
- find pass:3p spirit-3pm INFL:rp/p die:p 3p:rp/p
- ma'.
- that:prox:hearer
- 'The spirits of those who died are found.'
- (581) d. Wirico xi tomi' ha' 'iri' cwa'.
- emph:3sm INFL:irr speak pay:attention 1pincl this:m/f
- 'He (is) the one whom we should obey.'

### 2.1.3. Verbal morphology

#### 2.1.3.1. Voice

##### 2.1.3.1.1. Passive

**2.1.3.1.1.1. Personal passive** Passive is expressed by nonactive verbal inflectional clitics, as well as by the infinitival marker *wa*. Like all other verbal inflectional clitics, they follow the verb. They do not express tense/ mood. Passive VICS express person, number and gender. One set of passive VICS occurs where Tense active VICS would be used, and the other occurs where Tenseless active VICS would be used. Gender is marked only on the latter set. We will refer to these as 'Tense' and 'Tenseless' passive VICS, to indicate their distribution, even though they do not really mark tense/mood. 'Tense' passive VICS can occur in simple sentences just as the realis and irrealis VICS, but they tend to be used rarely. The use of 'Tenseless' passive VICS is preferred, because they function in constructions in which tense/mood is marked in INFL morphemes or in verbalized sequential- and comparative-type sentences, as in the following examples. Note that (582d) illustrates the use of the infinitival marker to express passive.

- (582) a. 'Om ca howa tocwa.
- not:exist INFL:nrp/p believe pass:3sm
- 'He was not believed.'
- (582) b. Jein hwet 'ac tococwa na.
- run:p approach:s travel pass:3pm 3s:rp/p

“Then they were approached (lit. run toward),” he says.’

- (582) c.            'Ac            ca                            tomi'            tacama            na.  
                  like            INFL:nrp/p                            speak            pass:3sf            3s:rp/p  
                  “It seems she was spoken to,” he says.’

- (582) d.            Wiricam                            co    querec            wa.  
                  emph:3sf                            INFL:m/frp/p                            see            inf  
                  ‘She is the one who was seen.’

The two paradigms of passive VICS seem to be incomplete. There are forms for all but the first person plural, and we are not certain about the existence of the first person singular. (BK thinks she may have heard examples with first person singular, but there is no record of it in the corpus.) The second person clitics are rarely used. Third person clitics are quite common, especially the ‘Tenseless’ class. The reason for this disparity in the use of third person passives versus first and second person passives may be the following: since passive (among other things) demotes the agent, the use of the passive is less crucial for first and second persons, since they never fill grammatical relation positions in the sentence and, therefore, do not need to be demoted.

The complete paradigm of ‘Tense’ passive VICS is as follows:

first singular	<i>xita</i> (?)
second singular	<i>xima</i>
third singular	<i>ta</i>
first plural inclusive	——
first plural exclusive	——
second plural	<i>xihwe</i>
third plural	<i>tata</i>

- (583) a.                            Cao'    ta?  
    eat    pass:3s  
    ‘Can it be eaten?’
- (583) b.                            Tomi'    tata.  
    speak    pass:3p  
    ‘They are spoken of.’

The complete paradigm of Tenseless passive VICS is as follows:

first singular	<i>xita</i> (?)
second singular	<i>xima</i>
third singular masculine	<i>tocwa</i>

third singular feminine	<i>tacama</i>
third neuter	<i>xine</i>
first plural inclusive	—
first plural exclusive	—
second plural	<i>xihwe</i>
third plural masculine	<i>tococwa</i>
third plural feminine	<i>tacacama</i>

(584) a.	'Om	xi	querec	tocwa.
	not:exist	INFL:irr	see	pass:3sm

'He should not have been seen.'

(584) b.	Tatam'	'ac	xihwe	tara.
	laugh	travel	3s:rf	3s:rf

'Then you (p) will be laughed at.'

2.1.3.1.1.1.1. The direct object of the active appears as the object/subject of the passive: Any semantic role that can be referenced by the object portion of an active VIC may be passivized.

Passivization of goal

(585) a.	'Om	ca	tomi'	tococwa	hwijima'.
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	speak	pass:3pm	children

'The children were not spoken to.'

Passivization of benefactive

(585) b.	Mija	na	ca	mi'	tococwa	con	hwam.
	much	3s:rp/p	INFL:nrp/p	give	pass:3pm	prep:3sm	fish

'It is much that they were given fish.'

(585) c.	'Om	ca	taramaja	mi'	tococowa.
	not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	work	give	pass:3pm

'They were not worked for.'

Of circumstance

(585) d.	'Ac	ca	mam	xin	xine	na	ca
	like	INFL:nrp/p	instr	throw:s	pass:3n	3s:rp/p	INFL:nrp/p
	xain	nucun.					

hot      poss:3sm

'He played ball while having a fever.' (lit. 'It seems that his fever was played (ball) with.')

Of theme

(585) e.	Querec	tata	'oro	wari'.
	see	pass:3p	coll	person
	'The people were seen.'			

## Of location

(585) f.	'Aram	'aram	corom	na	manain mana-in	pain	
	finally:p	finally:p	enter	3s:rp/p	hole-3n	prep:3n	
ca	xao	to	xao	to	'ac	xine	ca'.
INFL:nrp/p	pound	be:at:p	pound	be:at:p	travel	pass:3n	this:n

'Finally the cavity (of the canoe), in the sitting area, is formed.'  
(lit. 'Finally its hole goes in where it is sat in.')

Of time

(585) g.            'Irawin                      com                      'ac                      wa                      tara.  
                         afternoon                      sing                      travel                      inf                      3s:rf  
                         'Then the afternoon will be sung in.'

## Of instrument

(585)	To'	pohot	'ac	wa	panaji	mam	pahum'
h.					panaji-0		
	it	split	travel	inf	tree-3n	instr	bend:by:heat:and:pressure
	xine	na	quem.				
	pass:3n	3s:rp/p	ref				

‘Then the sticks (of the canoe), with which its cavity is opened, are cut and split (on the end).’ (lit. ‘Then its sticks with which it is bent by heat and pressure are cut and split (on the end).’)

## Of comitative

(585) i. 'Om            ca                    jajao            tacacama            'oromon            xojam'.  
                  not:exist    INFL:nrp/p    together:p    pass:3pf    coll            young:girl  
                  'The young girls were not accompanied.'





**2.1.3.1.2.3. Formation of a reciprocal intransitive verb by expressing both subject and direct object of the transitive as subject** See 1.7.

**2.1.3.1.2.4. Use of the reciprocal VICS to decrease the valency of a verb** Valency of a transitive verb may also be decreased by using the reflexive/ reciprocal verbal inflectional clitics. Only third person subjects/objects can be expressed as an argument of the verb when reflexive/reciprocal VICS are used.

- |          |                                     |                 |        |          |           |
|----------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------|----------|-----------|
| (589) a. | To'                                 | non<br>na-on    | 'Awo'  |          | 'Orowao'. |
|          | hit                                 | 3s:rp/p-3sm     | m:name |          | m:name    |
|          | 'Orowao' hit 'Awo'.                 |                 |        |          |           |
| (589) b. | To'                                 | xucucun         | 'Awo'  | con      | 'Orowao'. |
|          | hit                                 | refl/recipe:3pm | m:name | 3sm:prep | m:name    |
|          | 'Awo' and 'Orowao' hit each other.' |                 |        |          |           |
| (589) c. | To'                                 | xucucun         |        |          | hwijima'. |
|          | hit                                 | refl/recipe:3pm |        |          | children  |
|          | 'The children hit each other.'      |                 |        |          |           |

#### 2.1.3.1.3. Increasing the valency of a verb

The valency of a verb can be increased by verb compounding. There are several possible semantic relationships between the verbs in a compound verb; causative is one of them. We discuss only causative compound verbs here—see 2.2.3.1 for discussion of other compound verbs.

#### 2.1.3.1.3.1 Causativization

2.1.3.1.3.1.1. Intransitive verb made causative: An intransitive verb forms a causative when it is compounded on the right of a transitive verb. In all of the examples in (590), the surface objects marked in the verbal inflectional clitics are the semantic subjects of the intransitive verbs, supporting our analysis of them as causatives.

- |          |   |         |                           |             |                    |
|----------|---|---------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (590) a. | Juc   | camara' | nain<br>na-in             | too         | Xijam.             |
|          | push  | fall:p  | 3s:rp/p-3n                | metal       | m:name             |
|          | 'Xijam knocked down the cans.' (lit. 'Xijam pushed and caused to fall the cans.') |         |                           |             |                    |
| (590) b. | Querec  | querec  | mama'<br>nonon<br>nana-on | 'oro        | wari' To'o.        |
|          | see   | see     | to:p                      | 3p:rp/p-3sm | coll person f:name |
|          | 'To'o saw the people off.' (lit. 'To'o saw and caused to go the people.')         |         |                           |             |                    |
| (590) c. | Cut   | mao     | nanain<br>nana-in         | too         | hwijima'.          |

'The children took the shotgun away.' (lit. 'The children took and caused to go the metal thing.')

give      big:s      2s:rp-p-3sf      prep:3n      leaf

‘Did you give her a lot of money?’ (lit. ‘Did you give her and cause to be big the money?’)

(590) f.	Jajao	matam	'inonon. 'ina-ocon
	together:p	tall	ls:rp/p-3pm
	'They are taller than I am.' (lit. 'I am together with them and I cause them to be tall.')		

(591) a.	Pa'	rain ra-in	mijac	non na-on	Xijam	Hatem.
	kill	2s:rf-3n	pig	3s:rp/p-3sm	m:name	f:name
	'Hatem made Xijam kill the pig,' (lit. "Kill the pig", Hatem (said) to Xijam.)					

**2.1.3.1.3.2. Omission of causee** The causee cannot be omitted. It must at least be referenced in the VIC of the causative verb.

**2.1.3.1.3.3. Formal difference depending on agentivity of causee** There is no formal difference depending on the agentivity of the causee.

#### 2.1.3.1.4. Reflexive and reciprocal forms

Reflexive and reciprocal forms are described in 1.6 and 1.7.

The three sets of tense/mood VICS cannot be used in all grammatical constructions, for instance, in COMP sentences (1.1.1.4.2), most subordinate clauses (1.1.2) and derived nouns (2.2.2.2). In these kinds of constructions, tense/mood is marked by five different clitics that we call inflection (INFL) morphemes: *ca* ‘neuter realis past/present’, *co* ‘masculine/feminine realis past/present’, *’iri* ‘realis past/present’, *ta* ‘realis future’, and *xi* ‘irrealis’. When an INFL morpheme appears, person and number (and gender for third persons) is marked by Tenseless VICS (except with some occurrences of *co* ‘masculine/feminine realis past/present’ and *’iri* ‘realis/past present’—see 1.1.1.4.2). The complementarity between INFL and VICS is accounted for simply enough: tense, when it appears, must appear in the sentence-second position (in nonprohibitive matrix clauses).

Most constructions require either a tense/mood VIC or an INFL morpheme. However (see 1.6), with reflexive VICS in simple sentences, tense and mood are not expressed. Also (see 1.1.1.4.1), there is a small class of verbal modifiers used in simple sentences which requires the use of Tenseless VICS. Finally (see 1.1.2.3.1), INFL morphemes sometimes do not function in relative clauses, leaving the clauses unmarked for tense/mood. The first of each pair of examples below illustrates tense/mood marked by a VIC, and the second or later of each pair illustrates it marked by an INFL morpheme. The element illustrating tense/mood is italicized.

- |          |  |                      |                      |         |                    |        |            |
|----------|--|----------------------|----------------------|---------|--------------------|--------|------------|
| (592) a. | Quep   |                      | <i>nain</i><br>na-in |         | temem'             |        | Xijam.     |
|          | do   |                      | <i>3s:rp/p-3n</i>    |         | bow                |        | m:name     |
|          | 'Xijam made a bow.'  |                      |                      |         |                    |        |            |
| (592) b. | Querec   | te                   | na                   | pain    | <i>ca</i>          | xio    | pin        |
|          | see  | father:1s            | <i>3s:rp/p</i>       | prep:3n | <i>INFL:nrp/p</i>  | cold   | completely |
|          | ca   | panxica.<br>panxi-ca |                      |         |                    |        |            |
|          | 3sm  | son-3sm              |                      |         |                    |        |            |
|          | 'He is happy because his son is well (lit. cold, i.e. no more fever).' |                      |                      |         |                    |        |            |
| (592) c. | Ma'  | <i>co</i>            |                      | cao'    | non<br>na-on       | hwam   | cwa'?      |
|          | who  | <i>INFL:m/frp/p</i>  |                      | eat     | <i>3s:rp/p-3sm</i> | fish   | this:m/f   |
|          | 'Who ate this fish?'   |                      |                      |         |                    |        |            |
| (592) d. | Mam  | pe                   | wet                  | main    | <i>'iri'</i>       | pijim' | capari'    |

			ma-in			ca-pari'	
	instr	be:at:s	still	2s:rp/p-3n	<i>INFL:rp/p</i>	tell	3sm-1pincl
	Xijam?						
	m:name						
	'Do you (s) remember what Xijam told us?'						
(593) a.		Maqui'		<i>tarain</i> tara-in		xec	ca'.
		come		<i>3s:rf-3n</i>		day	this:n
	'He will come today.'						
(593) b.		<i>Ta</i>		quep	main ma-in	me	ta.
		<i>INFL:rf</i>		<i>do</i>	2s-3n	emph	emph
	'Don't touch (do) it!'						
(594) a.		'Awori		<i>xira</i>		quem?	
		ready		<i>3s:irr</i>		ref	
	'Shouldn't it be ready?'						
(594) b.	Mo	<i>xi</i>		hoc	xo'		cacama.
	if	<i>INFL:irr</i>		cook	correctly		3pf
	'If they just cooked right!'						

### 2.1.3.2.1. Types of tense

**2.1.3.2.1.1. Universal tense** There is no marking of universal tense in the language.

**2.1.3.2.1.2–3 Past/present tense** Past/present tense is marked by the realis past/present VICS and the past/present INFL morphemes, each in its appropriate grammatical environment as discussed in 2.1.3.2—see (592). Tense is absolute with past/present VICS. Past tense can also be specified by three sentence-final particles that mark degrees of remoteness: *ne* 'recent past' refers to actions done within the last twelve hours; *pane* 'mid/remote past' refers to actions done the day before or any time earlier up to a specified point in time many years ago; and *pacara pane* 'historic past' refers to actions done at some unspecified point in the past. The use of these past tense particles is optional.

(595) a.	Xain	'inain 'ina-in		xim		ne.
	hot	1s:rp/p-3n		night		rec:past
	'I had fever last night.' (spoken the next morning)					
(595) b.	Xain	'inain 'ina-in		xim		pane.

- hot 1s:rp/p-3n night rem:past  
 'I had fever last night.' (spoken the next afternoon)
- (595) c. Mama' 'iripain Guajará (pane).  
                   'urut-pain
- go:p 1pexcl:rp/p-3n place:name (rem:past)  
 'We went to Guajará.'
- (595) d. 'Tri' mijo nana wari' pacara pane.  
           truly much 3p:rp/p person hist:past  
 'There were a lot of people a long time ago.'

The realis past/present can express the present progressive or continuous aspect (*to' na wom* 'she is washing clothes') but only when the action is going on in the presence of the speaker. See 2.1.3.2.1.4, where we discuss a future tense construction that can express the present perfect aspect when the actor is no longer present at the moment of utterance.

**2.1.3.2.1.4. Future tense** The realis future VICS and the realis future INFL morpheme mark future tense—see example (593). However, the preferred way of expressing future tense is via the future tense verbalized construction discussed in 1.1.1.4.3.2.2. In this construction, the derived verb consists of a verb plus the first person singular or plural inclusive realis future VIC plus an optional object or adjunct. The person of this derived verb is marked by the realis past/present VIC following it—see the discussion and examples. This form can also be said to express intentional mood.

- (596) a. Mao ta' ma?  
           go:s 1s:rf 2s:rp/p  
 'Will you go?' (lit. "I will go", do you (say)?)
- (596) b. Mama' xi' nana hwijima'.  
           go:p 1pincl:rf 3p:rp/p children  
 'The children will go.' (Lit. "We will go", the children (say).')

In order to express the present perfect aspect (e.g. 'He has gone fishing'), when the actor is no longer present at the moment of utterance, the future tense verbalized construction is used. Thus *pa' ta' hwam na* 'He will go fishing' (lit. "I will go fishing", he (says))' can also be freely translated as 'He has gone fishing.' When so used, it indicates that the state of affairs described is a past action with present consequences.

The sequential verbalized construction discussed in 1.1.1.4.3.3.5 is also commonly used to express future tense. In this construction, the person of the verb is expressed within the derived verb, and the tense/mood is expressed by the VIC following the derived verb. The choice of the third person singular future VIC *tara* expresses future tense in this construction. *Tara* is the only VIC that can express future tense in sequential verbalized sentences.

- (597) Cao' 'ac cacamain tara mijac.

		cacama-in		
eat	travel	3pf-3n	3s:rf	pig

‘Then they will eat pig.’

One reason why the simple use of the realis future VICS/INFL morphemes is a less common way to express future tense, is that realis future also expresses a modal value of mere probability.

(598)	Pan'	tara	xowi'.
	fall:s	3s:rf	rain

‘It will probably rain.’

We understand realis future in 'ON as falling along a continuum of certainty, whose ends are realis past/present and irrealis, respectively. Future realis can indicate certainty but usually carries a degree of uncertainty, indicating that it occupies the middle range of this continuum. A fact may or may not be so; an action may or may not take place, as illustrated in the exchanges in (599) and (600).

(599) a.	Pi'	pin	na	ca	xain	nem?
	finish	completely	3s:rp/p	INFL:rp/p	hot	poss:2s

‘Is your fever (lit. being hot) gone?’

(599) b.	Pi'	pin	tarapa'	ta'a.
			tara -pa'	
	finish	completely	3s:rf-1s	doubt

‘It may be finished. (I don’t know.)’

(600) a.	Maqui'	ta'	na	taramaxicon?
	come	1s:rf	3s:rp/p	chief

‘Will the chief come?’

(600) b.	Maqui'	tara	ta.
	come	3s:rf	emph

‘He will come!’

or

(600) c.	Tara	con.
	3s:rf	prep:3sm

‘(That depends) on him. (Maybe he’ll come, maybe he won’t.)’

Realis future VICS are also used to express the imperative mood and the realis future INFL morpheme *ta* is used to express the prohibitive mood—see 1.1.1.3. See the examples in this section.

Future is not subdivided according to degrees of remoteness, although the spatial demonstrative *cara* (without the gloss of ‘always’ or ‘forever’) can also be used, together with the realis future, to denote an unending future action.

(601)	To	ho'	cara	xun. xi'-on
	be:at:p	now	forever	1pincl:rf-3sm
	‘We will live with him forever.’			

There are no tenses relative to a point in the future.

#### 2.1.3.2.2. Tense distinctions in all moods and nonfinite forms

Tense is distinguished in the realis past/present and realis future; irrealis makes no tense distinction. Tense is also distinguished in nonfinite forms, since they require the use of INFL morphemes.

(602) a.	ca	cao'	wa
	INFL:rp/p	eat	inf
	'eating'		
(602) b.	'Om	ta	pe'
	not	INFL:rf	be:hungry
	'There will be no hunger.'		

#### 2.1.3.2.3. Absolute vs relative tenses

Tenses are, for the most part, absolute, with the exception of the future tense construction discussed in 2.1.3.2.1.4, which also expresses the present perfect aspect. The tenses in main vs some subordinate clauses are, however, relative, for instance, in time (1.1.2.4.2.1) and irrealis conditional clauses (1.1.2.4.2.5). See the examples in those sections.

#### 2.1.3.3. Aspect

There are no special forms to mark aspect in the language. It is expressed in four different ways: (1) understood in the context of the tense/mood VICS; (2) some appropriate verbal modification, (3) sentence-final temporal particles, or (4) certain verbalized sentences.

##### 2.1.3.3.1. Perfect aspect

One of the future tense constructions discussed in 2.1.3.2.1.4 can express the present perfect aspect—see the discussion following (596). There is no formal marking that makes this a perfect aspect, unless it would be the joint use of the realis future and realis

past/present VICS, in which the realis future VIC appears on the embedded verb within the future tense predicate, and the realis past/present occurs on the VIC in the matrix clause.

There are no similarities between the present perfect aspect and the past tense. Rather, the form of the present perfect aspect is identical to the future tense construction discussed in the first paragraph of 2.1.3.2.1.4.

- (603) Pa' ta' hwam na.  
kill 1s:rf fish 3s:rp/p  
'He has gone fishing.' (lit. "I will kill fish", he (said)')

#### 2.1.3.3.2. Aspect as different ways of viewing the duration of a situation

**2.1.3.3.2.1. Perfective aspect** Perfective aspect can be understood from the use of realis past/present.

- (604) a. 'Om naparut mapac pain xocori ca'  
na-parut xocori-0  
not:exist 3s:rp/p-1pexcl corn prep:3n newness-3n this:n  
ne.  
rec:past  
'We have no corn recently.' (lit. 'Corn does not exist to us recently.')

- (604) b. Pan' tamana na xowi' pane.  
fall much 3s:rp/p rain rem:past  
'It rained a lot.'

**2.1.3.3.2.2. Imperfective aspect** The temporal particle '*ira* 'past progressive' can express imperfective aspect.

- (605) 'Oi' nana mapac 'ira.  
plant 3p:rp/p corn past:prog  
'They were planting corn (and may still be).'

**2.1.3.3.2.3. Habitual aspect** Habitual aspect is expressed by the verb *taxipa* 'befriend', occurring in postverbal modification position with a gloss of 'customarily'.

- (606) Pa' taxipa' non min'.  
na-on  
kill customarily 3s:rp/p-3sm tapir  
'He customarily (habitually) kills tapir.'

**2.1.3.3.2.4–5. Continuous and progressive aspects** Continuous and progressive aspects can be expressed by the nonspecific temporal particle '*ira* 'past progressive' in past tense situations. Continuous and progressive aspects in present tense situations can also be



expressed by reduplication of the verb. This does not exclude the fact that normal use of simple verbs also expresses the continuous or progressive aspect.

- |          |                               |                   |         |           |
|----------|-------------------------------|-------------------|---------|-----------|
| (607) a. | Quep                          | nanain<br>nana-in | xirim   | 'ira.     |
|          | do                            | 3p:rp/p-3n        | house   | past:prog |
|          | 'They were making the house.' |                   |         |           |
| (607) b. |                               | 'Awaran           | nana.   |           |
|          |                               | cry:p             | 3p:rp/p |           |
|          | 'They are crying.'            |                   |         |           |
| (607) c. | Taramaja                      | taramaja          | nana.   |           |
|          | work                          | work              | 3p:rp/p |           |
|          | 'They are working.'           |                   |         |           |

**2.1.3.3.2.6. Ingressive aspect** There are no formal means of expressing ingressive aspect.

**2.1.3.3.2.7. Terminative aspect** Terminative aspect can be expressed by the postverbal modifier *pin* ‘completely’. This modifier can also focus on the totality of the object, as illustrated in the alternative gloss of the example below.

- |       |   |            |              |                |
|-------|---|------------|--------------|----------------|
| (608) | Cao'  | pin        | non<br>na-on | jowin.         |
|       | eat   | completely | 3s:rp/p-3sm  | monkey:species |
|       | 'He finished eating the <i>jowin</i> monkey.'/'He ate the whole <i>jowin</i> monkey.' |            |              |                |

**2.1.3.3.2.8. Iterative aspect** Iterative aspect is expressed by reduplication of the verb.

- (609) To' 'ac xucucun na, to' to' to' to', nama.  
hit travel refl:3pm 3s:rp/p hit hit hit hit stop  
'Then they hit each other, they hit (each other) repeatedly (or kept on hitting each other),  
and stopped.'

**2.1.3.3.2.9-11. Semelfactive, punctual and durative aspects** There are no formal means of expressing semelfactive, punctual or durative aspects.

**2.1.3.3.2.12. Simultaneous aspect** Simultaneous aspect can be expressed by juxtaposing two verbalized sequential type sentences, the second of which is introduced by the INFL morpheme *ca* ‘neuter realis past/present’.

- |       |          |                   |                  |                     |                  |            |
|-------|----------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------|
| (610) | Hot      | 'ac               | cocon<br>caca-on | cop                 | na               | ca         |
|       | pull:out | travel            | 3p-3sm           | manioc              | 3s:rp/p          | INFL:nrp/p |
| 'oin' | 'ac      | cacain<br>caca-in | na               | 'aracon<br>'ara-con | ma'              | quem.      |
| plant | travel   | 3p-3n             | 3s:rp/p          | bone-3sm            | that:prox:hearer | ref        |

‘While pulling up manioc, they also planted its stems (lit. bones).’

#### 2.1.3.4. *Mood*

Mood is expressed by the three kinds of VICS/INFL morphemes discussed in 2.1.3.2. It moves on a continuum from realis past/present on one end to irrealis on the other. Realis future occupies the middle area of this continuum; at least this is how we characterize its somewhat variable interpretation. In realis past/present, the situation described by the speaker is perceived as being real, something that has already happened or is happening. As it moves up the continuum, realis future is perceived as a situation that has not yet happened, and there is always the possibility that it will not happen, but, usually, it is believed to be likely to happen. On the irrealis end of the spectrum, the situation is perceived as unreal or contrary-to-fact, something that is not likely to happen. See the examples.

##### 2.1.3.4.1. *Indicative*

The sense of the indicative mood may be expressed by realis past/present.

(611)	Cao'	nanain nana-in	mijac	'oro	wari'.
	eat	3p:rp/p-3n	pig	coll	person
	‘The people ate the pig.’				

##### 2.1.3.4.2. *Conditional*

The notion of conditionality is expressed in COMP sentences in which the operator word *mo* ‘conditional’ appears in COMP, and the realis future or irrealis appears in INFL. See the discussion and examples in 1.1.2.4.2.5(1).

##### 2.1.3.4.3. *Imperative and Prohibitive*

Imperative mood is expressed by use of realis future or the second person reflexive VICS—see the discussion and examples in 1.1.1.3.1. Prohibitive mood is described in 1.1.1.3.2.

##### 2.1.3.4.4. *Optative*

Optative mood is expressed by the verbalized desiderative sentence, in which irrealis is used—see the discussion and examples in 1.1.1.4.3.3.2.

#### 2.1.3.4.5. *Intentional*

Intentional mood is expressed by realis future. It often takes the form of the verbalized future tense sentence (see 1.1.1.4.3.2.2), in which the person of the verb is marked in the realis past/present VIC that follows the derived predicate.

- (612) a.            Quep                    ta'                    xirim                    ('ina).  
                          do                    1s:rf                    house                    (1s:rp/p)  
                          “‘I will build (lit. do) a house”, (I say).’

- (612) b.            Quep                    ta'                    xirim                    (na).  
                          do                    1s:rf                    house                    3s:rp/p  
                          “‘I will build (do) a house”, (he says).’

#### 2.1.3.4.6. *Debitive*

Debitive mood is expressed by irrealis.

- (613) a.                    'Ep                    xita'                    capam'.  
                          grind                    1s:irr                    cornbread  
                          ‘I should make cornbread.’

- (613) b.            'Om                    xi                    ja'                    ma                    com.  
                          not:exist                    INFL:irr                    splash                    2s                    water  
                          ‘You should not bathe.’

#### 2.1.3.4.7. *Potential*

There are no forms that mark the potential mood exclusively.

#### 2.1.3.4.8. *Degree of certainty*

The modal value of certainty/uncertainty is expressed by realis future—see the paragraph preceding (599) in 2.1.3.2.1.4. The modal value of supposition is expressed by the two kinds of verbalized supposition sentence described in 1.1.1.4.3.2.3, which employ realis past/present and realis future—see the examples in that section.

#### 2.1.3.4.9. *Authority for assertion*

There is no formal way in which the speaker can indicate his authority for making an assertion. The use of direct speech to express the concept of indirect speech, discussed in 1.1.1.1, is, however, a way to express degrees of authority for making an assertion of secondhand information. When active VICs are used following the speech (derived predicate of the verbalized sentence), the information is considered reliable. When

passive VICS are used, the information is not as reliable, although it does not mean that it is unreliable. See example (1a) and (1b) in 1.1.1.1.

#### 2.1.3.4.10–11. Hortatory and monitory

There are no forms that mark hortatory and monitory moods exclusively. There is a tendency to use first person inclusive throughout this kind of text.

- |          |   |           |            |             |              |             |
|----------|---|-----------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| (614) a. | 'Om   | ta        | mana'      | xijexi'     | ta           | xere.       |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:rf   | angry      | refl:1pincl | emph         | siblings-1s |
|          | 'We will not be angry with each other, brothers.'                 |           |            |             |              |             |
| (614) b. | Noro  | ron       | wijam!     | 'Oc         | tarapari'.   |             |
|          |   | ra-on     |            |             | tara-pari'   |             |
|          | look:at   | 2s:rf-3sm | non-Indian | stitch      | 3s:rf-1pincl |             |
|          | 'Watch out for the non-Indian! He'll give us (you) an injection.' |           |            |             |              |             |

#### 2.1.3.4.12. Narrative

There is no formal marking for narrative mood. The normal tense/mood used in narration is realis past/present.

#### 2.1.3.5. Nonfinite forms

There are two ways of marking nonfinite forms: (1) the infinitival marker *wa*; and (2) the set of nominal inflectional clitics that marks possession on free and derived nouns—see 1.10. Tense/mood is marked in nonfinite forms by the INFL morpheme preceding the verb.

- |          |  |                     |            |         |                  |            |      |                        |
|----------|--|---------------------|------------|---------|------------------|------------|------|------------------------|
| (615) a. | 'Om  | naparut<br>na-parut |            | carawa  | ca               |            | cao' | wa.                    |
|          | not:exist  | 3s:rp/p-1pexcl      |            | animal  | INFL:nrp/p       |            | eat  | inf                    |
|          | 'We have nothing to eat.' (lit. 'Meat to eat does not exist to us.') |                     |            |         |                  |            |      |                        |
| (615) b. | 'Awaran  | 'awaran             | mana'      | nana    | pain             | ca         |      | pa'                    |
|          | cry:p  | cry:p               | angry      | 3p:rp/p | prep:3n          | INFL:nrp/p |      | kill:s                 |
|          | pa'  | qui'                |            | wa      | ma'.             |            |      |                        |
|          | kill:s   | coming:this:way     |            | inf     | that:prox:hearer |            |      |                        |
|          | 'They cry and cry and get angry because of the killing.'             |                     |            |         |                  |            |      |                        |
| (615) c. | Mija   | na                  | ca         |         | xain             | nucun      |      | panxita'.<br>panxi-ta' |
|          | much   | 3s:rp/p             | INFL:nrp/p |         | hot              | poss:3sm   |      | son-1s                 |

'My son has a lot of fever.' (lit. 'My son's hotness is much.')

- (615) d.      Mi'      ne      pain      ca      paca'      nucun      wom.  
              give      2s:1s:rf      prep:3n      INFL:nrp/p      red      poss:3sm      cotton  
              'Give me red clothes.' (lit. 'Give me the redness of cotton.')

#### 2.1.3.6. *Person, number, tense/mood, gender, human-nonhuman*

##### 2.1.3.6.1. *Coding of subject and direct object/indirect object/benefactive*

Table 2.1 offers, at a glance, the different categories of verbal inflectional clitics that mark agreement with the subject and direct object/indirect object/benefactive of verbs. All VICS follow the verb. All the verbal inflectional clitics in Table 2.1 indicate person and number. Some of them also indicate tense/mood, and others indicate third person gender. In addition, number is indicated in verbs that have a singular and plural form. A more complete discussion follows.

**2.1.3.6.1.1. Subject** The person and number of the subject must be coded in the VIC. In addition, tense/mood is coded in the Tense VICS, and third person gender is coded in the Tenseless VICS (which usually co-occur with INFL). There are three sets of Tense VICS: realis past/present, realis future, and irrealis; they occur in simple sentences. There is a single set of Tenseless VICS which occurs in most COMP sentences. They must also be used when a small class of verbal modifiers functions in simple sentences—see

*Table 2.1* Categories of verbal inflectional clitics

	Tense	Tenseless	Object
Active	realis past/present realis future irrealis	simple uninflected	object
Non-active	passive 1	passive 2	reflexive/reciprocal

1.1.1.4.1 and 1.1.1.4.2. Passive 1 VICS ('Tense') are like Tense active VICS in not co-occurring with INFL, but are unlike them in not expressing tense themselves. Passive 2 VICS ('Tenseless') function like Tenseless active VICS in co-occurring with INFL.

Subject person is coded by the choice of the appropriate subject VIC. In addition, subject humanness/nonhumanness is coded by the choice of singular vs plural subject VICS: only humans can be marked by plural VICS; both singular and plural nonhumans must be marked by singular VICS. Subject number is also coded by the correct choice of the intransitive verb (see 2.2.3.1, where we discuss agreement of subject/object with singular and plural verb forms). Both human and nonhuman plural subjects must be marked by the plural form of intransitive verbs.

- (616) a.                              Pan'                              'ina.  
    fall:s                              1s:rp/p  
    'I fell.'
- (616) b.                              Camara'                              'urut.

- (616) c.                      fall:p                                      1pexcl:rp/p  
                                  'We (excl) fell.'
- (616) c.                      Camara'                                      na                                      too.  
                                  fall:p                                      3s:rp/p                                      metal  
                                  'The cans fell.'
- (616) d.                                      \*Pan'                                      'urut.  
                                  fall:s                                      1pexcl  
                                  'We fell.'

**2.1.3.6.1.2–4. Direct object/indirect object/benefactive** The person, number and third person gender of the object may be coded in the VIC. The single set of object morphemes occurs as suffixes on subject morphemes, with this pair of affixes functioning together as a postverbal clitic. The object morphemes agree with the person and number of all objects, and gender of third person objects, whether overt or covert (see 2.1.2.3.1).

- (617) a.                      Hoc                      non                                      hwam                      Hatem.  
                                                                       na-on  
                                  cook                      3s:rp/p-3sm                                      fish                      f:name  
                                  'Hatem cooked the fish.'
- (617) b.                      Hoc                      mi'                      nam                                      con                      hwam                      To'o                      Hatem.  
                                                                       na-m  
                                  cook                      give                      3s:rp/p-3sf                      prep:3sm                      fish                      f:name                      f:name  
                                  'Hatem cooked the fish for To'o.'

The same rules for coding person and number in the subject also apply to objects. In addition to coding object number by the correct choice of the object affix, it can also be coded by the correct choice of the form of the verb, if it is one of the transitive verbs that has a singular and plural form. In contrast to intransitive verbs, where both human and nonhuman plural subjects must be indicated, when possible, by the plural form of the verb, transitive verbs do not always require the use of plural forms to indicate plural objects. The plural form of transitive verbs can clarify the number of the object, but it also describes the scope of the action. Less intense actions of a shorter duration tend to be marked by singular forms, while more intense actions of a longer duration tend to be marked by plural forms. The choice of the singular or plural form of the verb in these situations depends on how the speaker views the situation; it is largely subjective.

- (618) a.                      'An                                      nanain                                      canoa.  
                                                                       nana-in  
                                  take:s                                      3p:rp/p-3n                                      canoe  
                                  'They took the canoe.'
- (618) b.                      Toc                                      nana                                      com.

- |          |                |  |                  |                       |           |          |
|----------|----------------|--|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|----------|
|          |                | drink:s  |                  | 3p:rp/p               |           | water    |
|          |                | ‘They drank water.’  |                  |                       |           |          |
| (618) c. |                | Tototoc  |                  | nana                  |           | com.     |
|          |                | drink:p  |                  | 3p:rp/p               |           | water    |
|          |                | ‘They drank and drank water.’                                      |                  |                       |           |          |
| (618) d. |                | Cao'   | 'ac              | cacama                |           | na.      |
|          |                | eat:s  | travel           | 3pf                   |           | 3s:rp/p  |
|          |                | ‘Then they ate.’   |                  |                       |           |          |
| (618) e. | Mon            | cacacao'   | 'ac              | cacamain<br>cacama-in | capam'    | con      |
|          | slowly:s       | eat:p  | travel           | 3pf-3n                | cornbread | prep:3sm |
|          | jowin          |  | ma'              |                       | na.       |          |
|          | monkey:species |  | that:prox:hearer |                       | 3s:rp/p   |          |
|          |                | ‘Then they ate cornbread and <i>jowin</i> monkey for a long time.’ |                  |                       |           |          |

#### 2.1.3.6.2. Marking of agreement

**2.1.3.6.2.1. Marking of agreement on the verb** Agreement is not marked on the verb.

**2.1.3.6.2.2. Person marking clitics** The verbal inflectional clitics that mark for person, number, and gender are verbal enclitics. We offer the following arguments that these are not affixes:

(1) VICS can occur alone as responses. Observe the examples in the following exchanges:

- |          |                                   |               |          |             |
|----------|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------|-------------|
| (619) a. | Xain                              | tamana        | na       | caina.      |
|          | hot                               | much          | 3s:rp/p  | daughter:1s |
|          | 'My daughter has a lot of fever.' |               |          |             |
| (619) b. |                                   | Na?           |          |             |
|          |                                   | 3s:rp/p       |          |             |
|          |                                   | '(Does) she?' |          |             |
| (620) a. | Maqui'                            | xira          | Xijam    | quem?       |
|          | come                              | 3s:irr        | m:name   | ref         |
|          | 'Why doesn't Xijam come?'         |               |          |             |
| (620) b. | Tara                              |               | con.     |             |
|          | 3s:rf                             |               | prep:3sm |             |
|          | 'It (depends) on him.'            |               |          |             |

(2) VICS fail to undergo word-internal phonological changes which ordinarily happen when morphemes are suffixed to nouns. For example, in the derived noun *copari* ‘our maternal grandmother’ (*co-pa*-‘*iri*’ INFL:m/frp/ p-maternal:grandmother: 1s-1pincl) two phonological changes take place when ‘*iri*’ is suffixed to *pa*’: there is vocalic harmony ( $a+i=a$ ) and the glottal is deleted—see 3.2.6.4 for the complete discussion of vowel harmony. By contrast, VICS that follow verbs do not undergo these phonological changes.

- |          |                      |                |        |
|----------|----------------------|----------------|--------|
| (621) a. | Pa'                  | 'irin          | mijac. |
|          |                      | 'iri'-in       |        |
|          | kill                 | 1pincl:rp/p-3n | pig    |
|          | 'We killed a pig.'   |                |        |
| (621) b. | *Parin               |                | mijac. |
|          | (pa'-'iri'-in)       |                |        |
|          | (kill-1pincl:rp/p-3n |                | pig)   |
|          | 'We killed a pig.'   |                |        |

(3) VICS do not alter the norms for syllable final stress in words. The last syllable of VICS bears secondary stress, while the last syllable of verbs bears primary stress.

- (622) a. [witʃikara'kəo? na,nain naWa.ra<sup>k</sup>]  
 throw:p 3p:rp/p-3n weeds  
 'They threw the weeds away.'
- (622) b. \*[witʃikarakəo?na'na<sup>i</sup>n naWa.ra<sup>k</sup>]

On the other hand, when suffixes occur on nouns, primary stress falls on the last syllable of the suffix.

- (623) a. [taparako'kon]  
tapara-cocon  
arm-3pm  
'his arm'
- (623) b. \*[tapa'rakokon]
- (624) a. [ko'paʔka]  
co-pa' ca  
INFL:m/frp/p maternal:grandmother:1s 3sm  
'his maternal grandmother' (lit. 'whom he (calls) "my maternal grandmother"')
- (624) b. [kopa'riʔ]  
co-pa'-'iri'



INFL:m/frp/p-maternal:grandmother:1s-1pincl

'our (incl) maternal grandmother' (lit. 'whom we (call) "my grandmother"')

(624) c. **\*[ko'pariʔ]**

(4) VICS bear secondary stress. The general rule for stress is that primary stress falls on the last syllable of the word, and secondary stress, if there is any, precedes it. If VICS were suffixes, they would provide the only exception to this stress rule in the language: secondary stress would follow primary stress (622a).

To summarize, these are clitics that behave like separate words outside of compounding processes (see kinship terms in (624) that make one word out of two or more words).

The paradigms of all the VICS are shown in Table 2.2.

*Table 2.2*

	Active				
	Tense			Tenseless	Object
	realis past/ present	realis future	irrealis		
first singular	'ina	ta'	xita'	ta'	-pa'
second singular	ma	ra	xima	ma	-em (-pum <sup>1</sup> )
third singular <sup>1</sup>	na	tara	xira	masculine ca	-on (-con <sup>1</sup> )
				feminine cama	-m (-cam <sup>1</sup> )
				neuter ne	-in (-pain <sup>1</sup> )
first plural inclusive	'iri'	xi'	xixi'	xi'/'iri'	-pari'
first plural exclusive	'urut	xut	xuxut	xut /'urut	-parut
second plural	hwe	je	xihwe	hwe	-uhu' (-pahu <sup>1</sup> )
third plural	nana	tatara	xirara	masculine caca	-ocon (-cocon <sup>1</sup> )
				feminine cacama	-VCV (- cacam <sup>1</sup> )
				Non-active	
	passive 1			passive 2	reflexive/ reciprocal
first singular	xita(?)			xita(?)	xije
second singular	xima			xima	xijem
third singular <sup>1</sup>	ta			masculine tocwa	xucun
				feminine	xequem

			tacama	
third neuter			neuter xine	xijein
first plural inclusive first plural inclusive	—		—	xijexi'
first plural exclusive first plural exclusive	—		—	xujuxut
second plural	xihwe		xihwe	xujuhu'
third <sup>2</sup>	tata		masculine tococwa	xucucun
third			feminine tacacama	xeququem

(1) These object suffixes attach only to first person plural exclusive subject morphemes—see the discussion following (628) in this section.

(2) Tense third person VICS do not inflect for gender.

Subject and object portions of the verbal inflectional clitic are treated themselves as affixes, i.e. in relation to Vowel Harmony and stress, the two portions of the VIC behave as though they form a single root or are two suffixes on a single root. It might be possible to consider the subject portion of the VIC as the head of the VIC. This is partially supported by the fact that, in general, subject agreement is obligatory, while object agreement is optional. Thus object agreement may not usually occur without subject agreement. However, there are some (rare) cases that have been observed with first person and third person object, where object agreement may occur without subject agreement.

(625) a. 'Om (na) pa' wom.  
not:exist (3s:rp/p) 1s cotton  
'I have no clothes.' (lit. 'Clothes do not exist to me.')

(625) b. Ma' (na) parut carawa.  
exist (3s:rp/p) 1pexcl animal  
'We have food.' (lit. 'Food exists to us.')

(625) c. Hexec pa' (na) parut.  
dawn upon (3s:rp/p) 1pexcl  
'The day dawned upon us.'

There are some further morphophonological features of VICS which warrant mention here.

(i) There are suppletive forms for combinations with second person subjects. For second person plural subjects, the expected form for realis past/ present and Tenseless would be *hwepa'*; and for irrealis would be *xihwepa'*. The actual forms however are *mahu'* and *ximahu'*, respectively. The forms *hepa'* and *xihepa'* are acceptable forms in the

'Oro Mon, 'Oro Waram, and 'Oro Waram Xijein dialects. Combinations of second person realis future subjects plus first person objects also produce suppletive forms:

ra + -pa' = ne *not* \*rapa'  
2s -1s

je + -pa' = xine *not* \*jepa'  
2p -1s

ra or je + -parut = xut *not* \*raparut or \*jeparut  
2s 2p -1pexcl

(ii) Third person feminine of Tenseless active subject morphemes appears as the masculine form when suffixed by all but the third person neuter object morphemes, for example:

cama + -em = quem *not* \*quemem  
3sf -2s

cacama + -parut = cacaparut *not* \*cacamaparut  
3pf -1pexcl

However,

cama + -in = camain  
3sf -3n

cacama + -in = cacamain  
3pf -3n

(iii) The first person plural exclusive subject forms *'urut*, *xut*, and *xuxut*, which are used alone to indicate the subject without an object suffix, appear in the same form as the first person plural inclusive subject forms (*'iri*', *xi*', and *xixi*') when they take an object suffix. Compare the following examples, which illustrate first person plural inclusive and exclusive taking object suffixes.

(626) a. Cao' 'iri'.  
eat 1pincl:rp/p  
'We (incl) are eating.'

(626) b. Cao' 'urun hwam.  
'iri'-on  
eat 1pincl:rp/p-3sm fish  
'We (incl) are eating the fish.'

(626) c. Cao' 'urut.  
eat 1pexcl:rp/p

‘We (excl) are eating.’

- |          |   |                      |                          |
|----------|---|----------------------|--------------------------|
| (626) d. | Cao'  | 'iricon<br>'urut-con | hwam.                    |
|          | eat   | 1pexcl:rp/p-3sm      | fish                     |
|          | 'We (excl) are eating the fish.' (not 'We (incl) are eating the fish.') |                      |                          |
| (627) a. | 'Om   | ta                   | querec xi'.              |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:rf              | see 1pincl               |
|          | 'We (incl) will not see.'   |                      |                          |
| (627) b. | 'Om   | ta                   | querec xim.<br>xi'-em    |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:rf              | eat 1pincl-2s            |
|          | 'We (incl) will not see you (s).'                                       |                      |                          |
| (627) c. | 'Om   | ta                   | querec xut.              |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:rf              | see 1pexcl               |
|          | 'We (excl) will not see.'   |                      |                          |
| (627) d. | 'Om   | ta                   | querec xipum.<br>xi'-pum |
|          | not:exist   | INFL:rf              | see 1pincl-object:suffix |
|          | 'We (excl) will not see you.' (not 'We (incl) will not see you.')       |                      |                          |
| (628) a. | Tomi'   | ha'                  | xixi'.                   |
|          | speak   | pay:attention        | 1pincl:irr               |
|          | 'We (incl) should obey.'  |                      |                          |
| (628) b. | Tomi'   | ha'                  | xuxuhu'.<br>xixi'-uhu'   |
|          | speak   | pay:attention        | 1pincl:irr-2p            |
|          | 'We (incl) should obey you (p).'  |                      |                          |
| (628) c. | Tomi'   | ha'                  | xuxut.                   |
|          | speak   | pay:attention        | 1pexcl:irr               |
|          | 'We (excl) should obey.'  |                      |                          |
| (628) d. | Tomi'   | ha'                  | xixipahu'.<br>xut'-uhu'  |
|          | speak   | pay:attention        | 1pexcl:irr-2p            |
|          | 'We (excl) should obey you (p).'  |                      |                          |

(iv) Furthermore, rather than taking the object suffixes shown in Table 2.2, the form of the object suffixes on first person plural exclusive subjects is identical to the second and third person inflected forms of the preposition: *pum* 'second singular', *con* 'third singular masculine', *cam* 'third singular feminine', *pain* 'third neuter', *pahu* 'second plural', *cocon* 'third plural masculine' and *cacam* 'third plural feminine'—see (626)–(628) above.

**2.1.3.6.2.3. Number marked in the form of the verb** Some verbs have two forms: singular/less intense and plural/more intense. Many pairs of forms are suppletive, as shown in the following examples:

- |          |                       |            |
|----------|-----------------------|------------|
| (629) a. | Mao                   | na.        |
|          | go:s                  | 3s:rp/p    |
|          | 'He went.'            |            |
| (629) b. | Mama'                 | nana.      |
|          | go:p                  | 3p:rp/p    |
|          | 'They went.'          |            |
| (630) a. | Xin                   | nain.      |
|          |                       | na-in      |
|          | throw:s               | 3s:rp/p-3n |
|          | 'He threw it away.'   |            |
| (630) b. | Wixicao'              | nain.      |
|          |                       | na-in      |
|          | throw:p               | 3s:rp/p-3n |
|          | 'He threw them away.' |            |

Many of the plural/more intense verbs are formed by partial reduplication of the singular/less intense verb. This is accomplished by infixing the syllable *rv*, where *v* reduplicates the following (stressed) vowel immediately preceding the stressed (i.e. final) syllable of the verb. Note the reduplicated form of *wixicao* 'throw (p)' (suppletive of *xin* 'throw (s)') in (634b), where the plural form is further intensified.

- |          |                     |            |           |       |
|----------|---------------------|------------|-----------|-------|
| (631) a. | Cat                 | na         | pana.     |       |
|          | breaks              | 3s:rp/p    | stick     |       |
|          | 'The stick broke.'  |            |           |       |
| (631) b. | Caracat             | na         | pana.     |       |
|          | break:p             | 3s:rp/p    | stick     |       |
|          | 'The sticks broke.' |            |           |       |
| (632) a. | Xut                 | nain       | cacarain  | wana. |
|          |                     | na-in      | cacara-in |       |
|          | walks               | 3s:rp/p-3n | edge-3n   | path  |

‘He walked along the edge of the path.’

(632) b.	Xuruxut	nanain nana-in	cacarain cacara-in	wana.
	walk:p	3p:rp/p-3n	edge-3n	path

‘They walked along the edge of the path.’

(633) a.	Hot	rain! ra-in
	take:out:s	2s:rf-3n

‘Take it out!’

(633) b.	Horohot	'an	toco'	na	pana.
	take:out:p	take:s	lie:down:p	3s:rp/p	tree

‘He took the sticks out and laid them down.’

(634) a.	Wixicao'	nain. na-in
	throw:p	3s:rp/p-3n

‘He threw them away.’

(634) b.	Wixicaracao'	pi'	pin	nain. na-in
	throw:p	finish	completely	3s:rp/p-3n

‘He threw them all away.’

Another form of reduplication prefixes a cv or cvcv prior to the stressed syllable.

(635) a.	Wac	napa' na-pa'	quit.
	cut:s	3s:rp/p-1s	knife

‘The knife cut me.’

(635) b.	Wawac	na	nahwarac.
	cut:p	3s:rp/p	weeds

‘He is cutting weeds.’

(636) a.	Toc	na	com.
	drinks	3s:rp/p	water

‘He is drinking water.’

(636) b.	Tototoc	na	com.
	drink:p	3s:rp/p	water

‘He is drinking a lot of water.’

In general, the number of the subject governs the form of an intransitive verb, while the number of the object governs the form of a transitive verb. Most of the verbs whose plural form is achieved by infixing *rv* prior to the stressed syllable are intransitives, whereas most of the verbs whose plural form is achieved by *cv* or *cvcv* reduplication prior to the stressed syllable are intransitives.

- (637) a. Caracat nana.  
break:p 3p:rp/p  
'They are sinning (breaking social laws).'
- (637) b. Cacacao' nana capam'.  
eat:p 3p:rp/p cornbread  
'They ate and ate cornbread.'

In verb compounds consisting of a transitive verb plus an intransitive verb, even though the subject of the intransitive verb is marked as the object of the verb compound, its number still governs the form of the intransitive verb.

- (638) a. Querec querec mao 'inon cawiji pane.  
'ina-on  
see see go:s 1s:rp/p-3sm son:1s rem:past  
'I saw my son off long ago.' (lit. 'I saw and "went" my son long ago.')
- (638) b. Querec querec mama' 'inonon 'oro wari' pane.  
'ina-ocon  
see see go:p 1s:rp/p-3pm coll person rem:past  
'I saw the people off long ago.' (lit. 'I saw and "went" the people long ago.')

#### 2.1.3.6.3. *Conditioning factors for marking agreement*

There are no conditioning factors for marking agreement.

#### 2.1.3.6.4. *Features of the noun phrase coded in the verb*

Person, number, third person gender, and definiteness are marked in the VICS.

#### 2.1.3.6.5. *Coding affected by discrepancy between syntactic and semantic features*

Discrepancies may arise in gender when referring to males and females as a group. When it is explicitly known that a group consists of males and females, the group is referred to as feminine. Reference to mixed genders involving nonhumans (masculine and neuter, or feminine and neuter), are handled by parataxis, as in the following example.

- (639) Mo pin 'inanam 'oro narima'. Mo pin

'I took the woman. I took the fish also'.

#### 2.1.3.6.6. Exceptions to verb agreement rules

Agreement for person and number are the same for all tense/moods and voices. Agreement for third person gender is also the same for all tense/ moods and voices, although VICS used in simple sentences do not (normally) indicate gender; the criterion for this exception, however, is sentence type, not tense/mood or voice.

#### 2.1.3.6.7. Identity between subjects of verbs

The identity or nonidentity between the subject of a verb and the subject of the following or preceding verb is not indicated.

#### 2.1.3.6.8–9. Reflexive and reciprocal forms of the verb

The set of reflexive/reciprocal VICs discussed in 1.6 and 1.7 and shown in Table 2.2 is used to mark reflexivity and reciprocity of the verb. There are no special reflexive/reciprocal stem forms.

#### 2.1.3.6.10. Marking of actions involving motion

There is one postverbal modifier, *qui'* 'coming this way', that indicates movement toward the speaker; and one verb *mao/mama'* 'to go', that occurs in postverbal modification position to indicate movement away from the speaker.

(640) a.	Tan'	qui'	nana.
	arrive:p	coming:this:way	3p:rp/p
	'They arrived coming in this direction'.		
(640) b.	Wa'	mao	na.
	arrive:s	go:s	3s:rp/p
	'He arrived going in that direction.'		
(640) c.	Tan'	mama'	nana.
	arrive:p	go:p	3p:rp/p
	'They arrived going in that direction'.		



There is also a category of orientation involving two sentence-final clitics: *me* ‘orientation toward the speaker’ and *e’* ‘orientation away from the speaker’. Their use is optional. *Me* is used primarily in constructions involving the first person, whether overtly expressed or not; *e’* can occur in any construction except prohibitives. Their distribution is complementary. See the discussion and examples in 1.1.1.3.

#### 2.1.3.6.11. Distinction between different modes of body orientation

No distinction is made between different modes of body orientation.

#### 2.1.3.6.12. Incorporation of verbal elements

There is no incorporation in the language—see 2.2.3.1.2.

#### 2.1.4. Nominal modification

Nominal modification, expressed in many languages via adjectives, is expressed in ‘ON by nouns (but see 1.2.5.2.5, for a discussion of demonstratives which could possibly be considered adjectives). Attributive modification is handled like a possessive phrase: the first syntactically nominal element occurs with a genitive morpheme (nominal inflectional clitic or suffix) and is understood as modifying the second noun. These genitive nominal elements can have the form of derived nouns (641a) or *-xi'* nouns (641b). In addition, one derived kinship term can also be glossed as a modifier (641c).

- |          |                                     |      |         |         |
|----------|-------------------------------------|------|---------|---------|
| (641) a. | ca                                  | xain | nein    | mijac   |
|          | INFL:nrp/p                          | hot  | poss:3n | pig     |
|          | 'roasted (lit. hot) pig'            |      |         |         |
| (641) b. | wijimain                            |      |         | xirim   |
|          | wijima-in                           |      |         |         |
|          | smallness-3n                        |      |         | house   |
|          | 'small house'                       |      |         |         |
| (641) c. | cote                                |      | ca      | tarama' |
|          | co-te                               |      |         |         |
|          | INFL-father:1s                      |      | 3sm     | man     |
|          | 'big man' (lit. 'the man's father') |      |         |         |

Two preverbal modifiers and one verb also modify nouns in NPS. The verb *jimao* ‘to be different’ occurs with only two nouns, as shown in (642c–d).

- |          |                |        |
|----------|----------------|--------|
| (642) a. | 'iri'          | wom    |
|          | truly          | cotton |
|          | 'good clothes' |        |

(642) b.	wara	xirim
	already	house
	'old house'	
(642) c.	carawa	jimao
	animal	different:s
	'something'	
(642) d.	wari'	jimao
	person	different:s
	'someone'	

#### 2.1.4.1. Distinctions between predicative and attributive forms of modification

When a modified element is realized as a (surface) verb, the modification is predicative. When the modifier is realized as a (surface) noun, the modification is attributive. There are a few *-xi'* nouns that inflect only for third person (first and second person may not be used for possession with these particular *-xi'* nouns); these words use the same form for predicative and attributive modification.

(643) a.	Wijimain		na	xirim.
	wijima-in			
	smallness-3n		3s:rp/p	house
	'The house is small'.			
(643) b.	Quep	nain	wijimain	xirim.
		na-in	wijima-in	
	do	3s:rp/p-3n	smallness-3n	house
	'He is making a small house'.			
(644) a.	Xocoricon		na	wom.
	xocori-con			
	newness-3sm		3s:rp/p	cotton
	'The dress is new'.			
(644) b.	'An	'inon	xocoricon	wom.
		'ina-on	xocori-con	
	take:s	1s:rp/p-3sm	newness-3sm	cotton
	'I got a new dress'.			

In all other cases, there is a distinction between predicative and attributive forms of modification as follows:

(1) In *-xi'* nouns, the first person singular form functions as the complement to a copula (predicative), whereas attributive modification is expressed by the third person inflection.

- |          |  |                       |          |        |
|----------|--|-----------------------|----------|--------|
| (645) a. |  | Maja                  | na       | memem. |
|          |  | maja-0                |          |        |
|          |  | worm-1s               | 3s:rp/p  | fruit  |
|          |  | ‘The fruit is wormy.’ |          |        |
| (645) b. | Noc  | ʔinain                | majain   | memem. |
|          |  | ʔina-in               | maja-in  |        |
|          | dislike  | 1s:rp/p-3n            | worm-3n  | fruit  |
|          | ‘I don’t like wormy fruit (or fruit’s worms).’                                   |                       |          |        |
| (646) a. |  | Homa                  | na       | pije’. |
|          |  | homa-0                |          |        |
|          |  | fat-1s                | 3s:rp/p  | child  |
|          |  | ‘The child is fat.’   |          |        |
| (646) b. | Mija   | na                    | homacon  | pije’. |
|          |  |                       | homa-con |        |
|          | much   | 3s:rp/p               | fat -3sm | child  |
|          | ‘The child is really fat.’ (lit. ‘The fat child (or, child’s fat) is too much’.) |                       |          |        |

(2) Derived nouns may be used to express attributive modification. Only their nonderived verb forms may be used to express predicative modification.

- |          |   |             |            |          |          |           |
|----------|---|-------------|------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| (647) a. | To'   | 'inon       | ca         | mixem    | nucun    | womu.     |
|          |   | 'ina-on     |            |          |          | womi-u    |
|          | hit   | 1s:rp/p-3sm | INFL:nrp/p | black    | poss:3sm | cotton-1s |
|          | 'I washed my dirty clothes'. (lit. '...my clothes' blackness'). |             |            |          |          |           |
| (647) b. |   | Mixem       | na         |          |          | womu.     |
|          |   |             |            |          |          | womi-u    |
|          |   | black       | 3s:rp/p    |          |          | cotton-1s |
|          | 'My clothes are dirty'.   |             |            |          |          |           |
| (647) c. | *Ca   |             | mixem      | nucun    | na       | womu.     |
|          |   |             |            |          |          | womi-u    |
|          |   | INFL:nrp/p  | black      | poss:3sm | 3s:rp/p  | cotton-1s |

'My clothes are dirty'.

- (648) a. Param 'inon ca paca' nucun wom.  
                   'ina-on  
                   desire 1s:rp/p-3sm INFL:nrp/p red poss:3sm cotton  
                   'I want red clothes'. (lit. '...clothes' redness'.)
- (648) b. Paca' na wom.  
                   red 3s:rp/p cotton  
                   'The clothes are red.'
- (648) c. \*Ca paca' nucun na wom.  
                   INFL:nrp/p red poss:3sm 3s:rp/p cotton  
                   'The clothes are red.'

#### 2.1.4.2. Distinction between absolute and contingent state

There is no formal distinction between an absolute and a contingent state in 'ON.

#### 2.1.4.3. Agreement between modification and nouns

Except for the small class of *-xi'* nouns that inflect only for third person (see 2.1.4.2, first paragraph and examples), predicative modifier stems do not agree with the noun (although the VIC attached to them does). On the other hand, all attributive modifiers agree with the noun in number and third person gender. This information must be expressed whether the noun appears overtly or not. Conflict between the gender of coordinated nouns is resolved by parataxis.

- (649) Cao' xin ca xain nein mijac. Cao'  
                   xi'-in  
                   eat 1pincl:rf-3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:3n pig eat  
                   xin ca xain nucun jowin quem.  
                   xi'-in  
                   1pincl:rf-3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:3sm monkey:species ref  
                   'We will eat roasted pig and *jowin* monkey'. (lit. 'We will eat roasted (hot) pig. We will eat roasted (hot) *jowin* monkey'.)

#### 2.1.4.4. Comparison

Comparison and degree of quality are expressed by juxtaposed sentences showing similarity or contrasts.

- (650) a. Hwara' na Xijam. Hwara' na 'Orowao' quem.

- big:s      3s:rp/p      m:name      big:s      3s:rp/p      m:name      ref  
 'Xijam is as large as 'Orowao'.' (lit. 'Xijam is large. 'Orowao' is also large'.)
- (650) b. Hwara'      paxi'      na      Xijam.      'Ane      hwara'      pan      ca  
 big:s      not:find      3s:rp/p      m:name      otherwise      big:s      emph      3sm  
 'Orowao'      ne.  
 m:name      rec:past  
 'Orowao' is larger than Xijam.' (lit. 'Although Xijam is large, 'Orowao' is really large'.)
- (650) c. Hwap      piye'      ca'      na      To'o.      Hwap      tamana      na  
 fast:s      child      this:n      3s:rp/p      f:name      fast:s      much      3s:rp/p  
 Piro.  
 f:name  
 'Piro is faster than To'o.' (lit. 'To'o is a little fast. Piro is very fast'.)
- (650) d. 'Awi      tamana      pan      na      cona      ca'.      'Om  
 d.  
 cona-0  
 good      much      emph      3s:rp/p      arrow-1s      this:n      not:exist  
 ca      'awi      ne      conam.  
 cona-m  
 INFL:nrp/p      be:good      3n      arrow-2s  
 'My arrow is better than your arrow'. (lit. 'My arrow is very good. Your arrow isn't good'.)

#### 2.1.4.5. Degrees of quality

Most degrees of quality are expressed by modification of the verb root via compounding. Such a sentence may look like the contrasting sentence of a comparison pair, as illustrated in the examples in the preceding section.

- (651) a.      Mixem      na      wom.  
              black      3s:rp/p      cotton  
              'The clothes are dirty.'
- (651) b.      Mixem      tamana      na      wom.  
              black      much      3s:rp/p      cotton  
              'The clothes are very dirty.'

The preverbal modifier '*amon* 'diminutive' expresses the concept of 'lesser degree'.

- (652) a. 'Amon hwara' na.  
dim big:s 3s:rp/p  
'It is a little bigger.'
- (652) b. 'Amon mixem na womu caw'.  
wom-u  
dim black 3s:rp/p cotton-1s this:m/f  
'This shirt is a little dirty.'
- (652) c. 'Amon matam na.  
dim tall 3s:rp/p  
'He is a little taller.'
- (652) d. 'Amon xio na.  
dim cold 3s:rp/p  
'He is better.' (lit. 'He is a little cold, i.e. he was hot with fever, but now he's a little cooler.')
- (652) e. 'Amon xain na.  
dim hot 3s:rp/p  
'He has a little fever.'

Superabundance is expressed by predicative modification:

- (653) a. Mixem 'a xira wom.  
black neg:s 3s:irr cotton  
'The clothes are too dirty.' (lit. 'The clothes shouldn't be dirty, but they are.')
- (653) b. Mija na xowi'.  
much 3s:rp/p rain  
'It is too wet outside.' (lit. 'The rain is much.')

#### 2.1.4.6. Verbal categories with predicative modification

With predicative modification, the verbal categories are expressed on the VIC.

- (654) a. Munu na panxica 'Orowao'.  
mono-u panxi-ca  
belly-1s 3s:rp/p son-3sm m:name  
'The son of 'Orowao' is potbellied.'
- (654) b. Comu na tocwa.  
comi-u

water-1s                      3s:rp/p                      corndrink  
 'The corndrink is runny.'

### 2.1.5. Prepositions

There is one preposition that expresses all the semantic functions of prepositions—see 2.1.1.1.4. This preposition agrees with the noun it governs for person, number and third person gender. The paradigm of the inflected preposition is as follows:

first singular	<i>pata'</i>
second singular	<i>pum</i>
third singular masculine	<i>con</i>
third singular feminine	<i>cam</i>
third neuter	<i>pain</i>
first plural inclusive	<i>pari'</i>
first plural exclusive	<i>parut</i>
second plural	<i>pahu'</i>
third plural masculine	<i>cocon</i>
third plural feminine	<i>cacam</i>

### 2.1.6. Numerals and quantifiers

#### 2.1.6.1. Forms of numerals used in counting

Although there is a way to express 'one' and 'two' as attributes, numerals used in counting do not exist in 'ON. Since the contact with Brazilian society, Portuguese numerals have come to be used for counting.

#### 2.1.6.2. Distinct cardinal numeral forms used as attributes

There is one compound verb that expresses the notion of cardinal numerals used as an attribute: *xica' pe* 'to be alone', used as 'one'. It is always used to express 'one', that is, the Portuguese numeral *um* is never used. There is another compound verb, *tucu caracan* 'to face each other', that used to be used as 'two' but is rarely used nowadays; rather the Portuguese numeral *dois* is used. *Dois* 'two' (masculine form of Portuguese 'two') is used irrespective of the gender of the noun it modifies. New numerals take the Portuguese form and occur as a simple verb (see (655c–d)). Numerals (both 'ON and loan numerals) appear in verbal position with the syntax of intransitive verbs.

(655) a.	Xica'	pe	na	tarama'.
	alone	be:at:s	3s:rp/p	man

‘There is one man.’ (lit. ‘The man is alone.’)

(655) b. Tucu caracan na xirim.  
toco-u

face-1s each:other 3s:rp/p house.

‘There are two houses.’ (lit. ‘The houses face each other.’)

(655) c. Dois na xirim.

two 3s:rp/p house

‘There are two houses.’

(655) d. Oito na cawaxi' nucun.

eight 3s:rp/p dry:season poss:3sm

‘He is eight years old.’

All Portuguese numerals except *um* ‘one’ may occur as the nonhead member in a compound verb.

(656) a. 'An xica' pe 'inon wom.  
'ina-on

takers alone be:at:s 1s:rp/p-3sm cotton

‘I took one shirt.’

(656) b. \*An um 'inon wom.  
'ina-on

take one 1s:rp/p-3sm cotton

‘I took one shirt.’

(656) c. Pa' seis nonon hwam hwijima'.  
nana-on

kill six 3p:rp/p-on fish children

‘The children killed six fishes.’

Cardinal numerals may be used attributively in derived noun constructions, as illustrated in the examples in (657). This, however, seems to be a recent innovation, an attempt to conform to the Portuguese numerical system, expressing numerals as attributive modifiers as they would any other kind of nominal modification (see 2.1.4).

(657) a. 'An 'inon ca xica' pe nucun wom.  
'ina-on

takers 1s:rp/p-3sm INFL:nrp/p alone be:at:s poss:3sm cotton

‘I took one shirt.’

(657) b. Pa' nanain dez nein mijac.  
nana-in



kill      3p:rp/p-3n      INFL:nrp/p      ten      poss:3n      pig  
 'They killed ten pigs.'

### 2.1.6.3. *Distinct numerals for counting different kinds of objects*

There are no distinct numerals for counting different kinds of objects.

### 2.1.6.4. *Ordinal numerals*

Ordinal numerals do not exist. This notion is expressed by parataxis, often employing cardinal numerals.

- (658) a.    Seis      pin      na      ca      xain      nem.  
              six      completely      3s:rp/p      INFL:nrp/p      hot      poss:2s  
              'This is the sixth time you have had fever.' (lit. 'Your fevers have become six.')
- (658) b.    Param      'inain      too      ma',      ca      pe  
                          'ina-in  
              desire      1s:rp/p-3n      metal      that:prox:hearer      INFL:nrp/p      be:at:s  
              ximijai      ma'.  
              ximija-in  
              middle-3n      that:prox:hearer  
              'I want the second can there.' (lit. 'I want that can there, the one in the middle there.')

### 2.1.6.5. *Other derivatives of numerals.*

There are no derivatives of numerals.

### 2.1.6.6. *Quantifiers*

Most quantifiers take the form of verbs, although there is one quantifier, 'oro 'collective', which functions as a prenominal modifier. The quantifiers which take verbal forms exclusively are: *paric* 'to be few', *pije* 'to be few (lit. child)', *tocwan* 'to be several', *tamana* 'to be many, to be much', *'iri' mijo* 'to be many', *xam* 'to be all of it' and *pi' pin* 'to be all' (lit. 'finish completely'). *Xam* 'to be all of it' and *pi' pin* 'to be all' usually require repetition of the verb preceding it. The examples in (659) to (662) show quantifiers appearing in head and nonhead positions of compound verbs.

- (659) a.      Paric      na      wom.  
              few      3s:rp/p      cotton  
              'There are a few clothes.'
- (659) b.      Mama'      paric      nana      'oro      wari'.  
              go:p      few      3p:rp/p      coll      person

‘A few people went.’

(659) c. Cut          noc          xa          paric          non  
na-on          wom          Hatem.

take:p          dislike          hide          few          3s:rp/p-3sm          cotton          f:name

‘Hatem stole a few clothes.’

(660) a.          Pi'          pin          na          carawa.

finish          completely          3s:rp/p          animal

‘The meat is gone.’

(660) b.          Cao'          cao'          pi'          pin          nanain  
nana-in          carawa.

eat          eat          finish          completely          3p:rp/p-3n          animal

‘They all ate the meat.’

(660) c.          To          to          pi'          pin          nanain  
nana-in          Guajará          'oro

be:at:p          be:at:p          finish          completely          3p:rp/p-3n          place:name          coll  
wari'.

person

‘The people are all in Guajará.’

(661) a.          Xam'          na          xitot.

all:of:it          3s:rp/p          garden

‘The garden is all (planted).’

(661) b.          Maqui'          maqui'          xam'          nana          'oro          wari'.

come          come          all:of:it          3p:rp/p          coll          person

‘All the people came.’

(661) c.          To          to          xam'          nanain  
nana-in          Guajará          'oro          wari'.

be:at:p          be:at:p          all:of:it          3p:rp/p-3n          place:name          coll          person

‘The people are in all of Guajará.’

(662) a.          Tamana          nana          wari'.

much          3p:rp/p          person

‘There are a lot of people.’

(662) b.          'Awaran          tamana          nana          wari'.

cry:p          much          3p:rp/p          person

'The people are crying a lot.'

- (662) c. To' pa' cao' tamana non na-on me Jimon.  
 hit kill eat much 3s:rp/p-3sm bird m:name  
 'Jimon killed and ate a lot of chickens.'

The collective particle 'oro may precede the nonverbal noun quantifiers *xucun/xequem/xijein* 'otherness different (m/f/n)' and *wiracon/wiracam/ wirain* 'otherness same (m/f/n)' in an NP to express 'other' or 'some'.

- (663) a. Cao' pin nonon jowin 'oro  
 nana-on  
 eat completely 3p:rp/p-on monkey:species coll  
 (xucun) wari'.  
 xije-con  
 otherness:different-3sm person  
 'Somebody ate the *jowin* monkey.'
- (663) b. 'Awi na 'oro (wirain) wao'.  
 wira-in  
 good 3s:rp/p coll (otherness:same-3n) basket  
 'Some (lit. the other) baskets are good.'
- (663) c. 'Om ca tomi' ha' caca 'oro  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p speak pay:attention 3pm coll  
 xucucun hwijima'.  
 xije-cocon  
 otherness:different-3pm children  
 'Some (lit. the other) children don't obey.'

### 2.1.7. Verbal modification

Verbal modification is discussed in 1.2.1.3.1.1 above. See also 2.1.4.4–5.

### 2.1.8. Clitics and particles

#### 2.1.8.1. Types of clitics

##### 2.1.8.1.1. Pronoun clitics

There are three kinds of pronominal clitics:

- 1 A set of proclitics (*co* ‘masculine’, *cam* ‘feminine’, *i* ‘neuter’, and *caram* ‘plural’) precedes demonstratives to form demonstrative pronouns. They occur only in the third person—see the discussion and examples in 2.1.2.2.
- 2 Postverbal inflection; see 2.1.3.6.2.2.
- 3 Postnominal inflection; see 2.1.8.1.2.

#### 2.1.8.1.2. Possessive pronoun clitics

A set of nominal inflectional clitics occurs in derived nouns and with some nouns in NPS. They belong to the same person/number/gender marking system as VICS. See the discussion and examples in 1.10.

#### 2.1.8.1.3–4. Reflexive/reciprocal pronoun clitics

A set of reflexive/reciprocal pronoun clitics belongs to the system of verbal inflectional clitics described in 2.1.3.6.2.2. See also 1.6 and 1.7.

#### 2.1.8.1.5. Auxiliary verbs

There are no auxiliary verbs.

#### 2.1.8.1.6. Sentence particles

There are four classes of sentence particles.

- 1 Temporal particles: *ne*, *pane*, *pacara pane*, *'ira*. They occur sentence-finally. See 2.1.3.2.1.2–3 for a more complete discussion and examples.
- 2 Emphatic particles: *ta*; *'e* /*me*; *ca* /*'ma* /*ne/pane* *'ira* and *ca/'ma* /*ne/pane* *quira*, *wa*, *wira* and *nowa* (spoken by men); and *je*, *cama* (spoken by women). Some of these emphatic particles can co-occur. They occur sentence-finally. See 1.11 for a more complete discussion and examples.
- 3 ‘Rhetorical’ particles: *ra* and its alternate forms *ron/ram/rain/roron/ raram*; *xin...ne/pane*; and *na' nam/na'non*—see 1.1.1.2.1.2, where the position and function of all these particles are discussed and illustrated.
- 4 Dubitative particle *xi*; see 1.1.2.4.2.1(3).

#### 2.1.8.1.7 Sentence connectives

There are no morphemes which function exclusively as sentence connectives.

#### 2.1.8.1.8. Anaphoric particles

The particle *quem* refers to something already mentioned or implied. It is sometimes glossed as ‘also’—see 1.1.1.2.1.

#### 2.1.8.1.9. INFL morphemes

The five INFL morphemes are clitics: *ca* 'neuter realis past/present', *co* 'masculine/feminine realis past/present', *'iri* 'realis past present', *ta* 'realis future' and *xi* 'irrealis'. See 1.1.1.4.2, where INFL morphemes are discussed and illustrated.

#### 2.1.8.1.10. Operator words

The following superordinate sentence-level operator words occur in COMP: *ma* 'that proximate to hearer'; *mon* 'that proximate to hearer-3sm'; *mam* 'that proximate to hearer-3sf'; *main* 'that proximate to hearer-3n'; *'om* 'not exist'; *cain*, derived from 'that neuter distal'; *je* 'third person neuter emphatic pronoun'; *mo* 'conditional'; *'ac* 'like'; and *'ane* 'different'. The third person neuter preposition, *pain*, precedes subordinate clauses (as well as NPS). These operator words behave like clitics in COMP position and elsewhere, as independent words (except *pain*, which always behaves like an independent word). See 1.1.1.4.2, where operator words are discussed and illustrated.

#### 2.1.8.2. Positions occupied by clitics

##### 2.1.8.2.1. Preverbal

The only preverbal clitics are the INFL morphemes—see 2.1.8.1.9 and 2.1.8.2.5.

##### 2.1.8.2.2. Postverbal

See 2.1.3.6.2.2 for verbal inflectional enclitics. The nominal inflectional clitics also occur after the verb in a derived noun construction—see 2.1.8.1.2. The 'rhetorical' particle *xin* follows the VIC—see 2.1.8.1.6.

##### 2.1.8.2.3. Sentence-final

The temporal, emphatic, and anaphoric particles occur sentence-finally—see 2.1.8.1.6 and 2.1.8.1.8. Of the 'rhetorical' particles, only *ra* (and its variants) and *na' nam/na' non* occur sentence-finally—see 2.1.8.1.6.

##### 2.1.8.2.4. Sentence-initial

The only sentence-initial clitics are the operator words in COMP and the INFL clitic in prohibitive sentences—see 2.1.8.1.10 and 1.1.1.3.2.

##### 2.1.8.2.5. Sentence-second position

Tense/mood occupies second position in the sentence. In simple sentences, where the verb occurs sentence-initially, tense/mood is on the VIC. In COMP sentences, where the operator word occurs sentence-initially, tense/mood is on the INFL. In addition, two of the three INFL morphemes that function in realis past/present constructions make it possible to indicate the gender of the element that is referenced in COMP: *ca* 'neuter' and

*co* ‘masculine/feminine’. The other three INFL morphemes (*'iri* ‘realis past/present’, *ta* ‘realis future’, and *xi* ‘irrealis’) do not indicate gender. Examples (664) show tense/mood marked on the VIC; examples (665) show tense/mood marked on the INFL morpheme.

- (664) a.                      Quep                      xiho'                      'ina.  
do                      together                      1s:rp/p  
'I helped.'
- (664) b.                      Quep                      xiho'                      ta'.  
do                      together                      1s:rf  
'I will help.'
- (664) c.                      Quep                      xiho'                      xita'.  
do                      together                      1s:irr  
'I should help.'
- (665) a.                      'Om                      ca                      quep                      xiho'                      ta'.  
not:exist                      INFL:nrp/p                      do                      together                      1s  
'I did not help.'
- (665) b.                      Ma'                      co                      quep                      xiho'                      na?  
that:prox:hearer                      INFL:nrp/p                      do                      together                      3s:rp/p  
'Who helped?'
- (665) c.                      Je                      'iri'                      quep                      xiho'                      ta'                      cam                      pane.  
emph:3n                      INFL:irr                      do                      together                      1s                      prep:3sf                      rem:past  
That is why I helped regarding her long ago.'
- (665) d.                      'Om                      ta                      quep                      xiho'                      ta'.  
not:exist                      INFL:rf                      do                      together                      1s  
'I will not help.'
- (665) e.                      'Om                      xi                      quep                      xiho'                      ta'.  
not:exist                      INFL:irr                      do                      together                      1s  
'I should not help.'

The only exceptions to INFL as a second position clitic are found in prohibitive sentences (see 1.1.1.3.2) and nominal modification clauses (see 1.1.2.3).

#### 2.1.8.2.6. Pre-adjectival

The set of proclitics described in 2.1.8.1.1 occur before demonstratives.

#### 2.1.8.2.7. *Pre-subject*

Inflected 'rhetorical' particles occur before the subject if it is expressed—see 1.1.1.2.1.2.

#### 2.1.8.3. *Relative order of clitics*

The relative order of postverbal clitics is first VIC, then the 'rhetorical' particle *xin*. There are five sets of sentence-final particles, classified according to their sequence of occurrence from left-to-right: (1) temporal particles, followed by (2) the emphatic particles other than those in set 5, followed by (3) the referent particle *quem*, followed by (4) the emphatic particle *ta*, followed by (5) the emphatic particles that have restricted use (one set spoken by men, the other spoken by women).

#### 2.1.8.4. *Combinations of particles*

Except for the temporal particle *pane* 'mid/remote past', which may precede *ira* 'past progressive', the members of each of the five sets of sentence-final particles are mutually exclusive. There do not seem to be any restrictions on the combination of sets of particles. It is unlikely, however, that five sentence-final particles would occur in one sequence.

## 2.2. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

### 2.2.1. Introduction

In this section, we deviate somewhat from the suggested outline in order to present more effectively some of the highly unusual, perhaps unique, features of 'ON derivational morphology. There are various derivational processes in the language, but two are worth special mention here, since they are used to derive both nouns and verbs. These are zero-derivation and compounding. Other derivational processes, e.g. iteration and suffixation, are discussed in the final subsections of this section. The process of zero-derivation is of particular interest to all theoretical and typological morphologists, because by this process words may be derived from sentences. This requires us to allow the derivational morphological component of 'ON grammar to apply to both the input and output of sentence formation, something which some syntactic and morphological theories predict to be impossible. Compounding provides additional evidence for this claim. We are going to argue too that all words in 'ON are left-headed, whether derived by inflectional or derivational processes.

We have organized this section around derivational processes, rather than by the categories which undergo these processes (e.g. N and V), since for the most part, the processes described may apply to similar input categories to derive nouns or verbs (although there are interesting differences in the nature of the input category).

### 2.2.2. Zero-derivation

Zero-derivation is the process whereby words of one syntactic category are derived from other syntactic categories without affixation (e.g. English *He is the head of the committee; He heads the committee; I will give you a permit; I will permit you*). The only phonological reflex of zero-derivation in 'ON is the stress shift seen when the category serving as input to the derivational process is larger than a single word. All words receive primary stress on their final syllable, modulo certain stress-avoiding postverbal modifying morphemes, regardless of how many words formed the input to the derivational process (as in the case of sentences used as verbs). See 2.2.2.1.1 and 3.3.2 below on stress.

#### 2.2.2.1. Verbs

##### 2.2.2.1.1. Zero-derivation from sentences

Verbalized sentences are discussed in section 1.1.1.4.3. The verb in such sentences is always derived (at least partially) via zero-derivation from clauses, according to the rule in (666):

(666) [Sent] → [V[S]]

Consider the structure in (667)

(667)	[ <sub>v</sub> [Sent	Ma'	co	mao	nain
					na-in
		that:prox.hearer	INFL:m/frp/p	go:s	3s:rp/p-3n
	Guajar[á]]	nanam	'oro	narima'	taramaxicon.
		na-vcvm			
	place:name	3s:rp/p-3pf	coll	woman	chief

“Who went to Guajar[á]?” (said) the chief (to) the women.’

The stress pattern of the verbalized sentence prior to the application of rule (666) would be as in (668):

(668) <sup>2</sup>Ma' co <sup>1</sup>mao nain Guaja<sup>2</sup>rá?  
 [ ,maʔ ko 'ma<sup>o</sup> na<sup>i</sup> g<sup>w</sup>aza,ra ]

The COMP word *ma'* and the final syllable of *Guajar[á]* bear secondary stresses, with the primary stress of the utterance falling on the verb *mao* 'to go'. In the verbalized version, however, the stress pattern is as in (669):

(669) [ ,maʔ ko ,mao na<sup>i</sup> g<sup>w</sup>aza'ra ]

The primary stress has shifted from *mao* to the final syllable of *Guajar[á]*, just as we would expect in any polysyllabic word (see section 3.3.2).



Note too that the matrix inflectional clitic *nanam* attaches to *Guajará*. Normally this clitic would only be able to attach to the verb. Moreover, there is no verb of the matrix clause if we deny this status to the verbalized sentence. Stress, clitic attachment and matrix clause structure thus support our analysis of these sentences as having undergone the zero-derivation rule in (666) above. Further support for this rule is provided by compounding. Consider example (670):

- (670) [<sub>v<sub>3</sub></sub> [<sub>v<sub>2</sub></sub> [<sub>v<sub>1</sub></sub> [<sub>Sent<sub>1</sub></sub> Pan' 'am ta'] tara]] ma']]  
 fall:s be:lost:s 1s:rf 3s:rf that:prox:hearer  
 'inon xa'.  
 'ina-on  
 1s:rp/p-3sm younger:brother:1s  
 'I thought my younger brother was going to get lost.' (lit. "“I will probably get lost”, he will probably (say)”, I (thought) (of) my younger brother.’)

In this example there are several ‘embeddings’ resulting from zero-derivation and, at the last layer, compounding. Sent<sub>1</sub> is the simple sentence ‘I will (probably) get lost.’ This is verbalized as the verb (v<sub>1</sub>) of sentence Sent<sub>2</sub>, reporting the likely speech of the (final) speaker’s younger brother. This Sent<sub>2</sub> is then verbalized (v<sub>2</sub>) to form a compound verb with *ma'* (a common postverbal modifier, see 1.2.1.3), v<sub>3</sub>. v<sub>3</sub> then serves as the verb of the matrix clause, to which *'inon* attaches and in which *xa'* is the object. A simplified phonetic transcription of (670) is given in (671) (primary stress is marked by [<sup>1</sup>] and secondary stress is marked by [<sup>2</sup>]):

- (671) [pan<sup>1</sup>? ?am<sup>2</sup>ta? ta<sup>1</sup>ra ma? ?inon ?xa?]

The strongest stress of the utterance goes on the final stressable syllable of the compound verb (v<sub>3</sub> in (670)). *Ma'* is unstressable in the postverbal modifier position and so the next available syllable for bearing stress is [ra]. The stress facts are thus exactly as our account predicts. The fact that *ma'* can compound with the derived verb v<sub>2</sub> in (670) provides quite strong support for our analysis of these sentences as resulting from the derivational rule in (666) above.

#### 2.2.2.1.2. Zero-derivation from nominate

**2.2.2.1.2.1. Zero-derivation from emphatic pronouns** Verbs can also be zero-derived from emphatic pronouns, as in (672):

- (672) [EP]→[V[EP]]

Consider the example in (673):

- (673) Ma' wirico na Pinom ma'.  
 exist emph:3sm 3s:rp/p m:name that:prox:hearer  
 ‘There was Pinom.’

In this example, the emphatic pronoun *wirico* has been compounded with the verb *ma'* 'to exist'. Since it is part of the verb, it could have been placed there either by incorporation or by compounding. Incorporation seems unlikely, however, since the position from which *wirico* would have been incorporated is presumably occupied by *Pinom*. (Additional arguments against incorporation are given in 2.2.3.1.2.2.)

In our data, emphatic pronouns can only appear as noncompounded verbs in copular structures, as in *Wirico na* 'It is he himself.' Emphatic pronouns in compounds behave like modifiers. We can capture this fact if we recognize a separate category of verb root, the modifier verb root, alongside nonmodifying verb roots, as in (674):

(674) a. [v<sub>M</sub>]

(674) b. [v]

Only [v] verbs may serve as noncompounded verbs or heads of (i.e. appear in leftmost position of) compound verbs. All postverbal modifiers discussed in section 1.2.1.3.1.1 are of type (674a). We analyse preverbal modifiers as a subtype of (674b) and merely use the term modifier to indicate that they do not have particularly 'verby' core semantics and cannot serve as main verbs. We therefore modify our rule in (672) above to (675):

(675) [EP] → [VM [EP]] (or [v<sub>[EP]</sub>] for copular sentences)

(676) a. Ma' je tara ca we' ha nein  
 exist emph:3n 3s:rf INFL:nrp/p vomit wide poss:3n  
 cain.

that:n:distal

'You'll come to where there is plenty of (water).' (lit. 'Its being full and wide (the waterway) shall exist.')

(676) b. 'Ac je 'ac je 'ari na ca  
 like emph:3n like emph:3n completely 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p  
 xirao' nequequem.  
 mark poss:3pf  
 'Their writing is alike.'

(676) c. Cahwere tamana wirico na jowin  
 cahwere-0  
 tail-1s much emph:3sm 3s:rp/p monkey:species  
 ma'.  
 that:n:prox:speaker  
 'The *jowin* monkey had a long tail.'

**2.2.2.1.2.2. Zero-derivation from nouns** Any noun can be made into a verb via zero-derivation, although the process seems more common with *-xi'* nouns. Moreover, any

form of the noun (first, second, third) may undergo zero-derivation. If a noun has both a *-xi'* and a non-*-xi'* form, the *-xi'* form will generally (not always) be preferred. The form used affects the translation markedly, however. Modulo some individual variations (which is to be expected if this process is lexical), the general rule seems to be that if the first person singular form of the noun (whether *-xi'* noun or noun plus NIC) undergoes zero-derivation, the resultant verb is active, often taking an agentive or volitional subject. When a nonfirst person form of the noun serves as input to verb derivation, the result is either a descriptive predicate or, in compound forms, an adverbial-like translation of the denominalized portion of the compound. These are illustrated in the examples which follow.

The rule of zero-derivation is given in (677):

(677)  $[N] \rightarrow [V [N]]$

This means that denominalized verbs, like other verbs, may appear in noncompounded forms or as the leftmost or second member of a verbal compound. Examples of these follow (with nonderived forms in the (a) examples):

(678) a. *capijaxi'* 'our mouth'

(678) b. *capija* 'to be talkative'

(678) c. *Capija* na panxica 'Orowao'.  
*capija-0* panxi-ca  
 mouth-1s 3s:rp/p child-3sm m:name  
 'Orowao's son is talkative.'

(678) d. Tomi' *capijacacam* 'e' nana.  
*capija-cacam*  
 speak mouth-3pf only 3p:rp/p  
 'They're just talking insincerely.'

(679) a. *caramajixi'* 'our things'

(679) b. *caramaju* 'to be rich'

(679) c. Mija na ca *caramaju* ca wijam.  
*caramaju-0*  
 much 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p things-1s 3sm non:Indian  
 'The non-Indian is very rich.'

(679) d. *Caramaxicocon* cara xira.  
*caramaji-cocon*  
 things-3pm forever 3s:irr  
 'It should be their things forever.'

(680) a. *carapitaxi'* 'our vein or tendon'

(680) b. *carapita* 'to be stern, so that veins stand out on the neck'

- (680) c. Tomi' *carapita* *carapita-0* *naparut.*  
*na-parut*  
 speak vein-1s 3s:rp/p-1pexcl  
 'He spoke sternly to us (so that the veins stood out on his neck).'
- (681) a. *homaxi* 'our fat'  
 (681) b. *homa* 'to be fatty or greasy'  
 (681) c. *Homa* *homa-0* na hwam.  
 fat-1s 3s:rp/p fish  
 'The fish is greasy.'
- (682) a. *maxixi* 'our desire to eat'  
 (682) b. *maxu* 'to eat heartily'  
 (682) c. *Maxu* *maxu-0* na ron?  
*ra-on*  
 desire:to:eat-1s 3s:rp/p 2s:rf-3sm  
 'He's really eating, isn't he?'
- (683) a. *menexi* 'our possession'  
 (683) b. *mene* 'to own'  
 (683) c. Ma' co *mene* non  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p mene-0 na-on  
 possession-1s 3s:rp/p-3sm  
 wom cwa'?  
 cotton this:m/f  
 'Who owns these clothes?'
- (684) a. *naranaxi* 'our torch or firebrand'  
 (684) b. *narana* 'to burn'  
 (684) c. Main ca *narana* 'ac quem?  
 ma'-in narana-0 ca-em  
 that:prox:speaker-n INFL:nrp/p torch-1s travel 3sm-2s  
 'Where did it burn you?'
- (685) a. *tarajixi* 'our ear'  
 (685) b. *taraju* 'hear'  
 (685) c. 'Om ca *taraju* ta'.  
 taraju-0  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p ear-1s 1s



The following examples are from the class of *-xi'* nouns that are generally used only in their third person inflection as nouns, although their first person singular form may occur as verbs.

- (690) a. *'arajein* 'its eggs'  
 (690) b. *'araje* 'to lay eggs'
- (690) c. *'Araje* na totowe'.  
*araje-0*  
 egg-1s 3s:rp/p chicken  
 'The chicken is laying eggs.'
- (691) a. *horonain* 'its largeness'  
 (691) b. *horona* 'to raise or to adopt'
- (691) c. Querec mon co pe *horona* ta'  
*ma-on* *horona-0*  
 see 2s:rp/p-3sm INFL:m/frp/p be:at:s largeness-1s 1s  
 cwa'?  
 this:m/f  
 'Did you see my adopted one here?'
- (692) a. *nenein* 'its greenness, its immaturity'  
 (692) b. *nene* 'to whine or be a cry-baby'
- (692) c. Para *nene* ma?  
*nene-0*  
 therefore greenness-1s 2s  
 'Why are you being a cry-baby?'
- (693) a. *tamajain* 'its slope'  
 (693) b. *tamaja* 'to slope'
- (693) c. *Tamaja* na horop.  
*tamaja-0*  
 slope-1s 3s:rp/p bark:species  
 'The bark (floor) slopes.'
- (694) a. *tawirinain* 'its end'  
 (694) b. *tawuru* 'to end'
- (694) c. *Tawuru* pe nain cain.  
*tawuru-0* na-in  
 end-1s be:at:s 3s:rp/p-3n that:n:distal  
 'It ends over there.'

- (694) d. Ja' *tawuru* nanam xerequem.  
*tawuru-0* na-vcvm xere-quem  
 follow end-1s 3s:rp/p-3pf siblings-3sf  
 'She is the last of her siblings.'
- (695) a. *tirijein* 'its ember'  
 (695) b. *tirije* 'to glow'
- (695) c. Mo'o 'an qui' rain ca *tirije* ne xe  
*tirije-0*  
 run:s lead takers bring 2s:rf-3n INFL:nrp/p ember-1s 3n fire  
 ma'.  
 that:prox:hearer  
 'Go bring that glowing (burning) piece of firewood.' (lit. '...firewood that is glowing.')
- (696) a. *wijimain* 'its smallness'  
 (696) b. *wijima* 'to have a child'
- (696) c. Ma' co *wijima* nem?  
*wijima-0* na-em  
 that:prox:speaker INFL:m/frp/p smallness-1s 3s:rp/p-2s  
 'Who gave birth to you?'
- (696) d. Cut *wijimain* 'inain.  
*wijima-in* 'ina-in  
 take:p smallness-3n 1s:rp/p-3n  
 'I took a little bit.'
- (697) a. *wixijain* 'its hook'  
 (697) b. *wixija* 'to be hooked'
- (697) c. 'Om ca *wixija* ne pi ca'.  
*wixija-0*  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p hook-1s 3n thorn this:n  
 'This fish hook doesn't have a hook on it (lit. isn't hooked).'
- (698) a. *xoworinain* 'its rottenness'  
 (698) b. *xowuru* 'to be rotten'
- (698) c. *Xowuru* pin na coco ca'.  
*xowuru-0*  
 rottenness-1s completely 3s:rp/p basket this:n  
 'This basket is rotten.'

The following examples are from the class of *-xi'* nouns that are used only in their third person inflection as nouns. In addition, their third person inflection is the only form that can occur as verbs:

- (699) a. *'orowaji* memem  
*'orowaji-0*  
 greenness-3n fruit  
 'green fruit'
- (699) b. *'Orowaji* na memem.  
*'orowaji-0*  
 greenness-3n 3s:rp/p fruit  
 'The fruit is green.'
- (700) a. *xocoricon* wom  
*xocori-con*  
 newness-3sm cotton  
 'new clothes'
- (700) b. *Xocoricon* na wom.  
*xocori-con*  
 newness-3sm 3s:rp/p cotton  
 'The clothes are new.'
- (700) c. *Xocori* pin mami' tara xumuhu' ta.  
*xocori-0*  
 newness-3n completely again 3s:rf heart-2p emph  
 'Your hearts will become new again.'

The following examples show simple nouns (uninflected and inflected for first person singular with an NIC) occurring as verbs.

- (701) a. *capam'* 'cornbread'
- (701) b. Hu *capam'* pin rain pacun.  
 ra-in  
 blow cornbread completely 2s:rf-3n rock  
 'Turn the rock into cornbread!' (lit. 'Blow and "cornbread" the rock!')
- (701) c. *'Ep* *capam'* *ne* tain mapac.  
 ta'-in  
 grind cornbread poss:1s 1s:rf-3n corn  
 'I will grind and make cornbread of the corn.' (lit. 'I will grind and "cornbread" the corn.')
- (702) a. *tamanain* 'convulsions'



- |          |   |           |           |               |              |
|----------|---|-----------|-----------|---------------|--------------|
| (702) b. | Tamanain  | mip       | 'ac       | ta'           | na.          |
|          | convulsion                                      | force     | travel    | 1s            | 3s:rp/p      |
|          | 'Then I was really crazy.'                      |           |           |               |              |
| (702) c. | <i>Tamanain</i>                                 |           | <i>ne</i> |               | na.          |
|          | convulsions                                     |           | poss:1s   |               | 3s:rp/p      |
|          | 'He is acting crazy.'                           |           |           |               |              |
| (703) a. | <i>hwijam</i> 'fan'                             |           |           |               |              |
| (703) b. | <i>Hwijam</i>                                   | <i>ne</i> | hwap      | nain<br>na-in | torot        |
|          | fan:made:of:palm:leaf                           | poss:1s   | fast:s    | 3s:rp/p-3n    | palm:species |
|          | ma'.  |           |           |               |              |
|          | that:prox:speaker                               |           |           |               |              |
|          | 'She made a fan quickly out of that palm leaf.' |           |           |               |              |

**2.2.2.1.2.3. Zero-derivation from nominal modifiers** There are no verbs derived from nominal modifiers.

#### 2.2.2.2. *Nouns*

Zero-derivation of nouns from verbs and subsentences is common. There are a couple of possible instances of zero-derivation of nouns from inflectional clitics as well, but these seem to be unproductive and quite peculiar in other ways. Nevertheless we will mention them here for completeness.

#### 2.2.2.2.1. Zero-derivation from subsentential constituents

Nouns are unlike verbs in that they may not be formed from the zero-derivation of entire sentences (i.e. COMP sentences). They may never include a COMP word. However, zero-derivation of the following strings of material is possible.

**2.2.2.2.1.1. Zero-derivation from INFL+v** The first string we will consider is the INFL morpheme *ca* ‘neuter realis past/present’ and v:

- |          |                             |                   |            |        |         |
|----------|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------|--------|---------|
| (704) a. | Hohot                       | na                | ca         | mixein | ne.     |
|          | okay                        | 3s:nrp/p          | INFL:nrp/p | lie    | poss:1s |
|          | 'My lying is okay.'         |                   |            |        |         |
| (704) b. | Noc                         | 'inain<br>'ina-in | ca         | mao    | nem.    |
|          | dislike                     | 1s:rp/p-3n        | INFL:nrp/p | go:s   | poss:2s |
|          | 'I do not want your going.' |                   |            |        |         |

(704) c.	ca		pije'	ne
	INFL:nrp/p		child	poss:1s
	'my childhood'			
(704) d.	ca		tarama'	nexi'
	INFL:nrp/p		man	poss:1pincl
	'we men' (not 'our men')			
(704) e.	ca	mi'	pin	nucun
	INFL:nrp/p	give	completely	poss:3sm
	'his death'			

Examples like (704d) involve two levels of zero-derivation. First, *tarama'* 'man' undergoes zero-derivation to form a verb, 'to (be a) man' or 'to grow'. Next, it and *ca* undergo zero-derivation to form a noun, to which is attached the NIC, *nexi'* 'possessive-1pincl'. The question which arises with regard to these examples is the nature of the constituent formed by the INFL+verb unit which undergoes zero-derivation. It does not seem possible to merely analyse the INFL morpheme as a prefix on the verb for two important reasons. First, this would leave us with no account for the fact that *ca* must precede the verb in order to guarantee that tense be the second constituent in the clause. Second, this would fail to account for the fact that in normal matrix and subclauses, the gender information on the INFL morpheme does not agree with the subject or object *per se*, but with the content of the COMP node.

Consider the first problem, i.e. the requirement that tense always appear as the second constituent of the clause. If tense/mood were a verbal affix, it would be the second constituent of the clause whenever its 'host', the v, followed overt COMP. But it would be the first constituent whenever the verb appeared in initial position, whether or not it was prefixed or suffixed to the verb, since notions like first or second constituent cannot 'look through layers'. That is, the restriction cannot be 'second morphological or syntactic constituent', it must be one or the other. In fact, for 'ON, it must be 'second syntactic constituent' because when question phrases appear in COMP (see 1.1.1.4.2 above on information questions), the INFL morpheme may not intervene between them, meaning that tense must be the second phrasal constituent (we assume that VICS are generated outside the verb phrase in agreement phrases, AGRPS). As for the fact that INFL agrees in gender with the material in COMP, we claim that this is because the INFL morpheme heads the phrasal projection in which COMP occurs at surface structure (i.e. it winds up in co position and information questions and other COMP material are in the SPEC (=specifier) position of the COMP phrase (CP)). However, we shall not argue here for these more abstract structures. Suffice it to say that the VICS never agree directly with material in COMP, so that if INFL were a verbal prefix, it would be a very strange one in that its gender is controlled by sentence-initial position rather than by standard grammatical relations, e.g. subject and object.

But if INFL is not a verbal prefix, what is it? We will claim that it is the head of its own Tense Phrase (TP) and that the verb adjoins to it. It is this INFL+v adjunction

structure which then undergoes zero-derivation to form a noun. The VICS, heading as they do separate phrasal constituents under our analysis (AGRPS) can be omitted from the scope of the nominalization rule. For readers who have an aversion to such terminology, the bottom line is that we must allow INFL+v to form a constituent which excludes the VICS but which does not merely analyse INFL as a prefix on the verb.

To head off a potential counteranalysis: we consider the forms in (704) above to be derived from verbs plus INFL, rather than from subordinate clauses, because they do not contain VICS or NP arguments. A possible objection to analysing these as derived nouns (rather than phrases) might be raised on phonological grounds. In (705) below, the word-initial glottal immediately following the INFL morpheme fails to delete. However, in the formation of kinship terms, which are clearly used as individual nouns (see 2.2.2.2.1.5), the glottal stop does delete in this same environment. However, we believe that kinship terms are idiomatic, crystallized forms that have been reanalysed as single words, and that they do not represent a productive word-formation process. Thus, they do not prejudice our claims here.

- (705) a. ca'a  
ca-'a  
INFL:nrp/p sound:bird:makes  
'bird species' ('that which goes "a"')
- (705) b. ca'o  
ca-'o  
INFL:nrp/p sound:bird:makes  
'bird species' ('that which goes "o"')
- (705) c. co'aji  
co-'aji  
INFL:m/frp/p sound:owl:makes  
'owl species' ('that which goes "aji"')
- (705) d. co'öc  
co-'öc  
INFL:m/frp/p sound:fish:makes  
'fish species' ('that which goes "öc"')

As for the form of the NIC appearing on this type of structure, the gender of the possessor determines which form of the third person NIC can be used; masculine NICS cannot be used with words referring to women, and vice versa.

- |          |                        |         |           |
|----------|------------------------|---------|-----------|
| (706) a. | *ca                    | tarama' | nequequem |
|          | INFL:nrp/p             | man     | poss:3pf  |
|          | 'their husbands (men)' |         |           |
| (706) b. | *ca                    | narima' | nucucun   |
|          | INFL:nrp/p             | woman   | poss:3pm  |
|          | 'their wives' (women)  |         |           |

These derived nouns can themselves be verbalized by zero-derivation and then be renominalized, as below, where they have been verbalized, some even compounded, then have, along with their containing structure, undergone *wa* 'infinitive' nominalization (discussed later on in this section).

- (707) a. 'Om ca 'awi ne ca tomi' ne ca  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p good 3n INFL:nrp/p speak 3n INFL:nrp/p  
 wara wa.  
 wara-0  
 back-1s inf  
 'It isn't good to gossip.' (lit. 'It isn't good when backs speak.')
- (707) b. Cain' cain' ne wixicon ne? Tara ta'a.  
 wixi-con  
 that:n:distal that:n:distal 3n name-3sm rec:past 3s:rf doubt  
 Xi ca wuxu wa ca' ne.  
 wuxu-0  
 INFL:irr INFL:rp/p name-1s inf this:n rec:past  
 'What is his name?' 'I don't know. It could be (any) name.'
- (707) c. Querec pin' 'ara xi' nain ca xumu  
 na-in ximi-0  
 see completely neg:p neg 3s:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p heart-1s  
 wa.  
 inf  
 'Because he recognizes hearts.'
- (707) d. 'Om ca na ne ca corom taparu  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p consent 3n INFL:nrp/p enter secretive  
 xine ca xuru wa ta.  
 xuru-0  
 pass:3n INFL:nrp/p house-1s inf emph  
 'It is no good when (one's) house is secretly entered.'
- (707) e. 'Ara 'ara mixita ta' na nanain ca  
 mixita-0 nana-in  
 do do anger-1s 1s:rf 3s:rp/p 3p:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p  
 caji xumu wa pain ma' quem.  
 caji-0 xumu-0  
 strangeness-3n heart-1s inf prep:3n that:prox:hearer ref  
 'They say he would fight because of the having of bad hearts.' (lit. "'I will fight' he

(says)", they (say) about bad hearts regarding that.')

While all verbs derived from *-xi'* nouns can function in derived nouns with the infinitival marker *wa*, not all such verbs can function in derived

nouns with possession marking NICS. For instance, if the relationship between the noun and its possessor is purely possessive, the regular possessed noun must be used: *xirinain mapac* (house-3n corn) ‘corn house’, not *\*ca xuru nein mapac* (INFL:nrp/p house-1s poss:3n corn); *tapa' napa' wina me* (burst 3s:rp/p-1s head-1s emph) ‘my head is hurting me’, not *\*tapa' napa' ca wina ne me* (burst 3s:rp/p-1s INFL:nrp/p head-1s poss:1s emph). On the other hand, if the derived verb is expressing an event or process ((708)–(711)), or if the relationship between the noun and its possessor is descriptive ((712)–(713)), it can be used in a possessed derived noun:

(708) a. *mixitaxi* 'our anger'

(708) b. *mixita* ‘to fight’

(708) c.	Wara	'awori	na	cocon.	Ma'		ta
	already	ready	3s:rp/p	prep:3pm	that:prox:hearer		INFL:rf
	'om	'i'ina	xi'	nana	pain	ca	<i>mixita</i> <i>mixita-0</i>
	not:exist	difficult	1pincl	3p:rp/p	prep:3n	INFL:nrp/p	anger-1s
	nucucun.						
	poss:3pm						
	'They were ready for them. "So that we won't have any trouble", they (said) concerning their fighting.'						

(709) a. *tarajixi* 'our ear'

(709) b. *taraju* ‘hear’

(709) c.	Je	ma'		ca		mao	mao	capa'
								ca-pa'
	emph:3n	that:prox:hearer		INFL:nrp/p		go:s	go:s	3sm-1s
	xumu	ca'	ne	quem	'ira,	ca		'om
	xumu-0							
	heart-1s	this:n	rec:past	ref	past:prog	INFL:nrp/p		not:exist
	<i>taraju</i>	<i>pa'</i>	ne.					
	taraju-0							
	ear-1s	upon	poss:1s					
	'That was what I thought, my not understanding (lit. hearing on top of it).'							

(710) a. *wijimain* ‘its smallness’

(710) b. *wijima* 'to have a baby, child, or offspring'

- ‘Give us your great strength.’

The normal inflections as well as the derived forms, and their glosses, are italicized.

- [illegible]



	instr	drink	1s
	'my (thing) with which I drink'		
(718) c.	*mam	toc	ta' ne
	instr	drink	1s poss:1s
	'my drinking thing'		

Only Tenseless VICS may occur within the scope of zero-derivation. The prohibition, illustrated in (718c), against adding NICS to a zero-derived nominal including a VIC can be explained if we assume that the features of the VIC are still visible/syntactically relevant after the zero-derivation process and that something like Marantz's (1984) prohibition against vacuous affixation (or Chomsky's (1993) 'economy' principle) is in effect. To sum up, then, zero-affixation may derive a noun from a verb+VIC, excluding INFL, but (i) VICS must be Tenseless; and (ii) no NIC may be added.

**2.2.2.2.1.3. Zero-derivation of clauses with NP arguments** We have a few examples of nouns derived from clauses, in which the NP constituents of the clause are present (object and/or subject). However, these differ from simple subordinate clause structures in that the verb is usually iterated and there is no VIC.

(719) a.	mao	mao	'at	nucun
	go:s	go:s	bone	poss:3sm
	'his long pants'			
(719) b.	mo	mo	macan'	ma'
	run:s	run:s	ground	that:prox:hearer
	'that truck'			
(719) c.	ja'	ja'	jowin	
	follow	follow	monkey:species	
	'bird species' (lit. 'the follower of the <i>jowin</i> monkey species')			
(719) d.	'oro	ma'	ma'	pacun
				winacon wina-con
	coll	exist	exist	rock
				head-3sm
	'group of that particular fish species that has two calcium deposits in its head'			
(719) e.		mom	mom	canom
		swell	swell	throat
	'mumps'			
(719) f.	'Oro	Cao'	'Orowaji	
			'Orowaji-0	
	coll	eat	greenness-3n	
	'Eaters of Green (Things)' (subgroup)			



**2.2.2.2.1.4. Zero-derivation of *wa* ‘infinitive’ clauses** To derive a nonpossessed noun, a *wa* infinitival clause may undergo zero-derivation:

(720) a.	mam	toc	wa	
	instr	drink	inf	
	‘drinking thing’			
(720) b.	ca	pe’	wa	
	INFL:nrp/p	hungry	inf	
	‘hunger’			
(720) c.	ca	‘an	wa	tarama’
	INFL:nrp/p	take:s	inf	man
	‘marriage’ (for a woman)			

Example (720c) is interesting in that it shows an overt NP, *tarama* ‘man’, within the scope of zero-derivation. Recall from section 1.1.2.2.6.3 that *wa* has a passivization effect in that it may not co-occur with an agent/actor NP but only with a theme NP. Another example is:

(720) d.	ca	xin	wa	pic
	INFL:nrp/p	throw:s	inf	rubber
	'playing ball' (lit. 'a ball being played with')			

Some of these might merely be analysed as infinitive clauses, but since they may also function as nouns, we include them here as a potential example of zero-derivation.

(721) a.	Hohot	na	ca	mixein	wa.
	okay	3s:nrp/p	INFL:nrp/p	lie	inf
	'Lying is okay.'				
(721) b.	Noc	'inain 'ina-in	ca	mao	wa.
	dislike	1s:rp/p-3n	INFL:nrp/p	go:s	inf
	'I do not want to go.'				

We have two examples of derived nouns, in which the verb is iterated and the infinitival marker *wa* is used. The example in (722a) is the name of a river in the region, well known for its abundance of game birds. The base form in (722b) is a verb derived from a *-xi'* noun. As a verb, it means ‘to be fleshy’. See 2.2.2.1, where we describe these ‘derived verbs’.

(722) a.	pa'	pa'	wa	maji maji-0
	kill	kill	inf	bird-3n

‘place where birds are killed’

(722) b.	cwere	cwere	'ac	wa
	cwere-0	cwere-0		
	body-1s	body-1s	travel	inf
	‘heel’ (lit. ‘place (on foot) where it’s fleshy’)			

**2.2.2.2.1.5. Kinship terms** Kinship terms are the only examples we have of zero-derived nouns from clauses containing both INFL and VICS. These seem to be opaque to native speakers (i.e. they do not think of their individual parts); they undergo phonological processes other zero-derived nouns fail to undergo; and the process no longer seems productive, since only kinship terms are so derived. *Co-* kinship terms are formed in the following way: the INFL morpheme *co* precedes the first person singular form of the kinship term and a Tenseless active VIC follows it.

(723) a. *cowerē* ‘our (incl) older sister’

(723) b.	co	we	'iri'
	INFL:m/frp/p	older:sister:1s	1pincl

Note in (723b) that the use of the first person singular form of older sister *we* supports our analysis, wherein *we* has first been verbalized via zero-derivation and then combined with *co* and *'iri'* to form a noun zero-derived from a clause (with a literal translation like ‘we older sister’). Examples (724a–d) illustrate *co-* kinship terms with the first person plural inclusive Tenseless VIC, expressing the notion of possessive and occurring as a suffix (stress falls on the last syllable of the VIC). Examples (724e–g) illustrate *co-* kinship terms with second and third person Tenseless VICS expressing possessive and occurring as a separate clitic (stress falls on the base form).

(724) a. *coxari'*  
*co-xa'-'iri'*  
 INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling:1s-1pincl  
 ‘our (incl) younger sister’

(724) b. *conem* ‘iri’  
*co-nem*  
 INFL:m/frp/p-brother:in-law:1s  
 1pincl  
 ‘our (incl) brother-in-law’

(724) c. *cotere'*  
*co-te-'iri'*  
 INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-1pincl  
 ‘our (incl) father’ (lit. ‘(the one) whom we (incl) (call) “my father”’)

(724) d. *coparut*  
*co-pa'-'urut*

INFL:m/frp/p-maternal:grandmother:ls-lpexcl

'our (excl) maternal grandmother' (lit. '(the one) whom we (excl) (call) "my maternal grandmother"')

- |          |   |                            |      |
|----------|---|----------------------------|------|
| (724) e. | copa'<br>co-pa'   | ma                         |      |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p  | maternal:grandmother:1s 2s |      |
|          | 'your maternal grandmother'   |                            |      |
| (724) f. | coxa'<br>co-xa'   |                            | ca   |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling:1s   |                            | 3sm  |
|          | 'his younger sibling' (lit. '(the one) whom he (calls) "my younger sibling"') |                            |      |
| (724) g. | cwaji'<br>co-'aji'  |                            | cama |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother:1s   |                            | 3sf  |
|          | 'her older brother' (lit. '(the one) whom she (calls) "my older brother"')    |                            |      |

*Co-* kinship terms are words and not merely relative clauses. This can be seen by the fact that (1) they can function with elements normally found in NPS (collective particles (725a), possessors (725b) and demonstratives (725c)); and (2) they also function semantically as nouns. The Tenseless VICS that occur with *co-* kinship terms express the notion of possessive.

- |          |                               |                              |     |          |
|----------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----|----------|
| (725) a. | mana                          | coxa'                        |     | ca       |
|          |                               | co-xa'                       |     |          |
|          | coll                          | INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling |     | 3sm      |
|          | 'his younger siblings'        |                              |     |          |
| (725) b. | co-xa'                        |                              | ca  | Xijam    |
|          | co-xa'                        |                              |     |          |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling  |                              | 3sm | m:name   |
|          | 'Xijam's younger sibling'     |                              |     |          |
| (725) c. | coxa'                         |                              | ca  | cwa'     |
|          | co-xa'                        |                              |     |          |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling  |                              | 3sm | this:m/f |
|          | 'this younger sibling of his' |                              |     |          |

The complete list of the basic forms of *co-* kinship terms, with their primary meanings is as follows: *te* 'my father or paternal uncle'; *'aji'* 'my older brother or maternal uncle'; *we* 'my older sister or paternal aunt'; *xa'* 'my younger sibling'; *pa'* 'my maternal grandmother'; *jeo'* 'my paternal grandparent or maternal grandfather'; *nowin* 'my sister's

daughter (male ego)'; and *nem* 'my brother-in-law (sister's husband)'. The remaining kinship terms take the form of *-xi'* nouns. There is one additional kinship term that neither uses *co-*, nor could be described as a relative clause. It refers to the child of a man: *panxita'* (child-1s) 'my child', *panxima* (child-2s) 'your (s) child', etc.

Kinship term constituents form a tighter phonological unit than other nouns derived from *co*. This can be seen in certain phonological changes which take place in the derived form, in particular, asyllabification and glottal deletion. For example, when *co* precedes '*aji*' 'my older brother', as in *cwaji* 'ca' 'his older brother', the word-initial glottal plosive on '*aji*' [payi?] is dropped, and *co* becomes a labialized dorso-velar plosive. This phonological change does not occur anywhere else when *co* precedes a word beginning with a glottal-vowel sequence, as shown in (726b).

(726) a.	Ma'	co	'aca	na?
	that:prox:hearer	INFL:m/frp/p	cry:s	3s:rp/p
	'Who is crying?'			
(726) b.	*Ma'	cwaca		na?
		co'aca		
	that:prox:hearer	INFL:m/frp/p-cry:s		3s:rp/p
	'Who is crying?'			

The first person plural VICS also show a more intimate phonological connection to the derived kinship term than in nominalized sentences: (1) the word-initial glottal on *'iri* '1pincl' and *'urut* '1pexcl', as well as word-final glottals where applicable, are dropped; (2) vocalic harmony occurs between the root and suffix; and (3) primary stress is transferred from the basic form of the kinship term to the last syllable of the VIC.

(727) a.

cotere' [kote'reʔ]

co-te-'iri'

INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-1pincl

'our (incl) father'

(727) b.

coturut [kotY'rY']

co-te-'urut

INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s-1pexcl

'our (excl) father'

(727) c.

cotete

co-te

INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s

'your (pl) father'

hwe

[ko'teh<sup>w</sup>e]

\*[kote'h<sup>w</sup>e]

2p

(728) a.

cwajiri' [kwaiy'i riʔ]

co-'aji'-'iri'

INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother:1s-1pincl

'our (incl) older brother'

- (728) b. cwajurut [k<sup>w</sup>ayu'ru<sup>l</sup>]  
 co-'aji'-'urut  
 INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother:1s-1pexcl  
 'our (excl) older brother'

- (728) c. cwaji' ma [k<sup>w</sup>a'yi? ma]  
 co-'aji' \*[k<sup>w</sup>ayi? 'ma]  
 INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother-1s 2s  
 'your (s) older brother'

Headless *co* relative clauses in which the relativized person or thing is nonsubject, and which function in NPS, could also be argued to be derived nouns. Such constructions are similar to *co*- kinship terms, except for the phonological changes, which kinship terms undergo (see above). In these relatives, the individual words continue to show word-level phonology. Compare the examples below:

- (729) a. Ma' co 'ari 'iri'  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p resist 1pincl  
 'Whom are we resisting?'  
 (729) b. \*Ma' cwariri'?  
 (730) a. Ma' co aji' 'iri'  
 that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p older:brother:1s 1pincl  
 'Who is our older brother?' (or 'Whom do we call older brother?')  
 (730) b. \*Ma' cwajiri'?

#### 2.2.2.2.2. Zero-derivation of nouns from verbs

A few nouns are derived from verbs simply by zero-derivation. This process is not productive, but it is semantically regular. We have the following examples: *horon* 'old person' is the plural, intense form of the verb *hwara'* 'to be big'; *mo'o* 'bearer of death news', when used as a verb, means 'to notify of a death and bring back the mourners'; *mowa* 'poison vine' means 'to kill fish' by crushing the poison vine and squeezing the juices into a dammed up area of the river; and *wac*, used by most sub-groups to signify 'knife', while meaning 'to cut' as a verb. In addition, many nouns (names of animals, birds, fish and objects) could be said to be derived from verbs, since they are onomatopoeic terms (direct speeches), which are handled as verbs in the language. See 4.1 for examples.

### 2.2.2.3. Zero-derivation of operator words

Operator words, which mark moods or movement in the sentence and occur in COMP, are zero-derived from various word classes: demonstrative, pronoun, preposition and verb. They are semantically regular in that their meanings are fairly transparent and their origins are clear:

*ma'* signals interrogation (from *ma'* 'that proximate to hearer')

*'om* signals negation (from *'om* 'to not exist')

*je* signals affirmation (from *je* 'third person neuter emphatic pronoun')

*'ac* signals indication of resemblance (from *'ac* 'to be like')

*mo* signals condition (possibly from *mo* 'list presentation')

*'ane* signals contraexpectation (from *'ane* 'to be different')

*pain* signals subordination and (?) distant past (from *pain* 'third person neuter preposition')

*ma'* has three alternate forms that are derived by means of the third person singular object suffix verbal inflectional morphemes: *-on* 'masculine', *-m* 'feminine', and *-in* 'neuter'. *Mon*, *mam* and *main* also signal interrogation.

*cain'* signals interrogation. It is derived from *cain* 'that neuter distal'. If we are correct in our analysis of this form, as deriving from *cain*, the glottal is added, meaning that this is not simply zero-derivation. See 2.2.6, where we describe verbs derived from nominals by this same process.

See 1.1.1.4.2, where we discuss operator words and their function in COMP sentences.

## 2.2.3. Compounding

### 2.2.3.1. Verbs

Compounding is easily the most productive process for deriving subtypes of verbs. Here we want to discuss the headedness of compounds, the causal-temporal-modificational organizing principles of compounds, and offer arguments that cases we are analysing as compounds cannot be analysed instead as incorporation of serial verbs. We should note at the outset that we do not write compounds as single words, following instead the practical orthography of the language, which separates each member of the compound.

#### 2.2.3.1.1. Compound-internal organization and headedness

We have observed up to five elements in a compound verb form (731f):

(731) a.            Mo            pa'            non                            jowin.  
    na-on  
    3s:rp/p-3sm                            monkey:species  
    'He ran and killed a *jowin* monkey.'

(731) b.            Maqui'                            pa'                            napari'    Xijam.

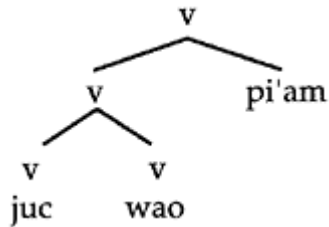
				na-pari'		
	come		upon	3s:rp/p-1pincl		m:name
	'Xijam came upon us.'					
(731) c.	Maqui'		hwap	na		tarama'.
	come		fast:s	3s:rp/p		man
	'The man came in a hurry.'					
(731) d.	Com		taxipa'	nana		hwijima'.
	sing		befriend	3p:rp/p		children
	'The children customarily sing.'					
(731) e.	Mi'		coromicat	nain na-in		carawa.
	give		think	3s:rp/p-3n		animal
	'She gives food reluctantly.'					
(731) f.	Pan'	corom	mama'	pin	'awi	nana.
	fall:s	enter	go:p	completely	completely	3p:rp/p
	'They all fell into the water.'					

Note that the first member of the compound is the semantic core. Other members of the compound either express result/effect of the action of the verb to their immediate left or restrict the meaning (i.e. modify) of that verbal element. Consider, for example (732):

(732) a.	Juc	wao	pi'am	ron ra-on	coxa' co-xa'		
	push	swing	sleep	2s:rf-3sm	INFL:m/frp/p	younger:brother	
	ma.						
	2s						
	'Swing your little brother to sleep.' (lit. 'Swing-sleep your little brother.')						
(732) b.	Juc		camara'	nain na-in	too		Xijam.
	push		fall:p	3s:rp/p-3n	metal		m:name
	'Xijam knocked down the cans.' (lit. 'Xijam pushed-fell the cans.')						
(732) c.	Querec	querec	mama'	nonon nana-on	'oro	wari'	To'o.
	see	see	go:p	3p:rp/p-3sm	coll	person	f:name
	'To'o saw the people off.' (lit. 'To'o saw-went the people.')						
(732) d.	Cut		mao	nanain	too		hwijima'.

			nana-in		
	take:p	go:s	3p:rp/p-3n	metal	children
	'The children took the shotgun away.' (lit. 'The children took-went the metal thing.')				
(732) e.	Mi'	hwara'	mam ma-m	pain	tan?
	give	big:s	2s:rp/p-3sf	prep:3n	leaf
	'Did you give her a lot of money?' (lit. 'Did you give-big her the money?')				
(732) f.	Com	com	maqui'	roron. ra-ocon	
	sing	sing	come	2s:rf-3pm	
	'Sing until they come.' (lit. 'Sing-come them.')				

These lead us to conclude that compounds are left-headed and left-branching:



#### 2.2.3.1.2. Alternative analyses

**2.2.3.1.2.1. Serial vs compounding** One plausible alternative to our compounding analysis would be to treat these as serial verbs rather than compound verbs. However, this analysis does not seem to be what is wanted here for semantic, syntactic and phonological reasons. Semantically, serial verb constructions should maintain the basic translation of each verb in the string, rarely 'adding' them together at the end. This indeed does seem to work for examples like (733):

(733)	Juc	wao	ron ra-on	coxa' co-xa'	ma.
	push	swing	2s:rf-3sm	INFL:m/frp/p younger:brother	2s
	'Swing your little brother.'				

You push your little brother and you (by pushing) swing him. But now notice the problem if we add the verb *pi'am* 'sleep' to this.

(734)	Juc	wao	pi'am	ron ra-on	coxa' co-xa'
	push	swing	sleep	2s:rf-3sm	INFL:m/frp/p younger:brother



ma.

2s

'Swing your little brother to sleep.'

There is a clear causative meaning to the verb *pi'am* (and arguably to *wao* 'swing' as well) in (734). If these were merely serial verbs, one might expect them all to 'unify' (*à la* Baker 1988), where they all shared the same subject. But in its non-serial/noncompound use, sleep could only have as its subject *coxa' ma* 'your little brother', not 'you' as it does here. Consider too the case of an intransitive verb compounded with/ followed by a transitive verb:

- (735) Com            *taxipa'*            nana            *hwijima'*.  
          sing            befriend            3p:rp/p            children  
          'The children customarily sing.'

*Taxipa'* 'befriend' would otherwise be a transitive verb. Used following an intransitive verb, however, it never has this transitive meaning but only the modificational, aspectual meaning 'customarily'. This type of semantic drift is typical of compounding, but not of incorporation. In the examples which follow, this type of semantic drift, or noncompositionality, is manifested in varying degrees.

- (736) a.    Hoc    *mi'*    *nam*    con    *hwam*    To'o    Hatem.  
                                  na-m  
          cook    give    3s:rp/p-3sf    prep:3sm    fish    f:name    f:name  
          'Hatem cooked the fish for To'o.'

- (736) b.            *Hexec*            *pa'*            *naparut.*  
                                  na-parut  
          dawn            upon            3s:rp/p-1pexcl  
          'The day dawned upon us.'

- (736) c.            *Mi'*            *coromicat*            *nain*            *carawa.*  
                                  na-in  
          give            think            3s:rp/p-3n            animal  
          'She gives food reluctantly.'

- (736) d.            *Quep*            'ac            *cain*            *na.*  
                                  ca-in  
          do            travel            3sm-3n            3s:rp/p  
          'Then he touched it.'

In example (736d), '*ac* 'travel' is interpreted as a sequential aspect, rather than a separate verb 'to travel'. This type of fact is compatible with either a compounding or suffixation analysis (where morphemes can function as verbs or aspectual suffixes depending on

their position in the word), but not, it seems to us, with a simple serial verb structure. Other more extreme examples are:

- |          |   |            |           |                  |        |
|----------|---|------------|-----------|------------------|--------|
| (737) a. | Tomi'   | querec     | te        | napa'<br>na-pa'  | pije'. |
|          | speak   | see        | father:1s | 3s:rp/p-1p       | child  |
|          | 'The child is happy (lit. 'speaks, sees and says "My father") with me.' |            |           |                  |        |
| (737) b. | Mi'   | pin        |           | na.              |        |
|          | give  | completely |           | 3s:rp/p          |        |
|          | 'He died (lit. gave completely).'                                       |            |           |                  |        |
| (737) c. | Xiram   |            | pa'       | napa'.<br>na-pa' |        |
|          | press:down  |            | upon      | 3s:rp/p-1s       |        |
|          | 'He feels sorry for (lit. presses down upon) me.'                       |            |           |                  |        |

Such semantic drift is expected under a compounding analysis, but not under a suffixation nor a serial verb analysis.

Phonologically, a string of independent words would receive stress on each word in the string. In the verbs above, however, this is not the case. Primary stress is placed only on the final verb of the string (with the verbs to the left receiving very light secondary stresses at most). If these form a single compound verb (or affixed verb), this is to be expected. It is harder to account for by a serial verb analysis. (At least it is less economical, since we need compounding already to handle semantically opaque cases like those in (737), and the 'serial verb' construction would be formally identical.)

Syntactically, the verbs in a serial verb construction should share the same subject. That is not the case here, however, if we merely take the literal meaning of each verb:

- |       |   |        |      |                  |        |          |
|-------|---|--------|------|------------------|--------|----------|
| (738) | Querec  | querec | mao  | 'inon<br>'ina-on | cawiji | pane.    |
|       | see   | see    | go:s | 1s:rp/p-3sm      | son:1s | rem:past |
|       | 'I saw my son off long ago.' (lit. 'I saw-went my son long ago.') |        |      |                  |        |          |

This sentence can be uttered even when the speaker (the subject referenced on the VIC) does not go anywhere. It is the son that is doing the going in (738), not the speaker. At the same time, however, the speaker is not causing the son to go, so a simple causative analysis would miss the mark. A compound analysis can handle this by assuming that the second verb is the result or object of the first, forming a single complex event of seeing and going of which the subject is the 'seer' (because as leftmost verb, 'see' will be the head of the compound and thus determine the subject of the verb, while the subject of 'go', the son, will be the object of the compound verb). In other words, while this has the superficial form of a causative, it is in fact a new, compound verb. Consider the case of a plural object:

- (739) Querec querec mama' 'inonon 'oro wari' pane.

'ina-ocon

see	see	go:p	1s:rp/p-3pm	coll	person	rem:past
-----	-----	------	-------------	------	--------	----------

'I saw the people off long ago.' (lit. 'I saw-went the people long ago.')

Here the suppletive plural form of the verb 'to go', *mama'*, is used. This follows if the construction in (739) is either a serial construction or a compound, since in the former case, '*oro wari*' 'the people' is the subject of *mama'* 'to go', and in the latter case, it is the object of the entire verb compound, *querec querec mama'*. But the compound analysis is again preferred, since without it, we would have to allow for a sequence of verbs inflected as one, but with different subjects. We conclude, therefore, based on semantics, syntax and phonology that multiverbal complexes in 'ON are verb compounds and not serial verbs. Before concluding, however, we also want to argue that our compounding analysis is also superior to an incorporation analysis.

**2.2.3.1.2.2. Incorporation vs compounding** Some structures which we have analysed as zero-derivation plus compounding, might instead be analysed as incorporation. (We will ignore the possibility of verbal incorporation here, since this would be nearly equivalent to a serial verb analysis, already rejected.) Consider (740):

- (740) a.            Wina                      quiji'                      mao                      na                      motor.
- wina-0
- |         |         |      |         |       |
|---------|---------|------|---------|-------|
| head-1s | descend | go:s | 3s:rp/p | motor |
|---------|---------|------|---------|-------|
- 'The motor turned upside down.'
- (740) b.    Cahwere                      waraju                      pin                      na                      waram
- cahwere-0
- |         |      |            |         |                |
|---------|------|------------|---------|----------------|
| tail-1s | play | completely | 3s:rp/p | monkey:species |
|---------|------|------------|---------|----------------|
- ma'.
- that:prox:hearer
- 'The *waram* monkey had a short tail (lit. played around at having a tail).'

However, we can safely reject this analysis, based on examples like (741):

- (741) a.    Ma'                      wirico                      na                      Pinom                      ma'.
- |       |          |         |        |                  |
|-------|----------|---------|--------|------------------|
| exist | emph:3sm | 3s:rp/p | m:name | that:prox:hearer |
|-------|----------|---------|--------|------------------|
- 'They came to where Pinom was.' (lit. 'There was Pinom.')
- (741) b.    'An                      pe                      wari'                      pin                      nain                      taxicam                      To'o.
- |       |          |  |  |  |
|-------|----------|--|--|--|
| na-in | taxi-cam |  |  |  |
|-------|----------|--|--|--|
- |        |         |        |            |            |          |        |
|--------|---------|--------|------------|------------|----------|--------|
| take:s | be:at:s | person | completely | 3s:rp/p-3n | leaf-3sf | f:name |
|--------|---------|--------|------------|------------|----------|--------|
- 'To'o stored her money away from people.'
- (741) c.    Capam'                                      ne                                      tain                                      mapac.

- ta'-in
- cornbread                      poss:1s                      1s:rf-3n                      corn
- 'I will make cornbread of the corn.' (lit. 'I will cornbread the corn.')
- (741) d.      Canoa                      ne                      nain                      pana
- na-in
- canoe                      poss:1s                      3s:rp/p-3n                      tree
- 'He made a canoe out of the tree.' (lit. 'He "canoeed" the tree.')
- (741) e.      Hwijam                      ne                      hwap      nain                      torot
- na-in
- fan:made:of:palm:leaf                      poss:1s      fast:s      3s:rp/p-3n      palm:species
- ma'.
- that:prox:speaker
- 'She made a fan quickly out of that palm leaf.'
- (741) f.              Wanxi'                      tarama'                      na                      Xijam.
- produce:child                      man                      3s:rp/p                      m:name
- 'Xijam produced a male child.'
- (741) g.      Hu                      capam'                      pin                      rain
- ra-in
- blow                      cornbread                      completely                      2s:rf-3n                      stone
- 'Turn the stones into cornbread!' (lit. 'Blow (hocus-pocus)-cornbread the stones!')
- (741) h.      Xec                      Rio Negro                      pin                      tara                      tococwam.
- toco-vcvm
- day                      place:name                      completely                      3s:rf                      face-3pf
- 'Tomorrow they will be on the Rio Negro.' (lit. 'Tomorrow their faces will "Rio Negro".')
- (741) i.      Mon                      xuc                      toc                      tarama'                      'ina                      tawi                      pa'ao'
- slowly:s                      squeeze                      drink                      man                      1s:rp/p                      honey                      afterwards
- ta                      wira!
- emph                      emph
- 'I stayed behind (as a man alone), preparing the honey (lit. squeezing it out) and drinking it!'
- (741) j.              Pain'                      narima'                      na                      farinha                      To'o.
- toast                      woman                      3s:rp/p                      manioc:meal                      f:name

'To'o, as a woman, toasted farinha.'

In the above examples, there is no possible verb-external source for the incorporated N. It cannot be the object, since that position is filled. Nor could the incorporated N have plausibly originated as possessor of the object. Thus we reject incorporation as the source of the compound verbs in (740)–(741), analysing them instead by (i) zero-derivation of the 'nominal' part of the compound ([N]→[V[N]]), followed by (ii) compounding.

Yet another argument against incorporation comes from our earlier discussion of zero-derivation of verbs from nouns (see 2.2.2.1.2.2). The form of the noun which appears to the left of the VIC is not predictable from anything to the right of the VIC, i.e. cannot be predicted via movement into the verb from pre-existent deep structure. Moreover, the form of the noun which appears in the verb affects the translation of the compound or simple denominalized verbs in only roughly predictable ways, much more easily accounted for by compounding, whose semantics are often less than fully compositional, than by incorporation, which, at least by Baker's (1988) account, would be expected to be fully compositional, with no semantic drift at all. We therefore reject incorporation as an analysis of the above verb forms.

#### 2.2.3.2. Nouns

Compounding is not a productive process for nouns. Nouns zero-derived from compounded verbs may appear like compounded forms, but we analyse the compounding as a feature of the verb prior to nominalization, rather than as a property of the noun itself (see 2.2.3.1 for a discussion of verb compounding). There is one potential case of noun derivation via compounding, however: the formation of subgroup names by combining '*oro* 'collective' and the noun. But even in these cases, it seems easiest just to analyse these as noun phrases which have been zero-derived to form nouns. The reason for this is that we have various cases of '*oro* modifying nouns in examples above, e.g. '*oro hwijima* 'all the children', '*oro narima* 'all the women' and '*oro carawa* 'all the animals'. Subgroup names look just like such phrases formally (some clan names involve deverbalized nouns as well), except that they are interpreted as proper names. Consider the following:

- (742) a.        '*Oro Nao* 'the Bats'
- (742) b.        '*Oro 'At* 'the Bones'
- (742) c.        '*Oro Mon* 'the Faeces'
- (742) d.        '*Oro Waram* 'the Waram Monkeys'
- (742) e.        '*Oro Waram Xijein* 'the Other Waram Monkeys'
- (742) f.        '*Oro Jowin* 'the Jowin Monkeys'
- (742) g.        '*Oro Win* 'the Win ?Palm Species'
- (742) h.        '*Oro Taracom* 'the Bamboos'
- (742) i.        '*Oro Mawin* 'the Urucũs'
- (742) j.        '*Oro Xina* 'the Suns'

(742) k. 'Oro 'Eo 'the Burpers'

(742) l. 'Oro Cao' Orowaji 'the Eaters of Green Things'

(742) m. 'Oro 'Eo 'Ao Wao 'the Burpers-Creepers (/Barkers/Criers)-Screamers' (name given by Wari' to recently contacted Tupi group, speaking a dialect of Kawahib)

(742) n. 'Oro Caracat 'the Social Law Breakers'

(742) o. 'Oro Corom 'the Enterers'

(742) p. 'Oro Nene 'the Whiners'

People do not interpret expressions like 'Oro Nao' as 'all the bats', but as proper names. So we will analyse these as in (743):

(743) [N [Np 'Oro Nao'] ] N

(Aside from the interpretation of such terms as proper names, we have no other evidence that these are in fact zero-derived nouns instead of NPS.) The only other potential cases of nominal compounding are the reduplicated cases in 2.2.4.2 as compounds. See that section for discussion.

## 2.2.4. Reduplication

### 2.2.4.1. Reduplication of verbs

Reduplication is very productive in 'ON. It ranges from monosyllabic and disyllabic reduplication to repetition of the entire verb.

#### 2.2.4.1.1. Plural/intensive reduplication

Most plural, intense forms of verbs are derived from their singular forms by means of partial reduplication. This is accomplished either by simply reduplicating the cv of the stressed syllable once or twice (this process usually takes place with transitive verbs), or by reduplicating the cv of the stressed syllable with a cvrv pattern (this process usually takes place with intransitive verbs). There are also many singular and plural pairs of verbs formed by suppletion. Approximately one third are formed by suppletion, one third by simply reduplicating the cv of the stressed syllable, and one third by reduplicating with the cvrv pattern. Note (744e), where the plural, intense form is the base form for a form of yet greater intensity.

(744) a. wac 'cut' (singular)

wawac 'cut' (plural)

(744) b. cao' 'eat' (singular)

	<i>cacacao'</i>	'eat' (plural)
(744) c.	<i>cat</i>	'break' (singular)
	<i>caracat</i>	'break' (plural)
(744) d.	<i>hwet</i>	'appear' (singular)
	<i>hwerehwet</i>	'appear' (plural)
(744) e.	<i>xin</i>	'throw' (singular)
	<i>wixicao'</i>	'throw' (plural)
	<i>wixicaracao'</i>	'throw' (plural)

#### 2.2.4.1.2. INFL and reduplication

INFL morphemes are often omitted when the verb is reduplicated. This could be either a morphological fact, that INFL and reduplication are in complementary distribution, but it seems more likely to have a semantic account, namely that with progressive aspect marked in reduplication, INFL is unnecessary. INFL is absent in each of the verb-reduplicated clauses below, where it would have otherwise been expected.

(745) a.	Main			ca'	wana	nequequem		'ac	'ac
	ma'-in								
	that:prox:hearer-3n			this:n	path	poss:3pf		travel	travel
	<i>cacama</i>			<i>ma'</i> .					
	3pf			that:prox:hearer					
	'There is the path they travelled on.'								
(745) b.	Ton	ho	'ac	cacain	na	wanaji		<i>ja'</i>	<i>ja'</i>
				caca-in		wanaji-0			
	chop	floats	travel	3pm-3n	3s:rp/p	path-3n		splash	splash
pe	nein		com	ca'		na		cocon.	
be:at:s	poss:3n		water	this:n		3s:rp/p		prep:3pm	
	'Then they swept the path of bathing, thus it was by them.' (lit. '...the path where the splashing of water (took place),...')								
(745) c.	Je		'i ma'		<i>cao'</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>cao'</i>	<i>mao</i>	caca 'oro wari'.
	emph:3n	n	that:prox:hearer		eat	go:s	eat	go:s	3pm coll person
	'That is what the people eat.'								
(745) d.	'Ac	cote			ne	pana	<i>xao</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>xao</i>
		co-te							
	like	INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s			3n	tree	pound	be:at:p	pound

<i>to</i>	caca	'oro	taramaxicon	cwa'	napa'	pawin ca'.
					na-pa'	
be:at:p	3pm	coll	chief	this:m/f	3s:rp/p-1s	height this:n
'The sky is to me like the wooden thing chiefs sit on.'						
(745) e.	Macan'	ma',		'ac	wijimain wijima-in	pana <i>xat</i>
	dirt	that:prox:hearer		like	smallness-3n	tree stand:s
<i>xat</i>	qui'		wa	ca',	'ac <i>xat</i>	<i>xat</i>
stand:s	coming:this:way		inf	this:n	like stand:s	stand:s
qui'		ne	wijimain wijima-in		me ca'	napa'
coming:this:way		3n	smallness-3n		bird this:n	3s:rp/p-1s
macan'			ma'.			
dirt			that:prox:hearer			
'The earth, it (is) like a small tree that one stands on, like (what) a small bird stands on, thus is the earth to me.'						

#### 2.2.4.2. Reduplication of nouns

Nouns can also undergo derivation via reduplication, to derive names or descriptive terms.

(746) a.	homa	homa
	homa-0	homa-0
	fat-1s	fat-1s
	'fish species that is very fat'	
(746) b.	capija	capija
	capija-0	capija-0
	mouth-1s	mouth-1s
	'talker'	
(746) c.	Towira	Towira
	towira-0	towira-0
	testicles-1s	testicles-1s
	'legendary character who has enlarged testicles'	
(746) d.	matacon	matacon
	mata-con	mata-con



	sleepiness-3sm			sleepiness-3sm		
	'cat'					
(746) e.	cawa			cawa		
	toy:arrow			toy:arrow		
	'snake species'					
(746) f.	xut	'om	xut	'om	ma'	
	walks	not:exist	walks	not:exist	that:prox:hearer	
	'crippled one'					
(746) g.	mi'	pin	mi'	pin	ma'	
	give	completely	give	completely	that:prox:hearer	
	'dead one'					

We have several examples of iterative derived nouns, where the base is an onomatopoeic term. The base form represents the sound the object makes. We have described them here since, as in section 1.1.1.1, onomatopoeic forms are usually verb-like. Note that *cucuruc* in (747e) is only partially iterative.

(747) a.	too	noise:metal:makes:when:hit	too	noise:metal:makes:when:hit
	'boat with a diesel motor'			
(747) b.	wio	noise:hawk:makes	wio	noise:hawk:makes
	'hawk species'			
(747) c.	'ahoo	noise:jaguar:makes	'ahoo	noise:jaguar:makes
	'jaguar species'			
(747) d.	hoi	sound:of:bubbling:water	hoi	sound:of:bubbling:water
	'bubbling spring of water'			
(747) e.	cucuruc	noise:parakeet:makes		
	'parakeet species'			

Ergativity seems to be a factor in iterated verbs forming nouns. When the base form is a transitive verb, the derived form refers to its object (748a–b); when it is an intransitive

verb, it refers to its subject (748c–d). The example in (748b) could possibly be derived from the onomatopoeic formative *'ein*, the sound this particular frog species makes.

- |          |                              |         |
|----------|------------------------------|---------|
| (748) a. | 'itac                        | 'itac   |
|          | swallow                      | swallow |
|          | 'pill'                       |         |
| (748) b. | 'ein                         | 'ein    |
|          | avoid                        | avoid   |
|          | 'frog species to be avoided' |         |
| (748) c. | tomi'                        | tomi'   |
|          | talk                         | talk    |
|          | 'radio'                      |         |
| (748) d. | 'orot                        | 'orot   |
|          | sprout                       | sprout  |
|          | 'bearded one'                |         |

### 2.2.5. /p/-derivation

A few cases of verbs derived from nominals (and one derived from a demonstrative) involve the addition of a glottal (or globalized nasal as in (749a)) to the end of the noun to derive the verb. No other phonological changes are observed.

- |          |                      |                |
|----------|----------------------|----------------|
| (749) a. | mahweri              |                |
|          | 'deserted field'     |                |
| (749) b. | Mahwerin'            | nanaparut.     |
|          |                      | nana-parut     |
|          | abandon              | 3p:rp/p-1pexcl |
|          | 'They abandoned us.' |                |

In (750) the verb *cawain'* 'to dry' seems to be derived from the *-xi'* noun *cawaxi'* 'dry season'. Although we have no record of *cawaxi'* occurring in an inflected form, *cawain* would be its third person neuter inflection.

- |          |                        |            |         |        |
|----------|------------------------|------------|---------|--------|
| (750) a. | cawaxi'                |            |         |        |
|          | 'dry season'           |            |         |        |
| (750) b. | Cawain'                | pin        | na      | wom.   |
|          | dry                    | completely | 3s:rp/p | cotton |
|          | 'The clothes are dry.' |            |         |        |
| (751) a. |                        | 'um        |         |        |

			'finger'	
(751) b.	'Um'	napa'		To'o.
		na-pa'		
	pinch	3s:rp/p-1s		f:name
	'To'o pinched me.'			

In (752), the operator word *cain'* 'interrogation' seems to be derived from the demonstrative *cain* 'that neuter distal':

(752) a.	cain				
	'that neuter distal'				
(752) b.	Cain'	ca	maqui'	xi'	hwe?
	that:n:distal	INFL:nrp/p	come	1pincl:rf	2p:rp/p
	'When will you come?' (lit. 'When do you (say), 'We will come'??')				

### 2.2.6. Derivation from verbal inflectional clitics

There are two kinship terms and one verb which might have been derived from verbal inflectional clitics, although this is still a bit speculative. It seems that the noun *na'* 'my mother' could be derived from the third person realis past/present VIC *na*; the noun *nem* 'my brother-in-law' could be derived from the realis past/present VIC *na* 'third person singular' with the second person singular object, *nem* 'third person singular to second person singular' respectively; and the verb *nam'/nanam'* 'to be pregnant' could be derived from the third person singular and/or plural VICS, *na* and *nana*, with third person singular and/or plural objects, *-m* and *vcvm*. In the case of *na'* and *nam'/nanam'*, it could be said that they are derived by the addition of a glottal, as discussed in 2.2.5. In the case of *nem*, it could be said that it is derived via zero-derivation.

Not only are these terms identical to their basic forms, but the first person plural forms of *na'* 'my mother', *xi'* 'our (inclusive) mother' and *xut* 'our (exclusive) mother', are exactly identical to the forms of the first person plural realis future VICS. On the other hand, this similarity breaks down in the second and third person inflections of *na'* 'my mother', where the kinship term follows the pattern of regular *-xi'* nouns: *jim* 'your (s) mother', *jicon* 'his mother', *jicam* 'her mother', *jinain* 'its mother', *juhu* 'your (p) mother', *jicocon* 'their (m) mother', and *jicacam* 'their (f) mother'. *Nem* 'my brother-in-law' inflects for possession like *co-* kinship terms: *conem ma* 'your (s) brother-in-law', *conem ca* 'his brother-in-law', etc.

The literal meanings of the VICS would lead culturally and etymologically quite naturally to the kinship terms, since these derived forms reflect two of the most important aspects of the basic social structure of this matriarchal society: that of mother and sister. 'Mother' might reasonably be thought of simply as one who is, who exists: ego needs no special term (noun or verb) to refer to her; she just is, hence the simple use of the third person singular realis past/present VIC, *na* 'he or she (is)'. In like manner, male ego's sister is his most honoured and important kin, and he needs no special term to refer to her

husband. He simply uses the third person singular to second person singular VIC, *nem* 'he to you (s)'. As for the verb *nam'/nanam'* 'to be pregnant', the origins ('he to her' and 'them to them feminine') are also clear.

(753) a.

na  
3s:rp/p  
'she'

(753) b.

'Om	ca	noc	tam	na'.
			ta'-m	
not:exist	INFL:nrp/p	dislike	1s-3sf	mother

'I love my mother.' (lit. 'I do not dislike my mother.')

(754) a.

nem  
na-em  
3s:rp/p-2s  
'he to you'

(754) b.

Maqui'	na	nem.
come	3s:rp/p	brother-in-law

'My brother-in-law came.'

(755) a.

nam  
na-m  
3s:rp/p-3sf  
'he to her'

(755) b.

Nam'	na	Hatem.
pregnant:s	3s:rp/p	f:name

'Hatem is pregnant.'

(756) a.

nanam or	nanam
na-vcvm	nana-vcvm
3s:rp/p-3pf	3p:rp/p-3pf

'he to them (f)'/ 'they to them (f)'

(756) b.

Nanam'	nana	'oro	narima'.
pregnant:p	3p:rp/p	coll	woman

'The women are pregnant.'

# Chapter 3

## Phonology

### 3.1. PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTS)

#### 3.1.1. Distinctive segments

/p/, /t/, /tʰ/, /k/, /kʰ/, /ʔ/, /tʃ/, /h/, /hʰ/, /m/, /mʔ/, /n/, /nʔ/, /f/, /w/, /y/, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /ö/, /Y/

#### 3.1.2. Description of distinctive segments

##### 3.1.2.1. Nonsyllabics

##### 3.1.2.1.1. Plosives and affricate

(1) /P/ 'p'

[p] voiceless bilabial plosive occurs in all positions in the word. It is unreleased when occurring word-finally.

- (757) a. piwa [pi'wa]  
agouti:species
- (757) b. mapac [ma'pa<sup>k</sup>]  
'corn'
- (757) c. Quep nain. ['ke<sup>p</sup> nã]  
'He touched it.'

[ʔp] sequence of glottal plosive followed by voiceless bilabial plosive fluctuates with [p] word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

(2) /t/ 't'

[t] voiceless apico-dental plosive occurs in all positions in the word. It is unreleased when occurring word-finally.

- (758) a. tato[ta'to]  
'honey species'
- (758) b. picot [pi'ko<sup>t</sup>]  
'armadillo species'

[ʔt] sequence of glottal plosive followed by voiceless apico-dental plosive fluctuates with [t] word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

[tʃ] voiceless apico-dental plosive and voiceless bilabial trilled plosive occurs as a single sound word-initially and word-medially. This sound occurs only before /o/ and /Y/. It sometimes occurs in variation with [t] and is lexically restricted, occurring in only approximately twenty-five words in our entire corpus. Some idiolects use only [t]. Given the fact that it is heard almost exclusively from older speakers, [tʃ] seems to be evolving into [t].

(759) a. totowe' [tʃotʃo'weʔ] or [toto'weʔ]  
'chicken'

(759) b. Tu na. [tʃY na] or [tY na]  
'It is going.' (said of a motor)

(3) /k/ 'c, qu'

[k] voiceless dorso-velar plosive occurs in all positions in the word. It is unreleased when occurring word-finally. In accordance with Portuguese orthography, it is written as *c* before /a/, /o/, and /Y/, and as *qu* before /e/ and /i/.

(760) a. Conco' na. [kon'koʔ na]  
'He has dysentery.'

(760) b. cataxic [kata'tʃi<sup>k</sup>]  
'pig species'

[ʔk] sequence of glottal plosive followed by voiceless dorsal-velar plosive fluctuates with [k] word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

(4) /k<sup>w</sup>/ 'cw'

[kw] voiceless dorso-velar labialized plosive occurs word-initially and word-medially.

(761) a. cwari' [k<sup>w</sup>a'riʔ]  
'armadillo species'

(761) b. tocwa [to'k<sup>w</sup>a]  
'corndrink'

(761) c. caram cwa' [karam 'k<sup>w</sup>aʔ]  
'they (feminine)'

[ʔk<sup>w</sup>] sequence of glottal plosive followed by voiceless dorso-velar labialized plosive fluctuates with [k<sup>w</sup>] word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

(5) /ʔ/ '/'

[ʔ] glottal plosive occurs in all positions in the word. It is deleted preceding [h] glottal fricative.

- (762) a. 'Awaran 'urut. [ʔawa'ran ʔʏ,ɾʏ']  
'We cried.'
- (762) b. Pi'am maʔ [pi'ʔam ma]  
'Are you sleeping?'
- (762) c. Pe' nana. ['peʔ na,na]  
'They are hungry.'
- (762) d. Mama' hweʔ [ma'ma h<sup>w</sup>e]  
'Are you going?'
- (762) e. Tapa' ho' napa'. [ta'paʔ hoʔ na,paʔ]  
'It is hurting me now.'
- (762) f. Maqui' maqui' xam' hweʔ [ma,kiʔ ma,kiʔ 'tʃamʔ h<sup>w</sup>e]  
'Did you all come?'

Glottal stop can be either phonemic or nonphonemic in different contexts. The following minimal pairs illustrate it occurring phonemically word-finally, following vowels and nasals.

- (763) a. Xa' mao na wiri. ['ʃaʔ mā<sup>δ</sup> na ʔwi,ɾi]  
'The wasps are swarming.'
- (763) b. Xa mao na wiri. ['ʃa mā<sup>δ</sup> na ʔwi,ɾi]  
'The wasp is hiding.'
- (764) a. We' na. ['ʔweʔ na]  
'She is vomiting.'
- (764) b. We nam. ['ʔwe nam]  
'She calls her "my older sister".'
- (765) a. Mi' na memem. ['m<sup>b</sup>iʔ na m<sup>b</sup>I,m<sup>b</sup>Im]  
'He gives fruit.'
- (765) b. Mi na memem. [m<sup>b</sup>I na m<sup>b</sup>I,m<sup>b</sup>Im]  
'The fruit (tree) is producing.'
- (766) a. To' nonon wom. ['toʔ no,non 'ʔwom]  
'They are washing clothes.'
- (766) b. To nanain xirim. ['to na,nā<sup>ɪ</sup>n tsi'rim]  
'They are in the house.'
- (767) a. 'U' na. ['ʔʏʔ na]  
'It is an ant.'

- (767) b. 'U na. [ʔʏ na]  
'He is screaming.'
- (768) a. Tom na. [ʔom na]  
'It is burning.'
- (768) b. Tom' na. [ʔomʔ na]  
'It is a *tom*' (monkey species).'
- (769) a. Mi' pin na. [mʰiʔ ʔin na]  
'He died.'
- (769) b. Querec pin' na. [ke, rek ʔinʔ na]  
'He recognizes.'

Glottal plosive is also phonemic intervocalically within words.

- (770) a. Ma'e. [maʔe]  
'Okay.' (spoken by a woman)
- (770) b. To'o [toʔo]  
'feminine name'
- (770) c. Ma'am nana. [maʔam na, na]  
'They are full.'
- (770) d. 'Iri'o [ʔiriʔoʔ]  
'Really?'
- (770) e. jima'u [ʔyimaʔʏʔ]  
'bee species'

Many words, especially monosyllabic words, begin with a glottal plosiveconsonant sequence, involving plosives, affricates and nasals. In these words, the glottal plosiveconsonant sequence fluctuates with the single consonant of the respective sequences, and we analyse the [ʔc] sequence as an allophone variant of the relevant c. In addition, a glottal plosive always precedes word-initial semivowels, even in polysyllabic words.

There seems to be some correlation between words beginning with a glottal-consonant sequence in the 'Oro Nao' dialect and words that, in other dialects ('Oro Waram, 'Oro Mon, 'Oro Waram Xijein, 'Oro 'At) begin with ʔa: *com* [ʔkom] 'water', *te* [ʔte] 'my father', *xa'* [ʔtʃaʔ] 'my younger sibling', and *jin'* [ʔyinʔ] 'to be afraid', in the 'Oro Nao' dialect are 'acom [ʔa'kom], 'ate [ʔa'te], 'axa' [ʔa'tʃaʔ], and 'ajin' [ʔa'yinʔ] in the other dialects. This correlation, however, is not consistent throughout the language: *jowin* [ʔyo'win] 'monkey species', *waram* [ʔwa'ram] 'monkey species', and *pi* [ʔpi] 'thorn' are pronounced the same in all dialects.



In some idiolects, especially of children, word-final glottal plosives, glottalized nasals, and glottal-consonant sequences are not pronounced at all. Adults' pronunciation is variable. Adults and children always pronounce word-initial glottal plosives preceding vowels at the beginning of a word and usually intervocalically within words (although glottal stop is sometimes replaced by length on the preceding vowel or following consonant). Adults are fairly consistent in pronouncing word final glottal plosives and glottalized nasals.

(6) /tʃ/ 'x'

[tʃ] voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate and [ʃ] voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative occur word-initially and -medially in fluctuation with one another. It has a greater tendency to appear as fricative [ʃ] before /a/, /e/, and /i/, than before /o/ and /Y/. In some idiolects, it is fronted and its fricative pronunciation is dominant. It may also appear as [ʃtʃ], as in (771e).

(771) a. xe [tʃe] or [ʃe]  
'fire/firewood'

(771) b. Xaxi' na. [tʃa'tʃiʔ na] or [ʃa'ʃʔ na]  
'He is thin.'

(771) c. panxica [pantʃi'ka] or [panʃi'ka]  
'his son'

(771) d. naxo' [na'tʃoʔ] or [na'ʃoʔ]  
'fish species'

(771) e. xuxuru [tʃytʃY'ɾY] or [ʃYʃtY'ɾY] or [ʃytʃY'ɾY]  
'chiggers'

[ʔtʃ] sequence of glottal plosive followed by voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate fluctuates with [tʃ] word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

[ʔʃ] sequence of glottal plosive followed by voiceless lamino-alveolar plosive fluctuates with [ʃ] word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

See 3.1.2.2.2, where we suggest the possibility of /tʃ/ occurring as [ɪ] voiceless high close front unrounded vowel in a word-final position.

### 3.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

(1) /h/ 'h'

[h] voiceless glottal fricative occurs word-initially and word-medially.

(772) a. hotowa [hoto'wa]  
'wind'

(772) b. cahao [ka'hi<sup>h̥</sup>]  
'porpoise'

(2) /h<sup>w</sup>/ 'hw'

[h<sup>w</sup>] voiceless glottal labialized fricative occurs word-initially and word-medially.

- (773) a. Hwarahwap nana. [h<sup>w</sup>afa'h<sup>w</sup>apnana]  
'They walked fast.'
- (773) b. tohwijan [toh<sup>w</sup>i'yan]  
'fish species'

3.1.2.1.3. *Nasals*

## (1) /m/ 'm'

[m] voiced bilabial nasal occurs in all positions in the word.

[m<sup>b</sup>] sequence of voiced bilabial nasal followed by voiced bilabial plosive fluctuates with [m] syllable-initially, more frequently before /a/, and less frequently before the other vowels. It has a greater tendency toward this fluctuation in stressed syllables.

- (774) a. caxima **[katʃi'ma]**  
'my foot'
- (774) b. Maram na. [ma'fam na]  
'It is soft.'
- (774) c. Moin' na. **['mō'nʔ na]** or **['m<sup>b</sup>ō'nʔ na]**  
'It is full.'
- (774) d. homiri [homi'fi] or [hombi'fi]  
'its filth'

**[ʔm]** sequence of glottal plosive and voiced bilabial nasal fluctuates with [m] word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

## (2) /mʔ/ 'm'

**[mʔ]** voiced bilabial glottalized nasal occurs word-finally only. Note the near minimal pair in the examples below:

- (775) a. capam' **[ka'pamʔ]**  
'cornbread'
- (775) b. copum **[ko'pym]**  
'your (s) manioc'

## (3) /n/ 'n'

[n] voiced apico-dental nasal occurs in all positions in the word.

[n<sup>d</sup>] sequence of voiced apico-dental nasal followed by voiced apico-dental plosive fluctuates with [n] syllable-initially, more frequently before /a/, and less frequently before the other vowels. It has a greater tendency toward this fluctuation in stressed syllables.

- (776) a. naran **[na'ran]**  
'light'

- (776) b. nowi [no'wi] or [n<sup>d</sup>o'wi]  
'electric eel'
- (776) c. wina [wi'na] or [wi'n<sup>d</sup>a]  
'my head'

**[nʔ]** sequence of glottal plosive and voiced apico-dental nasal fluctuates with [n] word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

(4) /nʔ/ 'n'

**[nʔ]** voiced apico-dental glottalized nasal occurs word-finally only. Note the near minimal pair in the examples below:

- (777) a. 'An tiquin' na. [**ʔan ti'kinʔ na**]  
'She is carrying.'
- (777) b. Xiquin na. [**tʃi'kin na**]  
'It is a *traíra* (fish species).'

#### 3.1.2.1.4. Liquid

/r/ 'r'

[ɾ] voiced apico-alveolar flap occurs utterance-medially only.

- (778) a. tarama' [**tara'maʔ**]  
'man'
- (778) b. terere' [**tere'reʔ**]  
'butterfly'
- (778) c. Quep rain, ['kɛp fai]  
'Hold it!'

#### 3.1.2.1.5. Semivowels

(1) /w/ 'w'

[w] voiced close back rounded semivowel occurs word-medially:

- (779) a. tawi [ta'wi]  
'honey'
- (779) b. cowo [co'wo]  
'frog species'
- (779) c. tawirinain [tawi fi'nã<sup>ɿ</sup>]  
'its end'
- (779) d. towa [to'wa]  
'turtle'

**[ʔw]** sequence of glottal plosive followed by voiced close back rounded semivowel occurs word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

- (780) a.                   wari' **[ʔwa'riʔ]**  
                  'person'
- (780) b.                   werem **[ʔwi'rim]**  
                  'monkey species'
- (780) c.                   Wa' mao na. **[ʔwaʔ mǎ<sup>h</sup>na]**  
                  'He arrived.'
- (780) d.                   wi **[ʔwi]**  
                  'mat'

(2) /y/ 'j'

[y] voiced close front unrounded semivowel occurs word-medially:

- (781) a.                   maji [ma'yi]  
                  'Let's go!'
- (781) b.                   taraju **[tara'yy]**  
                  'my ear'
- (781) c.                   macajo [maka 'yo]  
                  'frog species'

**[ʒ]** voiced lamino-alveolar fricative fluctuates with [y] before /i/.

- (782)                   maji [ma'yi] or **[ma'ʒi]**  
                  'Let's go!'

**[ʔy]** sequence of glottal plosive followed by [y] voiced close front unrounded semivowel occurs word-initially. See the discussion following (770).

- (783) a.                   ji **[ʔyi]**  
                  'palm species'
- (783) b.                   jowin **[ʔyo'win]**  
                  'monkey species'
- (783) c.                   Jo' na naran. **[ʔyoʔ na na,ran]**  
                  'The light went out.'

**[ʔdʒ]** sequence of glottal plosive followed by **[dʒ]** voiced lamino-alveolar affricate fluctuates with **[ʔy]** word-initially.

- (784) a. jowin [ʔyo'win] or [ʔdʒo'win]  
'monkey species'
- (784) b. Jin'ina. [ʔyinʔ ʔi,na] or [ʔdʒinʔ ʔi,na]  
'I am afraid.'

### 3.1.2.2. Syllabics

#### 3.1.2.2.1. Plain vowels

##### (1) /i/ 'i'

[i] high close front unrounded vowel occurs in all positions in the word. In some idiolects, it glides slightly to [ə] in open stressed syllables, especially those that occur as single words in an utterance, or utterance-final.

- (785) a. xim [tʃim]  
'night'
- (785) b. Hi na. [hi na]  
'He has a cold.'
- (785) c. ji [ʔyi] or [ʔyiʔ]  
'palm species'
- (785) d. 'Om napa' pi. [ʔom na,paʔ 'pi] or [ʔom na,paʔ 'piʔ]  
'I have no fish hook.'

[I] high open front unrounded vowel fluctuates with [i] in unstressed syllables when the vowel in the following syllable or syllables is [i].

- (786) a. Piquirim na. [piki'fim na] or [pɪkɪ'ɪm na]  
'It is rocking.'
- (786) b. tiquirat [tiki'fat] or [tɪkɪ'rat]  
'frog species'
- (786) c. pira [pi'fa] but not \*[pɪ'ra]  
'far'

##### (2) /e/ 'e'

[ɛ] mid open front unrounded vowel occurs before all plosives but the glottal plosive; it also occurs in unstressed syllables in harmony with [ɛ] when /e/ is in the stressed syllable closed by a plosive other than glottal plosive.

- (787) a. xec [tsek]  
'day'
- (787) b. Quep nain. [ʔkep nãɪ]

'He touched it.'

- (787) c. 'Ara wet na. [ʔara 'ʔwɛt na]  
'It is still going on.'

- (787) d. Hwrehwet mama' nana. [h<sup>w</sup>ɛɛ, h<sup>w</sup>ɛt ma'maʔ na, na]  
'They went out.'

[ɪ] high open front unrounded vowel occurs before nasals; it also occurs in unstressed syllables in harmony with [ɛ] when /e/ is in the stressed syllable closed by a nasal.

- (788) a. comem [ko'm<sup>b</sup>ɪm]  
'deer species'

- (788) b. Teteren na. [tɪtɪ'ɪm na]  
'It is numb.'

- (788) c. Terem' na. [tɪ'ɪmʔ na]  
'He is lying down.'

[e] mid close front unrounded vowel occurs in all other positions in the word. In some idiolects, it glides slightly to [ə] in open stressed syllables, especially those that occur as single words in an utterance, or utterance-final.

- (789) a. terere' [tere'reʔ]  
'butterfly'

- (789) b. me [m<sup>b</sup>e] or [m<sup>b</sup>eʔ]  
'bird'

- (789) c. Maqui' na we. [ma'kiʔ na ,ʔweʔ]  
'My older sister came.'

(3) /a/ 'a'

[a] low open front unrounded vowel occurs in all positions in the word.

- (790) a. Pa rain, [pa ɫaʔ]  
'Open it!'

- (790) b. tocwaju [tok<sup>w</sup>a'yɪ]  
'my corndrink'

- (790) c. Tan' nana. ['tanʔ na, na]  
'They arrived.'

- (790) d. Wap nanam. ['ʔwa<sup>p</sup> na, nam]  
'They spanked them.'

(4) /o/ 'o'

[u] high open back rounded vowel fluctuates with [o] in unstressed syllables when the vowel in the stressed syllable is not /o/.

- (791) a. tocoi [to'k<sup>w</sup>i] or [tu'k<sup>w</sup>i]  
'its seed'
- (791) b. Cocoroc nana. [koko'fo<sup>k</sup> na-na] but not \*[kuku'ro<sup>k</sup> na,na]  
'They trembled.'

[o] mid close back rounded vowel occurs in all positions of the word. In some idiolects, it glides slightly to [ə] in open stressed syllables, especially those that occur as single words in an utterance, or utterance-final.

- (792) a. com[kom]  
'water'
- (792) b. tato [ta'to] or [ta'to<sup>ə</sup>]  
'bee species'
- (792) c. 'opacon [ʔopa'ko<sup>n</sup>]  
'its hardness'
- (792) d. Mija na to. [m<sup>b</sup>i'ya na ·to] or [m<sup>b</sup>i'ya na ·to]  
'There are lots of gourds.'

(5) /Y/ 'u'

[Y] high open front rounded vowel occurs in all positions in the word. In some idiolects, it glides slightly to [ə] in open stressed syllables, especially those that occur as single words in an utterance, or utterance-final.

- (793) a. Wu na. [ʔwY na]  
'He has lice.'
- (793) b. xuxuru [tʃYttʃY'trY] or [tʃYttʃY'trY<sup>ə</sup>]  
'chiggers'
- (793) c. cucurup [kyky'ryp]  
'grub species'
- (793) d. 'u'um [ʔY'ʔYm]  
'early morning'
- (793) e. panaju [panda'yY] or [panda'yY<sup>ə</sup>]  
'my stick'
- (793) f. Caxi napa' xu. [ka'tʃi na,paʔ 'tsY] or [ka'tʃi na,paʔ 'tsY<sup>ə</sup>]  
'My tooth hurts me.'

(6) /ö/ 'ö'

[ö] mid close front rounded vowel occurs in all positions in the word. It is a rare phoneme and in some idiolects, it seems to be evolving into [e] in open syllables (794a–b), and [Y] in closed syllables (794c–d). Note however (794e), where [ö] occurs in an open syllable in 'ON, [ö'hö] or [Y'hY]; but this word is pronounced [a'he] in the 'Oro Waram dialect. (These fluctuations occur in transcriptions by both DE and BK.)

- (794) a. camö [ka'mö] or [ka'me]  
'capybara' (large, rodent-like animal)
- (794) b. Tocarom Mao Tö [toko-fom mā<sup>ö</sup> 'tö] or [toko-fom mā<sup>ö</sup> 'te]  
'masculine name'
- (794) c. Jöc rain, ['yök fā<sup>i</sup>] or ['yyk rā<sup>i</sup>]  
'Push it!'
- (794) d. Cöc höröp nain. [kō<sup>k</sup> hō<sup>i</sup>löp nā<sup>i</sup>] or [ky<sup>k</sup> hy<sup>i</sup>ry<sup>p</sup>nā<sup>i</sup>]  
'He pulled it out.'
- (794) e. 'ähö na. [ʔö'hö na] or [ʔY'hY na]  
'He coughs.'

### 3.1.2.2.2. Nasalized vowels

Nasalization of vowels occurs only on surface diphthongs. In fact, there are only a few diphthongs which are not nasalized. The exceptions to nasalization of diphthongs are a few examples of plain diphthongs ending with /i/ [I]. They occur in seemingly open, stressed syllables (see examples in (797) and (799) below), and the voiced nonsyllabic [i] becomes the voiceless [I]. Alternatively, it is possible that the nonsyllabic [i] is actually an allophone of /tʃ/. Although this analysis would eliminate an anomaly, allowing us to say that all diphthongs are nasalized, it would be the only instance of /tʃ/ occurring syllable-finally. It would, however, be no less a rarity than plain diphthongs. This admittedly needs further study.

(1) [ē<sup>i</sup>] 'ei'

[ē<sup>i</sup>] diphthong of mid open front unrounded nasalized vowel followed by voiced high close front unrounded vowel. Although [ē<sup>i</sup>] is always followed by /n/ or /nʔ/ in the accepted orthography, it is always pronounced as an open syllable or one closed by a glottal plosive. It always occurs in the stressed syllable of the word. We have no record of the plain diphthong, [e<sup>i</sup>], occurring in an open syllable (see other diphthongs ending in [i]), but it may exist.

- (795) a. xijein [tsi'yē<sup>i</sup>]  
'its other one (of a different species)'
- (795) b. Wijein' na. [wi'yē<sup>i</sup>? na]  
'It is bitter.'

(2) [ā<sup>i</sup>] 'ai'



[ã<sup>ɪ</sup>] diphthong of low open front unrounded nasalized vowel followed by voiced high close front unrounded vowel. Although [ã<sup>ɪ</sup>] is optionally followed by /n/ or /nʔ/ in the accepted orthography, it is always pronounced as an open syllable or one closed by a glottal plosive. We have only one example of [ã<sup>ɪ</sup>] occurring in an unstressed syllable (796c), otherwise it always occurs in the stressed syllable of the word.

(796) a. wirain [wi'rã<sup>ɪ</sup>]  
'its other one (of the same species)'

(796) b. Cawain' na. [ka'wã<sup>ɪ</sup>? na]  
'It is dry.'

(796) c. cainaxi' [kã<sup>ɪ</sup>'na'tʃi?]  
'our (incl) daughter'

[a<sup>ɪ</sup>] diphthong of low open front unrounded vowel followed by voiceless high close front unrounded vowel. [a<sup>ɪ</sup>] is a rare diphthong; it always occurs in open stressed syllables.

(797) xai [tsa<sup>ɪ</sup>]  
'bird species'

(3) [õ<sup>ɪ</sup>] 'oi'

[õ<sup>ɪ</sup>] diphthong of mid close back nasalized rounded vowel followed by voiced high close front unrounded vowel. Although [õ<sup>ɪ</sup>] is always followed by /n/ or /nʔ/ it is always pronounced as an open syllable or closed by a glottal plosive. It always occurs in the stressed syllable of the word.

(798) a. Moin' na. [m<sup>b</sup>õ<sup>ɪ</sup>? na]  
'It is full.'

(798) b. Toin na me. [tõ<sup>ɪ</sup> na m<sup>b</sup>e]  
'The birds flew.'

[o<sup>ɪ</sup>] diphthong of mid close back rounded vowel followed by voiceless high close front unrounded vowel, [o<sup>ɪ</sup>] is a rare diphthong; it always occurs in open stressed syllables.

(799) a. Xin Xoi [tʃin 'tso']  
'masculine name'

(799) b. hoi hoi [ho<sup>ɪ</sup> ho<sup>ɪ</sup>]  
'natural spring'

(4) [ĩ<sup>ɪ</sup>] 'ui'

[ĩ<sup>ɪ</sup>] diphthong of high open front nasalized rounded vowel followed by voiced high close front unrounded vowel. Although [ĩ<sup>ɪ</sup>] is always followed by /n/ or /nʔ/ in the accepted orthography, only the glottal plosive is pronounced. It always occurs in the stressed syllable of the word.

- (800) a. Xuruin' [tsy'rỹʔ]  
'masculine name'
- (800) b. Xucuin' rain. [tʃy'kỹʔ rãʔ]  
'Poke it!'

(5) [ĩ<sup>õ</sup>] 'io'

[ĩ<sup>õ</sup>] diphthong of high close front nasalized unrounded vowel followed by mid close back rounded vowel. [ĩ<sup>õ</sup>] always occurs in open syllables, or in those closed by glottal plosive. It always occurs in the stressed syllable of the word.

- (801) a. 'io' [ʔĩ<sup>õ</sup>ʔ]  
'louse'
- (801) b. Xio na. [ʔtsĩ<sup>õ</sup> na]  
'It is cold.'

## (6) /ẽõ/ 'eo'

[ẽõ] diphthong of mid close front nasalized unrounded vowel followed by mid close back rounded vowel, [ẽõ] always occurs in open syllables, or in those closed by glottal plosive. It always occurs in the stressed syllable of the word.

- (802) a. Weweweo na. [wewe'wẽõ na]  
'It (water) is flowing.'
- (802) b. jeo' [ʔyẽõʔ]  
'my grandfather'

## (7) /ãõ/ 'ao'

[ãõ] diphthong of low open front nasalized unrounded vowel followed by mid close back rounded vowel. [ãõ] always occurs in open syllables, or in those closed by glottal plosive. It always occurs in the stressed syllable of the word.

- (803) a. Mao na. [ʔmãõ na]  
'He went.'
- (803) b. Cacacao' nana. [kaka'kãõʔ na,na]  
'They ate.'

## (8) /õõ/ 'oo'

[õõ] diphthong of mid close back nasalized vowel followed by mid close back vowel. [õõ] occurs only in onomatopoeic terms (804a–b) (*Towoo*, in the masculine name in (804d), comes from the name of the pigeon in (804c).

- (804) a. too [tõõ]  
'anything made of metal'
- (804) b. 'ahoo 'ahoo [ʔa'hõõ ʔa'hõõ]  
'jaguar species' (the sound this jaguar makes)

- (804) c. towoo towoo [to'wō̃ to'wō̃]  
'pigeon species' (the sound this pigeon makes)
- (804) d. Maxun Towoo [ma'tʃʏn to'wō̃]  
'masculine name'

### 3.1.2.3. Borrowings

None of the above segments occur only in borrowed words.

### 3.1.2.4. Restrictions in word classes

The segments described above occur in all word classes. In addition to the above segments, there are a number of sounds used only in onomatopoeia, which violate normal phonotactic and segmental phonological constraints.

## 3.2. PHONOTACTICS

### 3.2.1. Distribution of single consonants

#### 3.2.1.1. Word-final consonants

The following consonants occur word finally: /p/, /t/, /k/, /ʔ/, /m/, /mʔ/, /n/, and /nʔ/. Neither /kw/ nor any of the affricates, fricatives, liquids, or semivowels occur word finally, though see the discussion in 3.1.2.2.2, where we suggest the possibility of /tʃ/ occurring word finally. See 3.1.2.1 for examples.

#### 3.2.1.2. Word-initial consonants

All consonants but the globalized nasals (/mʔ/ and /nʔ/) occur word-initially. However /f/ occurs word-initially only in verbal inflectional clitics, which never occur isolated in an utterance. They are always utterance-medial, so one might conclude that /f/ never occurs utterance-initially. See 3.1.2.1.4 for examples.

### 3.2.2. Distribution of consonant clusters

#### 3.2.2.1. Word-initial consonant clusters

There are no word-initial consonant clusters in the language, though see the paragraphs following (770), where we discuss sequences of glottal plosive with other consonants that occur word-initially.

### 3.2.2.2. Word-final consonant clusters

There are no word-final consonant clusters in the language, though see 3.1.2.1.3, where we discuss the sequences of nasal followed by glottal word-finally.

### 3.2.2.3. Word-medial consonant clusters

Word-medial consonant clusters in noncompounds are rare, /n/ is the only consonant we have found occurring as the first element, and /t/, /k/ and /tʃ/ have been found as the second element of a cluster. Syllable division is marked by a period.

- (805) a.           pantiri' (pan.ti.ri') [panti'riʔ]  
                  'our (incl) son'
- (805) b.           Conco' na. (con.co') [kon'koʔ na]  
                  'He has dysentery.'
- (805) c.           panxica (pan.xi.ca) [pantʃi'ka]  
                  'his son'

## 3.2.3. Distribution of vowels

### 3.2.3.1. Word-final vowels

All vowels occur word-finally.

### 3.2.3.2. Word-initial vowels

No vowels occur word-initially.

### 3.2.3.3. Sequences of (syllabic) vowels

There are no sequences of syllabic vowels in the language in mono-morphemic words. Vowel sequences are realized as surface diphthongs.

## 3.2.4. Differences between structure of lexical morphemes and words

While /l/ never occurs word-initially in regular words, it does occur initially in verbal inflectional clitics. In these cases, however, it is still utterance-medial—see 3.2.1.2.

While the minimal construction of words is either cv or cvc, there are a few lexical morphemes in the form of suffixes that have a vc, vcvc, or simply c construction. Vowel harmony, or the formation of a diphthong reduces the resulting combinations, however, to a normal cvc pattern. A few examples:

- (806) a.           -em 'second person singular object VIC'
- |    |   |     |   |           |
|----|---|-----|---|-----------|
| na | + | -em | = | nem [NIM] |
|----|---|-----|---|-----------|

- (806) b.                      3s:rp/p                      2s                      3s:rp/p to 2s  
 -in 'third person singular neuter object VIC'  
 nana                      +                      -in                      =                      nanain [na'nã<sup>1</sup>]  
 3p:rp/p                      3n                      3p:rp/p to 3n
- (806) c.                      -vcvm 'third person plural feminine object VIC'  
 na                      +                      -vcvm                      =                      nanam [na'nam]  
 3s:rp/p                      3pf                      3s:rpp to 3pf
- (806) d.                      -vcvm 'third person plural feminine object VIC'  
 hwe                      +                      -vcvm                      =                      hwehwem [h<sup>w</sup>ɪ'h<sup>w</sup>ɪm]  
 2p:rp/p                      3pf                      2p:rp/p to 3pf
- (806) e.                      -m 'third person singular feminine object VIC'  
 je                      +                      -m                      =                      jem [ʔyɪm]  
 2p:rf                      3sf                      2p:rf to 3sf
- (806) f.                      -n' 'derivational morpheme'  
 mahweri                      +                      -n'                      =                      mahwerin' [mahwe'rin?]  
 deserted:place                      derivation                      to:abandon

### 3.2.5. Syllabification

#### 3.2.5.1. Assignment of medial units and clusters to syllables

The most common medial units are single vowels and single consonants. The vowel is always assigned to the syllable in which it occurs, and the consonant following it is always assigned to the following syllable. In the rare instances where word-medial consonant clusters occur, the first consonant is assigned to the preceding syllable and the second consonant is assigned to the following syllable—see 3.2.2.1.3 where we discuss the occurrence of word-medial consonant clusters.

#### 3.2.5.2. Canonical syllable type

The canonical syllable type is cv(c).

### 3.2.6. Sequences of segments

#### 3.2.6.1. Consonant-vowel sequences

/k<sup>w</sup>/ and /h<sup>w</sup>/ are never followed by /o/, /Y/, or /ö/. /m<sup>?</sup>/ and /n<sup>?</sup>/ are never followed by any of the vowels. We do not have examples of every diphthong following every consonant, but we are certain they would not follow /m<sup>?</sup>/ and /n<sup>?</sup>/, since these phonemes only occur word-finally. Otherwise we see no phonological reason why every diphthong could not follow every other consonant.

#### 3.2.6.2. Vowel-consonant sequences

Only plosives and nasals may occur word- or syllable-finally. These may be preceded by any of the simple vowels. Diphthongs ending with /o/ may only be followed by the glottal plosive; diphthongs ending with /i/ may only be followed by /n/ or /n<sup>?</sup>/.

#### 3.2.6.3. Restrictions of co-occurrence of segments

The only restrictions between syllable-initial units and syllable-final units or next-syllable-initial units is that neither /h/ nor /hw/ is preceded by the glottal plosive.

#### 3.2.6.4. Vowel harmony

Different vowels in successive syllables of the same word are common, but the incidence of identical vowels in successive syllables of the same word where /l/ is the medial consonant is so high that we believe it warrants mentioning here. Two texts were examined: one with 257 lines, the other with 218 lines, looking for different words containing /l/. There were 57 such words in the larger text; 38 in the smaller. Exactly 73.7 per cent of these words in both texts contained identical vowels preceding and following /l/, while 26.3 per cent of the words had different vowels. Admittedly, some of these words were the result of partial reduplication (see 3.4.7 below), but the majority had undergone no morphological processes to attain their phonological structure. A few examples: *xuruxut* 'walk (p)', *wereme* 'breathe', *taracop* 'corndrink', 'orowaji 'its greenness', *piri* 'rise', *horop* 'bark species', *miri'om* 'ignore', *cucuruc* 'parakeet', *cotere* 'our (incl) father', *caramaxicocon* 'their things'; *xirao* 'write', *tora* 'choose', *narima* 'woman', *mirop* 'monkey species', 'awori' 'ready'.

Regressive assimilation within words (not across morpheme boundaries) occurs when /e/ precedes a nasal or a plosive other than glottal plosive in a stressed syllable, by causing the /e/s in preceding contiguous syllables to take on its phonetic characteristics. This can 'travel' up to two syllables away (in our data), as in *hwerehwet* 'appear', where /e/ before the plosive is pronounced as open [ɛ] and causes the normally closed /e/s of *hwere* to be pronounced as [h<sup>w</sup>ɛɾɛ]: [h<sup>w</sup>ɛɾɛh<sup>w</sup>t]. Other examples: *hexec* [hɛ'tsɛk] 'to dawn', *perepec* [pɛɾɛ'pek] 'to glisten with oil', and *querec* [kɛ'rɛk] 'to see'. Similarly, in *menem* 'your (s) possession', /e/ before the nasal is pronounced as open [ɪ], and it causes

the normally closed /e/ of *me* to be pronounced as [mI]: [mI'nIm]. Other examples: *comerem* [kom<sup>b</sup>i'rim] 'thunder' and *teteren* [titi'rim] 'numb'.

Vowel harmony operates from right-to-left within the word as follows: /Y/ causes /e/, /i/ and /o/ to change to /Y/. Note the order of application of vowel harmony and coalescence in (807d–e): the final vowel of the stem first coalesces with /Y/, and then Harmony proceeds, changing the /i/ and /o/ in the stem to /Y/. For Harmony to spread, all vowels must be the same height, see (807c).

- (807) a. xere- + -hu' = xuruhu' [tʃyry'hɣʔ]  
 siblings 2p 'your (p) siblings'
- (807) b. tenene- + -xut = tununuxut [tynynɣ'tʃy']  
 hair 1pexcl 'our (excl) hair'
- (807) c. comi- + -hu' = comuhu' [komɣ'hɣʔ]  
 water 2p 'your (p) water'
- (807) d. xiri- + -um = xurum [tʃy'ɣm]  
 house 2s 'your (s) house'
- (807) e. toco- + -u = tucu [ty'ky]  
 eye 1s 'my eye'

Progressive assimilation occurs when /e/ causes /a/ and /i/ to change to /e/ (807a–c) and /o/ to change to /Y/ (807d–e). Note the order of assimilation in the latter: the assimilation of /o/ to /Y/, which then causes the /e/s of the stem to change to /Y/ in regressive assimilation.

- (808) a. cwere- + -cam = cwerequem [k<sup>w</sup>ere'kim] or [k<sup>w</sup>iri'kim]  
 body 3sf 'her body'
- (808) b. mene- + -cacam = menequequem [menekɪ'kim] or [mɪnɪkɪ'kim]  
 possession 3pf 'their possession'
- (808) c. cote- + -'iri' = cotere' [cote'reʔ]  
 father 1pincl 'our (incl) father'
- (808) d. were- + -con = wurucun [wɣry'kyn]  
 nose 3sm 'his nose'
- (808) e. xere- + -cocon = xurucucun [tʃyryky'kyn]  
 siblings 3pm 'their (m) siblings'

Dissimilation (vowel disharmony/dissonance) occurs when successive syllables of a word contain /i/. The last /i/ causes the preceding /i/s in the word to be pronounced as [ɪ]. When pronounced slowly and clearly, all the /i/s are pronounced as [i].

- (809) a. Piquirim na. [piki' rim na] or [pɪkɪ'rim na]  
 'It is rocking.'

### 3.2.6.5. Consonant harmony

See 3.4.1.1, where we discuss consonant harmony that occurs across morpheme boundaries.

Another process which might be considered consonant harmony is where identical syllables in a word are reduced to a lengthened consonant. This is just a fluctuation.

### 3.2.6.6. Restrictions between adjacent or nonadjacent units or clusters

There are no more restrictions between adjacent or nonadjacent units or clusters, other than those already described.

- (810) a. Morocaca na. [m<sup>b</sup>ofo'ka na] or [m<sup>b</sup>ofo'k.a na]  
 'He is slobbering.'
- (810) b. tenenexi' [tɪnɪnɪ'tʃiʔ] or [tɪn.ɪ'tʃiʔ]  
 'our (incl) hair'
- (810) c. xiwiwio' [tsiwi'wi<sup>o</sup>] or [tsiw-i<sup>o</sup>]  
 'bamboo flute'

### 3.2.6.7. Differences between phonotactic patterns with different word classes

Many ideophones employ sounds that are used nowhere else in the language. We have not included any of these variations from the normal phonology of the language in this study.

Portuguese loan words are assimilated into 'ON phonology. For example, Portuguese /s/ and /z/ are realized as 'ON /s/ or one of its allophones; Portuguese /f/ and /v/ are realized as 'ON [w], [h] or [hw], but we have found no rule to predict exactly which of these forms will be adopted. Portuguese /l/ is realized as 'ON [l]; and all voiced plosives are realized as voiceless plosives. When speaking Portuguese, Wari' people tend to have difficulty distinguishing between Portuguese voiced vs voiceless plosives. They also find it difficult to distinguish Portuguese /m/ from Portuguese /b/ and Portuguese /n/ from Portuguese /d/.

With regard to effects on suprasegmental features of loan words, it is interesting to note that, in spite of the fact that all 'ON words are oxytones, Portuguese oxytones are stressed as paroxytones when borrowed into 'ON, while Portuguese paroxytones are stressed as oxytones, or their last unstressed syllable is dropped. For example, *biribá* 'a fruit species' is pronounced [m<sup>b</sup>Trima]; and *cobertor* 'blanket' (ultimate stress) is



pronounced [ko'm<sup>b</sup>eto]; *leite* 'milk' is pronounced [ʔire'tʃi] *remédio* 'medicine' is pronounced [he'me]; *canoa* 'canoe' (penultimate stress) is pronounced [ka'no]; and *cachorro* 'dog', is pronounced [ka'ʃo].

### 3.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

#### 3.3.1. Length

There are no distinctive degrees of length, though see 3.2.6.5, where we discuss phonetically lengthened consonants.

#### 3.3.2. Stress

##### 3.3.2.1. Role of stress in the language

Within the sentence, the final syllables of major lexical categories are stressed. Primary stress in the sentence normally falls on the final syllable of the verb, with final-syllable stress on other lexical categories interpreted as secondary stress. Other morphemes, e.g. verbal inflectional clitics and inflected forms of the preposition, carry tertiary (or even quaternary) stress, depending on the presence of other constituents in the sentence. In the examples below, the different degrees of stress are marked by a superscript number before the stressed syllable: <sup>1</sup> is primary stress, <sup>2</sup> is secondary stress, <sup>3</sup> is tertiary stress, and <sup>4</sup> is quaternary stress.

(811) a. Mama' 'urut. [ma<sup>1</sup>maʔ ʔy<sup>2</sup>ryt]

go:p 1pex1:rp/p

'We are going'.

(811) b. Mama' nanain com  
go:p 3p:rp/p-3n water

hwijima'. [ma<sup>1</sup>maʔ na<sup>3</sup>nā<sup>1</sup>n ʔkom h<sup>w</sup>i<sup>2</sup>yi<sup>2</sup>maʔ]

children

'The children went to the river'.

(811) c. Mama' nanain com  
go:p 3p:rp/p-3n water

pahu'. [ma<sup>1</sup>maʔ na<sup>3</sup>nā<sup>1</sup>n ʔkom pa<sup>3</sup>hyʔ]

prep:2p

'They went because of you (p)'.

- (811) d. 'Om ca ten main  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p weave 2s-3n  
 wi? [ʔom ʔka ʔtin ʔmāʔ ʔwi]  
 mat  
 'You did not weave a mat.'

Emphasis, however, on a constituent other than the verb will cause primary stress to be transferred to the emphasized constituent.

- (812) Mama' nanain com  
 go:p 3p:rp/p-3n water  
 hwijima'. [ma²maʔ na³nāʔ ²kom hʷiyi¹maʔ]  
 children.  
 'The *children* went to the water.'

In addition to contrasting levels of stress between constituents, verb compounds of two or more verb stems also have two levels of stress. The rightmost member of the compound carries primary stress, while the preceding members carry secondary stress.

- (813) Pan' corom mama' nanain com  
 fall:s enter go:p 3p:rp/p- 3n water  
 hwijima'.  
 [²panʔ co²rom ma¹maʔ na³nāʔ ²kom hʷiyi²maʔ]  
 children  
 'The children fell in the water.'

In accordance with the rule of oxytonic primary stress in verbs, derived predicates in verbalized sentences also receive primary stress on the last syllable—see 1.1.1.4.3.

- (814) a. 'Awi tara ma' 'inain. [ʔa²wi ta¹ra maʔ ʔi³nāʔ]  
 good 3s:rf that:prox:hearer 1s:rp/p-3n  
 'I thought it was good.'
- (814) b. Mama' xirarain Gujará na 'inonon  
 go:p 3p:irr- place:name consent 1s:rpp-  
 3n 3pm  
 hwijima'.  
 [ma²maʔ tʃira³rāʔi kʷya³ra ¹nᵈaʔino³non hʷiyi²maʔ]

children

'I wish the children would go to Guajará.'

### 3.3.2.2. *Phonetic correlates of stress*

Stress is marked by loudness and elevated pitch.

### 3.3.2.3. *Levels of stress*

See 3.3.2.1.

### 3.3.2.4. *Position of stress*

Stress falls on the last syllable of the word, except when that syllable is a stress-avoiding member of a verbal compound, in which case stress will go on the syllable to its immediate left.

- (815) a. Pi' pin na. [¹piʔ pin na]  
 finish completely 3s:rp/p  
 'It is finished.'
- (815) b. Tomi' ma' napa'. [to¹mʰiʔ maʔ na²paʔ]  
 speak that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p-1s  
 'He spoke to me'
- (815) c. Pan' mao na pije' [¹panʔ māᵀ na pi²yeʔ]  
 fall:s go:s 3s:rp/p child  
 'The child was born', (lit. 'The child fell.')
- (815) d. Pije' ca' na xitot. [pi¹yeʔ kaʔ na tʃi²to¹]  
 child this:n 3s:rp/p garden  
 'The garden is small'
- (815) e. 'An qui' rain. [¹ʔan kiʔ rā¹]  
 take:s coming:this:way 2s:rf-3n  
 'Bring it here'

### 3.3.3. *Pitch*

There is no distinctive use of pitch in the language.

go:p      3p:rp/p-3n      water      ref

‘Did they go to the river?’

- |          |       |            |       |          |                  |
|----------|-------|------------|-------|----------|------------------|
| (816) f. | Mama' | nanain     | com   | hwijima' | ma'              |
|          | go:p  | 3p:rp/p-3n | water | children | that:prox:hearer |

quem?

[Mama' nanain-com hwijima' ma' quem?]

ref

‘Did the children go to the river?’

#### 3.3.4.3. Contrastive and emphatic intonation

In contrast to normal speech, where the higher pitch of intonation falls on the verb, the higher pitch of intonation is transferred to the emphasized constituent when a constituent other than the verb is emphasized.

- (817) Mama' nanain *com* quem.

[Mama' nanain com quem.]

‘They went to the *river*’.

### 3.4. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SEGMENTAL)

### 3.4.1. Articulatory alterations

#### 3.4.1.1. Assimilatory processes

All three types of assimilation occur: regressive (see also 3.2.6.4), progressive, and coalescent (see 3.4.3, where we discuss coalescence). Most assimilatory processes occur across word-internal morpheme boundaries.

#### 3.4.1.1.1. Regressive assimilation

Regressive assimilation across morpheme boundaries involving consonants (though see 3.4.3 below) takes place when *-xi'* nouns whose stems end with *ji* inflect for third person masculine or feminine. The /k/ of the suffix causes the /y/ of the stem to change to /ts/. See also 3.2.6.4 above.

- (818) a. taraji- + -con = taraxicon [taratʃi'kon]  
ear 3sm 'his ear'

- (818) b.
- |             |        |                       |
|-------------|--------|-----------------------|
| caji-       | + -cam | = caxicam [katʃi'kam] |
| strangeness | 3sf    | 'her strangeness'     |

Regressive assimilation of vowels is discussed in 3.2.6.4 above.

#### 3.4.1.1.2. Progressive assimilation

Progressive assimilation occurs across morpheme boundaries between a nasal consonant or nasalized diphthong and a voiceless stop. This assimilation is optional and is most common in normal speech. In fact, we have no examples of this in careful speech.

- |          |                           |            |             |     |
|----------|---------------------------|------------|-------------|-----|
| (819) a. | 'Om                       | ca         | can         | ca. |
|          | not:exist                 | INFL:nrp/p | grasshopper | 3sm |
|          | 'That is no grasshopper.' |            |             |     |

- (819) b. [ʔom ga 'gan ga] [ʔom ka 'kan ka] [ʔom ga 'kan ga] [ʔom ka 'kan ga]

- (820) a.                      Mon    te?  
   that:prox:hearer-3sm    father:1s  
   ‘Where is my father?’

- (820) b. [mon'de] [mon'te]

- (821) a. Main pi?  
that:prox:hearer-3n fishhook  
'Where is my fishhook?'

- (821) b. [maã<sup>ĩ</sup>bi] [mã<sup>ĩ</sup>pi]

#### 3.4.1.2. Dissimilatory processes

There are no dissimilatory processes across morpheme boundaries. See 3.2.6.4, where we discuss dissimilation within the word other than across morpheme boundaries.

*Table 3.1. Alternative forms of xi' suffixes*

	Stems ending with			
	a-	e-	i-	o-
first singular	-0	-0	-u	-u
second singular	-m	-0	-um	-um
third singular masculine	-con	-cun	-con	-con
feminine	-cam	-quem	-cam	-cam
neuter	-in	-in	-0(nain)	-0(nain)
first plural inclusive	-xi'	-xi'	-xi'	-xi'
exclusive	-xut	-xut	-xut	-xut
second plural	-hu'	-hu'	-hu'	-hu'
third plural masculine	-cocon	-cucun	-cocon	-cocon

feminine	-cacam	-quequem	-cacam	-cacam
----------	--------	----------	--------	--------

#### 3.4.1.3. Alternations between segments

There are a few alternative forms of the singular and third person plural possessive suffixes on *-xi'* nouns. These can be best seen in Table 3.1. Examples are found in 3.4.1.1.

There are three variants of the first person plural inclusive Tense active **vics** that function with *co-* kinship terms: *-ri'* occurs with verbs ending with the sequences /aʔ/ and /iʔ/; *-re'* occurs with verbs ending with /e/; and *'iri'* occurs with all other verbs. *'Iri'* occurs as a free morpheme, while *-ri'* and *-re'* are suffixes.

- |          |                                      |        |
|----------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| (822) a. | copari'                              |        |
|          | co-pa'-'iri'                         |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-grandmother:1s-1pincl   |        |
|          | 'our (incl) grandmother'             |        |
| (822) b. | cwajiri'                             |        |
|          | co-'aji'-'iri'                       |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother:1s-1pincl |        |
|          | 'our (incl) older brother'           |        |
| (822) c. | cowere'                              |        |
|          | co-we-'iri'                          |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-older:sister:1s-1pincl  |        |
|          | 'our (incl) older sister'            |        |
| (822) d. | cojeo'                               | 'iri'  |
|          | co-jeo'                              |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-grandfather:1s          | 1pincl |
|          | 'our (incl) grandfather'             |        |
| (822) e. | conem                                | 'iri'  |
|          | co-nem                               |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-brother:in:law:1s       | 1pincl |
|          | 'our (incl) brother-in-law'          |        |

There are two alternate forms of the first person plural exclusive Tenseless **VICS** that function with *co-* kinship terms: *-rut* occurs with all morphemes that end with a simple or vowel-glottal-plosive sequence; *'urut* occurs with all other morphemes. As with *-ri'*, *-re'* and *'iri'* above, *-rut* is a suffix, and *'urut* is a free morpheme.

- (823) a. coxarut

- |          |  |        |
|----------|--|--------|
|          | co-xá'-'urut                           |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling:1s-1pexcl |        |
|          | ‘our (excl) younger sibling’           |        |
| (823) b. | cowurut                                |        |
|          | co-we-'urut                            |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-older:sister:1s-1pexcl    |        |
|          | ‘our (excl) older sister’              |        |
| (823) c. | conowin                                | 'urut  |
|          | co-nowin                               |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-sister's:daughter:1s      | 1pexcl |
|          | ‘our (excl) niece (sister's daughter)’ |        |
| (823) d. | cojeo'                                 | 'urut  |
|          | co-jeo'                                |        |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-grandfather:1s            | 1pexcl |
|          | ‘our (excl) grandfather’               |        |

There are two alternate forms of *co*, the INFL morpheme that functions as a prefix in *co*-kinship terms: *cw*- precedes the one morpheme beginning with 'a'; and *co*- precedes all other morphemes.

- |          |                                 |    |
|----------|---------------------------------|----|
| (824) a. | cwaji'                          | ma |
|          | co-'aji'                        |    |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother:1s   | 2s |
|          | 'your (s) older brother'        |    |
| (824) b. | coxa'                           | ma |
|          | co-xa'                          |    |
|          | INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling:1s | 2s |
|          | 'your (s) younger sibling'      |    |

### 3.4.2. Metathesis processes

There are no processes of metathesis in the language.



### 3.4.3. Coalescence and split

Coalescence is the most common assimilatory process in the language. As seen in the preceding sections, regressive Vowel Harmony often accompanies coalescence. The following combinations and results occur in vowels:

(1)	i	+	i	=	i
(825)	xi'	+	-in	=	xin [tʃin]
	1pincl:rf		-3n		'pincl:rf-3n'
(2)	i	+	e	=	i
(826)	xi'	+	-em	=	xim [tʃim]
	1pincl:rf		-3n		'pincl:rf-2s'
(3)	i	+	o	=	u
(827)	'iri'	+	-on	=	'urun [ʏ'ryn]
	1pincl:rp/p		-3sm		'1pincl:rp/p-3sm'
(4)	i	+	u	=	u
(828)	xiri-	+	-u	=	xuru [tʃʏ'ry]
	house-		-1s		'my house'
(5)	e	+	i	=	ei
(829)	Je	+	-in	=	jein [ʔye]
	2p:rf		-3n		'2p:rf-3n'
(6)	e	+	o	=	u
(830)	hwe	+	-oon	=	huhun [hy'hyn]
	2p:rp/p		-3pm		'2s:rp/p-3pm'
(7)	e	+	a	=	e
(831)	hwe	+	-am	=	hwem [hʷim]
	2p:rp/p		-3sf		'2p:rp/p-3sf'
(8)	a	+	i	=	ai
(832)	wita-	+	-in	=	witain [wi'tā]
	mat		-3n		'its mat'
(9)	a	+	e	=	e
(833)	'ina	+	-em	=	'inem [ʔi'nim]
	1s:rp/p		-2s		'1s:rp/p2s'

(10)	a	+	o	=	o
(834)	ta	+	-on	=	ton [ton]
	1s:rf		-3sm		'1s:rf-3sm'
(11)	o	+	u	=	u
(835)	toco-	+	-um	=	tucum [tʏ'kym]
	eye		-2s		'their bellies'

Vowel coalescence takes a sequence of two vowels and returns a single vowel as output, according to the following principles: (1) if one of the two relevant vowels is marked [+back], the output vowel will be [+back]; (2) if the two vowels differ as to height, the output vowel will have the height of the highest vowel of the input sequence; (3) if the vowels are identical (the only actual case of identical input vowels in the corpus is /i/+i/), then a single, identical vowel is outputted. This process is reminiscent of vowel coalescence in some dialects of Modern Greek.

#### 3.4.4. Asyllabification

Asyllabification occurs when the INFL morpheme *co* occurs with 'aji' 'my older brother' in a *co*- kinship term: the prefix *co*- [ko] coalesces with the first syllable of [ʔa'yiʔ]<sub>to</sub> form [kwa]: *cwaji' ca* [kwa'yiʔ ka] 'his older brother'. This phenomenon also occurs in third person inflections of -*xi*' nouns ending with /o/ when /k/ is in the last syllable of the stem or first syllable of the suffix. Note the occurrence of asyllabification in the examples below.

(836) a.	toco-	+	-i	=	tocoi [to'k <sup>w</sup> i]
	eye		-3n		'its eye'
(836) b.	toco-	+	-cam	=	tocwam [to'k <sup>w</sup> am]
	eye		-3sf		'her eye'
(836) c.	mono-	+	-camcam	=	monococwam [monoko'k <sup>w</sup> am]
	belly		-3sf		'their bellies'

#### 3.4.5. Deletion processes

Glottal stop is deleted in kinship term formation, prior to asyllabification.

(837)	cwajiri' [k <sup>w</sup> ayi'riʔ]
	co-'aji'-'iri'
	INFL:m/frp/p-older:brother:1s-1pincl
	'our (incl) older brother'

Word-final glottal stop deletes before word-initial /h/.

- (838) Pa' hwe hwam? ['pa hwe ɰwam]  
 kill 2p:rp/p fish  
 'Did you kill fish?'

An oral vowel is nasalized preceding a tautosyllabic nasal consonant. In some idiolects word-final /n/ or /nʔ/ deletes across word boundaries.

- (839a) a. 'An hopa' rain. [aho'pa ɰã<sup>1</sup>]  
 takers put:inside 2s:rf-3n  
 'Put it inside.'

- (839) b. Ten ra wi. ['tĩ ra ɰwi]  
 weave 2s:rp/p mat  
 'Weave a mat.'

- (839) c. cahwerein waram [kah<sup>w</sup>e'rẽĩ ɰwa'ram]  
 cahwere-in  
 tail-3n monkey:species  
 'waram monkey's tail'

- (839) d. Pain' iripain mapac. ['pã<sup>ʔ</sup> iri.pã<sup>ʔ</sup> ma'pa<sup>k</sup>]  
 toast 1pincl:rp/p-3sm corn  
 'We are toasting corn.'

Finally, there is a process of truncation which occurs in the *-xi'* noun *tocoxi'* 'our (incl) eye'. When it inflects in the third person masculine and feminine, *co* is deleted: *toco*+-*con*=*tocon* 'his eye', not \**tococon* (although *tococon* is correct for 'their (m) eyes'); *toco*+-*cam*=*tocwam*, not \**tococwam* (although *tococwam* is correct for 'their (f) eyes'); *toco*+-*cocon*=*tococon*, not \**tocococon*; and *toco*+-*cacam*=*tococwam*, not \**tocococwam*. This is not a result of the consonant reduction/harmony described in 3.2.6.5.

### 3.4.6 Insertion processes

There are no insertion processes in the language.

### 3.4.7 Reduplication processes

Number (plural) is expressed by partial reduplication throughout the language. This is accomplished, with few exceptions, either by simply reduplicating the cv of the stressed syllable once or twice, or by reduplicating the cv of the stressed syllable via infixation of the bisyllabic sequence cvrv, in which c and the two v positions take their values from the

onset and nucleus of the reduplicated (stressed) syllable. These two patterns are found in (1) verbs: *cat/caracat* ‘break’, *toc/tototoc* ‘drink’, *wixicao/wixicaracao* ‘throw’; (2) verbal modifiers: *i/iri* ‘already’, *mon/momon* ‘slowly’; (3) inflectional clitics: *na/nana* ‘third person realis past/ present **VIC**’, *nucun/nucucun* ‘third person possessive **NIC**’, (exception: *tara/tatara* ‘third person realis future VIC’); (4) demonstrative pronouns: *cam cwa’ /caram cwa’* ‘third person feminine’; and (5) suffixation on *xi*-nouns: *winacon/winacocon* ‘his/their head’.

Reduplication or repetition of the entire verb is a way of expressing the continuous, progressive, and iterative aspects—see 2.1.3.3.2.4–5 and 2.1.3.3.2.8.

Total reduplication occurs in derived nouns—see 2.2.1.

### 3.5. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SUPRASEGMENTAL)

Stress always occurs on the last (rightmost) syllable of the (grammatical) word, even if that syllable is a suffix. Stress also falls on the last syllable of derived predicates in verbalized sentences, as our analysis of these as single verbs predicts. In this sense, it could be said that stress is constant under morphological processes.

# Chapter 4

## Ideophones and Interjections

### 4.1. IDEOPHONES

We understand ideophones to be words which are partially onomatopoeic, may involve reduplication, and (unlike merely onomatopoeic words) respect the general phonological patterns of the language. Many verbs and nouns, especially names of animals, birds, fish and some objects, are ideophones. In the case of verbs, they represent the sound produced when the action takes place; in the case of nouns, they represent the sound the animal, bird, fish, or object makes. These ideophones are treated formally like other nouns and verbs. They may head NPS/VPS like any other noun or verb, being accompanied by inflectional clitics, demonstratives and collective particles where applicable (the preceding material is full of examples). In addition, many verbal ideophones undergo regular reduplication processes to form plural, intense verbs.

The (incomplete) list of verbal and nominal ideophones below was taken from the 'ON dictionary:

#### Verbal ideophones

<i>('an) xiwap</i>	swing a loaded basket up on one's back
<i>'ao</i>	bark (a dog) or scream
<i>'ato</i>	fall down dead
<i>'axem</i>	sneeze
<i>cao'/cacacao'</i>	eat
<i>caraho'</i>	make a fire
<i>carat</i>	yawn
<i>cat/caracat</i>	break
<i>cöc</i>	pull
<i>cöc höröp</i>	yank out
<i>cöc 'oro/coc 'ororo</i>	drag on the ground
<i>cöc tein</i>	pull up by the roots
<i>cöc wein</i>	stretch
<i>cöc xicot</i>	yank out
<i>coroc/cocoroc</i>	tremble, shake
<i>coropi'</i>	choke, gag

<i>cupa'</i>	spit
<i>curuc</i>	scrape
<i>cwarac</i>	scratch, cut
<i>'e'em'</i>	clear one's throat
<i>'eo</i>	burp
<i>'ep</i>	pound corn
<i>hoc</i>	cook
<i>hoho/horoho</i>	float, walk
<i>hohoc</i>	wash
<i>hom</i>	burn with high flames
<i>hon</i>	expel intestinal gases
<i>hu</i>	light a fire by blowing on it
<i>huhup</i>	suck out
<i>hum coi</i>	swallow
<i>hwap/hwarahwap</i>	hurry, walk fast
<i>'iriman</i>	blow wind
<i>'i'</i>	tear, rip
<i>'i'io</i>	holler
<i>ja'</i>	shoot
<i>jo'</i>	go out (light or fire)
<i>jöc</i>	push
<i>jöc tutup</i>	push through a group of people
<i>moc</i>	hit, sock
<i>moporon</i>	shake, tremble
<i>nara</i>	sharpen knife
<i>nuru</i>	blow (wind), snort (pig)
<i>'oc</i>	puncture
<i>'öhö</i>	cough
<i>'on</i>	whistle, play flute
<i>'ot 'o</i>	whistle announcing pig kill
<i>pa'/parapa'</i>	kill
<i>pahop</i>	blow (breeze), slap (waves), fan
<i>pahot/pahorohot</i>	cave in (riverbank)

<i>paran</i>	plane (piece of wood), smooth
<i>parapac</i>	shuck corn
<i>patao'</i>	end suddenly
<i>pit/piripit</i>	break off
<i>pixac</i>	scratch
<i>poc poc</i>	boil
<i>poroc poroc</i>	set on eggs (hen)
<i>quic</i>	bend down palm leaves from stalk
<i>quio</i>	bite, chew
<i>ta'</i>	chop down (tree), cut (hair)
<i>(tac) tein</i>	bite off
<i>tao'</i>	enclose, beat on drum, play guitar
<i>tapa'/taparapa'</i>	burst
<i>tapit/tapiripit</i>	break open, split
<i>taqui'/toin</i>	fly
<i>tat</i>	be plugged up (nose)
<i>tataca</i>	tick (clock)
<i>tatam'</i>	laugh
<i>tem</i>	chop
<i>toc/tototoc</i>	drink
<i>to'</i>	hit, beat, split, kick
<i>tocam</i>	splash (water)
<i>toc tem</i>	pulsate
<i>tom/torotom</i>	burn
<i>töm</i>	fall on the ground
<i>ton</i>	knock down fruit from tree
<i>ton pit/ton piripit</i>	chop down tree
<i>top</i>	pick corn off stalk
<i>topixic</i>	slip, slide
<i>top ta/top tarata</i>	explode
<i>toro/toroho</i>	rumble (thunder)
<i>toron/totoron</i>	groan

<i>tororo</i>	call a bird
<i>tot</i>	rupture, burst
<i>tota</i>	make garden (chop trees down)
<i>toto</i>	paint
<i>towac</i>	hatch
<i>tu</i>	sew (with a machine), function (motor)
<i>tum</i>	beat a drum
<i>'u</i>	scream
<i>wa</i>	admire
<i>wac/wawac</i>	cut
<i>wao</i>	cry
<i>wap/wawap</i>	hit, spank
<i>warao'</i>	talk, converse
<i>we'</i>	vomit
<i>wein/werewein</i>	rip, tear
<i>weo/weweweo</i>	walk in water, burn, fan
<i>wep (corom mao)</i>	sink (in water)
<i>wijac</i>	cut, shave
<i>wuwu</i>	snarl
<i>xac/xaxac</i>	eat fruit
<i>xain</i>	sizzle, be hot, have a fever, noise of wind or rain
<i>xao</i>	pound
<i>xe'</i>	dig
<i>xic</i>	rub
<i>xicot</i>	lick, suck
<i>xique'</i>	shell corn
<i>xo'</i>	dampen
<i>xoc</i>	nurse (baby), have hiccups
<i>xom</i>	step on, squash
<i>xom pec</i>	step in something soft and mushy
<i>xom tao'</i>	kick
<i>xom teo</i>	walk fast, angrily



<i>xopin'</i>	blink
<i>xu</i>	fry, stick into
<i>xuc</i>	sharpen, squeeze
<i>xucuin'</i>	poke
<i>xum</i>	sing (bird) at dawn or dusk
<i>xup</i>	kiss
<i>xurum</i>	drip
<i>xut/xuruxut</i>	walk

### Nominal ideophones

<i>'ahoo 'ahoo</i>	jaguar species
<i>'arum</i>	bird species (jacamim)
<i>'awehe</i>	bird species (alencó)
<i>'awu</i>	bird species (toucan)
<i>cahao</i>	porpoise (that which goes 'hao')
<i>cawatacao'</i>	bird species (araquá) (that which goes 'watacao')
<i>caxiririn'</i>	bird species (that which goes 'xiririn')
<i>caxowi'</i>	bird species (that which goes 'xowi')
<i>coc taraho</i>	chicken (rooster)
<i>cohe'</i>	hawk species (that which goes 'he')
<i>cotu</i>	owl species (that which goes 'bu')
<i>cowo</i>	frog species (that which goes 'wo')
<i>coxeo</i>	monkey species (that which goes 'xeo')
<i>coxut</i>	pigeon species (that which goes 'xut')
<i>cucuruc</i>	parakeet species
<i>cuju</i>	bird species (cujubim)
<i>cwaracan</i>	parrot species
<i>hihi</i>	owl species
<i>hoi hoi</i>	natural spring
<i>horoc</i>	bird species (uru)
<i>huroroin</i>	long bamboo flute
<i>macorao'</i>	owl species
<i>mijac</i>	wild pig species (queixada)

<i>mirin'</i>	bird species
<i>'ororo</i>	monkey species (zogue zogue)
<i>'ororoin'</i>	jaguar species
<i>'owi'</i>	bird species
<i>parawom</i>	pigeon species
<i>pererem</i>	frog species
<i>pijipiji</i>	parrot species
<i>pirawo</i>	bird species
<i>pita</i>	piranha species
<i>tam</i>	bird species (nambu)
<i>tawi'</i>	bird species
<i>teo teo</i>	hawk species
<i>tetete</i>	bird species
<i>tiquirat</i>	frog species
<i>too</i>	anything made of metal
<i>toroin</i>	frog species
<i>torotoro</i>	rat species
<i>totowe'</i>	chicken (hen)
<i>towaram</i>	frog species
<i>towarao'</i>	parrot species
<i>towem towem</i>	dragonfly
<i>towi</i>	bird species (nbambu)
<i>towin</i>	parakeet species
<i>towoo towoo</i>	pigeon species
<i>turuc</i>	bird species
<i>tururu</i>	frog species
<i>waca'</i>	bird species (socó boi)
<i>wain'</i>	frog species
<i>wanaran</i>	bird species (nambu galinha)
<i>watami</i>	bird species
<i>werem</i>	monkey species (guariba)
<i>wio wio</i>	hawk species
<i>woroworo</i>	monkey species

<i>wuxuwut</i>	bird species
<i>xai</i>	bird species (coroca)
<i>xipa xipa</i>	medicine given by drops
<i>xoc xoc</i>	bird species
<i>xom xowa</i>	mud
<i>xoxori</i>	owl species (caburé da noite)
<i>xucu'</i>	pigeon species (galega)
<i>xuruc</i>	bird species
<i>xiwiwio'</i>	bamboo flute
<i>xuxu</i>	weasel species

In addition to ideophones, there are a number of onomatopoeic words which violate normal phonotactic and segmental phonological constraints, although even these can occur as direct speech and thus as verbs:

(840) a.	'Oooooooo, 'ooooooo	'ari	'i	na	ne.
	(sound of calling)	finish	when	3s:rp/p	rec:past
	'When he had finished calling "Oooooo, 'ooooooo".'				
(840) b.	totooooo	na	watami	ca'.	
	(sound of killing a bird)	3s:rp/p	bird:species	this:n	
	'He killed a <i>watami</i> bird.'				

Other examples are listed below. Notice that some of these onomatopoeic words, unlike the ideophones listed above, do not follow normal phonological patterns.

<i>'a'o'a'o'a'o'</i>	sound of screaming
<i>'ato</i>	sound of killing
<i>botooooooooo</i>	sound of killing birds
<i>heeeexec heeeexec</i>	sound of day dawning
<i>he he he he he</i>	sound of talking an unintelligible language
<i>hmmmmmmmmmm</i>	sound representing numerous kinds of events, such as talking, fighting, working of magic, eating
<i>hocon xu</i>	sound of child emerging from womb
<i>hoooooooooooo</i>	sound of completing something
<i>huuuuuuuuuuu</i>	sound of blowing
<i>hwooooooooo</i>	sound of talking (spoken gutturally)
<i>'oooooooooooo</i>	sound of calling or fear

<i>'o'io'o'io'o'io'</i>	sound of waving something in the air to get attention
<i>'ot 'ot 'ot 'ot</i>	sound of a certain fish
<i>poi poi poi poi</i>	sound of eating fruit
<i>poron poron poron</i> <i>poron</i>	sound of falling into a hole
<i>teh</i>	sound of shotgun going off
<i>tooooooh</i>	sound of arrow hitting its mark
<i>toroco</i>	sound of going inside something
<i>toro tai</i>	sound of shooting an arrow
<i>tum tum tum tum</i>	sound of footsteps (whispered)
<i>'wo 'wa 'wa 'wo 'wa</i> <i>'wa</i>	sound of laughing
<i>xoh xoh xoh xoh</i>	sound of something clumsy coming (whispered)
<i>xuuuuuaaaaa</i>	sounding of cutting up bodies (spoken gutturally)

## 4.2. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections, for the most part, conform to the regular phonological structure of 'ON words, except for the first one in the list below, *'ai'*. The sequence *wiji*<sup>1</sup> would normally be nasalized but is oral in this interjection.

<i>'ai'</i>	expression of shock, ridicule
<i>'e</i>	expression of contempt
<i>'e'e'</i>	yes
<i>he</i>	expression of surprise
<i>hije</i>	expression of surprise (spoken by woman)
<i>howa</i>	expression of surprise (spoken by man)
<i>'iri'o'</i>	Really? or Really!
<i>je</i>	expression of surprise (spoken by woman)
<i>je ma'</i>	that's it!, that's all! or okay!
<i>ju ta</i>	expression of exhaustion or pain (spoken by man)
<i>ma</i>	okay (spoken by man)
<i>ma'e</i>	okay (spoken by woman)
<i>mijo</i>	expression of exhaustion or pain (spoken by woman)
<i>wa</i>	expression of surprise

# Chapter 5

## Lexicon

### 5.1. STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELDS

#### 5.1.1. Kinship terminology

Kinship terms are obligatorily possessed (although the first person singular possession suffix of *co-* terms is covert). While the first person singular inflection of all kinship terms is used in vocatives, the term of endearment, '*arain* 'lit. its bone', is preferred when addressing anyone whom ego calls 'child', 'son', or 'daughter'. The first person singular inflection of kinship terms appears as a derived verb, as shown below. See 2.2.2.1, where we describe the first person singular inflections of nouns functioning as derived verbs.

- (841) Pa' mam?  
a. ma -m  
maternal:grandmother:1s 2s:rp/p-3sf  
'Is she your grandmother?' ('Do you "grandmother" her?' (lit. '(...say) "my grandmother" to her?'))
- (841) b. Te non Xijam 'Orowao'.  
na -on  
father:1s 3s:rp/p-3sm m:name m:name  
'Xijam is 'Orowao's father.' ('Orowao' "father's" (lit. (says) "my father" to) Xijam.)

When talking about a relative, ego uses the first person singular inflection of the kinship term. When two or more people talk about a person with whom they are related in the same way, the first person plural inclusive inflection of the kinship term is used. This includes siblings (both brothers and sisters): when talking about one of the sister's children, the term for female ego's child (children) is used; when talking about one of the brother's children, the term for male ego's child is used. When two people talk about a mutual relative with whom they are not related in the same way, the term describing the closest relationship to one of them is used. A husband and wife always refer to their child (children) as *pije* 'child' (*hwijima* 'children') when talking to each other. In-laws also use *pije* and *hwijima* when speaking to their wife's/husband's relatives about their child.

Kinship terms belong to two word classes. The glosses of the terms listed below are only their basic meaning. These terms also include broader relationships, crossing generation levels—see the discussions and lists in 5.1.1.1–3.

- (1) *-xi* nouns

As with all *-xi'* nouns, the citation/base form for the paradigm is first person plural inclusive. The first person singular inflection of six of the terms is suppletive; otherwise they all inflect for possession like common *-xi'* nouns. The complete list of *-xi'* noun kinship terms is shown below. The first person singular inflection is shown in parentheses following each citation form. (Although we do not include 'our (incl)' in the gloss of each term, it is part of the full translation of each of these terms.)

<i>'aramanaxi'</i> ( <i>'aramana</i> )	sister (lit: female of the species) (male ego)
<i>cainaxi'</i> ( <i>caina</i> )	daughter (female ego)
<i>cawinaxi'</i> ( <i>cawiji</i> )	son (female ego)
<i>humajixi'</i> ( <i>humaju</i> )	children (female ego)
<i>japinaxi'</i> ( <i>wijapi</i> )	wife's mother
<i>jinaxi'</i> ( <i>jina</i> )	granddaughter (male ego, or female ego's daughter's daughter)
<i>manaxi'</i> ( <i>mana</i> )	wife
<i>namorinaxi'</i> ( <i>namori</i> )	wife's brother or sister
<i>tamanaxi'</i> ( <i>tamana</i> )	husband's mother
<i>taramajixi'</i> ( <i>taramaju</i> )	brother (lit: male of the species) (female ego)
<i>taxixi'</i> ( <i>taxi</i> )	husband
<i>wijinaxi'</i> ( <i>wiji</i> )	grandchild (female ego's son's child)
<i>winaxi'</i> ( <i>wina</i> )	grandson (male ego, or female ego's daughter's son)
<i>xerexi'</i> ( <i>xere</i> )	siblings
<i>xinaxi'</i> ( <i>wixi</i> )	sister's son (male ego)
<i>xi'</i> ( <i>na'</i> )	mother

Plural of *-xi'* kinship terms is expressed by a collective particle preceding any inflection of the noun. *'Oro* is used with *manaxi'*; *waram* is used with all other *-xi'* kinship terms.

- (842) a.                      *mana*  
                                   ' my wife' (lit. 'my hole')
- (842b)                      *oro mana*  
                                   ' my wives'
- (843) a.                      *na'*  
                                   ' my mother'
- (843) b.                      *waram na'*  
                                   ' my mothers'
- (843) c.                      *waram jicocon*  
                                   ' their mothers'

(2) *co-* kinship terms, derived from relative clauses

The citation form of *co-* kinship terms is the first person singular form. See 2.2.2.2.1.5, where we describe the structure and inflection of *co-* kinship terms. The complete list of *co-* kinship terms is shown below. (Although we do not include ‘my’ in the gloss of each term, it is part of the full translation of these terms.)

<i>aji'</i>	elder brother
<i>coromit</i>	wife's father
<i>jeo'</i>	grandfather, paternal grandmother
<i>nem</i>	sister's husband
<i>nowin</i>	sister's daughter (male ego)
<i>pa'</i>	maternal grandmother
<i>panxita'</i>	child (male ego)
<i>te</i>	father
<i>we</i>	elder sister
<i>xa'</i>	younger brother/sister

Plural of *co-* kinship terms is expressed by the collective particle *waram* preceding the citation form (first person singular) and *mana* preceding all inflections of the term.

- |          |                                    |
|----------|------------------------------------|
| (844) a. | te<br>'my father'                  |
| (844) b. | waram te<br>'my fathers'           |
| (844) c. | mana cote ma<br>'your (s) fathers' |

#### 5.1.1.1–2. Sanguineal relationships

The purpose of this description is only to identify and define the kinship terminology, and not to analyse the kinship system in depth. However, a brief discussion of how the system works will help one to easily identify and define the terms. In the following guidelines, ‘actual generation level’ means the same genealogical rank or remove from a common ancestor; and ‘theoretical generation level’ means two or more actual generation levels that share kinship terms normally thought to be used on the same actual generation level.

In the kinship charts and discussions in 5.1.1.1–3, the following abbreviations are used: F ‘father’, M ‘mother’, B ‘brother’, Z ‘sister’, e ‘elder than ego’, y ‘younger than ego’, s ‘son’, D ‘daughter’, c ‘child’, H ‘husband’, and w ‘wife’.

Guidelines to be considered in order to identify and define the kinship terminology are as follows:

- 1 Any ego considers father's brother the same as father (*te*) and mother's sister the same as mother (*na'*); therefore parallel cousins are the same as siblings, and any child of one whom ego's father calls brother, or ego's mother calls sister, is a sibling (*'aji* 'elder brother', *we* 'elder sister', *xa'* 'younger sibling', *xere* 'siblings').

- 2 The children of anyone whom male ego calls brother, or female ego calls sister, are ego's children (*panxita* 'my child (male ego)', *cawiji* 'my son (female ego)', *caina* 'my daughter (female ego)', *humaju* 'my children (female ego)').
- 3 A woman considers her brother ('*aji/xa*') to be on the same theoretical generation level as her own children; therefore her children (ego) consider mother's brother the same as elder brother ('*aji*', though see (4) below), and his children and grandchildren are ego's children (*panxita* 'my child', or *panxica* '*aji*' 'my elder brother's child') and grandchildren (*wina* 'grandson' and *jina* 'granddaughter') respectively. This principle also extends to the second ascending actual generation level: although mother's mother's brother is called *jeo* 'grandfather', he is considered the same as ego's brother (and thus on his same theoretical generation level); his children are considered ego's children (*panxita* 'my child', or *panxica* *jeo* 'my grandfather's child'), and they call each other's children's children grandchildren.
- 4 Likewise, male ego considers his sister to be on a theoretical generation level above himself, proven by the fact that he considers her son (*wixi*) the same as his brother: their children are siblings, and they call each other's children's children grandchildren. The theoretical generation level breaks down, however, with male ego's sister's daughter (*nowin*): although she refers to him as 'elder brother', he calls her children grandchildren.
- 5 Any ego considers father's sister the same as elder sister (*we*), and all of father's sister's direct line female descendants *ad infinitum* are the same as elder sister (*we*). This deviates from (2) above, where female ego's sister's children are also considered her own children.
- 6 As soon as father's sister or any of her direct line female descendants (FZD, FZDD, FZDDD, etc.) has a son, he is considered the same as father (*te*) and occupies the same theoretical generation level as ego's own father. The children of this "father" are ego's siblings (and thus on his own theoretical generation level).
- 7 Anyone whom ego's father calls father or mother, or ego's mother calls father, is ego's grandparent (*jeo*); anyone whom ego's mother calls mother, or ego's father calls father's sister (whether FZ, FZD, FZDD, FZDDD, etc.) is ego's maternal grandmother (*pa*).
- 8 Anyone whom ego's child calls child is ego's grandchild (*wina*, *jina*, *wiji*).

With this discussion as a background, we will now present each kinship term in order of descendency (first grandparents, then parents, siblings, children, and grandchildren). Although the Wari' people keep track of kinship up to the third theoretical ascending and descending generation, their reasoning and terms are the same as for the second theoretical ascending and descending generations, i.e. a parent of one whom ego calls grandparent is also grandparent, and a child of one whom ego calls grandchild is also grandchild, with one exception—while female ego's ss and so is *wiji*, sss and SDS is *wina* and SSD and SDD is *jina*—see the footnote on (21) in the list of relationships that follows. The specific relationships listed below are exhaustive to the second actual ascending and descending generations.

Citation form	Any ego	Male ego	Female ego
<i>jeo</i> '	FF		



FFB  
FM  
FMZ  
FFZS  
FFZDS  
FFZDDS  
FFZDDDS  
MF  
MFB  
MMB  
MFZS  
MFZDS  
MFZDDS  
MFZDDDS  
MM  
MMZ

*pa'*

*Citation form*

<i>Any ego</i>	<i>Male ego</i>	<i>Female ego</i>
MFZ		
MFZD		
MFZDD		
MFZDDD		
MFZDDDD		
FFZ		
FFZD		
FFZDD		
FFZDDD		
FFZDDDD		

*te*

F  
FB\*  
FZS  
FZDS  
FZDDS

	FMB		
<i>na'</i>	M		
	MZ		
	MFZSD		
	MFZDSD		
	MBZDDSD		
<i>'aji'</i> <sup>1</sup>	eB		
	FBS <sub>e</sub>		
	MZS <sub>e</sub>		
	MB		
	MFZSS		
	MFZDSS		
	MFZDDSS		
	FZSS <sub>e</sub>		
	FZDSS <sub>e</sub>		
<i>we'</i> <sup>1</sup>	eZ		
	FBDe		
	MZDe		
	FZ		
	FZD		
	FZDD		
	FZDDD		
	FZSDe		
	FZDSDe		
<i>xa'</i> <sup>1</sup>	yB		
	yZ		
	FBCY		
	MZCy		
<i>Citation form</i>	<i>Any ego</i>	<i>Male ego</i>	<i>Female ego</i>
	FZSCy		
	FZDSCy		
	FFZSSCy		
	FFZDSSCy		
<i>taramaju'</i> <sup>2</sup>	B		

'aramana<sup>2</sup>
$$Z$$

<sup>1</sup> The plural form for '*aji*', we, and *xa'*, when they refer to siblings, is *xere*.

<sup>2</sup> These two terms are rarely used, and then only to identify one's full blooded brother or sister. These relationships can also be expressed with a headless relative clause, illustrated in (845).

(845) a	co	win	terem'	ta'
	INFL:m/frp/p	same	lie:down:s	1s
	'the one with whom I lay (slept) (as a child)'			
(845) b.	co	jao	wina wina-0	ta'
	INFL:m/frp/p	together	head-1s	1s
	'the one with whom I was raised (like a pet)'			

<i>Citation form</i>	<i>Any ego</i>	<i>Male ego</i>	<i>Female ego</i>
<i>panxita'</i>	C		
<i>panxica 'aji'/xa</i> <sup>1</sup>	BC FBSC FZSSC FFZSSSC FMBC MBC MFZSSC MFZDSSC		
<i>panxica jeo</i> <sup>1</sup>	MMBC		

<sup>1</sup> Male ego can also refer to these relationships as *panxita*'.

<i>Citation form</i>	<i>Any ego</i>	<i>Male ego</i>	<i>Female ego</i>
<i>cawiji</i> <sup>1</sup>			<sup>1</sup> S
<i>cawinacam we/xa</i> <sup>2</sup>	ZS FBDS FZSDS FFZSSDS MZDS MFZSDDS		
<i>caina</i> <sup>1</sup>			D
<i>cainacam we/xa</i> <sup>2</sup>	ZD FBDD FZSDD		
<i>Citation form</i>	<i>Any ego</i>	<i>Male ego</i>	<i>Female ego</i>
	FFZSSDD MZDD MFZSDDD		

<sup>1</sup> The plural form for *caina* and *cawiji* is *humaju*.

<sup>2</sup> Female ego can also refer to these relationships as *cawiji/caina*.

<i>Citation form</i>	<i>Any ego</i>	<i>Male ego</i>	<i>Female ego</i>
<i>wixi</i>	ZS MZDS MFZSDDS FBDS FZSDS FFZSSDS		
<i>nowin</i>	ZD MZDD MFZSDDD FBDD FZSDD FFZSSDD		
<i>wina</i> <sup>1</sup>		CS	DS
	BCS ZDS FBSCS FBDDS FZSSS MZSCS MZDDS MBCS MMBCS MMBCCS MMBCCCS		
<i>jina</i> <sup>1</sup>		CD	DD
	BCD ZDD FBSCD FBDDD FZSSD MZSCD MZDDD MBCD MMBCD MMBCCD MMBCCCD		
<i>Citation form</i>	<i>Any ego</i>	<i>Male ego</i>	<i>Female ego</i>
<i>wiji</i> <sup>1</sup>			SC ZSC FBDSC MZDSC

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the general principle of mixed groups being marked for plural number by feminine.

person markers, references to two or more grandchildren (whether *wina*, *jina*, or *wiji*) of both sexes is made by the plural form of *wina* 'grandson': *waram wina*.

Persons identified by the same term can be contrasted by use of the following type of phrase:

- |          |   |          |                 |
|----------|---|----------|-----------------|
| (846) a. | we  | con      | te              |
|          | elder:sister:1s                               | prep:3m  | father:1s       |
|          | 'my elder sister by means of my father' (FZ)  |          |                 |
| (846) b. | te  | cam      | we              |
|          | father:1s                                     | prep:3sf | elder:sister:1s |
|          | 'my father by means of my elder sister' (FZS) |          |                 |
| (846) c. | 'aji'   | cam      | na'             |
|          | elder:brother:1s                              | prep:3sf | mother:1s       |
|          | 'my elder brother by means of my mother' (MB) |          |                 |

Clarification is also sometimes made by use of the modifiers *xucun* 'other of something masculine', *xequem* 'other of something feminine', and 'iri' 'truly' preceding the kinship term (*xucun te* 'my other father', *xequem na* 'my other mother', '*iri*' *xa*' 'my real brother'). We believe, however, that these clarifications are more for the benefit of outsiders. There is no need for this type of distinction within the Wari' society.

References to deceased relatives are usually made in the plural:

- |       |   |        |             |       |                  |
|-------|---|--------|-------------|-------|------------------|
| (847) | Coromicat   | tamana | 'inonon     | waram | 'aji'.           |
|       |   |        | 'ina-ocon   |       |                  |
|       | think   | much   | 1s:rp/p-3pm | coll  | older:brother:1s |
|       | 'I am very sad about my older brother (lit: older brothers).' |        |             |       |                  |

Reference is also often made to any deceased relative, but particularly a deceased sibling, by '*oro jima*' 'dead ones' followed by a nominal inflectional clitic marking possession:

- |       |   |                    |             |         |            |       |
|-------|---|--------------------|-------------|---------|------------|-------|
| (848) | 'Ac   | 'i ma'             | na          | tata    | ca         | tomi' |
|       | like  | n that:prox:hearer | 3s:rp/p     | pass:3p | INFL:nrp/p | speak |
|       | caca  | 'oro jima          | nexi'       |         | pane.      |       |
|       | 3pm   | coll dead:one      | poss:1pincl |         | rem:past   |       |
|       | 'It was like that, what our dead relative (lit: dead relatives) said long ago.' |                    |             |         |            |       |

#### 5.1.1.3. Relationships by marriage

Distance relatives are marriageable. Reference is made to these persons as illustrated in (849). Anyone with whom one is *hwaramu* (kinship term) 'chin related' (evidently



- vii. wijapi WM  
 copa' cacama mana panxita'  
 'my children's maternal grandmother'

In addition, the following relationships are expressed only by possessed NPS. Again, the relationship for a childless marriage is listed first, and that for a marriage with children is listed immediately following it. Any other relationships by marriage, e.g. HBW, HZH, WZH or WBW, are usually identified by their sanguineal relationship, since in fact all the members of a given subgroup, and often across subgroup boundaries, are related in some way or another.

- |  | <i>Any ego</i> | <i>Male ego</i> | <i>Female ego</i> |
|--|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| viii. cote ca taxi<br>cojeo' cacama humaju<br>'my children's grandfather'                    |                |                 | HF                |
| ix. cowe ca taxi<br>cowe cacama humaju<br>'my children's elder sister/ paternal aunt'        |                |                 | HZ                |
| x. coxa' ca taxi<br>cowe cacama humaju<br>'my children's elder sister/ paternal aunt'        |                |                 | HZ                |
| xi. coxa' ca taxi<br>cote cacama humaju<br>'my children's father'                            |                |                 | HB                |
| xii. cwaji' ca taxi<br>cote cacama humaju<br>'my children's father'                          |                |                 | HB, HMB           |
| xiii. manacon 'aji'<br>jicocon mana panxica 'aji'<br>'my elder brother's children's mother'  | MBW            |                 |                   |
| xiv. manacon 'aji'/xa'<br>jicocon mana panxica 'aji'/xa'<br>'my brother's children's mother' | BW             |                 |                   |
|  | <i>Any ego</i> | <i>Male ego</i> | <i>Female ego</i> |
| xv. manacon cawiji<br>jicacam waram wiji   |                |                 | SW                |

	'my son's children's mother'	
xvi.	manacon panxita'	SW
	jicacam waram wina	
	'my grandchildren's mother'	
xvii.	taxicam caina	DH
	cote cacama waram wina	
	'my grandchildren's father'	
xviii.	taxicam panxita'	DH
	cote cacama waram wina	
	'my grandchildren's father'	

#### 5.1.1.4. Relationships by adoption

Two verb compounds describe adopting, or raising, children other than one's own. These verbs can be used either as verbs (850a) or in headless *co* relative clauses whose construction is similar to *co*-kinship clauses (850b):

(850) a.	Pe	horona		'inam		To'o.
		horona-0		'ina-m		
	be:at:s	largeness-1s		1s:rp/p-3sf		f:name
	'I raised To'o.' (lit, 'I was with her and "larged" her.')					
(850) b.	Mi'	pin	na	caina caina-0	co	'o
	give	completely	3s:rp/p	daughter-1s	INFL:m/frp/p	lead
	wina wina-0	pe	cama	wijam	pane.	
	head-1s	be:at:s	3sf	non:Indian	rem:past	
	'My daughter, whom the non-Indian raised (lit. led off and made a pet of her), died.'					

#### 5.1.2. Colour terminology

<i>tum</i>	blue, green
<i>coxic</i>	yellow, light orange
<i>mixem</i>	black, brown, dark
<i>paca'</i>	red, dark orange, ripe
<i>towo'</i>	white, any light colour
<i>'ururu</i>	speckled, variegated
<i>xirao'</i>	striped, printed

The terms for colours are verbs. They occur as verbs as well as derived nouns.



(851) a.		Paca'	na		womicam.	
					womi-cam	
		red	3s:rp/p		cotton-3sf	
		'Her clothing is red.'				
(851) b.	Param	nain	ca	paca'	nucun	wom.
		na-in				
	desire	3s:rp/p-3n	INFL:nrp/p	red	poss:3sm	cotton
	'She wants red clothing.'					

### 5.1.3. Body parts

Most terms for body parts are *-xi'* nouns, occurring either alone or in possessed NPS with other *-xi'* nouns. A few terms are nouns derived from verbs. In either case, they are obligatorily possessed, with the first person plural inclusive inflection (marked by *-xi'* or *nexi'*) being the citation form. All terms for body parts belong to the neuter gender class of nouns. Some *xi'* terms have an unpossessed alternate form which is enclosed in parentheses in the following list:

abdomen	<i>mataraxi'</i>
Adam's apple	<i>'am nao' nexi'</i> (lit. 'our thing that goes "nao"')
amniotic fluid	<i>turucun pije'</i> (lit. 'child's urine')
anus	<i>xoromanexi'</i> ( <i>xoroman</i> )
arch	<i>quimain caximaxi'</i> (lit. 'foot's chest')
arm	<i>taparaxi'</i> ( <i>tapan</i> )
armpit	<i>pahunexi'</i>
back	<i>waraxi'</i>
(lower)	<i>hopajixi'</i>
(upper)	<i>xonexi'</i>
backbone	<i>'arain panajixi'</i> (lit. 'our tree's bone')
beard	<i>ca 'orot ne hwaramaxi'</i> (lit. 'when our chin sprouts')
belly	<i>monoxi'</i> ( <i>mon</i> )
bladder	<i>xirinain torexixi'</i> (lit. 'our urine's house')
blood	<i>quixi'</i> ( <i>wic</i> )
body	<i>cwerexi'</i>
bone	<i>'araxi'</i> ( <i>at</i> )
bones inside ear	<i>'arain tarajixi'</i> (lit. 'our ear's bone')

brain	<i>oropijexi'</i> ('oropec)
breast	<i>caraxixi'</i> (catat)
breastbone	<i>'arain quimaxi'</i> (lit. 'our chest's bone')
buttocks	<i>nomonoxi'</i> (nomon)
cheek	<i>'orocoxi'</i>
chest	<i>quimaxi'</i> (quim)
chin	<i>hwaramaxi'</i>
clavicle	<i>'arain totowa nexi'</i> (lit. 'our swinging thing's bone') <i>totowa nexi'</i> (lit. 'our swinging thing')
ear	<i>tarajixi'</i> (tara')
earwax	<i>ximain tarajixi'</i> ( <i>ximain tara'</i> ) (lit. 'our ear's secretion')
elbow	<i>caramaxi'</i> (caram) (lit. 'our joint')
eye	<i>tocoxi'</i> (toc)
(pupil)	<i>tocojami tocoxi'</i> (lit. 'our eye's glintiness')
eyebrow (hair)	<i>cotocoxi'</i> (cotoc)
(ridge)	<i>'arain tocoxi'</i> (lit. 'our eye's bone')
eyelash	<i>cotocoxi'</i> (cotoc)
eyelid	<i>tapari tocoxi'</i> (lit. 'our eye's skin')
face	<i>tocoxi'</i> (toc)
finger nail	<i>xiquinaxi'</i> (xiquin)
fingers	<i>mixi', orojimain mixi'</i> (um) (lit. 'our hand', 'our hand's babies')
flesh	<i>cwerexi'</i>
foot	<i>caximaxi'</i> (caxim)
forehead	<i>jitaraxi'</i> (jitara')
gall bladder	<i>tojaxi'</i>
gums	<i>cwerein xixi'</i> (lit. 'our teeth's flesh')
hair	<i>tenenexi'</i> (xun)
(body)	<i>moronaxi'</i>
(white)	<i>taraho'</i>
hand	<i>mixi'</i> (um)
head	<i>winaxi'</i> (waji')
(crown)	<i>tamaxi'</i> (tam)
heart	<i>ximixi'</i> (xim)

heel	<i>coconaxi' caramaxi'</i> (lit. 'our joint')
hip	<i>cocoxi'</i>
hip joint	<i>tucu mijac nexi'</i> (lit. 'our (thing that has a) pig's eye (in it)')
intestines	<i>monoxi' (mon)</i>
jaw	<i>hwaramaxi'</i>
joint	<i>caramaxi' (caram)</i>
kidney	<i>tocwi tocwi nexi'</i> (lit. 'our "seeds"')
knee	<i>caramaxi' (caram)</i>
knuckle	<i>'orojimain caramaxi'</i> (lit. 'our joint's babies')
left hand or left side	<i>parajixi'</i>
leg	<i>'araxi' (at)</i> (lit. 'our bone')
(lower)	<i>pixijaxi'</i>
(upper) thigh	<i>cocoxi'</i>
lips	<i>capijaxi' (topac)</i>
liver	<i>tarawanaxi' (tarawan)</i>
lung	<i>hoho' nexi'</i>
menstruation	<i>quixi', (wic)</i> (lit. 'our blood') <i>ca xirac nexi'</i> ('our magicalness')
milk	<i>comi caraxixi' (comi catat)</i> (lit. 'our breast's water')
moustache	<i>ca 'orot ne capijaxi' (ca 'orot ne topac)</i> (lit. 'when our mouth sprouts')
mouth	<i>capijaxi' (topac)</i>
mucus (eye)	<i>ximain tocoxi' (ximain toc)</i> (lit. 'our eye's secretion')
(nose)	<i>ximain werexi' (ximain 'ut)</i> (lit. 'our nose's secretion')
nail (finger, toc)	<i>xiquinaxi' (xiquin)</i>
neck	<i>paramaxi'</i>
(nap)	<i>xun pe nexi'</i> (lit. 'our (place) where hair (is)')
nipple	<i>werein caraxixi' (werein catat)</i> (lit. 'our breast's nose')
nose	<i>werexi' ('ut)</i>
nostrils	<i>manain werexi'</i> (lit. 'our nose's holes')
oesophagus	<i>macori canemixi'</i> (lit. 'our throat's vine')
palm of hand	<i>mixi'</i> (lit. 'hand')
penis	<i>cataxi' (xicat)</i> <i>ca xirac nexi'</i> (lit. 'our magicalness')

pimple	<i>tocon hwam</i> (lit. 'fish's eye')
placenta	<i>xiricon pije'</i> (lit. 'child's house')
rib	<i>tocoxixi'</i> ' <i>arain tocoxixi'</i> (lit. 'our rib's bone')
right hand or right side	' <i>iri' cwerexi'</i> (lit. 'our true body')
saliva	<i>morocacaxi'</i>
scrotum	<i>towiraxi'</i> ( <i>towit</i> )
seminal fluid	<i>waraquixi'</i> (lit. 'our sap')
shoulder	<i>tiquirimixi'</i> ( <i>tiquirim</i> )
shoulder blade	<i>tohonaxi'</i> , <i>toconaxi'</i> ( <i>toconan</i> )
side	<i>quirixi'</i>
skin	<i>taparixi'</i>
skull	<i>xowinaxi'</i> , <i>tacawinaxi'</i>
soft spot	<i>pinaxi'</i> ( <i>pi'</i> )
spinal cord	<i>carapitaxi'</i> (lit. 'our vein')
spleen	' <i>orocoxixi'</i>
stomach	<i>pemenexi'</i>
sweat	<i>ca nahwere' nexi'</i> (lit. 'our sweating')
tears	<i>comi tocoxi'</i> (lit. 'our eyes' water')
temple	<i>cao' top nexi'</i> (lit. 'our eating-jumping thing')
testicle	<i>towiraxi'</i> ' <i>arajein towiraxi'</i> (lit. 'our scrotum's eggs')
throat	<i>canemixi'</i> ( <i>canom</i> ) ' <i>ara nao' nexi'</i> (lit. 'our thing that goes "nao"')
toes	' <i>orojimain caximaxi'</i> (lit. 'our feet's babies') <i>werein caximaxi'</i> (lit. 'our feet's noses')
tongue	<i>petehwet nexi'</i> ( <i>petehwet</i> )
teeth	<i>xixi'</i> ( <i>jat</i> )
tooth (back and lower)	<i>hwaramaxi'</i> (lit. 'our jaw')
(root)	<i>caximain xixi'</i> (lit. 'our teeth's foot')
(upper front)	<i>werexi'</i> (lit. 'our nose')
umbilical cord, belly button	<i>nojixi'</i> ( <i>noin'</i> )
urine	<i>torexi'</i> ( <i>xut</i> )
uterus	<i>pijenexi'</i> ( <i>hopenexi'</i> )

vagina	<i>manaxi'</i> ( <i>man</i> ) (lit. 'our hole')
vein, artery	<i>carapitaxi'</i> ( <i>carapit</i> )
waist	<i>ximijaxi'</i> (lit. 'our middle')
wrinkles	<i>ca 'iriwin ne cwerexi'</i> (lit. 'when our body wrinkles')
wrist	<i>mixi'</i> (lit. 'our hand')

#### 5.1.4. Cooking terminology

##### 5.1.4.1. Cooking methods

boil	<i>poc poc</i>
cook in water	<i>hoc</i>
fry	<i>xu</i>
roast in leaves on top of coals	<i>miri'</i>
roast on rack	<i>xain</i>
roast on top of coals	<i>mixi'</i>
toast	<i>pain'</i>
wrap in leaves and roast on rack	<i>witop</i>

##### 5.1.4.2. Cooking implements

The following cooking implements were traditionally used before the Wari' people had contact with the outside world. They are still used nowadays.

flat, elongated stone used to grind corn	<i>pacun</i> ( <i>pacorixi'</i> )
flat, round board (cut from the spine of the root of a certain tree) on which corn is ground	<i>pana</i> ( <i>panajixi'</i> )
roasting rack made of sticks laid across two horizontal poles supported by four perpendicular poles stuck in the ground	<i>quitam</i> ( <i>quitamixi'</i> )
same as pana above (lit. 'hip of tree')	<i>hopaji pana</i>

The following cooking implements, traditionally used before the contact, are no longer used.

clay pot (large ones are used for cooking; small ones are covered with strips of rubber ( <i>caoutchouc</i> ) to make drums)	<i>tapaxi'</i> ( <i>tapaxinaxi'</i> )
flat-bottomed clay bowl	<i>cawato'</i>
medium-sized clay pot, used for carrying water (lit. 'that with which water is brought')	<i>mam 'in wa com</i>

oval-shaped bowl for drinking water	<i>tocowora'</i>
small clay pot with pointed bottom and wide mouth, used to drink corn beer (lit: 'that with which one drinks')	<i>mam toc mam toc</i> <i>wa</i>

Nowadays purchased cooking implements are used (aluminum pots, pressure cookers, enamel plates and cups, spoons, etc.), and these are identified by their Portuguese names.

#### 5.1.4.3. Typical dishes

Cooking procedures are kept to a minimum. Fish, game, manioc root, or sweet potatoes are either boiled or roasted over an open fire or on coals; grubs are wrapped in leaves and roasted on top of coals; corn is toasted; and the following corn dishes are prepared:

corn beer	<i>taracop (taracopixi')</i> <i>tocwa (tocwajixi')</i>
cornbread (roasted or boiled)	<i>capam' (pamixi')</i>

### 5.1.5. Artefact terminology

#### 5.1.5.1. Woven artefacts

All woven artefacts are made from leaves from the following palm trees: *caxima* 'babaçu', *wao'* 'tucumõ', *torot* 'aricuri', and *tarawan* 'patuá'. The leaves bear the name of the trees from which they come.

flat basket hastily woven from mature palm leaves; trailing ends of leaves are tied across the opening to serve as carrying handle *tequiram*

one-piece basket for carrying heavy loads on back, supported by sling on forehead; woven from tender palm shoots *xocat*

round basket woven from tender shoots of the palm tree that bears this name *wao'*

sleeping mat *wi*

small mat used as a fan; woven from tender palm shoots *hwijam*  
(*hwijamixi'*)

two-piece basket (base with separate insert) for carrying heavy loads on back, supported by sling on forehead; woven from tender palm shoots *coco (cotaxi')*

#### 5.1.5.2. Hunting/warring artefacts

arrow, with attached point made of hard palm wood; used for shooting fish *cahuru*

arrow, with separate point made of bamboo; used for shooting game *quiwo' (conaxi')*

arrow, with separate point made of bamboo, attached to a short length of hard palm wood; used in warfare *tiquiwo'*

bow, made from the wood of the palm tree that bears this name *temem'*

club (long pole with sharp edge, hewn from the wood of the tree that bears this name) *mapao'*  
(*mapawirixi'*)

### 5.1.5.3. Festive artefacts

arrangement of two long tail feathers from the parrot that bears this name	<i>taramin</i>
drum, made from a clay pot covered with strips of crude rubber ( <i>towa</i> “caoutchouk”)	<i>towa</i>
flute, made of a length of bamboo (35 cm) with a hollowed nut on top	<i>xuwiwio'</i>
musical wind instrument made of bamboo, approximately 3m long and 3 cm in diameter, with a Brazil nut shell on the end	<i>huroroin'</i>
musical wind instrument made of bamboo, approximately 60 cm long and 5 cm in diameter	<i>hutop</i>
two hollowed logs, hung parallel to each other and used as drums	<i>tain tom</i>

## 5.1.6. Agriculture terminology

### 5.1.6.1. Crops grown in the area

The following crops were traditionally planted in gardens prepared by the slash and burn method:

cará (a starchy root, purple or yellow in colour)	<i>xuxut</i>
corn	<i>mapac (paxixi')</i>
hard corn	<i>'opacon 'opacon</i>
manioc (yucca)	<i>cop (copixi')</i>
papaya	<i>macojam (macojamixi')</i>
sweet potato	<i>tamatan (tamataraxi')</i>

Crops more recently introduced since the contact, such as beans, rice and a variety of fruits (bananas, oranges, pineapples, etc.), are identified by their Portuguese names.

### 5.1.6.2. Agricultural activities

to clear the jungle growth to make a garden (derived from the -xi' noun for garden— <i>totaxi'</i> )	<i>tota</i>
to cut down a tree (lit. cut and break)	<i>ta' cat</i>
to cut down a tree (lit. hit and break)	<i>to' cat</i>
to cut undergrowth	<i>wawac</i>
to harvest	<i>top</i>
to hoe (lit. chop and chase)	<i>ton ho</i>

to plant	<i>oi'</i>
to store harvested corn	<i>xi'</i>

### 5.1.7. Weather terminology

cold south wind	<i>towapiji</i>
lightning	<i>jam</i>
rain	<i>xowi'</i>
thunder	<i>comerem</i>
wind	<i>hotowa</i>

## 5.2. BASIC VOCABULARY

In the following list, both the possessed and unpossessed forms of nouns are shown. The citation form is shown first (in the case of body parts, this is the possessed form; in the case of common objects, this is the unpossessed form), and the alternate form follows it, enclosed in parentheses. Where semantically possible, the first person plural inclusive form of the possessed noun is shown; where this is not possible, the third person neuter form is shown. Singular and plural forms of a verb are indicated by '/' separating the two words. Literal glosses are enclosed in quotation marks. The gender of nouns is indicated after the 'ON form.

5.2.1	all	<i>xam'</i>
5.2.2	and	see 1.3
5.2.3	animal	<i>carawa</i> (n)
5.2.4	ashes	<i>topacon</i> (n)
5.2.5	at	see 2.1.5
5.2.6	back	<i>waraxi'</i> (n)
	lower	<i>hopajixi'</i> (n)
	upper	<i>xonexi'</i> (n)
5.2.7	bad ('strangeness')	<i>caji</i> (n)
	('be badly made')	<i>'em'</i>
	('do badly to')	<i>'am xirac</i>
5.2.8	bark ('skin')	<i>tapari</i> (n)
5.2.9	because	see 1.1.2.4.2.4
5.2.10	belly ('intestines')	<i>monoxi'</i> ( <i>mon</i> ) (n)
5.2.11	big, to be	<i>hwara'/horon</i>



	('its father')	<i>cote ne</i>
5.2.12	bird	<i>me</i> (m, n)
5.2.13	bite, to	<i>quio</i>
	('to suck', e.g. mosquito)	<i>xoc</i>
5.2.14	black, to be	<i>mixem</i>
5.2.15	blood	<i>quixi'</i> ( <i>wic</i> ) (n)
5.2.16	blow, to (the nose)	<i>hi</i>
	(with the mouth)	<i>hu, huco'</i>
	(wind)	<i>nuru, pahop</i>
5.2.17	bone	<i>'araxi'</i> ( <i>at</i> ) (n)
5.2.18	breast	<i>caraxixi'</i> ( <i>catat</i> ) (n)
5.2.19	breathe, to	<i>wereme</i>
5.2.20	burn, to	<i>tom, wiran, caraho', narana, weo</i>
5.2.21	child	<i>pije'</i> ( <i>m, f</i> )
5.2.22	claw ('fingernail')	<i>xiquinain</i>
5.2.23	cloud ('smoke of the sky')	<i>tajain nanawin</i> (n)
5.2.24	cold, to be (person)	<i>capin'</i>
	(object)	<i>xio</i>
5.2.25	come, to	<i>maqui'</i>
5.2.26	count, to ('tell')	<i>pijim'</i>
	('say correctly')	<i>tomi' xo'</i>
	('open correctly, e.g. count money')	<i>pa xo'</i>
5.2.27	cut, to (grass, cloth, etc.)	<i>wac/wawac; nacam' /nacaracam'</i>
	(grass, cloth, etc.)	<i>ta</i>
	(hair)	<i>wijac</i>
5.2.28	day	<i>xec</i> (n)
5.2.29	die, to	<i>mi' pin/cono'</i>
5.2.30	dig, to	<i>xe</i>
5.2.31	dirty, to be ('black')	<i>mixem</i>
5.2.32	dog	<i>'oromijac</i> (m)
5.2.33	drink to	<i>toc/tototoc</i>
5.2.34	dry, to be	<i>cawain'</i>

5.2.35	dull, to be ('to not be shiny')	<i>ca 'om toc meremem wa</i>
5.2.36	dust ('smoke')	<i>tain' (n)</i>
	fine dust ('little dirt')	<i>'orojimain macan' (n)</i>
5.2.37	ear	<i>tarajixi' (tara') (n)</i>
5.2.38	earth	<i>macan' (macaraxi') (n)</i>
5.2.39	eat, to	<i>cao'/cacacao'</i>
5.2.40	egg ('its egg')	<i>'arajein (n)</i>
5.2.41	eye	<i>tocoxí' (toc) (n)</i>
5.2.42	fall	<i>pan' /camara'</i>
5.2.43	far	<i>pira</i>
5.2.44	fat/grease	<i>homain (n)</i>
5.2.45	father, my	<i>te (m)</i>
5.2.46	fear, to	<i>jin'</i>
5.2.47	feather ('hair')	<i>tenenein (xun) (n)</i>
	white downy feathers of a bird ('hair of the bird')	<i>moronacon me (n)</i>
5.2.48	few, to be	<i>paric</i>
	('to be not many')	<i>ca 'om tocwan wa</i>
	('to be a little')	<i>píje' ca'</i>
	(a few—'others')	<i>'oro wirain (n)</i>
5.2.49	fight, to	<i>mixita</i>
	('to be angry')	<i>mana'</i>
	fight (noun)	<i>miji' (n)</i>
5.2.50	fire	<i>xe (xajixi') (n)</i>
5.2.51	fish	<i>hwam (hwamixi') (m)</i>
5.2.52	five	—
5.2.53	float, to	<i>ho/horoho</i>
5.2.54	flow, to	<i>weo, weweweo</i>
5.2.55	flower, to	<i>piwain</i>
	(blossom)	<i>wijein</i>
5.2.56	fly, to	<i>taqui'/toin</i>
	(insect)	<i>tohoró' (m)</i>
5.2.57	fog	<i>murucucu' (n)</i>
5.2.58	foot	<i>caximaxi' (caxim) (n)</i>

5.2.59	four	—
5.2.60	freeze, to ('to be hard')	<i>xao</i>
5.2.61	fruit	<i>memem, winain</i> (m, n)
5.2.62	full, to be (a vessel)	<i>moin' /moromoin'</i>
	(after having eaten)	<i>ma' am</i>
5.2.63	give, to	<i>mi'</i>
5.2.64	good, to be	<i>'awi</i>
5.2.65	grass	<i>tononoin</i> (n)
5.2.66	green, to be	<i>tum</i>
5.2.67	guts ('intestines')	<i>monoxi' (mon)</i> (m)
5.2.68	hair	<i>tenenexi' (xun)</i> (n)
5.2.69	hand	<i>mixi' (um)</i> (n)
5.2.70	he (demonstrative pronoun)	<i>co ma'</i>
5.2.71	head	<i>winaxi' (waji')</i> (n)
5.2.72	hear, to	<i>taraju</i>
5.2.73	heart	<i>ximixi' (xim)</i> (n)
5.2.74	heavy, to be	<i>xite, ta' man, te' man</i>
5.2.75	here ('this')	<i>'i ca'</i>
5.2.76	hit, to	<i>to'</i>
5.2.77	hold/take, to	<i>quep</i>
5.2.78	horn ('thorn')	<i>pixinain</i> (n)
5.2.79	how	see 1.1.1.2.2
5.2.80	hunt, to ('for game')	<i>ji'am</i>
	(('kill'))	<i>pa'</i>
	(('look for'))	<i>nororo, pirao'</i>
5.2.81	husband, my	<i>taxi</i> (m)
5.2.82	I (emphatic pronoun)	<i>wata'</i>
5.2.83	ice ('cold cold')	<i>xio xio</i>
5.2.84	if	see 1.1.2.4.2.5
5.2.85	in	see 2.1.5
5.2.86	kill, to	<i>pa'</i>
	(('hit and kill'))	<i>to' pa'</i>

5.2.87	knee ('joint')	<i>caramaxi'</i> ( <i>caram</i> )
5.2.88	know, to (a fact)	<i>taxi'</i>
	(a person-‘see’)	<i>querec</i>
	(‘to recognize’)	<i>querec pin'</i>
5.2.89	lake	<i>xuterem'</i> (n)
5.2.90	laugh, to	<i>tatam'</i> , <i>catam'</i>
5.2.91	leaf (of a tree)	<i>tan (tajixi')</i> (n)
	(‘leaves of trees’)	<i>tenenein pana</i> (n)
5.2.92	left side	<i>parajixi'</i> (n)
5.2.93	leg (‘bone’)	<i>'araxi'</i> ( <i>at</i> ) (n)
	(lower)	<i>pixijaxi'</i> (n)
	(upper)	<i>cocoxi'</i> (n)
5.2.94	lie (i.e. be in lying position)	<i>terem'/toco'</i>
	lie (to tell a lie)	<i>mixein</i>
5.2.95	live, to	<i>'e'</i>
5.2.96	liver	<i>tarawanaxi'</i> ( <i>tarawan</i> ) (n)
5.2.97	long, to be	<i>matam</i>
	(‘to be big’)	<i>hwara' /horon</i>
	(‘its father’)	<i>cote ne</i> (n)
5.2.98	louse	<i>'io'</i> (m)
5.2.99	man/male	<i>tarama'</i> (m)
5.2.100	many, to be	<i>'iri' mijo, mija</i>
5.2.101	meat /flesh	<i>carawa (caramajixi')</i> (n)
	(flesh)	<i>cwerexi'</i> (n)
5.2.102	moon	<i>panawo'</i> (m)
5.2.103	mother, my	<i>na'</i> (f)
5.2.104	mountain (‘rock’)	<i>pacun</i> (n)
5.2.105	mouth	<i>capijaxi'</i> ( <i>topac</i> ) (n)
5.2.106	name	<i>wixixi'</i> ( <i>wit</i> ) (n)
5.2.107	narrow (‘when its interior is not large’)	<i>ca 'om hwara' ne quimain</i>
5.2.108	near, to be	<i>wixicam pin</i>
	(‘completely small’)	

	(‘not far’)	<i>ca 'om hwarao' wa</i>
5.2.109	neck	<i>paramaxi' (n)</i>
5.2.110	new, to be	<i>xocori (n)</i>
5.2.111	night	<i>xim (n)</i>
5.2.112	nose	<i>werexi' ('ut) (n)</i>
5.2.113	not	see 1.4
5.2.114	old, to be	<i>mara', horon</i>
5.2.115	one, to be	<i>xica' pe/xica' to</i>
5.2.116	other (of the same)	<i>wirain (n)</i>
	(of something different)	<i>xijein (n)</i>
5.2.117	person (1pl incl emphatic pronoun)	<i>wari' (m)</i>
5.2.118	play, to	<i>waraju</i>
5.2.119	pull, to	<i>cöc</i>
5.2.120	push, to	<i>jöc</i>
5.2.121	rain	<i>xowi' (n)</i>
5.2.122	red, to be	<i>paca'</i>
5.2.123	right/correct, to be	<i>xo'</i>
5.2.124	rightside (‘our true body’)	<i>'iri' cwerexi' (n)</i>
5.2.125	river (‘water’)	<i>com (n)</i>
	(large river-’ true body of the water’)	<i>'iri' cwerein com (n)</i>
5.2.126	road (‘path’)	<i>wana (wanajixi') (n)</i>
5.2.127	root (‘foot’)	<i>caximain (n)</i>
5.2.128	rope (‘vine’)	<i>macon (macorixi') (n)</i>
5.2.129	rotten, to be	<i>xowuru</i>
5.2.130	round, to be	<i>mono'o</i>
5.2.131	rub, to	<i>xic</i>
	(‘to scrape’)	<i>uruc</i>
5.2.132	salt	<i>sal (Portuguese) (n)</i>
5.2.133	sand	<i>namaji (n)</i>
5.2.134	say, to (‘to speak’)	<i>tomi'</i>
5.2.135	scratch, to	<i>pixac</i>
	(‘to scrape’)	<i>curuc</i>

	(‘to cut’)	<i>wac</i>
5.2.136	sea (‘big water’)	<i>cote ne com</i> (n)
5.2.137	see, to	<i>querec</i>
5.2.138	seed	<i>tocoi</i> (n)
5.2.139	sew, to (‘to puncture’)	<i>'oc</i>
5.2.140	sharp, to be (knife)	<i>xa'</i>
	(‘when it has teeth’)	<i>ca ma' ne xinain</i>
5.2.141	short (‘smallness’)	<i>wijimain</i> (n)
	(‘when it’s not big’)	<i>ca 'om hwara' ne</i>
5.2.142	sing, to	<i>com</i>
5.2.143	sit, to (pound, beat)	<i>xao' pe/xao' to</i>
5.2.144	skin	<i>taparixi'</i> (n)
5.2.145	sky	<i>nanawin</i> (n)
	(‘the heights’)	<i>pawin</i> (n)
5.2.146	sleep, to	<i>pi' am</i>
5.2.147	small (‘smallness’)	<i>wijimain</i> (n)
	(‘when it’s not big’)	<i>ca 'om hwara' ne</i>
5.2.148	smell, to	<i>nac, hu</i>
5.2.149	smoke	<i>tain'</i> (n)
5.2.150	smooth, to be (‘to be slippery’)	<i>topixic</i>
5.2.151	snake	<i>'em'</i> (m)
5.2.152	snow (‘when rain is hard’)	<i>ca xao ne xowi'</i>
5.2.153	some	<i>'araca'</i>
	(a few—‘others’)	<i>wirain</i>
5.2.154	spit, to	<i>hupa', cupa'</i>
5.2.155	split, to (e.g. wood)	<i>to' pahot/to' pahorohot</i>
5.2.156	squeeze, to	<i>hum'</i>
5.2.157	stab/pierce, to	<i>xucuin'</i>
5.2.158	stand, to	<i>tequi' pe/tequi' to</i>
5.2.159	star	<i>pijo'</i> (m)
5.2.160	stick (noun) (‘small wood’)	<i>wijimain pana</i> (n)
	(verb)	<i>'oc</i>
5.2.161	stone	<i>pacun (pacorixi')</i> (n)

5.2.162	straight, to be ('good')	<i>'awi</i>
	('not bent')	<i>ca 'om xone ne</i>
5.2.163	suck, to ('to nurse')	<i>xoc</i>
	(e.g. candy)	<i>xac</i>
5.2.164	sun	<i>xina</i> (m)
5.2.165	swell, to	<i>mom</i>
5.2.166	swim, to	<i>pan' cam /pan' caracam</i>
5.2.167	tail	<i>cahwerein</i> (n)
5.2.168	that (distal)	<i>'i cain</i>
5.2.169	there (proximate to hearer)	<i>'i ma'</i>
5.2.170	they (demonstrative pronoun)	<i>caram ma'</i>
5.2.171	thick, to be ('fleshy')	<i>cwere</i>
5.2.172	thin, to be	<i>xaxi'</i>
	('to be not fleshy')	<i>ca 'om ne ca cwere wa</i>
5.2.173	think, to	<i>coromicat</i>
5.2.174	this (proximate to speaker)	<i>'i ca'</i>
5.2.175	thou (emphatic pronoun)	<i>wum</i>
5.2.176	three	—
5.2.177	throw, to	<i>xin/wixicao'</i>
5.2.178	tie, to	<i>tucu</i>
5.2.179	tongue	<i>petehwet nexi' (petehwet)</i> (n)
5.2.180	tooth	<i>xixi' (jat)</i> (n)
5.2.181	tree ('wood')	<i>pana</i> (n)
5.2.182	turn, to	<i>jami</i>
5.2.183	two ('facing each other')	<i>tucu caracan</i>
5.2.184	vomit, to	<i>we'</i>
5.2.185	walk, to	<i>xut/xuruxut</i>
5.2.186	warm, to be	<i>xain, nonoc</i>
5.2.187	wash, to (an object)	<i>hohoc</i>
	(clothes -'hit')	<i>to'</i>
5.2.188	water	<i>com (comixi')</i> (n)
5.2.189	we	

	(emphatic pronoun—incl)	<i>wari'</i>
	(emphatic pronoun—excl)	<i>warut</i>
5.2.190	wet, to be	<i>xo'</i>
5.2.191	what	see 1.1.1.2.2
5.2.192	when	see 1.1.1.2.2
5.2.193	where	see 1.1.1.2.2
5.2.194	white, to be	<i>towo'</i>
5.2.195	who	see 1.1.1.2.2
5.2.196	wide, to be ('when its interior is big')	<i>cote ne quimain</i>
5.2.197	wife, my ('my hole')	<i>mana</i> (f)
5.2.198	wind	<i>hotowa</i> (n)
5.2.199	wing	<i>tapaxi</i> (n)
5.2.200	wipe, to	<i>xic</i>
5.2.201	with	see 2.1.5
5.2.202	woman	<i>narima'</i> (f)
5.2.203	woods ('jungle')	<i>nahwarac</i> (n)
	('firm ground', i.e. not swampy)	<i>mi</i> (n)
5.2.204	worm	<i>mete'</i> (m)
5.2.205	ye (emphatic pronoun)	<i>wahu'</i>
5.2.206	year ('dry season')	<i>cawaxi'</i> (n)
5.2.207	yellow, to be	<i>coxic</i>



# Chapter 6

## Texts

### 6.1. WIRIN-THE ORIGIN OF CORN

by Manim, 1962

- |     |  |                |               |                  |                  |                     |           |         |
|-----|--|----------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| (1) | Nama'  | na             | Wirin         | nana             | ta.<br>tota-0    | Tota                | ta'       | na.     |
|     | thus   | 3s:rp/p        | m:name        | 3p:rp/p          | emph             | garden-1s           | 1s:rf     | 3s:rp/p |
|     | 'Thus was Wirin', they (say). 'I will clear land for a garden', he (said).       |                |               |                  |                  |                     |           |         |
| (2) | Tota   | tota           | tota          | tota             | tota             | tota                | tota      |         |
|     | tota-0   | tota-0         | tota-0        | tota-0           | tota-0           | tota-0              | tota-0    |         |
|     | garden-1s  | garden-1s      | garden-1s     | garden-1s        | garden-1s        | garden-1s           | garden-1s |         |
|     | He cleared land and cleared land for a garden                                    |                |               |                  |                  |                     |           |         |
| (3) | tota<br>tota-0   | pi'            | pin           | nain.<br>na-in   | Mana             | panxica<br>panxi-ca | mana      |         |
|     | garden-1s  | finish         | completely    | 3s:rp/p-3n       | coll             | child-3sm           | coll      |         |
|     | and finished it completely. They were all  |                |               |                  |                  |                     |           |         |
| (4) | panxica<br>panxi-ca  | 'ari           | nana.         | Tom              | tain<br>ta'-in   | na.                 | Tom       | tom     |
|     | child-3sm  | all            | 3p:rp/p       | burn             | 1s:rf-3n         | 3s:rp/p             | burn      | burn    |
|     | his children. 'I will burn it', he (said). It burned                             |                |               |                  |                  |                     |           |         |
| (5) | pin  | nain.<br>na-in | 'Oin'         | jein<br>je-in    | nanam<br>na-vcvm | mana                |           |         |
|     | completely   | 3s:rp/p-3n     | plant         | 2p:rf-3n         | 3s:rp/p-3pf      | coll                |           |         |
|     | panxica.<br>panxi-ca<br>child-3sm<br>up. 'Plant it', he (said) to his daughters. |                |               |                  |                  |                     |           |         |
| (6) | Ma'e.  | 'Oin'          | jein<br>je-in | nanam<br>na-vcvm | mana             | panxica<br>panxi-ca | cam       |         |
|     | okay   | plant          | 2p:rf-3n      | 3s:rp/p-3pf      | coll             | child-3sm           | prep:3sf  |         |

'Okay.' 'Plant it', he (said) to his children and the

- (7) jicacam                      mana                      panxica.                      Ma'e.                      'Oin'                      'oin'                      'oin'                      'oin'  
xi-vcvm                      panxi-ca  
mother-3pm                      coll                      child-3sm                      okay                      plant                      plant                      plant                      plant  
'oin'  
plant  
mother of his children. 'Okay.' (They) planted and planted
- (8) 'oin'                      'oin'                      'oin'                      'oin'                      'oin'                      hooooo                      xam'.  
plant                      plant                      plant                      plant                      plant                      sound:of:motion                      all:of:it  
and planted, all of it.
- (9) 'Oin'                      xam'                      pin                      nanain.                      Pije'                      ca'                      na  
nana-in  
plant                      all:of:it                      completely                      3p:rp/p-3n                      child                      this:n                      3s:rp/p  
xitot.  
garden  
They planted all of it. It was a small garden.
- (10) 'Om                      ca                      hwara'                      ne                      xitot                      ma'.                      Pije'  
not:exist                      INFL:nrp/p                      big:s                      3n                      garden                      that:prox:hearer                      child  
The garden was not big. It was small.
- (11) ca'                      na.                      Xam'.                      Xam'                      pin                      na                      ta  
this:n                      3s:rp/p                      all:of:it                      all:of:it                      completely                      3s:rp/p                      emph  
(They planted) all of it. 'It is all (planted), father'.
- (12) te.                      Howa.                      To                      wet mao                      cacama                      ma'  
father:1s                      okay                      be:at:p                      still go:s                      3pf                      that:prox:hearer  
'Okay.' Then time passed (lit. they stayed put).
- (13) na.                      To                      to                      to                      to.                      'Am                      horon  
3s:rp/p                      be:at:p                      be:at:p                      be:at:p                      be:at:p                      finally:s                      big:p  
Time passed and passed (lit. they were and were). Finally it (corn)
- (14) pin                      ta'                      na.                      'Am                      horon                      pin                      ta'  
completely                      1s:rf                      3s:rp/p                      finally:s                      big:p                      completely                      1s:rf  
na.  
3s:rp/p  
(said), 'I will get big' Finally it (said), 'I will get big'

- (15) 'Am tapa' ta' na wijein. Tapaaaa' 'ari. 'Am  
 wij-e-in  
 finally:s burst 1s:rf 3s:rp/p flower-3n burst all finally:s  
 Finally its flowers (said), 'I will burst (open).' (They) all burst (open).
- (16) hwerehwet qui' ta' na winain. 'Am  
 wina-in  
 appear:p coming:this:way 1s:rf 3s:rp/p head-3n finally:s  
 'an  
 take:s  
 Finally its heads (said), 'I will come out.' Finally it (said), 'I
- (17) warawa ta' na, 'am 'an warawa pin 'ari.  
 hang:p 1s:rf 3s:rp/p finally:s take:s hang:p completely all  
 will hang', finally it hung all completely.
- (18) 'Am tucu pin ta' na. 'I querec 'i  
 toco-u  
 finally:s eye-1s completely 1s:rf 3s:rp/p tear see already:s  
 Finally it (said), 'I will have grains.' When they tore and looked
- (19) nanain ne. Tucu na mapac ta te.  
 nana-in toco-u  
 3p:rp/p-3n rec:past eye-1s 3s:rp/p corn emph father:1s  
 Quep  
 do  
 at it. 'The corn has grains, father.' 'Stop touching (lit. doing)
- (20) maho' je 'e'. Ma'e. Tucu tucu tucu tucu xam'  
 toco-u toco-u toco-u toco-u  
 stop 2p:rf emph okay eye-1s eye-1s eye-1s eye-1s all:of:it  
 it!' 'Okay.' When all the (corn plants) had grains.
- (21) pin 'i na ne. 'Awori pin  
 completely already:s 3s:rp/p rec:past ready completely  
 'i  
 already:s  
 When it was all ready
- (22) na con ne. Cao' mao cacamain na. 'Ep  
 cacama-in

- 3s:rp/p prep:3sm rec:past eat go:s 3pf-3n 3s:rp/p grind  
cao'  
eat  
regarding him. Then they ate it. They ground and ate,
- (23) 'ep cao' 'ep cao' 'ep cao' ca' nanain. Cono'  
nana-in  
grind eat grind eat grind eat this:n 3p:rp/p-3n die:p  
ground and ate, thus it was. 'I will dry up (lit. die)',
- (24) pin ta' na. Cono' pin 'ari. Quep ta'  
completely 1s:rf 3s:rp/p die:s completely all do 1s:rf  
it (said). It died all up (lit. died). 'I will make
- (25) xirinain na cote cacama. Quep quep  
xiri-nain co-te  
house-3n 3s:rp/p INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s 3pf do do  
it's house', (said) their father. (He) finished (it) (lit. made it) ready
- (26) 'awori. Top jein mapac ta hwijima'. Ma'e.  
je-in  
ready harvest:corn 2p:rf-3n corn emph children okay  
(finished it). 'Harvest the corn, children.' 'Okay.'
- (27) Top mao cacamain na. Top top  
cacama-in  
harvest:corn go:s 3pf-3n 3s:rp/p harvest:corn harvest:corn  
Then they harvested it. (They) harvested and harvested
- (28) top top top top  
harvest:corn harvest:corn harvest:corn harvest:corn  
top  
harvest:corn  
and harvested and harvested
- (29) top hooopat pin nanain. Quep tain  
nana-in ta'-in  
harvest:corn all:of:it completely 3p:rp/p-3n do 1s:rf-3n  
and harvested all of it completely. 'I will do it',
- (30) na cote cacama. Macori macori  
co-te macori-0 macori-0

- 3s:rp/p INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s 3pf vine-3n vine-3n  
 (said) their father. Its vine, its vine,
- (31) macori macori macori macori, ma' xirim  
 macori-0 macori-0 macori-0 macori-0  
 vine-3n vine-3n vine-3n vine-3n that:prox:hearer house  
 (he wound vine around the frame of the house), there was the house
- (32) pain cain, xat. Je ma'.  
 prep:3n that:n:distal stand:s emph:3n that:prox:hearer  
 there, (it) stood. 'That's that.'
- (33) Cote ne 'ara ne totacocon. Pije' ca'  
 co-te tota-ocon  
 INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s 3n neg:p 3n garden-3pm child this:n  
 It was not a large garden. It was a small
- (34) na xitot. Mon to wet mao cacama  
 3s:rp/p garden delay be:at:p still go:s 3pf  
 garden. Time passed (lit. they stayed put).
- (35) ma' na, mon 'ep toc mao cacama  
 that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p delay grind drink go:s 3pf  
 Then they for a long time ground and drank (corndrink).
- (36) ma' na. Tota xi' nana 'oro  
 tota-0  
 that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p garden-1s 1pincl:rf 3p:rp/p coll  
 wari'.  
 person  
 'We will clear land for gardens', (said) someone (lit. the people).
- (37) Tota tota-0 pi' pin nana. Tom  
 tota-0 tota-0  
 garden-1s garden-1s finish completely 3p:rp/p burn  
 pin  
 completely  
 They cleared land for gardens completely. When they completely
- (38) 'iri nanain ne. Maji tomi' xun  
 nana-in  
 already:p 3p:rp/p-3n rec:past let's:go speak 1pincl:rf-3sm

burned it. 'Let's go talk to

- (39) Wirin pain mapac, ma. Xut xut xut xut  
m:name prep:3n corn okay walk:s walk:s walk:s walk:s

Wirin about corn', 'Okay.' They walked and walked

- (40) hwet nonon. Xique' mi' xut mapac Wirin.  
nana-on  
approach 3p:rp/p-3sm shell give 2s:1pexcl:rf corn m:name  
Ma.

okay

and approached him. 'Shell corn for us, Wirin.' 'Okay.'

- (41) Main coco ma' quem? 'Awin  
ma'-in  
that:prox:hearer-3n basket that:prox:hearer ref take

'Where's a basket?' He took

- (42) nain coco. Xique' mao cacain ma'  
na-in caca-in  
3s:rp/p-3n basket shell go:s 3pm-3n that:prox:hearer  
na.

3s:rp/p

a basket. Then they shelled (corn).

- (43) Xique' xique' xique' xique'. Tom na xaji. Hom  
xaji-0  
shell shell shell shell burn 3s:rp/p fire-3n sound:of:fire

(They) shelled and shelled. He burned its fire. Its fire

- (44) hom na xaji ma'. Tom to  
sound:of:fire 3s:rp/p fire-3n that:prox:hearer burn be:at:p

was burning well (lit. onomatopeia for sound of fire). He burned it (the corn)

- (45) tom to tom to tom to 'ari nain.  
na-in  
burn be:at:p burn be:at:p burn be:at:p all 3s:rp/p-3n

and burned it and burned it completely.

- (46) Mixem pin 'i na ne. Xique' mao  
black completely already:s 3s:rp/p rec:past shell go:s

When it was all black. Then he shelled it,

- (47) cain ma' na, xique' xique' xique' 'ari  
ca-in  
3sm-3n that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p shell shell shell all  
he shelled it all.
- (48) nain. Xijein coco ma'. Xique' xique'  
na-in xije-in  
3s:rp/p-3n otherness-3n basket that:prox:hearer shell shell  
Another basket. (He) shelled it all.
- (49) 'ari. Xijein coco ma'. Je  
xije-in  
all otherness-3n basket that:prox:hearer emph:3n  
Another basket. 'That's it!'
- (50) ma'. 'An xiwap. Ma' ta.  
that:prox:hearer takers swing:up that:prox:hearer emph  
(He) swung (it) up. 'There!'
- (51) Tom to ma pain xe ra? Je  
burn be:at:p 2s:rp/p prep:3n fire 2s:rf emph:3n  
'You burned it in the fire, didn't you.' 'That's
- (52) ma' quira, 'ac 'i ma' 'ac  
that:prox:hearer emph like n that:prox:hearer like  
just right, I did it like that
- (53) 'i ma' 'inain cacam mana pantiri'  
'ina-in prep:3pf coll child-1pincl  
n that:prox:hearer 1s:rp/p-3n  
with our children long ago.
- (54) pane. Tarama' na. 'Om ca cono' ne?  
rem:past man 3s:rp/p not:exist INFL:nrp/p die:p 3n  
It grew.' 'Didn't it die?'
- (55) 'Om ca cono' ne. Howa. Maji ma nana.  
not:exist INFL:nrp/p die:p 3n okay let's:go emph 3p:rp/p  
'It didn't die.' 'Okay. Let's go', they (said).
- (56) Tan'. 'Oin xin nana, hoc merem xin  
xi'-in  
arrive:p plant 1pincl:rf-3n 3p:rp/p cook call 1pincl:rf-3n

(They) arrived. 'We will plant it', they (said), 'we will soak

- (57) ma' nana, 'oin' 'oin'. Ca maram  
that:prox:hearer 3p:rp/p plant plant INFL:nrp/p rotten  
it', they (said), and (they) planted. And it

- (58) pin 'ac ne ma' na. Tarama' xira  
completely travel 3n that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p man 3s:irr  
rotted. 'It would grow (but it won't)

- (59) xi 'om ne ca cono' pin ne pain  
INFL:irr not:exist 3n INFL:rp/p die:s completely 3n prep:3n  
because it died in the

- (60) xe ma'. Wereme xi' nana quem. Mo  
fire that:prox:hearer breathe 1pincl:rf 3p:rp/p ref run  
fire.' 'We will breathe (make plans)', they (said).

- (61) hot tenenein mi' pan tarapa' ta na wari'  
tenene-in tara-pa'  
take:out leaf-3n give emph 3s:rf-1s emph 3s:rp/p person  
'(I will) run (and) he will take it out for me in its leaves',

- (62) ma'. Ma. Xut xut xut xut  
that:prox:hearer okay walk:s walk:s walk:s walk:s  
(said) a person. 'Okay.' They walked and walked and

- (63) hwet nonon. Hot tenenein mi' ne mapac  
nana-on tenene-in  
approach 3p:rp/p-3sm take:out leaf-3n give 2s:1s:rf corn  
approached him. 'Take corn out for me in its leaves!

- (64) wira. Ta xique' main me, hot tenenein 'e'  
ma-in tenene-in  
emph INFL:rf shell 2s-3n emph take:out leaf-3n only  
Don't shell it, just take it out in its leaves.'

- (65) ma' rain. Ma. Hooooo, 'awin. Xao  
ra-in  
that:prox:hearer 2s:rf-3n okay sound:of:going take pound  
'Okay.' (He) went after it (sound of his going) and got (it).

- (66) pe. Caraho' nain xaji. Caraho' caraho'  
na-in xaji-in



- be:at:s      make:fire      3s:rp/p-3n      fire-3n      make:fire      make:fire  
(He) sat down. He made its fire. He made (the fire) completely.
- (67) caraho'      caraho'      'ari      nain.  
na-in      'I'      nain.  
na-in      'I'      'i'
- make:fire      make:fire      all      3s:rp/p-3n      tear      3s:rp/p-3n      tear      tear  
'He tore (shucked) it. He shucked (lit. tore) it
- (68) 'i'      'i'      'ari      nain.  
na-in      Tom      toto      nain.  
na-in      Tom
- tear      tear      all      3s:rp/p-3n      burn      be:at:p      3s:rp/p-3n      burn  
completely. He burned it. He burned and
- (69) toto      tom      toto      tom      toto      tom      toto      tom
- be:at:p      burn      be:at:p      burn      be:at:p      burn      be:at:p      burn  
burned and burned
- (70) toto      'ari      nain.  
na-in      Xique'      nain.  
na-in      Xique'      xique'
- be:at:p      all      3s:rp/p-3n      shell      3s:rp/p-3n      shell      shell  
it all. He shelled it. (He) shelled
- (71) xique'      xique'      xique'      'ari.      Tao'      tao'      tao'      tao'      tao'      tao'
- shell      shell      shell      all.      close      close      close      close      close      close  
(it) all. (He) (packed and) closed (it in the basket).
- (72) 'ari.      'An      xiwap.      Ma'      ta.      Hot
- all      takers      swing:up      that:prox:hearer      emph      take:out  
(He) swung (it) up. 'There!' 'You should have taken
- (73) tenenein      ximain      ne      wira.      Tarama'      mao      ne      pain  
tenene-in      xima-in
- leaf-3n      2s:irr-3n      rec:past      emph      man      neg      3n      prep:3n  
it out in its leaves! It didn't grow this way before.
- (74) ca'      pane.      Cono'      cono'      'a      mao      ne      pain      ca'
- this:n      rem:past      die:p      die:p      neg:s      neg      3n      prep:3n      this:n  
It died this way before.
- (75) pane.      Tom      to      'a      ximain      pain      xe      ta.      'Ac      'i  
xima-in
- rem:past      burn      be:at:p      neg:s      2s:irr-3n      prep:3n      fire      emph      like      n  
You shouldn't have burned it with fire.' 'I (did) like that

- (76) ma' 'i ma' 'inain cacam mana  
'ina-in  
that:prox:hearer n that:prox:hearer 1s:rp/p-3n prep:3pf coll  
regarding our
- (77) pantiri' pane. 'Ane ca wari' mao ta'  
panxi-'iri'  
child-1pincl rem:past different INFL:nrp/p person neg 1s  
children long ago. It's the way I am (lit. (It's) because I'm a person).'
- (78) ne. Howa. 'An xiwap. 'An tiquin'  
rec:past okay takers swing:up takers continue  
'Okay.' (He) swung (it) up. (He) carried
- (79) 'an tiquin' 'an tiquin' wa'. 'Oin' xin.  
xi'-in  
takers continue takers continue arrive:s plant 1pincl:rf-3n  
and carried (it) and arrived. 'We will plant it.'
- (80) 'Oin' 'oin' 'oin' maram. Ma' mao ne mapac, to 'e'  
plant plant plant rotten, exist neg 3n corn be:at:p only  
(They) planted and (it) rotted. There was no corn. When they
- (81) ma' 'iri nana ne. Tota ta'  
tota-0  
that:prox:hearer already:p 3p:rp/p rec:past garden-1s 1s:rf  
just were (with nothing to eat). 'I will clear land for a
- (82) na quem. Tota tota tota 'ari Tom  
tota-0 tota-0 tota-0  
3s:rp/p ref garden-1s garden-1s garden-1s all burn  
tain  
ta-in  
1s:rf-3n  
garden', he (said). (He) cleared it all. 'I will burn it,'
- (83) na. Tom pin 'ari. 'Oin' jein. 'Oin' 'oin' 'oin'  
je-in  
3s:rp/p burn completely all plant 2p:rf-3n plant plant plant  
he (said). (He) burned it all. 'Plant it.' (They) planted
- (84) xam'. 'Oin' piye' ca' na. 'Om ca mao  
all:of:it plant child this:n 3s:rp/p not:exist INFL:nrp/p go:s

all of it. He planted a little. The garden did not go

- (85) ne pira xitot ma' ta. Tota pije'  
tota-0

3n distance garden that:prox:hearer emph garden-1s child  
ca'

this:n

far. He made it a small garden.

- (86) nain. 'Om ca mao ne pira xitot.  
na-in

3s:rp/p-3n not:exist INFL:nrp/p go:s 3n distance garden

'Aworì

ready

The garden didn't go far.

- (87) pin 'i na con ne, top  
completely already:s 3s:rp/p prep:3sm rec:past harvest:corn

When it was ready by him, 'I will harvest it',

- (88) tain na. Top 'an xat. 'Ep cao'  
ta'-in

1s:rf-3n 3s:rp/p harvest:corn takers stand:s grind eat

he (said). (He) harvested and stored (it). Then they ground

- (89) mao cacamain na. Wereme xin nana pain  
cacama-in xi'-in

go:s 3pf-3n 3s:rp/p breathe 1pincl:rf-3n 3p:rp/p prep:3n

and ate it. 'We will make plans (lit. breathe)', they (said) because

- (90) xicomicocon. Xao pe ho' xi' ta pain  
xicomi-cocon

hunger-3pm pound be:at:s now dub pass:3s prep:3n  
ma',

that:prox:hearer

of their hunger. 'It should be sat in wait for there,

- (91) 'an ca' xi' ta pain ma'. Xao  
takers this:n dub pass:3s prep:3n that:prox:hearer pound

pe

be:at:s

it should be taken from him there. I will sit in wait

- (92) ho' ton me. Ma. Mao nain mapac  
           ta'-on  
 now 1s:rf-3sm emph okay go:s 3s:rp/p-3n corn  
 ma',  
 that:prox:hearer  
 for him.' 'Okay.' He went to the corn,

- (93) ca xat ne mapac ma', tarama'  
 INFL:nrp/p stand:s 3n corn that:prox:hearer man  
 where the corn stood, her man.

- (94) nequem. To wet mao camain xirim na narima'  
                                   cama-in  
 poss:3sf be:at:p still go:s 3sf-3n house 3s:rp/p woman  
 Then the woman stayed at the house.

- (95) ma'. Xao pe. Tuquio,  
 that:prox:hearer pound be:at:s sound:of:getting:attention  
 (He) sat down. 'Tuquio' (he tried to get her subconscious attention).

- (96) pe top tocon rain.  
                                   toco-con ra-in  
 be:at:s sound:of:grinding eye-3sm 2s:rf-3n  
 'Flip a grain when the stone hits it while grinding.'

- (97) Tuquio, pe top tocon  
                                   toco-con  
 sound:of:getting:attention be:at:s sound:of:grinding eye-3sm  
 'Tuquio, flip a grain when the stone hits it while grinding.'

- (98) rain. Pe top tocon rain. Pe  
       ra-in  
 2s:rf-3n be:at:s sound:of:grinding eye-3sm 2s:rf-3n be:at:s  
 Flip a grain when the stone hits it while grinding. Flip a grain

- (99) top tocon rain. Pe top  
                                   toco-con ra-in  
 sound:of:grinding eye-3sm 2s:rf-3n be:at:s sound:of:grinding  
 when the stone hits it while grinding.' When the stone flipped a

- (100) tocon 'i' na pacun pain mapac  
       toco-con

- |       |  |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|-------|--|-------------------|------------------|------------|------------------|---------|--------|
|       | eye-3sm  | already:s         | 3s:rp/p          | stone      | prep:3n          | corn    |        |
|       | ma'  |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|       | that:prox:hearer   |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|       | grain while grinding the corn.                             |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
| (101) | ne.  | Toro000           | na               | ca         | toin             | mao     | ne     |
|       | rec:past   | sound:of:movement | 3s:rp/p          | INFL:nrp/p | fly:p            | go:s    | 3n     |
|       | 'Toro0000' it (went) when a grain of corn flew.            |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
| (102) | tocoi  | mapac             | ma'.             | Xat        | wet              | mao     | ca     |
|       | toco-i   |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|       | eye-3n   | corn              | that:prox:hearer | stand:s    | still            | go:s    | 3sm    |
|       | Then the person  |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
| (103) | ma'  |                   | na               | wari'      | ma'.             |         |        |
|       | that:prox:hearer   |                   | 3s:rp/p          | person     | that:prox:hearer |         |        |
|       | Tu   |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|       | sound:of:running   |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|       | was there. Tu (sound of his running)                       |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
| (104) | tu   |                   | tu               |            | tu               |         |        |
|       | sound:of:running   |                   | sound:of:running |            | sound:of:running |         |        |
|       | tu tu tu (sound of his running)                            |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
| (105) | tu   |                   | tu               |            | tu               |         |        |
|       | sound:of:running   |                   | sound:of:running |            | sound:of:running |         |        |
|       | tu tu tu (sound of his running,                            |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
| (106) | tu   |                   | ho000            |            | 'an              | 'itac.  |        |
|       | sound:of:running   |                   | sound:of:motion  |            | takers           | swallow |        |
|       | sound of his running, sound of his movement) (he) took and |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|       | swallowed (it).  |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
| (107) | Hmmmmmmmmmm.   |                   | 'Om              | xi         | 'an              |         | hwein  |
|       |  |                   |                  |            |                  |         | hwe-in |
|       | sound-of-anger   |                   | not:exist        | INFL:irr   | takers           |         | 2p-3n  |
|       | con  |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|       | prep:3sm   |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
|       | Sound of anger. 'You should not take it regarding          |                   |                  |            |                  |         |        |
| (108) | cwaji'   |                   | hwe.             | Narain     | ho'              | narain  | ho'    |

co-'aji'

INFL:m/frp/p-elder:brother:1s

2p

deny

now

deny:p

now

your older brother. “He shall deny it until he doesn’t want to

- |       |  |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
|-------|--|------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------|-----------|-------------------|---------|
| (109) | noc  | pin        |                               | tara-in       | 'e'     |           | xuhun<br>xihwe-on |         |
|       | dislike  | completely |                               | 3s:rf-3n      | emph    |           | 2p:irr-3sm        |         |
|       | anymore," you should just (say) regarding                      |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
| (110) | cwaji'<br>co-'aji'   |            |                               |               | hwe     | ta.       | Nain              | ho' mi' |
|       | INFL:m/frp/p-elder:brother:1s                                  |            |                               | 2p            | emph    | deny:s    | now               | give    |
|       | your older brother. Your older brother will deny               |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
| (111) | turuhu'<br>tara-uhu'   | pain       | cwaji'<br>co-'aji'            |               |         |           | hwe               | quem.   |
|       | 3s:rf-2p   | prep:3n    | INFL:m/frp/p-elder:brother:1s |               |         |           | 2p                | ref     |
|       | it to you.'  |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
| (112) | Mana'  | mao        | cama                          | na            | narima' | nucun     | ma'.              |         |
|       | angry  | go:s       | 3sf                           | 3s:rp/p       | woman   | 3sm       | that:prox:hearer  |         |
|       | Then his woman was angry.                                      |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
| (113) | 'Amam  | pe         | na,                           | 'amam         |         | pe        | tata,             |         |
|       | stick:with:it  | be:at:s    | 3s:rp/p                       | stick:with:it |         | be:at:s   | pass:3p           |         |
|       | She stuck with it (bore down on him), they were borne down on, |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
| (114) | 'amam  | pe         | tata,                         | 'amam         |         | pe        | tata.             |         |
|       | stick:with:it  | be:at:s    | pass:3p                       | stick:with:it |         | be:at:s   | pass:3p           |         |
|       | they were borne down on, they were borne down on.              |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
| (115) | Mana'  | mana'      | mana'                         | mana'         | noro    | 'i        | xucucun           | quem    |
|       | angry  | angry      | angry                         | angry         | look    | already:s | refl:3pm          | ref     |
|       | ne.  |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
|       | rec:past   |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
|       | (They) were angry, when they cursed each other.                |            |                               |               |         |           |                   |         |
| (116) | Ca   | cao'       | tomi'                         | quequem       | pain    | mana      | panxima           | tara    |
|       |  |            |                               | caca-em       |         |           | panxi-ma          |         |
|       | INFL:nrp/p   | eat        | speak                         | 3pm-2s        | prep:3n | coll      | child-2s          | 3s:rf   |

quem.

ref

'Your children will eat you together with it (the corn).'

- |       |            |      |       |             |         |      |           |
|-------|------------|------|-------|-------------|---------|------|-----------|
| (117) | Ca         | cao' | tomi' | tuturuhu'   | pain    | mana | panxihwe  |
|       |            |      |       | tatara-uhu' |         |      | panxi-hwe |
|       | INFL:nrp/p | eat  | speak | 3p:rf-2p    | prep:3n | coll | child-2p  |
|       | quem.      |      |       |             |         |      |           |

ref

‘Your children will eat you with it too.

- (118) Xica' cono' xirara-pa' mana panxita' ta, cono' tatara mana  
 xirara-pa' panxi-ta'  
 alone die:p 3p:irr-1s coll child-1s emph die:p 3p:rf coll  
 Should my children alone to me? your children will die too.

panxihwe	quem.	Cao'	tomi'	tuturuhu'	pain	quem,
panxi-hwe				tatara-uhu'		
child-2p	ref	eat	speak	3p:rf-2p	prep:3n	ref
Ca						
INFL:nrp/p						

They will eat you together with it.

- |       |   |      |         |      |           |         |       |       |      |
|-------|---|------|---------|------|-----------|---------|-------|-------|------|
| (120) | pa  | pa   | caracat | mi'  | cucuhu'   | pain    | tara  | quem. | Pa   |
|       |   |      |         |      | caca-uhu' |         |       |       |      |
|       | open  | open | break:p | give | 3pm-2p    | prep:3n | 3s:rf | ref   | open |
|       | They will open and break it regarding you.' |      |         |      |           |         |       |       |      |

- |       |   |             |         |      |          |       |
|-------|---|-------------|---------|------|----------|-------|
| (121) | caracat mi'   | tataram     | pain    | mana | panxima  | quem. |
|       |   | tatara-vcvm |         |      | panxi-ma |       |
|       | break:p give  | 3p:rf-3pf   | prep:3n | coll | child-2s | ref   |
|       | 'They will open and break it regarding your children also.' |             |         |      |          |       |

- |       |               |         |          |       |      |       |      |
|-------|---------------|---------|----------|-------|------|-------|------|
| (122) | 'Amam         | pe      | xucucun. | Tomi' | noro | tomi' | noro |
|       | stick:with:it | be:at:s | refl:3pm | speak | look | speak | look |
|       | pin           |         |          |       |      |       |      |
|       | completely    |         |          |       |      |       |      |

They bore down on each other. They cursed completely

- (123) xucucun. Pin hwe ma' pain. Tota  
tota-0  
refl:3pm leave 2p that:prox:hearer prep:3n garden-1s  
jein  
je-in  
2p:rf-3n  
each other. 'Stop arguing (lit. Leave it). Clear land for
- (124) totain me. 'Ane ca wari' mao ta' cacam  
tota-in  
garden-3n emph different INFL:nrp/p person go:s 1s prep:3pf  
its garden. (It's) because I'm a person regarding our children
- (125) mana pantiri' ne. Tota hwara' jein me.  
panxi-'iri' tota-0 je-in  
coll child-1pincl rec:past garden-1s big:s 2p:rf-3n emph  
Ma.  
okay  
(it's the way I am). Clear land for a big garden.' 'Okay.'
- (126) Tota xi', ma nana. Tota tota  
tota-0 tota-0 tota-0  
garden-1s 1pincl:rf okay 3p:rp/p garden-1s garden-1s  
tota  
tota-0  
garden-1s  
'We will clear land for a garden.' 'Okay,' they (said). (They)
- (127) tota tota tota tacaracat tacaracat  
tota-0 tota-0 tota-0  
garden-1s garden-1s garden-1s cut:tree:p cut:tree:p  
cleared and cleared land for a garden, (they) cut down the
- (128) tacaracat pi' pin 'i na xitot  
cut:tree:p finish completely already:s 3s:rp/p garden  
trees and when the garden was completed regarding



- (129) ma' cocon ne. Tom xin nana.  
 xi'-in  
 that:prox:hearer prep:3pm rec:past burn 1pincl:rf-3n 3p:rp/p  
 them. 'We will burn it', they (said)
- (130) 'Oin' xin nana. 'Oin' 'oin' 'oin' 'oin' 'oin'  
 xi'-in  
 plant 1pincl:rf-3n 3p:rp/p plant plant plant plant plant  
 'We will plant it', they (said). (They) planted and planted
- (131) hoouo xam', xam' pin na, xam'  
 sound:of .-motion all:of:it all:of:it completely 3s:rp/p all:of:it  
 all of it, it was all (planted), 'It is (all)
- (132) pin na ta. Ma. Pit xi' ca' jein.  
 je-in  
 completely 3s:rp/p emph okay pick small this:n 2p:rf-3n  
 'Ane  
 different  
 planted.' 'Okay. Take a little bit (for each hole). (It's)
- (133) ca wari' mao ta' cacam mana pantiri'  
 panxi-'iri'  
 INFL:nrp/p person go:s 1s prep:3pf coll child-1pincl  
 ne.  
 rec:past  
 because I am a person regarding our children (it's the way I am).'
- (134) Ma. Maji cao' xi' tocwe, ma nana.  
 okay let's:go eat 1pincl:rf Brazil:nut okay 3p:rp/p  
 'Okay.' 'Let's go eat Brazil nuts', 'Okay,' they (said).
- (135) Ma' je na nahwarac, to nana.  
 that:prox:hearer emph:3n 3s:rp/p jungle be:at:p 3p:rp/p  
 Cao'  
 eat  
 There was the jungle there, they were (stayed there).

- (136) cao' cao' cao' ca' nanain tocwe. Mo querec ta'  
nana-in  
eat eat eat this:n 3p:rp/p-3n Brazil:nut run:s see 1s:rf  
They ate and ate Brazil nuts for a while. 'I will run and see',
- (137) 'e' na wari' ma'. Xut xut xut  
emph 3s:rp/p person that:prox:hearer walk:s walk:s walk:s  
(said) the person. He walked and walked
- (138) xut hwet nain. 'An warawa pin  
na-in  
walk:s approach 3s:rp/p-3n takers hang:p completely  
na  
3s:rp/p  
and approached it. 'I guess the corn is hanging!'
- (139) mapac ta'a. 'Iri'o', 'iri'o' ta. Mon to wet ca'  
corn emph really really emph delay be:at:p still this:n  
'Really?' 'Really!' They stayed away from it
- (140) nanain quem. Mon to wet ca' nanain quem,  
nana-in nana-in  
3p:rp/p-3n ref delay be:at:p still this:n 3p:rp/p-3n ref  
for a while. They stayed away from it for a while.
- (141) Mon to wet ca' nanain quem. Wa horoho  
nana-in  
delay be:at:p still this:n 3p:rp/p-3n ref hang:s float:p  
They stayed away from it for a while. When it was hanging and
- (142) pin 'i na cocon ne. Mo querec  
completely already:s 3s:rp/p prep:3pm rec:past run:s see  
floating (was light) completely regarding them. 'I will run and
- (143) ta' nain. 'Um' caji querec nain,  
na-in caji-in na-in  
1s:rf 3s:rp/p-3n pinch strangeness-3n see 3s:rp/p-3n  
tucu  
toco-u  
eye-1s

look,' he (said) regarding it. He pinched it and took a peek.

- (144) pin na ta'a. Wa' qui' na.  
completely 3s:rp/p emph arrive:s coming:this:way 3s:rp/p  
'I guess it has grains!' He arrived coming this way.

- (145) Tucu pin na mapac ta'a. Howa. 'Iri'  
toco-u  
eye-1s completely 3s:rp/p corn emph okay truly  
ca  
INFL:nrp/p

'I guess the corn has grains!' 'Okay.' When it was really

- (146) 'awori na pin 'i na cocon  
ready 3s:rp/p completely already:s 3s:rp/p prep:3pm  
ne.  
rec:past  
ready completely regarding them.

- (147) Paca' pin 'i na ximijain cocon ne.  
ximija-in  
red complete already:s 3s:rp/p middle-3n prep:3pm rec:past  
When it was completely ripe in the middle of (the garden) regarding them.

- (148) Maji querec xi', ma nanain. 'Awori pin  
nana-in  
let's:go:see 1pincl okay 3p:rp/p-3n ready completely  
na  
3s:rp/p  
'Let's go see.' 'Okay', they (said) about it. The corn is

- (149) mapac ta. Paca' pin na ta. Howa. Ta' ta'  
corn emph red completely 3s:rp/p emph okay split split  
'ari  
all  
ready! It is ripe!' 'Okay.' They broke (split)

- (150) nanain tocwe ca', maji ta nana. Tan'  
nana-in

- 3p:rp/p-3n Brazil:nut this:n let's:go emph 3p:rp/p arrive:p  
Brazil nuts, 'Let's go', they (said). They arrived
- (151) mama' nana. 'Ep toc mao cacamain na. 'Ep  
cacama-in  
go:p 3p:rp/p grind drink go:s 3pf-3n 3s:rp/p grind  
toc  
drink  
going that way. Then they ground and drank it (corn). They ground
- (152) 'ep toc 'ep toc 'ep toc 'awori xam' pin  
grind drink grind drink grind drink ready all:of:it completely  
and drank and ground and drank and when the edge (of the garden)
- (153) 'i na tapaxi con ne. 'Awori xam'  
tapaxi-0  
already:s 3s:rp/p wing-3n prep:3sm rec:past ready all:of:it  
was all completely ready regarding him. When it was all
- (154) pin 'i na ne, hao xam'  
completely already:s 3s:rp/p rec:past extensive all:of:it  
completely ready, it was extensively all of it completely done.
- (155) pin na. 'Am cono' pin ta' na.  
completely 3s:rp/p finally die:p completely 1s:rf 3s:rp/p  
Finally it (said), 'I will dry up', it (said).
- (156) 'Am top xin nana. Top  
xi'-in  
finally harvest:corn 1pincl:rf-3n 3p:rp/p harvest:corn  
Finally they (said), 'We will harvest it.' (They) harvested
- (157) top top top top hoooopat.  
harvest:corn harvest:corn harvest:corn harvest:corn all:of:it  
and harvested and harvested all of it.
- (158) Xi' xin nana. Xi' xi' xi'.  
xi'-in  
stack:up 1pincl:rf-3n 3p:rp/p stack:up stack:up stack:up  
Je

emph:3n

'We will stack it up', they (said). (They) stacked and stacked.

- (159) ma'. Macori macori macori, ma'  
 macori-0 macori-0 macori-0  
 that:prox:hearer vine-3n vine-3n vine-3n that:prox:hearer  
 That's it' Its vine, its vine (he wound vine around the frame of the house),
- (160) je na xirim pain cain, xat na  
 emph:3n 3s:rp/p house prep:3n that:n:distal stand:s 3s:rp/p  
 there was the house there, it stood regarding
- (161) cocon. 'Ep toc mao cacamain na. Mon cacacao'  
 cacama-in  
 prep:3pm grind drink go:s 3pf-3n 3s:rp/p delay eat:p  
 them. Then they ground and drank it. Then they ate it for a
- (162) mao cacamain na. Na mapac con Wirin  
 cacama-in  
 go:s 3pm-3n 3s:rp/p 3s:rp/p corn prep:3sm m:name  
 nana  
 3p:rp/p  
 long time.' ...Is (the story of) corn with Wirin', they (said)
- (163) pane ta. Je ma',  
 rem:past emph emph:3n that:prox:hearer  
 long ago. That's it.

## 6.2. HOW A MAN BECOMES A SHAMAN

by Orowao' Tocoin' Jain, 24 October 1978

- (1) Tomi' xin mijac ta, jami mijac.  
 xi'-in jami-0  
 speak 1pincl:rf-3n wild:pig emph, spirit-3n wild:pig  
 We will talk about wild pigs, the spirits of wild pigs.
- (2) Pa' xin mijac 'iri nana ne.  
 xi'-in  
 kill 1pincl:rf-3n wild:pig already:p 3p:rp/p rec:past

When they go pighunting (lit. 'We will kill wild pigs') when they (say).

- (3) Pa' nanain 'oro wari' co 'om quep  
nana-in  
kill 3p:rp/p-3n coll person INFL:m/frp/p not:exist do  
The people kill them who (the pigs say), 'We will not cast a
- (4) xirac xun nana. Pa' 'iri nanain  
xi'-on nana-in  
magical not:exist 3p:rp/p kill already:p 3p:rp/p-3n  
spell on him.' When they kill them.
- (5) ne. 'Om ca taraju xo' cain  
ca-in  
rec:past not:exist INFL:nrp/p hear correctly 3sm-3n  
capijain  
capija-in  
mouth-3n  
The person doesn't hear correctly their voice (of the
- (6) ca quep xirac pan ca wari' co  
INFL:np/p do magical emph 3sm person INFL:m/frp/p  
tucuninim'  
shaman  
pigs) on whom (the pigs) cast a spell, who (says), 'I will be a shaman.'
- (7) ta' ma'. Taraju xo' pan nanain 'oro  
taraji-u nana-in  
1s:rf that:prox:hearer ear-1s correctly emph 3p:rp/p-3n coll  
The people hear them correctly
- (8) wari' co 'om quep xirac xun  
xi'-on  
person INFL:m/frp/p not:exist do magical 1pincl:rf-3sm  
nana.  
3p:rp/p  
whom (the pigs) do not (say), 'We will cast a spell on him.'
- (9) 'I ca' 'i nana ne, pa' 'iri nanain  
nana-in  
n this:n already 3p:rp/p rec:past kill already:p 3p:rp/p-3n

When they (do) this, when they kill them.

- (10) ne. Mixein 'ac con na. 'Om  
ca-on  
rec:past deceive travel 3sm-3sm 3s:rp/p not:exist  
ca cao'  
INFL:nrp/p eat  
Then they deceive him. He doesn't eat (it)
- (11) xo' con cwerein quem ca' na.  
ca-on cwere-in  
correctly 3sm-3sm body-3n ref this:n 3s:rp/p  
and its flesh reacts to him correctly, thus it is.
- (12) 'Om 'i na ca cao' xo' con  
ca-on  
not:exist already:s 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p eat correctly 3s-3sm  
When he eats (it) and its flesh doesn't react to him
- (13) cwerein ne. Xain 'ac ca na quem ca' na.  
cwere-in  
body-3n rec:past hot travel 3sm 3s:rp/p ref this:n 3s:rp/p  
correctly. Then he gets a fever, thus it is.
- (14) Ca mi' con caxicon jam nein.  
ca-on caji-con  
INFL:nrp/p give 3sm-3sm strangeness-3sm spirit poss:3n  
That their bad spirits give him.
- (15) Xain xain xain, 'ac ne ma' 'ac ne  
hot hot hot travel 3n that:prox:hearer travel 3n  
(He) has a fever, then it goes on, then it goes on.
- (16) ma'. Mam' ho' nain jami.  
na-in jami-0  
that:prox:hearer find now 3s:rp/p-3n spirit-3n  
Now he finds their spirits.
- (17) Mam' 'iri nain jami ne. Nonoc tamana  
na-in jami-0  
find already:p 3s:rp/p-3n spirit-3n rec:past warm much  
When he finds their spirits. His body is very
- (18) na curucun. Cao' non memem pain 'oro

- 3s:rp/p      cwere-con      eat      na-on      3s:rp/p-3sm      fruit      prep:3n      coll
- jami  
jami-0  
spirit-3n  
feverish. He eats fruit and the spirits of the
- (19) tarawan.      Hwerehwet      qui'      nain  
na-in      capijacon.  
capija-con  
palm:species      appear:p      come      3s:rp/p-3n      mouth-3sm  
tarawan palm species. They come out of his mouth.
- (20) Cao'      'ac      ca      na,      cao'      cao'      cao'      cao'      cao'.  
eat      travel      3sm      3s:rp/p      eat      eat      eat      eat      eat  
Then he eats, and eats and eats.
- (21) Mi'      pin      'ac      ca      na,      'awaran      nonon.  
nana-on  
give      completely      travel      3sm      3s:rp/p      cry:p      3p:rp/p-3sm  
Then he dies (passes out), and they wail over him.
- (22) 'Awaran      'awaran      'awaran      'awaran      'awaran.      'In      'ac  
cry:p      cry:p      cry:p      cry:p      cry:p      return      travel  
(They) wail and wail (over him). Then
- (23) ne na      ximicon      quem.      'O      xut      napa'      jami  
ximi-con      na-pa'      jami-0  
3n 3s:rp/p      heart-3sm      ref      lead      walks      3s:rp/p-1s      spirit-3n  
his heart returns. 'The spirit of the animal led
- (24) carawa      ta,      mijac      ta      'ac      ca      na.  
animal      emph      wild:pig      emph      travel      3sm      3s:rp/p  
(walked) me away, (there are) wild pigs', then he (says).
- (25) Ma'      na      'oro      com      'iri'      tomi'      mi'      cain,  
ca-in  
exist      3s:rp/p      coll      water      INFL:rp/p      speak      give      3sm:rp/p-3n  
There are streams that he indicates regarding them,
- (26) to      nain      cain      ta,      to      nain  
na-in      na-in



- be:p 3s:rp/p-3n that:n:distal emph be:p 3s:rp/p-3n  
 'They are there, they are there',  
 (27) cain ta nain quem ca' na.  
 na-in  
 that:n:distal emph 3s:rp/p-3n ref this:n 3s:rp/p  
 he (says) regarding them, thus it is.
- (28) Mija na mijac, xi' napa' xumu pain  
 na-pa' ximi-u  
 much 3s:rp/p wild:pig small 3s:rp/p-1s heart-1s prep:3n  
 ta  
 emph  
 'The pigs are too much, I can't breathe because of them',
- (29) 'ac ca na. Xec pa' non quem, mi'  
 na-on  
 travel 3sm 3s:rp/p day kill 3s:rp/p-3sm ref give  
 pin  
 completely  
 then he (says). The next day they kill him, then he
- (30) mami' 'ac ca na quem. Mao na jamicon  
 jami-con  
 again travel 3sm 3s:rp/p ref go:s 3s:rp/p spirit-3sm  
 pain  
 prep:3n  
 dies (passes out) again. His spirit goes
- (31) tamatarain quem, mao 'ac cain na pira, mi'  
 tamatara-in ca-in  
 spirit-3n ref go:s travel 3sm-3n 3s:rp/p far give  
 to their spirits, then he goes far away,
- (32) pin 'ac ca na. 'Awaran 'awaran 'awaran  
 completely travel 3sm 3s:rp/p cry:p cry:p cry:p  
 'awaran.  
 cry:p

then he passes out (lit. dies). (They) wail and wail.

- (33) 'In na ximicon quem. Mi' 'ina ta,  
ximi-con  
return 3s:rp/p heart-3sm ref give 1s:rp/p emph  
His heart returns. 'I passed out' (lit. died),

- (34) mao 'ina pain jami mijac ta, mija  
jami-0  
go:s 1s:rp/p prep:3n spirit-3n wild:pig emph much  
'I went because of the spirits of the wild pigs, it was much

- (35) na ca 'o xut capa' ta na  
ca-pa'  
3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p lead walk:s 3sm-1s emph 3s:rp/p  
ca  
INFL:nrp/p  
that they took me all over the place', he (says) when

- (36) tomi' ca. 'Ac ne ma' 'ac ne  
speak 3sm travel 3n that:prox:hearer travel 3n  
ma'  
that:prox:hearer  
he speaks. Then it goes on, then it goes on,

- (37) 'ac ne ma' 'ac ne ma'.  
travel 3n that:prox:hearer travel 3n that:prox:hearer  
then it goes on, then it goes on.

- (38) 'Iri' ma' na curucun. 'Iri' ma' na curucun.  
cwere-con cwere-con  
truly exist 3s:rp/p body-3sm truly exist 3s:rp/p body-3sm  
He gradually loses weight (lit. his flesh gradually exists). He gradually loses weight (lit. his flesh gradually exists).

- (39) Xaxi' ta' 'iri na pain ne, 'ac ca  
thin 1s:rf already:p 3s:rp/p prep:3n rec:past like INFL:nrp/p  
'I will become thin', when he (says) because of them, when

- (40) mi' ta' 'i na ne. 'Ac ca ma'  
give 1s already:s 3s:rp/p rec:past travel 3sm that:prox:hearer

it's like he says, 'I will die.' Then he goes on,

- (41) 'ac ca ma'. Mi' pin 'ac ca  
travel 3sm that:prox:hearer give completely travel 3sm  
na  
3s:rp/p

then it goes on. Then he dies.

- (42) quem. 'Awaran pin 'ac cocon na quem,  
caca-on  
ref cry:p completely travel 3pm-3sm 3s:rp/p ref  
'a waran  
cry:p

Then they wail over him, and (they) wail

- (43) 'awaran 'awaran. E' pin 'ac cocon na  
caca-on  
cry:p cry:p live completely travel 3pm-3sm 3s:rp/p  
quem.  
ref

and wail. Then they live him (bring him back to life).

- (44) Tomi' 'ac ca na. Wap jein ca' mao mahu'  
je-in  
speak travel 3sm 3s:rp/p whip 2p:rf-3n this:n neg 2p:1s:rp/p

Then he speaks. 'Please beat them away from me,

- (45) pain, xi' pa' xumu pain ta 'ac ca na.  
ximi-0  
prep:3n small 1s:obj heart-1s prep:3n emph travel 3sm 3s:rp/p

I can't breathe (lit. my heart is small) because of them', then he (says).

- (46) Pa' 'ac cacain na con quem. 'Ac ne  
caca-in  
kill travel 3pm-3n 3s:rp/p prep:3sm ref travel 3n

Then they kill them because of him. Then it

- (47) ma' 'ac ne ma'. Xio ra  
that:prox:hearer travel 3n that:prox:hearer cold 2s:rf



on to heat and bathe him.

- (56) 'Om ta mi' ma ta na, quereme rain  
ra-in  
not:exist INFL:rf give 2s emph 3s:rp/p courageous 2s:rf-3n  
me  
emph

'You won't die,' they (say), 'be courageous regarding it',

- (57) na. Mi' non pain towaxinain,  
na-on towaxi-nain  
3s:rp/p give 3s:rp/p-3sm prep:3n palm:coconut:species-3n,  
they (say). They give him their palm coconut,

- (58) mi' non pain mawirain. E' pin  
na-on mawira-in  
give 3s:rp/p-3sm prep:3n plant:species-3n live completely  
'ac  
travel  
they give him its *mawin* plant. Then he lives

- (59) ca na. 'Am towe pin ta' na, towe  
3sm 3s:rp/p finally:s fat completely 1s:rf 3s:rp/p fat  
(regains consciousness). He finally (says), 'I will get fat',

- (60) pin 'ac ca na. Quep xec pin 'ac  
completely travel 3sm 3s:rp/p do day completely travel  
ca  
3sm  
then he gets fat. Then he heals

- (61) na co tucuninim' ma'. 'Am  
3s:rp/p INFL:m/frp/p shaman that:prox:hearer finally:s  
caxi  
sick  
who is a shaman. Finally

- (62) ta' na wari' con.

- |      |  |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
|------|--|-----------|---------|-----------|---------------|------------|----------|----------|---------|
|      | 1s:rf  |           | 3s:rp/p |           | person        |            | prep:3sm |          |         |
|      | a person (says), ‘I will be sick’, regarding him.            |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
| (63) | Quep   | 'ac       | ca      | na,       | cut           | 'ac        | cain     | na       | 'oro    |
|      |  |           |         |           |               |            | ca-in    |          |         |
|      | do   | travel    | 3sm     | 3s:rp/p   | take:p        | travel     | 3sm-3n   | 3s:rp/p  | coll    |
|      | Then he heals, then he takes (out of their bodies) all kinds |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
| (64) | carawa   | jimao.    |         | Caxi      | xi'           | na         | wari',   | mo       | 'o      |
|      | animal   | different |         | sick      | whenever      | 3s:rp/p    | person   | run      | lead    |
|      | of different things. Whenever somebody is sick, they go get  |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
| (65) | nonon  |           | quem.   | Mija      | na            | ca         |          | caxi ca  |         |
|      | nana-on  |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
|      | 3p:rp/p-3sm  |           | ref     | much      | 3s:rp/p       | INFL:nrp/p |          | sick 3sm |         |
|      | him. ‘It is much   |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
| (66) | coxa'  |           |         |           |               | ma         | ta,      | quep     | 'ac     |
|      | co-xa'   |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
|      | INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling:1s                              |           |         |           |               | 2s         | emph     | do       | travel  |
|      | ca   |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
|      | 3sm  |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
|      | that your younger brother is sick’, then he touches,         |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
| (67) | na,  | nuru      | 'ac     | ca        | na.           | Cut        | 'ac      | cain     | na      |
|      |  |           |         |           |               |            |          | ca-in    |         |
|      | 3s:rp/p  | blow      | travel  | 3sm       | 3s:rp/p       | take:p     | travel   | 3sm-3n   | 3s:rp/p |
|      | then he blows. Then he takes                                 |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
| (68) | 'oro   | 'iri'     |         | 'aramaca' | ximao         |            | ne       | carawa   | quem,   |
|      | coll   | INFL:rp/p |         | offend    | for:no:reason |            | 3n       | animal   | ref     |
|      | all the things that offend for no reason,                    |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
| (69) |  | cut       |         | 'ac       |               | ca         |          | na.      |         |
|      |  | take:p    |         | travel    |               | 3sm        |          | 3s:rp/p  |         |
|      | then he takes (them out of the body).                        |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |
| (70) | Mi'  | xi'       |         | na        | wari'         | con        |          | quem.    | Cut     |
|      | give   | whenever  |         | 3s:rp/p   | person        | prep:3sm   |          | ref      | take:p  |
|      | Whenever a person dies (passes out). Then he takes.          |           |         |           |               |            |          |          |         |

- (71) ca na quem. Xain xi' nana hwijima'  
 3sm 3s:rp/p ref hot whenever 3p:rp/p children  
 con quem.  
 prep:3sm ref  
 Whenever children have fever regarding him.
- (72) Taxi' nain ma' quem. Ma' na  
 na-in  
 know 3s:rp/p-3n that:prox:hearer ref exist 3s:rp/p  
 ca  
 INFL:nrp/p  
 He knows (how to handle) that too. It happens that
- (73) tomi' ximao ca. Caji ximicam  
 caji-0 ximi-cam  
 speak for:no:reason 3sm strangeness-3n heart-3sf  
 he says (something) for no reason. '(It is because of) their
- (74) jicocon ta. Je ma'  
 ji-cocon  
 mother-3pm emph emph:3n that:prox:hearer  
 mother's immorality (lit. bad heart).' That is why there is
- (75) ca mana' mana' qui' wa pain  
 INFL:nrp/p angry angry coming:this:way inf prep:3n  
 anger because of
- (76) ma', taxi' nain ma'  
 na-in  
 that:prox:hearer know 3s:rp/p-3n that:prox:hearer  
 CO  
 INFL:m/frp/p  
 that, he knows about that who
- (77) tucuninim' na ma'.  
 shaman 3s:rp/p that:prox:hearer  
 is a shaman.
- (78) Wan nam xucun tarama'

na-m xije-con  
have:sexual:relations 3s:rp/p-3sf otherness-3sm man  
jicon,  
ji-con  
mother-3sm

‘Another man had sexual relations with (the child’s) mother,

- (79) je para caxi ca ma' ta na  
emph:3n therefore sick 3sm that:prox:hearer emph 3s:rp/p  
pain  
prep:3n

that is why he (the child) is sick,’ he (says), ‘regarding

- (80) ca cao' ximao ca wari' co  
INFL:nrp/p eat for:no:reason 3sm person INFL:m/frp/p  
when a person has illicit sexual relations who

- (81) terem' caxa' ta 'ac ca na.  
lie:down:s bachelor’s:bed emph travel 3sm 3s:rp/p  
lies in the bachelor’s bed’, then he (says).

- (82) Mana' mana' nana pain ma' cocon.  
angry angry 3p:rp/p prep:3n that:prox:hearer prep:3pm  
They are angry because of that regarding them.

- (83) 'Om ca tomi' hwet tomi' hwet cain  
ca-in  
not:exist INFL:nrp/p speak appear speak appear 3sm-3n  
He doesn’t tell (who it is)

- (84) co tucunim' ma'.  
INFL:m/frp/p shaman that:prox:hearer  
(the one) who is a shaman.

- (85) Joc xim joc xim nain quem. Mi' pin  
na-in  
push night push night 3s:rp/p-3n ref give completely  
xi'  
whenever



He keeps it a secret. Whenever a person passes out (lit. dies)

- (86) na wari' con quem. Ma' na co  
 3s:rp/p person prep:3sm ref exist 3s:rp/p INFL:m/frp/p  
 regarding him. (It happens that) there is one

- (87) mi' pin con quem. Mo 'o nonon  
 nana-on  
 give completely prep:3sm ref run lead 3p:rp/p-3sm  
 who passes out (lit. dies) regarding him. They go get him.

- (88) quem. Nuru na quem, 'an xiho' nain  
 na-in  
 ref blow 3s:rp/p ref takers together 3s:rp/p-3n  
 mijac  
 wild:pig  
 He blows, he imitates the wild pig,

- (89) quem ca' na. Nuru nuru nuru, cao' ja'  
 ref this:n 3s:rp/p blow blow blow eat splash  
 non  
 na-on  
 3s:rp/p-3sm  
 thus it is. He blows and blows, he smears the (oil of

- (90) pain towaxi' co caxi na  
 prep:3n palm:coconut:species INFL:m/frp/p sick 3s:rp/p  
 the) *towaxi'* coconut on him who is sick,

- (91) ma', xio pin 'ac ca na quem,  
 that:prox:hearer cold completely travel 3sm 3s:rp/p ref  
 then he gets well,

- (92) ca' na. 'Om ca taraju xo' camain'  
 this:n 3s:rp/p not:exist INFL:nrp/p hear correctly at:all  
 thus it is. He doesn't hear correctly at all

- (93) cain 'oro me, 'oro jowin cwa', 'oro carawa  
 ca-in  
 3sm-3n coll bird coll monkey:species this:m/f coll animal

birds, the *jowin* monkeys, all different animals.

- |       |   |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
|-------|---|------------|------------------|----------------|--------|------------------|----------|
| (94)  | jimao.  | Querec     | querec           | 'ac            | wari'  | non.             |          |
|       |   |            |                  |                |        | na-on            |          |
|       | different,  | see        | see              | like           | person | 3s:rp/p-3sm      |          |
|       | They look like people to him (he sees them and they are like people to him).                |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
| (95)  | 'Om   | ca         | querec           | querec         | 'ac    | carawa           | con.     |
|       |   |            |                  |                |        | ca-on            |          |
|       | not:exist   | INFL:nrp/p | see              | see            | like   | animal           | 3sm-3sm  |
|       | They don't look like animals to him (he doesn't see them and they are like animals to him). |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
| (96)  | Win   | pe         | pin              |                |        | non.             |          |
|       |   |            |                  |                |        | na-on            |          |
|       | same  | be:s       | completely       |                |        | 3s:rp/p-3sm      |          |
|       | He becomes completely used to them. (They become one and the same with him.)                |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
| (97)  | Querec  | wari'      | non              | piwa,          |        | tam,             | 'oro     |
|       |   |            | na-on            |                |        |                  |          |
|       | see   | person     | 3s:rp/p-3sm      | agouti:species |        | bird:species     | coll     |
|       | carawa  |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
|       | animal  |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
|       | He sees a piwa agouti (as) a person, a <i>tam</i> bird, all different                       |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
| (98)  | jimao,  |            | 'orojimain       |                |        | carawa.          |          |
|       |   |            | 'orojima-in      |                |        |                  |          |
|       | different,  |            | smallness-3n     |                |        | animal           |          |
|       | animals, little animals.  |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
| (99)  | 'Ac   | ne         | ma'              | 'ac            | ne     | ma'.             |          |
|       | travel  | 3n         | that:prox:hearer | travel         | 3n     | that:prox:hearer |          |
|       | Then it goes on, then it goes on.   |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
| (100) | Pain  | pain       | pin              | 'i             |        | na               | ne.      |
|       | prep:3n   | prep:3n    | completely       | already:s      |        | 3s:rp/p          | rec:past |
|       | When a long time has passed.  |            |                  |                |        |                  |          |
| (101) | Pi'am   | tohein'    | mami'            | 'ac            |        | cain             | na.      |
|       |   |            |                  |                |        | ca-in            |          |
|       | sleep   | dream      | again            | travel         |        | 3sm-3n           | 3s:rp/p  |

Then he dreams of them (the pigs) again.

- (102) Maqui' na mijac ta 'ac ca na ca  
 come 3s:rp/p wild:pig emph travel 3sm 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p  
 tomi'  
 speak

'The wild pigs are coming', then he (says) when he speaks.

- (103) ca. Maqui' na mijac ta. Pa' jein mijac,  
 je-in  
 3sm come 3s:rp/p wild:pig emph kill 2p:rf-3n wild:pig  
 'The wild pigs are coming.' 'Kill the pigs.'

- (104) main ca maqui' ne?  
 ma'-in  
 that:prox:hearer-3n INFL:nrp/p come 3n  
 'Where are they coming from?'

- (105) to nain ma', maqui' na, xut je  
 na-in  
 be:p 3s:rp/p-3n that:prox:hearer come 3s:rp/p walks 2p:rf  
 'They are there, they are coming, go

- (106) pain ta 'ac cocon na.  
 ca-ocon  
 prep:3n emph travel 3sm-3pm 3s:rp/p  
 regarding them after them (lit. walk)', then he (says) to them.

- (107) 'Om ca mixein ca, xut xut hwet  
 not:exist INFL:nrp/p deceive 3sm walk:s walk:s approach  
 He isn't deceiving, they walk

- (108) nanain. Pa' 'ac cacain na con.  
 nana-in caca-in  
 3p:rp/p-3n kill travel 3pm-3n 3s:rp/p prep:3sm  
 to them. Then they kill them because of him.

- (109) Tomi' 'ac ca na. Jamicocon 'oro wara  
 jami-cocon  
 speak travel 3sm 3s:rp/p spirit-3pm coll already

Then he speaks. '(They are) the spirits of

- (110) co cono' nana.  
INFL:m/frp/p die:p 3p:rp/p  
those who have already died.'
- (111) Coxari' co ma'  
co-xa'-'iri'  
INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling:1s-1pincl m that:prox:hearer  
'Our younger brother (is) that one,
- (112) ta, co pa' pin hwe ma'.  
emph INFL:m/frp/p kill completely 2p that:prox:hearer  
whom you killed there.'
- (113) Cowere' cam ma'  
co-we-'iri'  
INFL:m/frp/p-older:sister:1s-1pincl f that:prox:hearer  
ta,  
emph  
'Our older sister (is) that one,
- (114) co pa' ma ca' na. Querec pin'  
INFL:m/frp/p kill 2s this:n 3s:rp/p see completely  
whom you killed, thus it is.' They recognize
- (115) nanain jamicocon co wara cono' nana  
nana-in jami-cocon  
3p:rp/p-3n spirit-3pm INFL:m/frp/p already die:p 3p:rp/p  
the spirits of those who have already died
- (116) pain jami mijac ma'. Ma' na  
jami-0  
prep:3n spirit-3n wild:pig that:prox:hearer exist 3s:rp/p  
wari  
person  
in the spirits of the wild pigs. There are people
- (117) co 'awaran nana quem, querec 'aca pe  
INFL:m/frp/p cry:s 3p:rp/p ref see cry:s be:s

na.

3s:rp/p

who cry, he sees it and cries (because of it).

- (118) Xo' cono' xi' na wari'. Mam  
ma'-m  
recently die:p whenever 3s:rp/p person that:prox:hearer-3sf  
Whenever a person has just died. That one

- (119) ma' coxari'  
co-xa'-'iri'  
that:prox:hearer INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling:1s-1pincl  
is our younger sister

- (120) ma' na co xo' mi'  
that:prox:hearer 3s:rp/p INFL:m/frp/p recently give  
pin  
completely  
who recently died',

- (121) na, 'awaran ma' nana quem, 'oro  
3s:rp/p cry:p that:prox:hearer 3p:rp/p ref coll  
ca  
INFL:nrp/p  
they cry too, all

- (122) nari nequequem, 'awaram ma' nanain  
nana-in  
be:related poss:3pf cry:p that:prox:hearer 3p:rp/p-3n  
their relatives, they cry over

- (123) mijac ma' quem ca' na.  
wild:pig that:prox:hearer ref this:n 3s:rp/p  
the wild pig, thus it is.

- (124) Ca tomi' ha' tamana cocon  
caca-on  
INFL:n/frp/p speak pay:attention much 3pm-3sm  
co  
INFL:m/frp/p

When they obey much the one who

- (125) tucuninim' ma'. Cao' cao' pin nanain,  
nana-in  
shaman that:prox:hearer eat eat completely 3p:rp/p-3n  
is a shaman. They eat it all up,
- (126) cao' jein ta 'ac ca na. Ta cao' wijimi  
je-in  
eat 2p:rf-3n emph travel 3sm 3s:rp/p INFL:rf eat stubborn  
'Eat it', then he (says). 'Don't refrain from eating all of it
- (127) hwein me 'ac ca na.  
hwe-in  
2p-3n emph travel 3sm 3s:rp/p  
(lit. don't eat it stubbornly)', then he (says).
- (128) Pain pain pain pin na. Co  
prep:3n prep:3n prep:3n completely 3s:rp/p INFL:m/frp/p  
cao'  
eat  
A long time passes. He whose children refrain from eating all of it
- (129) wijimi nanain mana panxica, co cao'  
nana-in panxi-ca  
stubborn 3p:rp/p-3n coll child-3sm INFL:m/frp/p eat  
wixicao'  
throw:p  
(lit. eat stubbornly), they whose
- (130) nanain winain mana panxicaca.  
nana-in wina-in panxi-caca  
3p:rp/p-3n head-3n coll child-3pm  
children eat and throw away its head.
- (131) Tomi' na jami mijac ma' quem.  
jami-0  
speak 3s:rp/p spirit-3n wild:pig that:prox:hearer ref  
The spirit of the wild pig speaks.
- (132) Ta wixicam hun 'ara ma' me  
hwe-on  
INFL:rf go:near 2p-3sm so-and-so that:prox:hearer emph

ta,

emph

'Don't go near so-and-so,

- (133) tama' cao' wijimi mao nain ca wina wa  
na-in wina-0  
always eat stubborn go:s 3s:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p head-1s inf  
he always refrained from eating (lit. ate stubbornly) heads

- (134) pane, jein ni jein ni jein ni  
rem:past run:p separate run:p separate run:p separate  
long ago', the animals run separately (in another

- (135) na carawa ma'.  
3s:rp/p animal that:prox:hearer  
direction).

- (136) Jein xumu jein xumu non wari'  
ximi-u ximi-u na-on  
run:p heart-1s run:p heart-1s 3s:rp/p-3sm person  
co  
INFL:m/frp/p

They run in the direction of the person whose

- (137) cao' 'iri' wari' nanain carawa mana panxica.  
nana-in panxi-ca  
eat truly person 3p:rp/p-3n animal coll child-3sm  
children eat the animals like real people.

- (138) Je ma' ca tomi' tomi' mao  
emph:3n that:prox:hearer INFL:nrp/p speak speak go:s  
caca,  
3pm

That is what they say,

- (139) ca tomi' tomi' mao ne caxicon jam  
caji-con  
INFL:nrp/p speak speak go:s 3n strangeness-3sm spirit  
nein  
poss:3n  
what the bad spirits of the

- (140) mijac ma'. 'Ac caca ma'  
wild:pig that:prox:hearer travel 3pm that:prox:hearer  
wild pigs say. Then they go on,
- (141) 'ac caca ma' 'ac caca ma'.  
travel 3pm that:prox:hearer travel 3pm that:prox:hearer  
Then they go on, then they go on.
- (142) Quep xio quep xio nain 'oro carawa. Caxi xi'  
na-in  
do cold do cold 3s:rp/p-3n coll thing sick whenever  
He heals all sicknesses (lit. everything). Whenever
- (143) nana hwanana quem. Caxi na ta, cam paca'  
3p:rp/p old:people ref sick 3s:rp/p emph little leave  
old people get sick. 'He is sick, move out of
- (144) jun 'ara ma' ta.  
je-on  
2p:rf-3sm so-and-so that:prox:hearer emph  
so-and-so's way.'
- (145) Nuru 'ac ca na, nuru nuru nuru, quep quep xio  
blow travel 3sm 3s:rp/p blow blow blow do do cold  
quep xio,  
do cold  
Then he blows, (he) blows and blows, (he) does (touches) and makes well
- (146) cut 'ac cain na mawin quem.  
ca-in  
take:p travel 3sm-3n 3s:rp/p plant:species ref  
then he takes (out of the body) the *mawin* plant.
- (147) Xirao' 'ac cain na miwirain.  
ca-in mawira-in  
mark travel 3sm-3n 3s:rp/p plant:species-3n  
Then he marks with its *mawin* plant.
- (148) Cao' ja' 'ac ca towaxinain carawa  
towaxi-nain  
eat splash travel 3sm palm:coconut:species-3n animal



Then he smears on the *towaxi'* palm coconut of the animals.

- |       |  |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
|-------|--|------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|------------|---------|-------------|
| (149) | ma'  |            |           | na.         | Xio           | xio        | 'ac     | wa          |
|       | that:prox:hearer   |            |           | 3s:rp/p     | cold          | cold       | travel  | inf         |
|       | Then getting well  |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
| (150) | na   | con.       |           | Mo          |               | ta         |         | tom         |
|       | 3s:rp/p  | prep:3sm   |           | conditional |               | INFL:rf    |         | burn        |
|       | occurs by him. If they burn <i>catocwan'</i>                         |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
| (151) | tain'  | cocon      |           | pain        | catocwan',    |            | pain    | 'oro        |
|       |  | caca-on    |           |             |               |            |         |             |
|       | smoke  | 3pm-3sm    |           | prep:3n     | pitch:species |            | prep:3n | coll        |
|       | ximiton.   |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
|       | pitch:species  |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
|       | pitch and the smoke gets on him, (or) <i>ximiton</i> kinds of pitch. |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
| (152) | 'Om  | pin        |           | toron,      | noc           | pin        |         | non,        |
|       |  |            |           | tara-on     |               |            |         | na-on       |
|       | not:exist  | completely |           | 3s:rf-3sm   | dislike       | completely |         | 3s:rp/p-3sm |
|       | It will cease to exist concerning him, it dislikes him,              |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
| (153) | 'om  | ca         |           | tucuninim'  | mami'         | ca         | 'Ara    | xite        |
|       | not:exist  | INFL:nrp/p |           | shaman      | again         | 3sm        | do      | heavy       |
|       | nonon.   |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
|       | nana-on  |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
|       | 3p:rp/p-3sm  |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
|       | he isn't a shaman anymore. They are careful with him.                |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
| (154) | Quep   | xio        | 'i        | capari'     |               | ca'        |         | nonon.      |
|       |  |            |           | ca-pari'    |               |            |         | nana-on     |
|       | do   | cold       | already:s | 3sm-1pincl  |               | this:n     |         | 3p:rp/p-3sm |
|       | 'He certainly heals us (incl)', they (say) of him.                   |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
| (155) | Mijac  | 'ara       | xi'       | na          | ca            | 'o         | xut     | non         |
|       |  |            |           |             |               |            |         | na-on       |
|       | wild:pig   | neg        | dub       | 3s:rp/p     | INFL:nrp/p    | lead       | walk:s  | 3s:rp/p-3sm |
|       | Because it was the wild pigs that led (walked) him away.             |            |           |             |               |            |         |             |
| (156) | ma'.   |            |           | Mon         | quequep       |            | xec     | na.         |

- |       | that:prox:hearer  |             |                  | delay       |         |            | do:p             |             | day       |         | 3s:rp/p |  |
|-------|---|-------------|------------------|-------------|---------|------------|------------------|-------------|-----------|---------|---------|--|
|       | He keeps on touching (healing).                                 |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
| (157) | Tomi'   | non         | jami             | mijac,      | ta      | quep       | xec              | xec         |           |         |         |  |
|       |   | na-on       | jami-0           |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | speak   | 3s:rp/p-3sm | spirit-3n        | wild:pig    | INFL:rf | do         | day              | day         |           |         |         |  |
|       | camain'   |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | at:all  |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | The spirit of the wild pig speaks to him, 'Don't do (heal)      |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
| (158) | ma  | me,         | ta               | mam         | pe      | mam        | pe               | mi'         | maparut   | pain    |         |  |
|       |   |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             | ma-parut  |         |         |  |
|       | 2s  | emph        | INFL:rf          | instr       | be:s    | instr      | be:s             | give        | 2s-1pexcl | prep:3n |         |  |
|       | proudly at all, don't hold it out to us (brag about it)         |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
| (159) | ma'   | ta          |                  |             | ca'     |            | nonon.           |             |           |         |         |  |
|       |   |             |                  |             |         |            | nana-on          |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | that:prox:hearer  |             |                  | emph        |         | this:n     |                  | 3p:rp/p-3sm |           |         |         |  |
|       | regarding us', thus they (say) to him.                          |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
| (160) | 'Ac   | ca          | ma'              | 'ac         |         |            |                  | ca          | ma',      |         |         |  |
|       | travel  | 3sm         | that:prox:hearer | travel      |         | 3sm        | that:prox:hearer |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | pain  |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | prep:3n   |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | Then he goes on, then he goes on, time                          |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
| (161) | pain  | pain,       | caxi             | mami'       | 'ac     | ca         | na               | quem.       |           |         |         |  |
|       | prep:3n   | prep:3n     | sick             | again       | travel  | 3sm        | 3s:rp/p          | ref         |           |         |         |  |
|       | passes, then he gets sick again.                                |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
| (162) | 'O  | xut         | mami'            | non         | quem.   | Mi'        | pin              | mami'       |           |         |         |  |
|       |   |             | na-on            |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | lead  | walks       | again            | 3s:rp/p-3sm | ref     | give       | completely       | again       |           |         |         |  |
|       | They lead (walk) him away again. Then he passes out (lit. dies) |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
| (163) | 'ac   | ca          | na               | quem.       | Mi'     | pin        | na               |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | travel  | 3sm         | 3s:rp/p          | ref         | give    | completely | 3s:rp/p          |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | co  |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |
|       | INFL:m/frp/p  |             |                  |             |         |            |                  |             |           |         |         |  |

again. He dies (passes out) who

- |       |            |                  |       |      |      |       |
|-------|------------|------------------|-------|------|------|-------|
| (164) | tucuninim' | ma'              | quem, | win  | quep | mip   |
|       | shaman     | that:prox:hearer | ref   | same | do   | force |
|       | pin        |                  |       |      |      |       |

completely

is a shaman, then that's when they strongly

- |       |                  |         |         |              |            |
|-------|------------------|---------|---------|--------------|------------|
| (165) | 'ac              | con     | na      | co           | tucuninim' |
|       |                  | ca-on   |         |              |            |
|       | travel           | 3sm-3sm | 3s:rp/p | INFL:m/frp/p | shaman     |
|       | ma'              |         |         |              |            |
|       | that:prox:hearer |         |         |              |            |

do (control) him who is a shaman.

- |       |            |      |      |        |        |     |         |              |
|-------|------------|------|------|--------|--------|-----|---------|--------------|
| (166) | quem.      | Quep | xio  | tamana | 'ac    | ca  | na      | co           |
|       | ref        | do   | cold | much   | travel | 3sm | 3s:rp/p | INFL:m/frp/p |
|       | tucuninim' |      |      |        |        |     |         |              |
|       | shaman     |      |      |        |        |     |         |              |

Then he heals much who is a shaman.

- |       |                  |      |         |            |      |      |      |
|-------|------------------|------|---------|------------|------|------|------|
| (167) | ma'.             | Mija | na      | ca         | quep | xio  | quep |
|       | that:prox:hearer | much | 3s:rp/p | INFL:nrp/p | do   | cold | do   |
|       | xio              |      |         |            |      |      |      |
|       | cold             |      |         |            |      |      |      |

It is much that he heals

- |       |                                  |      |        |      |      |             |      |        |
|-------|----------------------------------|------|--------|------|------|-------------|------|--------|
| (168) | cocon                            | 'oro | wari'. | Quep | xio  | nonon       | 'oro | wari'. |
|       | ca-ocon                          |      |        |      |      | na-ocon     |      |        |
|       | 3sm-3pm                          | coll | person | do   | cold | 3s:rp/p-3pm | coll | person |
|       | the people. He heals the people. |      |        |      |      |             |      |        |

- |       |      |          |         |      |      |            |      |          |
|-------|------|----------|---------|------|------|------------|------|----------|
| (169) | Xain | xi'      | nana    | 'oro | mana | panxicaca. | Quep | ne       |
|       |      |          |         |      |      | panxi-caca |      |          |
|       | hot  | whenever | 3p:rp/p | coll | coll | child-3pm  | do   | 2s:1s:rf |

Whenever their children have fever. 'Do me our child',

- (170) con            pantiri'            cwa'            xi'            na.            Quep    quep  
                  panxi-'iri'

prep:3sm child-1pincl this:m/f whenever 3s:rp/p do do  
 quep.  
 do

whenever he (says). (He) does and does.

- (171) Wan xi' nanam 'oro  
 nana-m  
 have:sexual:relations whenever 3p-3sf:rp/p coll  
 xucun  
 xije-con  
 otherness-3sm

Whenever they have sexual relations with her, other

- (172) mon tarama' co toco' nanain  
 nana-in  
 coll man INFL:m/frp/p lie:down:p 3p:rp/p-3n  
 caxa',  
 bachelor's:bed

men who sleep on the bachelor's bed,

- (173) con pije' ma'. Tomi' na.  
 prep:3sm child that:prox:hearer speak 3s:rp/p  
 regarding the child. He speaks.

- (174) Mo ta pa' ca 'aracon me co  
 conditional INFL:rf kill 3sm owl INFL:m/frp/p  
 If he kills an 'aracon me owl who

- (175) wan nam, co terem'  
 na-m  
 have:sexual:relations 3s:rp/p-3sm INFL:m/frp/p lie:down:s  
 has sexual relations with her, the one who

- (176) nain caxa' narima' ma',  
 na-in  
 3s:rp/p-3n bachelor's:bed woman that:prox:hearer  
 the woman lay in the bachelor's bed.

- (177) Tomi' na co tucuninim' ma'.

speak 3s:rp/p      INFL:m/frp/p      shaman      that:prox:hearer  
(The one) who is a shaman speaks.

- (178) Hot      nain      tapaxicon      'aracon me.  
na-in      tapaxi-con  
put:out      3s:rp/p-3n      feather-3sm      owl  
He pulls an 'aracon me owl's feather (out of the child's body).

- (179) Pa'      mon      'aracon me      con      pantiri'      cwa'  
ma-on      panxi-'iri'  
kill      2s:rp/p-3sm      owl      prep:3sm      child-1pincl      this:m/f  
ra?  
2s:rf  
'You killed an 'aracon me owl regarding our (incl) child, didn't you?'

- (180) 'Om      ca      pa'      ton      ta,      caji  
ta'-on      caji-0  
not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      kill      1s-3sm      emph      strangeness-3n  
ximicam  
ximi-cam  
heart-3sf  
'I didn't kill it, (it's) the bad heart

- (181) jicon      ma'      ta.  
ji-con  
mother-3sm      that:prox:hearer      emph  
of his mother.'

- (182) Mana'      mana'      'ac      ca      na      cote      ca  
co-te  
angry      angry      travel      3sm      3s:rp/p      INFL:m/frp/p-father:1s      3sm  
Then the father of the child gets angry.

- (183) pije'      ma'.      Caji      ximicam      jicon,  
caji-0      ximi-cam      xi-con  
child      that:prox:hearer      strangeness-3n      heart-3sf      mother-3sm  
'(It's) his mother's bad heart.

- (184) 'om      ca      pa'      ton      ta.      'Aram      'aram

- ta'-on
- not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      kill      1s-3sm      emph      finally:p      finally:p
- mixita
- mixita-0
- anger-1s
- I didn't kill it.' He finally (says),
- (185)      ta'      na      nanain      ca      caji
- nana-in      caji-0
- 1s:rf      3s:rp/p      3p:rp/p-3n      INFL:nrp/p      strangeness-3n
- xumu wa
- ximi-u
- heart-1s inf
- 'I will fight', they (say) about bad hearts
- (186)      pain      ma'      quem.      'Em'      cwa'      quem.
- prep:3n      that:prox:hearer      ref      snake      this:m/f      ref
- regarding that. This snake also.
- (187)      Aramaca'      xi'      nonon      'em'.      Quep      'ac      ca
- na-ocon
- offend      whenever      3s:rp/p-3pm      snake      do      travel      3sm
- xi'
- whenever
- Whenever a snake offends them. Then whenever he heals
- (188)      na      co      tucuninim'      ma'.
- 3s:rp/p      INFL:m/frp/p      shaman      that:prox:hearer
- (the one) who is a shaman.
- (189)      To'      pa'      mon      'em'      con      pantiri'.
- ma-on      panxi-'iri'
- hit      kill      2s:rp/p-3sm      snake      prep:3sm      child-1pincl
- 'You killed a snake regarding our (incl) child.'
- (190)      'Om      ca      to'      pa'      ton,      caji      ximicam
- ta'-on      caji-0      ximi-cam
- not:exist      INFL:nrp/p      hit      kill      1s-3sm      strangeness-3n      heart-3sf

'I didn't kill it, (it's) the bad heart of

- (191) jicon ta ca' nonon. Taxi' nain 'i  
 ji-con nana-on na-in  
 mother-3sm emph this:n 3p:rp/p-3sm know 3s:rp/p-3n n  
 ca',  
 this:n  
 his mother,' thus they (say) to him. He knows this,

- (192) ca 'iri' cut cain 'oro carawa jimao.  
 ca-in  
 INFL:nrp/p INFL:rp/p take:p 3sm-3n coll thing different  
 how to take out all kinds of things.

- (193) 'Em', 'aramaca' na 'em', 'aram hop ca'  
 snake offend 3s:rp/p snake finally:p alligator this:n  
 con  
 prep:3sm  
 A snake, the snake offends, (or) perhaps an alligator

- (194) quem. Taxi' taxi' ximao pin na  
 ref know know for:no:reason completely 3s:rp/p  
 co  
 INFL:m/frp/p  
 regarding him. He knows everything (the one) who

- (195) tucuninim' ma'. 'Ac ca ma' 'ac  
 shaman that:prox:hearer travel 3sm that:prox:hearer travel  
 is a shaman. Then he goes on, then

- (196) ca ma' 'ac ca ma'  
 3sm that:prox:hearer travel 3sm that:prox:hearer  
 he goes on, then he goes on,

- (197) 'ac ca ma', mija na ca cut  
 travel 3sm that:prox:hearer much 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p take:p  
 then he goes on, it is much that he takes out

- (198) cain 'oro carawa jimao. 'Om ca taraju  
 ca-in

- 3sm-3n coll animal different not:exist INFL:nrp/p hear  
xo'  
correctly  
different things. He doesn't hear correctly
- (199) camain' cain 'oro carawa jimao, 'oro me cwa',  
ca-in  
at:all 3sm-3n coll animal different coll bird this:m/f  
at all the different kinds of animals, the birds,
- (200) 'ac tomi' pa' 'ac tomi' pa' 'ac wari' pin  
like speak kill like speak kill like person completely  
it's like he converses (with them), it's like they have become people to him.
- (201) non. Pe pin 'iri non ne.  
na-on na-on  
3s:rp/p-3sm be:s completely already:p 3s:rp/p-3sm rec:past  
When he is completely used to them (when they are completely with him).
- (202) 'Om ca jin' mami' cain. Pe pin  
ca-in  
not:exist INFL:nrp/p fear again 3sm-3n be:at:s' completely  
He isn't afraid of them anymore. He is completely used to
- (203) non. Pa' ta' mijac  
na-on  
3s:rp/p-3sm kill 1s:rf wild:pig  
them (they are completely with him). 'I will kill wild
- (204) xi' na xucun wari' con quem.  
xije-con  
whenever 3s:rp/p otherness-3sm person prep:3sm ref  
pigs', whenever another person (says) regarding him.
- (205) Quep xirac 'ac con na mijac wari'  
ca-on  
do magical travel 3s-3sm 3s:rp/p wild:pig person  
Then the wild pig casts a spell on the person.
- (206) ma' quem. Quereme rain me ta 'ac



- that:prox:hearer      ref      courageous      ra-in  
2s:rf-3n      emph      emph      travel
- 'Be courageous regarding it', then
- (207)      con      'iri'      co      xucun      wari'  
ca-on      xije-con  
3sm-3sm      INFL:rp/p      INFL:m/frp/p      otherness-3sm      person  
co  
INFL:m/frp/p  
the one who is a shaman (says) to the other person,
- (208)      tucuminim'      ma',      xocoricon      na'  
xocori-con      na-m  
shaman      that:prox:hearer,      newness-3sm      3s:rp/p  
nam.  
3s:rp/p-3sf  
the new one, right?
- (209)      Quereme      rain      me      'ac      con      na.  
ra-in      ca-on  
courageous      2s:rf-3n      emph      travel      3sm-3sm      3s:rp/p  
'Be courageous regarding it', then he (says) to him.
- (210)      Win      win      cono',      mi'      pin      na      xocoricon  
xocori-con  
same      same      die:p      give      completely      3s:rp/p      newness-3sm  
(They) pass out (lit. die) together, the new one passes
- (211)      ma'      quem.      Mi'      na      wara      tucuninim'  
that:prox:hearer      ref      give      3s:rp/p      already      shaman  
out (lit. dies) also. The old shaman also dies
- (212)      ma'      quem      ca'      na,      quep      xirac      quep  
that:prox:hearer      ref      this:n      3s:rp/p      do      magical      do  
xirac  
magical  
(passes out), thus it is, they cast a spell
- (213)      pi'      pin      nonon.      Mi'      pin      xi'

- na-ocon  
finish completely 3s:rp/p-3pm give completely whenever  
on both of them. Whenever he dies,
- (214) na, 'awaran nonon co xo' mi'  
nana-on  
3s:rp/p cry:p 3p:rp/p-3sm INFL:m/frp/p recently give  
they cry over the one who recently dies.
- (215) ma'. 'Om na ta, 'an 'in  
that:prox:hearer not:exist 3s:rp/p emph take:s return  
'No! He brings back
- (216) 'an 'in nain tamataracon  
na-in tamatara-con  
takers return 3s:rp/p-3n spirit-3sm  
the spirit of his
- (217) coxa' ca, ca nanari  
co-xa'  
INFL:m/frp/p-younger:sibling:1s 3sm INFL:nrp/p be:related:p  
younger brother', (regarding) when we're (incl) related
- (218) qui' xijexi' na' nam.  
na-m  
coming:this:way refl:1pincl 3s:rp/p 3s:rp/p-3sf  
to each other, right?
- (219) 'An 'in 'an 'in non. Quereme rain  
na-on ra-in  
take:s return take:s return 3s:rp/p-3sm courageous 2s:rf-3n  
He brings him back. 'Be courageous regarding it,
- (220) me ta, 'om ca mi' ta' ma ta,  
emph emph not:exist INFL:nrp/p give 1s:rf 2s emph  
you won't die (you don't (say), "I will die")",
- (221) 'ac ca ma' 'ac ca ma'  
travel 3sm that:prox:hearer travel 3sm that:prox:hearer  
then he goes on, then he goes on,

- (222) 'ac ca ma'. 'Am xio pin ta'  
 travel 3sm that:prox:hearer finally:s cold completely 1s:rf  
 then he goes on. He finally (says), 'I will get well',
- (223) na, quep tiquin' na xucun quem ca'  
 xije-con  
 3s:rp/p do continue 3s:rp/p otherness-3sm ref this:n  
 na.  
 3s:rp/p  
 and the other one continues healing also, thus it is.
- (224) Mija na, 'om ca taxi' 'e'  
 much 3s:rp/p not:exist INFL:nrp/p know only  
 ma' wa.  
 that:prox:hearer inf  
 It is much, it's not just knowing.
- (225) Mija na ca cono' cono' caca pain mijac  
 much 3s:rp/p INFL:nrp/p die:p die:p 3pm prep:3n wild:pig  
 It is much that they die (pass  
 out) because of the wild pigs
- (226) con caxicon jam co tucunim'  
 caji-con  
 prep:3sm strangeness-3sm spirit INFL:m/frp/p shaman  
 nana  
 3p:rp/p  
 and the bad spirit who are shamans.
- (227) ma'. 'Om ca cut cut nene  
 that:prox:hearer not:exist INFL:nrp/p take:p take:p immature  
 They don't take out immaturely
- (228) cacain 'oro 'iri' 'aramaca' ne carawa jimao.  
 caca-in  
 3pm-3n coll INFL:rp/p offend 3n animal different  
 the different things that offend.
- (229) Xio xio 'ac wa na cocon co  
 cold cold travel inf 3s:rp/p prep:3pm INFL:m/frp/p

tucuninim'

shaman

Then (there) is wellness because of those who are shamans.

- |       |                                 |                  |            |    |        |         |
|-------|---------------------------------|------------------|------------|----|--------|---------|
| (230) | nana                            | ma'              | Je         | 'i | ca'    | pata',  |
|       | 3p:rp/p                         | that:prox:hearer | emph:3n    | n  | this:n | prep:ls |
|       | That's it by me,                |                  |            |    |        |         |
| (231) | tanacam'                        | pije'            | napa'.     |    |        |         |
|       |                                 |                  | na-pa'     |    |        |         |
|       | difficult                       | child            | 3s:rp/p-ls |    |        |         |
|       | it's a little difficult for me. |                  |            |    |        |         |

- |       |                                 |       |            |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------|------------|
| (231) | tanacam'                        | pije' | napa'.     |
|       |                                 |       | na-pa'     |
|       | difficult                       | child | 3s:rp/p-1s |
|       | it's a little difficult for me. |       |            |

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