

Macushi

Miriam Abbott

Missão Evangélica da Amazonia

Introduction

Macushi (Makuxi, Makusi) is a member of the Carib language family, classified by Durbin (1977) as Northern Carib (East-West Guiana). It is related closely to Arekuna, Taulipang (Pemon), Akawaio, Kamaracoto and Patamona. The writer has spoken personally to speakers of Arekuna and Pemon. Macushi was intelligible to them and, although there are differences, conversation was not a problem. Macushi is spoken by approximately 15,000 Indians who live in the region between the Rupununi River in Guyana and the Cotingo and Surumu Rivers in the Territory of Roraima in Brazil and extending over into the savannahs of Venezuela. There is a lot of bilingualism and, in some speakers living on the frontier, trilingualism. In almost every household there is some Portuguese (or English) spoken. Children attend schools taught in the national languages and parents strive to teach only the national language to their children. Macushi is regarded as inferior by the native speakers. The Macushi live in villages surrounded by ranches and mines, and thus have continual contact with speakers of the national language. There are many loan-words in the language. Names of people and places are almost all Portuguese words (in Guyana, English), and some grammatical devices, such as *nem* 'not even' and *ou* 'or', are being used more frequently. Some borrowed words are being employed with slightly different meanings: *paaka* 'cow/cattle' from Portuguese 'vaca' is used without the sex distinction there is in Portuguese; Portuguese 'rei' ('king') always occurs with the *s* in the singular form in Macushi (*reis*) and is pluralized with the Macushi plural suffix *-yamí* (*reisyamí*); and the standard form for 'Christmas' is now *karisimosi* and for 'church' it is *soosi*.

Syntax of the Sentence or Clause

1 Word order

1.1 Taxonomy of clause types. Macushi has five distinct main clause types. They are: 1) transitive, 2) intransitive, 3) stative, 4) equative, and 5) quotative. The normal order of nuclear constituents is subject–verb, with the exception of the transitive and quotative in which the order is object–verb–subject. In the latter case the subject may be fronted before the object for emphasis and highlighting in the discourse (see sect. 1.1.1). The object may be moved to the end of the sentence for certain pragmatic effects, but there is a strong preference for the OV ordering. The basic word order SV for non-transitives and OVS for transitives also applies to subordinate clauses.

1.1.1 Transitive clause. One of the characteristics of the transitive clause in Macushi is the occurrence of a direct object. The basic order is OVS, although the SOV ordering also occurs frequently. Both the object and subject noun phrases may be substituted by pronouns as free forms or bound affixes, still adhering to the same ordering. However, a bound subject can never be fronted, as it is always a suffix. A bound form and free form, whether a pronoun or full noun phrase, cannot co-occur (5), except where the free form is phonologically dislocated from the main clause in which the verb occurs with the bound pronoun affix (as in exs. 31, 431). The nuclear constituents subject, direct object and verb normally occur, but the third person object is often omitted once the referent has been identified. The subject always occurs either as a free or bound form and the verb also always occurs.

- (1) mîrîrî koneka-'pî mîĩkîrî-ya
 that make-PAST 3:PRO-ERG
 'He made that.'
- (2) t-ekîn era'ma-'pî paaka esa'-ya
 3:REFLX-pet see-PAST cow owner-ERG
 'The owner of the cow saw his own pet.'
- (3) i-koneka-'pî-i-ya
 3-make-PAST-3-ERG
 'He made it.'

- (4) mĩĩkĩrĩ yarĩ-'pĩ to'-ya
 3:PRO carry-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 'They carried him.'
- (5) *uurĩ-ya i-koneka-'pĩ-u-ya
 1-ERG 3-make-PAST-1-ERG
 'I, I made it.'

Fronting of the subject occurs for emphasis or highlighting of a topic referent. The following statistics emerge from a study of three texts totalling 367 clauses:

Total transitive clauses	159
Transitive clauses with subject expressed only by a suffix (these all refer to a topic previously introduced with a noun phrase)	88
Transitive clauses with postverbal subject noun phrase, i.e., the basic order pattern (O)VS (in these also, the subject refers to a topic previously introduced and not especially highlighted)	32
Transitive clauses in which the subject is fronted (S(O)V) (33 highlight a change of topic; 6 have the S fronted for other special discourse-pragmatic effects)	39

These statistics support OVS as the basic order when the subject is expressed as a noun phrase, assuming that the basic pattern represents the least pragmatically marked order (cf. Derbyshire 1986). This accords with what I have intuitively felt for a number of years to be the basic word order pattern in Macushi.

In elicited material one would expect to find a larger number of examples of SOV ordering, especially when working bilingually, since both English and Portuguese have the subject occurring first. I tentatively suggest this as one reason why Neusa Carson (1981a; 1981b) regards SOV as representing the basic order, since she worked primarily with a Macushi native speaker who is fluent in Portuguese.

The object only rarely follows the verb and it then has the purpose of clarification or of expressing a greater degree of specification.

- (6) Ø-yapi'sî-'pî-i-ya, aw-entamo'ka-'pî mîn pi'. moropai
 3-catch-PAST-3-ERG 3-eat-PAST blood at and
- Ø-era'ma-'pî-i-ya, ti-nyo sa'manta-sa' pe
 3-see-PAST-3-ERG 3:REFLX-husband dead-CMPL DENOM
 'She caught (it), she ate the blood, and she saw (him), her dead husband.'

The ergative-absolutive system operates at various levels. There is an ergative suffix *-ya*, which occurs on transitive subject noun phrases and on both free and bound subject pronouns. Intransitive subject and transitive object noun phrases normally precede the verb or occur as bound prefixes. Transitive subject noun phrases normally follow the verb or occur as bound suffixes. (See sect. 15.1, and cf. Derbyshire 1981.)

1.1.2 Intransitive clause. The order of nuclear constituents of all non-transitive clauses is always Subject-Verb. Intransitive clauses are distinguished by the absence of an object and also absence of the ergative marker. There is no marker at all on the subject. It is distinguished as a subject by its position immediately preceding the verb (that is, the same position as the object in a transitive clause). Bound pronoun subjects are prefixes (again, like the bound object forms in transitive clauses). The form of the intransitive subject prefixes occurring with vowel-initial stems differs from the transitive set and depends upon the initial vowel. (See sect. 16.1.2.)

- (7) mîrîrî pî' mîîkîrî es-enuminka-'pî
 that at 3:PRO DETRANSVZR-think-PAST
 'He thought about that.'
- (8) aw-entaime-'pî
 3-shout-PAST
 'He shouted.'
- (9) wîri' pî' a-at-ausinpa-'pî
 woman at 3-DETRANSVZR-happy-PAST
 'He was happy with the woman.'

In intransitive clauses, a change of topic normally requires a noun phrase rather than a bound prefix, but the order remains SV. Right dislocation of the subject noun phrase may occur in apposition to the subject prefix for the purpose of clarification (10).

- (10) aa-ko'mamî-'pî, mîîkîrî pemonkon
 3-remain-PAST 3:PRO person
 'He remained, that person.'

Constituent emphasis (in both transitive and nontransitive clauses) may also be marked by various emphatic particles (see sect. 21.4).

1.1.3 Stative clause. The basic order of the nuclear constituents in stative clauses is the same as other non-transitives in that the subject occurs before the verb. It may also occur as a bound form (12). However, the nuclear constituents differ substantially from those of the intransitive clause. The copula is obligatory and so also, for most statives, is another constituent: a descriptive phrase (12) or nominal complement (13). Only in the existential stative do the subject and copula occur alone (11). In discourse this occurs to introduce participants and/or give the setting of a narrative. The non-nuclear constituents of the stative clause are more restricted than those of the intransitive (sect. 1.2). I refer to the three sub-types of stative clause as existential (11), descriptive (12), and copular equative (13). See Abbott (1976) for further discussion.

- (11) warayo' wani-'pî
 man be-PAST
 'There was a man.'
- (12) kaiwan pe a-wani-'pî
 fat DENOM 3-be-PAST
 'He was fat.'
- (13) paaka wani-'pî anna yekîn
 cow be-PAST 1EXCL pet
 'The cow was ours.'

1.1.4 Equative clause (non-verbal). The equative clause is distinguished by the absence of a verb, and therefore tense and aspect are not expressed. The nuclear constituents are a predicate nominal and a subject nominal that may occur in either order depending upon the focus and emphasis in the discourse. Either of the two nominals may be a noun, noun phrase, pronoun, or demonstrative. These frequently occur to mark background information in discourse for purposes of identification or description.

- (14) inkamoro moro' pî' entamo'ka-koi-kon
 those fish at eat-NOMLZR-COLL
 'Those are ones who eat fish.'

- (15) kaiwan kure'-nan morî paaka
fat big-NOMLZR good cow
'The good cow is a large fat one.'
- (16) seurîwî'-nan-kon inkamoro i-muku-yamî
three-NOMLZR-COLL those 3-son-PL
'Those were his three sons.'

1.1.5 Quotative clause. One of the characteristics of the quotative clause is that the only verb that occurs as the main verb is the transitive verb *taa* 'to say'. The verb stem changes to *ka* when certain affixes occur, such as imperatives (17) (sect. 11), adverbializers (18) (sect. 20), manner *-i'ma* (20) (sect. 14.3.4), and desiderative *-pai* (19) (sect. 14.4.1).

- (17) uutî pepîn ma-ka-i i-pî'
1:go NEG:NOMLZR FUT-say-IMP 3-to
'Say to him, "I'm not going!" '
- (18) ene'-kî naka tî-ka-i pra
bring-IMP uncertainty ADVBLZR-say-ADVBLZR NEG
'Bring (it), not saying *naka*.'
- (19) uutî sîrîrî an-ka-pai a-wanî mîrîrî
1:go SI ADVBLZR-say-DESID 2-be AI
'You are wanting to say, "I'm going." '
- (20) uurî wanî sîrîrî ipîkku pe ka-i'ma
1:PRO be SI rich DENOM saying-MAN

e-es-eurîma-'pî tî-pî'
3-DETRANSVZR-speak-PAST 3:REFLX-of
'Saying "I am rich", he spoke of himself.'

The order of the constituents remains the same for these verb forms as for the *taa* forms, the quoted speech occurring as the direct object of the clause, immediately preceding the quotative verb.

The other constituents that occur in the main clause (e.g., speaker-subject, addressee phrase) occur following the 'say' verb, in the usual order of transitive clauses. Normally, only the indirect object addressee occurs as a postpositional phrase (21). The quote margin, together with the peripheral constituent(s), can be fronted before the quoted speech for pragmatic reasons connected with highlighting and emphasis. When this occurs, however, the quoted speech is still followed by a quote margin,

usually without peripheral constituents (22). Ellipsis of the quote margin sometimes occurs, but only in the case of very short quotations that are responses to another speaker in a dialogue. The speaker is then clearly identified from the context (23) (sect. 3).

- (21) ya'pîre-kon neken ena-kî, ta-'pî-i-ya
green-COLL only eat-IMP say-PAST-3-ERG

waikin pî'
deer to

' "Only eat the green ones," he said to the deer.'

- (22) to' rawîrî ta-'pî Jose Carlos-ya u-pî',
3:PRO:PL before say-PAST Joe Charles-ERG 1-to

amîrî-ya es-erinkan-to' sara'tî sîrîrî,
2:PRO-ERG DETRANSVZR-sing-INST:NOMLZR begin SI

ta-'pî-i-ya
say-PAST-3-ERG

'Before them, Joe Charles said to me, "You will begin the singing now," he said.'

- (23) eporî-u-ya pra wai, es-i'nî
find-1-ERG NEG:ADVBLZR 1:be DETRANSVZR-quench

pî' man, ta-'pî-i-ya, inna moriya, aase,
at 3:be say-PAST-3-ERG yes then let's:go

to' at-aponka-'pî
3:PRO:PL DETRANSVZR-start-PAST

' "I didn't find it. It went out," he said. "OK then, let's go." They started out.'

Indirect speech forms also occur as the object complement of a main verb that can be any one of a set of speech verbs, including *taa* (sect. 14.5).

1.2 Peripheral clause constituents. The minimal number of constituents in a clause consists of just the nuclear constituents. These may occur as one word if pronominal affixes occur, e.g., *a-yera'ma'-pî-i-ya'* 'he saw you'.

The maximum number of constituents is generally limited to two peripheral constituents in addition to the nuclear constituents. The more

usual number is just one peripheral constituent and this is almost always so for stative clauses (26). Complexity occurs not in the addition of peripheral constituents within clauses but in the juxtaposition of phrases and embedding of subordinate clauses within nuclear constituents (sects. 2.1 and 14).

- (24) uurî-kon-ya to' ya're'tî wei kaisarî
 1:PRO-COLL-ERG 3:PRO:PL feed day every
 'We will feed them every day.'

- (25) ko'manpra uutî-'pî Marakkan pona
 yesterday 1:go-PAST Maracana to
 'Yesterday I went to Maracana.'

- (26) warayo' wanî-'pî
 man be-PAST

te-es-enyaka'ma-se-n mîi ya'
 ADVBLZR-DETRANSVZR-work-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR field in
 'The man was a worker in the field.'

- (27) imakui'pî pe sîrîrî era'ma-'pî-u-ya
 bad DENOM SI see-PAST-1-ERG
 'I saw (this) as being bad.'

The word order of subordinate clauses does not differ from that of main clauses except in those where the subject is obligatorily absent because it is co-referential with the subject of the main clause (28, 29) (sect. 14). The number of peripheral constituents is fewer than in main clauses, being one at the most, or none at all when a subject or object nominal occurs.

- (28) pemonkon wîî-'pî moro' yapi'-se
 person go-PAST fish catch-PURP
 'The man went to catch fish.'

- (29) tuna an-enî-pai waikin wanî-'pî
 water ADVBLZR-drink-DESID deer be-PAST
 'The deer was wanting to drink water.'

- (30) iwarîka po erepan-sa' ya, amîrî
 monkey on 1:arrive-CMPL COND you

yarakkîrî wanî

with 1:be

'If I arrive on the monkey, I will be with you (marry you).'

2 Parataxis

The juxtaposition of phrases and clauses in Macushi is very common. It serves the purpose of coordination, modification, clarification and/or stronger identification, and contributes to discourse cohesion. It also enables additional information to be added without overloading any one phrase or clause with too much information.

2.1 Phrase juxtaposition. Subject (31) and object (32, 37) noun phrases and adverbial and postpositional phrases (33, 34) may consist of juxtaposed sequences. Various functions of juxtaposition are illustrated below: stronger identification (31), modification (32, 34), coordination (36, 37), clarification (35), and emphasis (38, 39).

- (31) inna, to' yaka'ma-pai wanî sîrîrî, ta-'pî-i-ya,
yes 3:PRO:PL lose-DESID 1:be SI say-PAST-3-ERG

to' yun-kon-ya, i-nyo-ya
3:PRO:PL father-COLL-ERG 3-husband-ERG

' "Yes, I want to lose them," he said, her husband, their father.'

- (32) moropai tiaron-kon, innape a-ku'-nenan pepîn,
and other-COLL true 2-make-NOMLZR NEG

i-pî' te-es-eurîma-se-n,
3-at ADVBLZR-DETRANSVZR-speak-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR

inkamoro pîika'-kî
those:DEM help-IMP

'And the other ones, the ones who don't believe you (make you true), those who talk about him, help them.'

- (33) Jesus-ya u-yarî-to'pe-nîkon ka' pona, morî pata
Jesus-ERG 1-carry-PURP-COLL heaven to good place

ya, morî tî-n-konaka-'pî ya'
 to good 3:REFLX-NOMLZR-make-PAST to
 'Jesus will take us all to heaven, to the good place, to the good
 one he made.'

- (34) yenumî-'pî to'-ya, mîîkîrî, tuna ka, a'ne' ya'
 throw-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG 3:PRO water in hot in
 'They threw (him), that one, in the water, in the hot (water).'

- (35) moro uu-ko'mamî-'pî, mîîkîrî yewî' ta
 there 1-remain-PAST 3:PRO house in
 'There I remained, in his house.'

- (36) Pedro, João wîî-'pî
 Peter John go-PAST
 'Peter and John went.'

- (37) João, Tiago menka-'pî to' karaiwa-rî-ya
 John James choose-PAST 3:PRO:PL employer-POSSN-ERG
 'Their employer chose John and James.'

- (38) tîîîî pî', tîîîî pî' aa-ipî-'pî
 slow at slow at 3-come-PAST
 'He came slowly, slowly.'

- (39) ko'man-pai'-nîkon man morî pe,
 remain-HORT-COLL 3:be good DENOM

tîî-wo'ma'ta-i pra,
 ADVBLZR-mock-ADVBLZR NEG

te-es-eurîma-i pra
 ADVBLZR-DETRANSVZR-speak-ADVBLZR NEG
 'Let's all live well together, not mocking, not speaking (bad).'

- (40) Taitai wî-'pî-u-ya, maama, pemonkon yanî pî'
 Taitai kill-PAST-1-ERG maama person eat at

tîî-ko'man-se-n
 ADVBLZR-remain-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR
 'I killed Taitai, maama, the one who keeps eating people.'

- (41) warayo' wîî-'pî, tîkîi-pan,
man go-PAST cripple-NOMLZR

e'-katî-'pî
DETRANSVZR-crooked-PAST
'The man went, the cripple, the crooked one.'

- (42) sararu pia'pî yewa'tî-'pî-i-ya tî'-si pî',
meat piece tie-PAST-3-ERG 3:REFLX-leg at

ipi-yamî pokon-pan
maggot-PL with-NOMLZR
'He tied the piece of meat to his leg, the one with maggots.'

The sequence of phrases is often discontinuous, as in examples (35, 40–42), the first appearing before the verb and the others following. The phrases in (33, 34) are dislocated phonologically from the preceding constituents, this being signalled by the commas between the phrases. The dislocation is rightward in those cases. Leftward dislocation also occurs (32, 38), but the preference is for rightward dislocation. Dislocation usually occurs in the basic OVS word order pattern; for example, clarification of the subject following the verb in (31) and coordination in the case of the object before the verb in (37).

Demonstrative pronouns are often juxtaposed with a noun for the purpose of identifying and relating that noun with a previously mentioned referent in the discourse (sect. 16.3.1).

- (43) maasa mîîkîrî Taitai wî-u-ya pe wai
later 3:PRO Taitai kill-1-ERG as 1:be
'Later I will kill him, that Taitai (name of person previously mentioned in the discourse).'

- (44) manni î' taa-sa-i'-ya yawîrî i-kupî-'pî-i-ya
that what say-CMPL-3-ERG according:to 3-do-PAST-3-ERG
'He did what he said (he would do).'

(*manni* refers to a statement previously mentioned in the story.)

2.2 Clause juxtaposition. In the following two examples of clause juxtaposition the function is coordination. It expresses a sequence of events much like 'and then . . .' in English. (See sect. 8.)

- (45) moropai aw-autî-'pî sa'nîrî to' ena-'pî,
 and 3-descend-PAST together 3:PRO:PL become-PAST
 to' niyota-'pî
 3:PRO:PL marry-PAST
 'And he came down, and they joined together, and got married.'

- (46) e-es-i'nîpî-'pî, attî-'pî, e-eka'tumî-'pî
 3-DETRANSVZR-frighten-PAST 3:go-PAST 3-run-PAST
 'He was frightened and went and ran.'

Repetition of clauses in juxtaposition occurs to express a continuing action or a passing of time or distance.

- (47) tuna pintî-'pî-i-ya, tuna pintî-'pî-i-ya moropai
 water carry-PAST-3-ERG water carry-PAST-3-ERG and
 apo' ya'morikka-'pî-i-ya kure'ne
 firewood split-PAST-3-ERG plenty
 'He was carrying water and splitting plenty of firewood.'

- (48) moropai attî-'pî attî-'pî attî-'pî a'nai tîrî-'pî
 and 3:go-PAST 3:go-PAST 3:go-PAST corn put-PAST
 see pata e'ma ta, e'ma ta, e'ma ta
 this place road in road in road in
 'And he went and went putting corn here in the road (as he went along).'

- (49) moro aa-ko'mamî-'pî aa-ko'mamî-'pî t-ekkari
 there 3-remain-PAST 3-remain-PAST 3:REFLX-food
 t-onpa-i pra asakî'ne wei
 3:REFLX-taste-ADVBLZR NEG two day
 'There he remained, not eating his food for two days.'

Positive and negative clauses occur juxtaposed to express alternative action. In a question, the particle *ka'rî* 'ALTERNATE' follows the clauses.

- (50) attî, attî pepîn ka'rî
 3:go 3:go NEG:NOMLZR ALT
 'Are you going or not?'

Equative clauses are juxtaposed noun phrases (sect. 1.1.4). In (51), there is an equative clause, *tuna a'ne' mîrîrî anna wuku*, one of whose constituents is itself an embedded equative clause, *tuna a'ne' mîrîrî*.

- (51) *anna* *more* *yenpo-sa'* *anna-ya* *ya*,
 1:EXCL *baby* *give:birth:to-CMPL* 1:EXCL-ERG COND

tuna *a'ne'* *mîrîrî* *anna* *wuku* *anna*
water *hot* *that* 1:EXCL *drink* 1:EXCL

wo'pa-nan *tuna* *a'ne'* *ke* *mîn* *asa'tî-to'pe*
give:drink-NOMLZR *water* *hot* *with* *blood* *cut-PURP*
 'When we have given birth to our babies, hot water is what they
 give us for our drink in order to stop the bleeding.'

- (52) *anna* *yonpa-yamî* *yanno-nan* *anna* *pîika'tî-to'pe*
 1:EXCL *relative-PL* *call-NOMLZR* 1:EXCL *help-PURP*

to'-ya
 3:PRO:PL-ERG

'We are ones who call our relatives in order that they help us.'

3 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is not common in Macushi clauses. Subject and object noun phrases may be omitted, but in such cases there would normally be person-marking agreement affixes on the verb (sect. 1). Occasionally, however, in the case of the subject, both noun phrase and verb affix are omitted when the referent has been overtly expressed in the preceding clause. This may be a clause in the same sentence (53) or in a different sentence (54).

- (53) *mîikîrî-ya* *anna* *menka-'pî* *moropai* *anna*
 3:PRO-ERG 1:EXCL *choose-PAST* and 1:EXCL

yaipontî-'pî *it-ekare* *ekareme'-to'pe* *anna-ya*
send-PAST 3-news *tell-PURP* 1:EXCL-ERG
 'He chose us and sent us to tell his news.'

- (54) *mîrîrî* *yai* *era'ma-nenan* *ton* *surara-yamî* *yaipontî-'pî*
 that *at* *see-NOMLZR* BEN *soldier-PL* *send-PAST*

asakîrîrî'-ne

four-by

'At that (time), (he) sent soldiers by fours as guards.'

Verbal constituents are only omitted in incomplete sentences (59). These occur principally as responses to questions, often in direct speech. A verb can be substituted by an ideophone expressing the action (58) (sect. 24). A verb can also be omitted (rarely) in the final clause of two coordinate clauses (56, 57). In direct speech sequences, the quotative verb margin is sometimes omitted (55, taken from the text in the Appendix, sentence 34; cf. also sect. 1.1.5).

- (55) uurî, uu-i-'sa' sîrîrî, pîretîku-ya
1 1-come-CMPL SI frog-ERG

u-yene-'sa' sîrîrî, tarî-waya
1-bring-CMPL SI here-to

' "I, I came. The frog brought me here," (said the person).'

- (56) yei pia'pî y anumî-'pî kaikusi-ya moropai
wood piece pick:up-PAST jaguar-ERG and

iwarîka-ya nîrî
monkey-ERG also

'The jaguar picked up a piece of wood and the monkey (did) also.'

- (57) to' erepamî-'pî goiaba ye'kana inî'rî waikin warantî
3:PRO:PL arrive-PAST guava orchard again deer like
'They arrived at the guava orchard again like (he did with) the deer.'

- (58) tuna-ya tîko tîko taa tanne tiaron wîtî-'pî
water-ERG (sounds of bubbling) say while another go-PAST
'While the water was bubbling (saying *tîko tîko*), another one went.'

- (59) maasa i-koneka-u-ya tanne
later 3-make-1-ERG while
'Wait, I'm still doing it.' (A response to a request to see what she had done.)

4 Reflexives, reciprocals and unspecified arguments

4.1 The detransitivizing verb prefix. Reflexives, reciprocals and unspecified arguments are all expressed by means of the detransitivizer verb prefix, *at-/es-/e'-'*. With the addition of one of these prefixal forms a transitive stem is changed into an intransitive stem and the resulting predication is reduced from a two-argument to a one-argument construction. The three variant forms occur with different sets of stems; *at-* occurs with *a-* initial stems, *es-* occurs with other vowel-initial stems, and *e'-'* occurs with consonant-initial stems.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| (60) | yeurîma
'talk to (someone)' | → | es-eurîma
DETRANSVZR-talk:to
'speak, converse' |
| (61) | tî'ka
'kill (something)' | → | e'-tî'ka
DETRANSVZR-kill
'be killed, destroyed' |
| (62) | yarima
'send (something)' | → | at-arima
DETRANSVZR-send
'be sent away' |

The reflexive meaning identifies the single argument as both agent and patient:

- (63) to' e'-pa'tî-pî'tî-'pî
3:PRO:PL DETRANSVZR-hit-ITER-PAST
'They hit themselves.'
- (64) aw-e'-wî-'pî
3-DETRANSVZR-kill-PAST
'He killed himself.'

The reflexive can be made more emphatic by using the postposition *-warîrî* with the appropriate person-marking prefix: (*uuwarîrî* 'by myself', *aawarîrî* 'by yourself', and *tûwarîrî* 'by himself').

- (65) tĩi-wariĩ e-es-enpo-sa' man
3:REFLX-by 3-DETRANSVZR-appear-CMPL 3:be
'It appeared by itself.'

The reciprocal meaning can be applied to the detransitivizing prefix when a plurality of participants is involved (69, 70). The forms *es-* and *e'-* also occur with certain postpositions to express a reciprocal meaning (66–68).

- (66) *ese-yu'se* *anna* *wanî*
 DETRANSVZR-want 1:EXCL be
 'We love each other.'
- (67) *anna* *wîtî-'pî* *saakîrîrî* *e'-pîkîrî*
 1:EXCL go-PAST four DETRANSVZR-up:to
 'We went, four altogether.'
- (68) *ese'-kaisarî* *to'* *wanî-pî*
 DETRANSVZR-equal 3:PRO:PL be-PAST
 'They were equal to each other.'
- (69) *to'* *es-eporî-'pî*
 3:PRO:PL DETRANSVZR-find-PAST
 'They met (each other).'
- (70) *anna* *e'-sa'nama* *pî'* *man*
 1:EXCL DETRANSVZR-love at be
 'We love each other.'

The same construction is used when neither a reflexive or reciprocal meaning is intended. The subject argument of the original transitive construction is obligatorily left unspecified and a medial-passive type of meaning results:

- (71) *aw-e'-ku-'sa'* *man*
 3-DETRANSVZR-do-CMPL be
 'It happened.'
- (72) *to'* *es-epo-sa'* *man*
 3:PL DETRANSVZR-find-CMPL be
 'They were found.'

This is the only type of passive construction in the language. Some nominalizations of basically transitive clauses can best be translated into English with a passive meaning, but they reflect the ergatively organized nominalizing process (sect. 15.4.2.2).

- (73) taa-won mîrîrî
 say-NOMLZR that
 'It is what is said.'

The same detransitivizing construction can express a reflexive, reciprocal or passive meaning depending upon the context. Example (63) may mean 'They hit themselves', 'They hit each other', or 'They were being hit'.

4.2 Third person reflexive possessor prefix. There is a special reflexive possessor prefix having the following (phonologically conditioned) forms: *t-*, *tî-*, *te-*, *tî-*. It occurs on both nouns and verbs and can be part of any constituent that can be inflected for person of the possessor other than when it is the subject of the main clause. This includes direct object (*tî-maimu* in 77), indirect object (*tî-naipontî'san pia* in 77), oblique constituent, including certain postpositional phrases (*t-uutî rawîrî* in 77), and the genitive noun of a possessed noun phrase (*tî-maimukon etanenan* in 79). It can also occur in the subject constituent of a subordinate clause (*ta'pî-tîu-ya* in 74). It is used only to refer to third person referents (compare 75a with 74 and 75b). The reflexive possessor prefix must be coreferential with the subject of the same clause, (either main or subordinate) or of a superordinate clause.

- (74) ta-'pî-tîu-ya yawîrî i-kupî-'pî-i-ya
 say-PAST-3:REFLX-ERG according:to 3-do-PAST-3-ERG
 'He did what he said (he would do).'

- (75a) *ta-'pî-tîu-ya yawîrî i-kupî-'pî-u-ya
 say-PAST-3:REFLX-ERG according:to 3-do-PAST-1-ERG
 'I did what I said (I would do).'

- (75b) ta-'pî-u-ya yawîrî i-kupî-'pî-u-ya
 say-PAST-1-ERG according:to 3-do-PAST-1-ERG
 'I did what I said (I would do).'

- (76) era'ma-tîu-ya pe i-poka-'pî-i-ya
 see-3:REFLX-ERG DENOM 3-shoot-PAST-3-ERG
 'Seeing it, he shot it.'

- (77) tîise maasa t-uutî rawîrî Jesus-ya tî-maimu
 but later 3:REFLX-go before Jesus-ERG 3:REFLX-word

tîrî-'pî tî-n-aipontî'-san pia
 give-PAST 3:REFLX-NOMLZR-send-NOMLZR to
 'But before he went, Jesus gave his word to those he had sent.'

- (78) tî-pon yu'kona Maria-ya yu'se wai
 3:REFLX-clothes wash Mary-ERG want 1:be
 'I want Mary to wash her own clothes.'

- (79) to' epantaka-'pî tî-maimu-kon
 3:PRO:PL separate-PAST 3:REFLX-word-COLL

eta-nenan pîkîrî
 hear-NOMLZR up:to
 'They were separated according to their own language (language they heard).'

5 Passives

The only type of passive construction in Macushi is the medial-passive described in section 4.1.

6 Causatives

A causative is expressed by the transitive verb *emapu'tî* 'cause' occurring with a subordinate clause. When this occurs the causing agent is the subject of the main clause and the causee is the subject of the subordinate clause. The verb of the subordinate clause can be intransitive (80), transitive (81), or copula (82).

- (80) imakui'pî pe amîrî es-enuminka emapu'tî-i-ya
 bad DENOM 2:PRO DETRANSVZR-think cause-3-ERG
 'She will cause you to think bad.'

- (81) imakui'pî kupî Jesus-ya emapu'tî yonpa-'pî Makui-ya
 bad do Jesus-ERG cause try-PAST Satan-ERG

teuren
 FRUST
 'Satan unsuccessfully tried to make Jesus do bad.'

- (82) morî pe e'nî emapu'tî-nen pepîn mîrîrî
 good DENOM 1:INCL:be cause-NOMLZR NEG that
 'It is not one that causes us to be good.'

Another type of causative is expressed by the verbal suffix *-me'po* 'to order'. The causee is not expressed, only the causing agent. This occurs only on transitive verbs (83, 84)

- (83) i-wîi-me'po-u-ya pepîn
 3-kill-CAUS-1-ERG NEG
 'I will not order him killed.'
- (84) João mîrkîrî, u-n-i'mî-rîkîrî-me'po-'pî
 John 3:PRO 1-NOMLZR-neck-chop-CAUS-PAST
 'He is John, the one I ordered beheaded.'

Some intransitive verbs occur with transitivity suffixes that may have a causativizing function. The suffixes are: *-nîpî* 'TRNSTVZR' and *-pa* 'CAUS'. In these constructions, the subject of the intransitive becomes the direct object of the corresponding transitive construction. (See also sect. 18.5.2.)

- (85) miarî erepan-nîpî-'pî-i-ya
 there 3:arrive-TRNSTVZR-PAST-3-ERG
 'She took him there (i.e., caused him to arrive there).'
- (86) more we'nun-pa-i-ya
 baby sleep-CAUS-3-ERG
 'She put the baby to sleep.'
- (87) mîrîrîya kanawa awainun-pa-sa-i'-ya
 then canoe fly-CAUS-CMPL-3-ERG
 'Then he caused the canoe to fly.'
- (88) maikan-ya i-manun-pa-'pî
 fox-ERG 3-dance-CAUS-PAST
 'The fox danced (with) him.'

7 Comparatives and equatives

Comparison and equation are expressed by certain postpositions in both phrases and clauses. These are: *yentai* 'greater than', *ma're* 'less than',

kaisarî 'up to/equal', *e'sentai* 'unequal', *warantî* 'like', and *yawîrî* 'according to'.

- (89) kusan pe mîîkîrî wanî tî-rui yentai
tall DENOM 3:PRO be 3:REFLX-brother greater:than
'He is taller than his brother.'

- (90) meruntî paapa tamî'nawî-ron-kon yentai-non
strong God all-NOMLZR-COLL greater:than-NOMLZR
'God is stronger than everyone.'

- (91) t-un warai-non mîîkîrî kure'-nan
3:REFLX-father like-NOMLZR 3:PRO big-NOMLZR
'He is a big one like his father.'

- (92) emîrî'-san pikka pî' nai uurî nîrî pikka pî' wai
ripe-NOMLZR pick at 2:be 1:PRO also pick at 1:be

amîrî warantî
2:PRO like

'You picked ripe ones, I also picked (them) like you' or
'I picked ripe ones just like you did.'

- (93) u-ye'ma-kî tiaron-kon ye'ma-ya yentai
1-pay-IMP other-COLL pay-2:ERG greater:than
'Pay me more than you paid the others.'

- (94) ne'ne' pe a-wanî Ø-yapîta-nîpî-u-ya
pain DENOM 3-be 3-endure-TRNSTVZR-1-ERG

yentai
greater:than

'It was hurting more than I could bear.'

- (95) taa-sa' t-un-ya yawîrî i-kupî-'pî-i-ya
say-CMPL 3:REFLX-father-ERG according:to 3-do-PAST-3-ERG
'He did it like his father said.'

- (96) saakîrîrî tî-we'-se-n mîrîrî
four ADVBLZR-be-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR that

quarto-kon kaisarî
 bedroom-PL up:to/equal
 'There were four (doors), equal to the bedrooms.'

8 Coordination

There are no exact equivalents of 'and', 'but', and 'or' in Macushi, but clauses are coordinated primarily by juxtaposition (sect. 2.2). In addition to juxtaposition, the additive *moropai* 'and' sometimes occurs linking phrases and clauses. Certain other particles have a restricted usage in linking either phrases or clauses.

8.1 Coordination of phrases. Besides juxtaposition, additive-type connectors occur: *moropai* 'and', and *yarakkîrî* 'with'.

(97) iwarîka kaikusi yarakkîrî
 monkey jaguar with
 'The monkey was with the jaguar' or 'the monkey and the jaguar.'

(98) anna wîti-'pî i-pokonpe moropai tiaron-kon
 1:EXCL go-PAST 3-with and other-COLL

 pokonpe
 with
 'We went with him and with others.'

8.2 Coordination of clauses. The connector *moropai* 'and' is also used to coordinate clauses. It frequently expresses a time sequence (100). It can also occur in sentence-initial position, that is, following a normal pause between sentences (101, from the text in the Appendix, sentence 24).

(99) iwarîka wanî-'pî wîri' yu'se moropai kaikusi nîrî
 monkey be-PAST woman want and jaguar also

 wanî-'pî wîri' yu'se
 be-PAST woman want
 'The monkey wanted the woman and the jaguar also wanted the woman.' (*yu'se* 'want' is a postposition, not a verb.)

- (100) iwî-'pî-i-ya moropai mîn mo'ka-'pî-i-ya
 3:kill-PAST-3-ERG and blood take:out-PAST-3-ERG

koopu ya' moropai t-ette
 cup in and 3:REFLX-hammock

yo'ko i-tîrî-'pî-i-ya
 under 3-put-PAST-3-ERG

'He killed him and (then) he took out the blood in a cup and
 (then) he put it under his hammock.'

- (101) moropai pîretîku wîî-'pî
 and frog go-PAST
 'And the frog went away.'

8.3 Adversative coordination is accomplished by the particle *tîîse* 'but' and the frustrative *teuren* 'in vain'. These only occur with clauses. The more specific functions expressed by *tîîse* are contra-expectation (102, 103) and contrast (104, 105). See also sect. 14.3.3.

- (102) pisa'sa yeuka-'pî-i-ya tîîse e-ekore'ma pra
 shoe take:out-PAST-3-ERG but 3-angry NEG

a-wanî-'pî
 3-be-PAST

'He took the shoe out (of water) but he wasn't angry.'

- (103) inna, sa'man uurî tîîse wei u-yanka-nen
 yes hard:NOMLZR 1:PRO but sun 1-tear:apart-NOMLZR
 'Yes, I am strong but the sun destroys me.'

- (104) a'nai soroka pe attî-'pî tîîse yaku yari-'pî-i-ya
 corn scatter as 3:go-PAST but eat carry-PAST-3-ERG
 'He went scattering corn but she went along eating (it).'

- (105) inna, i-te pîn uurî tîîse îttî
 yes ADVBLZR-tooth NEG 1:PRO but house

ta-won uurî amîrî kren po
 in-NOMLZR 1:PRO 2:PRO savannah in

'Yes, I don't have teeth but I live in a house, (whereas) you (live)
 in the savannah.'

- (106) iwarîka poro yi'kan-pî'-se kaikusi wîî-'pî teuren
 monkey over pour-ITER-PURP jaguar go-PAST FRUST

iwarîka erekka-'pî mararî
 monkey move-PAST little

'The jaguar went to pour it over the monkey, but in vain,
 (because) the monkey moved a little.'

8.4 Alternative coordination can be accomplished by the juxtaposition of positive and negative clauses plus the particle *ka'rî* 'ALTERNATIVE' (108). However, this only occurs in questions (sect. 2.2). The particle can also be used to coordinate phrases (107).

- (107) tî-pî' ka'rî tiaron pî' ka'rî e-es-eurîma
 3:REFLX-at ALT other at ALT 3-DETRANSVZR-speak
 'Was he speaking of himself or of another?'

- (108) attî, attî pepîn ka'rî
 2:go 2:go not ALT
 'You are going, maybe you are not going?' or
 'Are you going or not?'

The more common way of expressing alternative coordination is by stating one proposition and following this with a conditional clause, 'if not that', before going on to state the alternative proposition.

- (109) yai pra kaikusi-ya yapi'sî-'pî. mîrîrî ye'ka pe
 perhaps jaguar-ERG catch-PAST that like DENOM

pra awanî ya, îkîi-ya ye'ka-sa' ka-i'ma
 NEG 3:be COND snake-ERG bite-CMPL say-MAN

'Maybe a jaguar caught him. If it wasn't that, a snake bit him.'

9 Pragmatic and discourse characteristics

Certain types of discourse-conditioned phenomena are referred to in other sections of this paper: fronting of constituents (sect. 1), ellipsis (sect. 3), anaphora (sect. 13), and particles (sect. 21.2). Other pragmatic and discourse characteristics require further study.

10 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are marked primarily by a distinctive intonation pattern, which is a high pitch with stress on the penultimate syllable and a low final syllable. It is a very sharp fall.

10.1 Polar (yes-no) questions. Polar questions do not have any overt marking other than the intonation. The word order remains the same for declarative clauses.

- (110) attî mîrîrî attî mîrîrî
 3:go that 3:go that
 'He goes.' 'Is he going?'

- (111) kaarita enepî-'pî-i-ya kaarita enepî-'pî-i-ya
 book bring-PAST-3-ERG book bring-PAST-3-ERG
 'He brought the book.' 'Did he bring the book?'

Questions with the copula in the proximate tense occur with a special interrogative set of copula forms: *nan* 'are you?', *nai* 'is he?', and *nantî* 'are you all?', and *to' nai* 'are they?' (sect. 18.1.2). The distinct question intonation pattern also occurs.

- (112) wîî-n pî' nai wîî-n pî' nai
 go-1:INCL at 3:be go-1:INCL at 2:be
 'Is he going?' 'You are going.'
- (113) entamo'ka-n pî' nantî
 eat-1:INCL at 2:PL:be
 'Are you (pl) eating?'

(For the indefinite usage of first person inclusive forms, see section 16.2.)

10.2 Question words. (See also sect. 16.6.) The same words that are used as indefinite and relative pronouns occur as question words (sects. 16.2 and 16.5). In an interrogative clause, however, they occur clause initial. Again, it is the intonation that really distinguishes it as interrogative. The question constituent may be the subject, object, or head of a postpositional phrase, but only one constituent in a clause can be questioned.

- (114) anî' wîti-'pî yarakkîrî
 who go-PAST with (him)
 'Who went with him?'
- (115) î' eporî-'pî-i-ya
 what find-PAST-3-ERG
 'What did he find?'
- (116) anî' pî' ta-'pî-Ø-ya
 who to say-PAST-2-ERG
 'Who did you talk to?'
- (117) o'non pata pai aa-i'-sa' mîrîrî
 which place from 2-come-CMPL that
 'Where did you come from?'
- (118) î' ton pe i-kupî pî' nan
 what for 3-do at 2:be:INTER
 'Why did you do it?'

10.3 Rhetorical questions. Interrogative sentences occur frequently, not to ask for information, but for the purpose of expressing surprise, annoyance or frustration (119, 120). In certain types of discourse they express emphasis (121).

- (119) î' ton pe
 what for as
 'Why?'

In (119) a mother is expressing annoyance at her child who knocked over something he wasn't supposed to touch.

- (120) anî' se mîkîrî Deus. epu'tî-u-ya pra wai
 who EMPH 3:PRO God know-1-ERG NEG 1:be
 'Who is that God? I don't know him.'

In (120) the speaker is expressing annoyance in response to a threat that God would punish him.

- (121) es-eka'nunka-n mîrîrî tarîpai. î' wani awanî
 DETRANSVZR-beg-1:INCL that from:here what be

ye'nen. maasa pra aasîrî uurî'-kon
 because (why) because already 1:PRO-COLL

e'-tawarîkka-sa'

DETRANSVZR-raise-CMPL

'So then we are frustrated (begging). Why? Because we are already grown.'

10.4 Answers to questions. Many polar questions occur in the negative, reflecting the answer expected by the speaker.

- (122) Speaker A: attî pra nan
 2:go NEG 2:be:INTER
 'Didn't you go?'

B: inna, uutî pra wai. aminke man
 yes, 1:go NEG 1:be far 3:be
 'Yes, I didn't go. It was far.'

- (123) A: tiaron wîrî' pî' at-ausinpa pra nan
 other woman at DETRANSVZR-happy NEG 2:be:INTER
 'Didn't you like another woman?'

B: inna, mîikîrî pî' neken at-ausinpa-sa' wai
 yes 3:PRO at only DETRANSVZR-happy-CMPL 1:be
 'Yes, I liked only her, that one.' (i.e., 'I did not like any other woman.')

The affirmative response particle also occurs when it is not a polar question. It seems to express, 'yes, I'm answering you.'

- (124) A: î' warapo i-tî-pai-nîkon nai
 how:many ADVBLZR-go-DESID-COLL 3:be:INTER
 'How many are wanting to go?'

B: inna, tamî'nawîrî anna wîtî e'-pai man
 yes, all 1:EXCL go be-DESID 3:be
 'Yes, we are all wanting to go.'

- (125) A: î' wani awanî ye'nen morî pe a-wanî
 what be because good DENOM 3-be

ka'ran yarakkîrî
 stranger with

'Why are you being good to a stranger?'

B: inna, a-yekare eta pî' wai, morî pe
 yes 2-news hear at 1:be good DENOM

a-wanî a-yawo'pî yarakkîrî
 2-be 2-mother:in:law with
 'Yes, I've heard about you. You are good to your
 mother-in-law.'

11 Imperatives

11.1 Formal characteristics. Imperative clauses are marked by the morphology of the verb (prefixes and suffixes), the absence of a subject, and an imperative intonation pattern (high pitch on final syllable.) Degrees of imperative range from the more indirect and less immediate polite form, marked by the prefix *m-/mî-* 'FUT:IMP', to more immediate and stronger commands, signalled by heavier stress and higher pitch on the final syllable. The form of the suffix distinguishes motion towards the speaker and away from the speaker. This distinction does not apply to the negative or future imperatives. Person and number are also formally marked. A third person imperative occurs, but only rarely.

The paradigm of imperatives is as follows:

Person	Type	NON-COLL		COLL	
2	Static		-kî		-tî
	Motion: away from towards		-ta -tane'kî		-tantî -tane'tî
	Future (polite)	m- mî-	-i -i	m- mî-	-tî -tî
	Negative	k- kî- kî'- kîs-	-i -i -i -i	k- kî- kî'- kîs-	-tî -tî -tî -tî
1 + 2	Hortative		-pai		-pai'nîkon
3	Third Person	n- (i.v.) nî- (i.v.) i- (t.v.)	-i -i -i	to' n- (i.v.) to' nî- (i.v.) i- (t.v.)	-i -i -i to'

- (126) tuna ene'-kî
water bring-IMP
'Bring water.'
- (127) atî-kî moriya
go-IMP then
'Go then.'
- (128) apo' era'ma-ta
fire get-IMP
'Go get firewood.'
- (129) mîlkîrî yarakkîrî m-es-eurîma-i
3:PRO with FUT:IMP-DETRANSVZR-speak-IMP
'Talk with him!'
- (130) mîrîrî yei m-a'tî-i, ta-'pî-i-ya rei pî'
that tree FUT:IMP-cut-IMP say-PAST-3-ERG king to
' "Cut down that tree," ' he said to the king.'
- (131) k-ena-i
NEG-fall-IMP
'Don't fall.'
- (132) tiaron kîs-apurî-tî
other NEG-praise-IMP:PL
'Don't praise another one.'
- (133) epîrema-n-pai'-nîkon
pray-1:INCL-HORT-COLL
'Let's all pray.'
- (134) ta-'pî-i-ya u-yettapusin-kon yonpa-pai
say-PAST-3-ERG 1-breath-COLL try-HORT
'He said, "Let's (you and I) hold our breath." '
- (135) tîwî to' n-atî-i
leave 3:PRO:PL 3-go-IMP
'Let them go.'

- (136) tîwî i-koneka-i to'
 leave 3-make-IMP 3:PRO:PL
 'Let them make it.'

11.2 Degrees of imperative. Degrees of imperative are expressed in several ways. Future imperative affixation occurs to express an invitation or request. It refers to an action to be done later, not right at the present moment, as is the case with the static imperative, and it is not, therefore, as forceful as the static imperative.

- (137) mîrîrî yei m-a'tî-i ta-'pî-i-ya rei pî'
 that tree FUT:IMP-cut-IMP:SG say-PAST-3-ERG king to
 ' "Cut down that tree," he said to the king.'
- (138) mîrîrî ye'ka mî-koneka-tî, ta-'pî-i-ya
 that like FUT:IMP-make-IMP:PL say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "(You all) make (it) like that," he said.'

The static and motion forms express a strong degree of imperative and mean "right now." They are used in addressing children, servants, and very close friends or relatives. The intonation also distinguishes the degree (sect. 11.1).

- (139) kaikusi, u-pîika'tî-kî
 jaguar 1-help-IMP
 'Jaguar, help me!'
- (140) u-pa, asi'-tî, asi'-tî a-yekkari-kon seni
 1-grandchildren come-IMP come-IMP 2-food-COLL this
 'My grandchildren, come, come, here is your food.'
- (141) apo' era'ma-ta, ta-'pî-i-ya
 fire go-IMP:MOT say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "Go get firewood," he said.'
- (142) tuna era'ma-tane'kî, ta-'pî i-san—ya
 water get-IMP:MOT say-PAST 3-mother-ERG
 ' "Come get the water," her mother said.'

There is a very strong degree of negative imperative expressed when the particle *kanan* 'next in turn' plus an emphatic particle *tî* occurs following a verb having negative imperative affixation.

- (143) uurî kîs-enku'tî-tî kanan tî, ta-'pî
 1:PRO NEG-deceive-IMP next INTNSF say-PAST
 Moises-ya reis pî'
 Moses-ERG king at
 ' "Don't you all deceive me again," Moses said to the king.'

- (144) tî' kî'-pa'tî-i kanan tî
 rock NEG-hit-IMP next INTNSF
 m-es-eurîma-i neken tî' yarakkîrî
 FUT:IMP-DETRANSVZR-speak-IMP only rock with
 'Don't hit the rock again, only speak with it.'

Commands sometimes occur without the imperative affixation. These are very polite forms and express an indirect type of command. A subordinate purpose clause can express this function. In (145) the purpose clause is embedded in an indirect quotation clause. In (146) the purpose clause functions as the subject of the main clause.

- (145) ya'pîre-kon neken enapî-pa taa pî' patrão-ya man,
 green-COLL only eat-PURP say at boss-ERG 3:be
 ta-'pî-i-ya
 say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "The boss said only to eat the green ones," he said.'
- (146) enî-to'pe-i-ya wei kaisarî, mîrîrî-ya a-pîika'tî
 drink-PURP-3-ERG day every that-ERG 2-help
 'Her drinking it every day will help you' or
 'She must drink it every day, that will help you.'

Occasionally, the whole (imperative) verb form may be omitted (157a).

11.3 Negative imperative. There are two means of expressing a negative command: (i) the verb is marked with negative imperative affixation (147, 149), or (ii) the copula occurs marked with positive imperative affixation, and has as its complement constituent a negative adverbial expressing the action that is being prohibited (148, 150). The difference in meaning is probably one of degree, the positive copula being more polite than the negative affixation.

- (147) imakui'pî kî'-ku'-tî
 bad NEG-do-IMP:PL
 'Don't do bad.'
- (148) imakui'pî tî-ku'-se pra e'-tî
 bad ADVBLZR-do-ADVBLZR NEG be-IMP:PL
 'Be not doing bad.'
- (149) k-es-ewankono'ma-i
 NEG-DETRANSVZR-sad-IMP:SG
 'Don't be sad.'
- (150) te-es-ewankono'ma-i pra e'-kî
 ADVBLZR-DETRANSVZR-sad-ADVBLZR NEG be-IMP:SG
 'Be not sad.'

11.4 Third person imperative affixation occurs on intransitive verbs with *n- . . . -i* and on transitive verbs with *i- . . . -i*. The particle *tîwî* 'leave it' occurs before the verb.

- (151) tîwî n-atî-i
 leave:it 3-go-IMP
 'Let him go.'
- (152) tîwî nî-si
 leave:it 3-be:IMP
 'Leave it alone.'
- (153) tîwî i-koneka-i
 leave:it 3-make-IMP
 'Let him make it.'

The same particle *tîwî* occurs to express negative third person imperative. In this case it introduces a subordinate clause which functions syntactically as a direct object of the main verb *tîrî* 'let, put', which is marked with the negative prefix *kî-* and the imperative suffix *-i*.

- (154) tîwî mîikîrî ena kî'-tîrî-i
 leave:it 3:PRO fall NEG-let-IMP
 'Don't let him fall.'

- (155) tîwî t-a're' enapî-i-ya kî'-tîrî-i
 leave:it 3:REFLX-food eat-3-ERG NEG-let-IMP
 'Don't let him eat his food.'

11.5 Response. The response to commands is usually behavioral, whether reported or implied. Other responses may be affirmative or compliant, or negative or noncompliant, or may take the form of hesitation or a request for clarification.

- (156a) apo' era'ma-ta
 fire get-IMP:MOT
 'Go get firewood.'

- (156b) attî-'pî, attî-'pî aminke
 3:go-PAST 3:go-PAST far
 'He went and went far (to get it).'

- (157a) u-yekkari ton paruru
 1-food BEN banana
 '(Give me) a banana.'

- (157b) kaane, mai' pe man
 no bitter DENOM 3:be
 'No, they are bitter.'

- (158a) asi'-tî, asi-tî
 come-IMP:PL come-IMP:PL
 'Come, come.'

- (158b) tîise yuuku to'-ya pra a-wanî-'pî
 but answer 3:PL-ERG NEG 3-be-PAST
 'But they didn't answer (her).'

- (159a) ese-poro atî-pî'-kî
 this-over 2:go-ITER-IMP:SG
 'You go over this.'

- (159b) kaane, ko'ko', epu'tî anna-ya pra
 no grandmother know 1:EXCL-ERG NEG

man, amîrî neken
 3:be 2:PRO only
 'No, grandmother, we don't know how, only you (do).'

12 Negation

There are three particles that express negation: (i) *pra* 'NEG:ADVBLZR' (ii) *pepîn* 'NEG:NOMLZR', and (iii) *pîn* 'NEG'. They occur to negate both sentences (12.1) and constituents of the sentence (12.2). In the case of some examples that follow, the negated constituent is a derived adverbial or derived nominal, so that they illustrate both sentence/clause negation and constituent (of a superordinate clause) negation.

12.1 Sentence negation. Negation of a sentence is accomplished by the negative particle *pra* occurring following the clause and transforming it into a negative adverbial complement of the copula. The inflectional affixes marking tense, aspect, and number appear on the copula. The subject-marking affixes occur on the subordinate verb and, for the proximate tense, on the copula also (161b and 164b). In the case of other tenses, the copula is always in the third person subject form (160b, 162b, 163b, 165b) For tenses, see section 18.1, and for forms of the copula, see sections 18.1.2. and 18.8.

(160a) waikin era'ma-u-ya sîrîrî
 deer see-1-ERG SI
 'I see the deer' or 'I will see the deer.' (universal tense)

(160b) waikin era'ma-u-ya pra a-wanî
 deer see-1-ERG NEG:ADVBLZR 3-be
 'I don't see the deer' or 'I'm not seeing the deer.'

(161a) waikin era'ma pî' wai
 deer see at 1:be
 'I saw the deer.' (proximate tense)

(161b) waikin era'ma-u-ya pra wai
 deer see-1-ERG NEG 1:be
 'I didn't see the deer.'

- (162a) waikin era'ma-'pî-u-ya
 deer see-PAST-1-ERG
 'I saw the deer.' (past tense)
- (162b) waikin era'ma-u-ya pra a-wanî-'pî
 deer see-1-ERG NEG 3-be-PAST
 'I didn't see the deer.'
- (163a) entamo'ka sîrîrî
 1:eat SI
 'I'm eating' or 'I will eat.'
- (163b) entamo'ka pra a-wanî sîrîrî
 1: eat NEG 3-be SI
 'I'm not eating' or 'I will not eat.'
- (164a) entamo'ka-n pî' wai
 eat-1:INCL at 1:be
 'I am eating' or 'I ate.' (proximate tense)
- (164b) entamo'ka pra wai
 1: eat NEG 1:be
 'I am not eating' or 'I didn't eat.'
- (165a) entamo'ka-'pî
 1:eat-PAST
 'I ate.'
- (165b) entamo'ka pra a-wanî-'pî
 1:eat NEG 3-be-PAST
 'I didn't eat.'

A free form subject usually occurs between the negative particle and the (copula) main verb (166) and is then regarded as a constituent of the main clause for the following reasons: this is the normal order in stative clauses (SV); the subject noun phrase (*to' yunkon*) does not have the ergative marker, but this marker (-ya) occurs on the subordinate verb when this is a transitive verb; and the presence of the subject noun phrase immediately before the copula results in the copula not having the third person subject-marking prefix. Sometimes, however, the subject noun phrase occurs as a constituent of the subordinate clause, as in (167), where the subject (*mîlkîrî*) precedes the intransitive subordinate verb, and in (168), where the subject (*anna-ya*) follows the transitive subordinate verb and precedes the

negative particle, and *-ya* 'ERG' is suffixed to that subject and not to the verb. In both these cases, the copula main verb has the third person subject-marking prefix *a-*.

- (166) *yuuku-i-ya pra to' yun-kon wanî-'pî*
 answer-3-ERG NEG 3:PRO father-COLL be-PAST
 'Their father didn't answer him.'
- (167) *mîîkîrî erepamî pra a-wanî-'pî*
 3:PRO arrive NEG 3-be-PAST
 'He didn't arrive.'
- (168) *anî' eporî anna-ya pra a-wanî-'pî*
 who find 1:EXCL-ERG NEG 3-be-PAST
 'We didn't find anything.'

The copular main clause occasionally occurs preceding the negative complement clause. (See section 14.4.2 for one example.)

The particle *pepîn* 'non-past negative nominalizer' is used to negate an equative sentence. It follows the predicate complement (169, 170). The same form occurs to negate complement clauses in verbal sentences (171).

- (169) *ka'sana' pepîn uurî*
 buzzard NEG:NOMLZR 1:PRO
 'I'm not a buzzard.'
- (170) *maikan enu'-koi pepîn*
 fox climb-S:NOMLZR NEG:NOMLZR
 'The fox is not a climber.'
- (171) *it-u'se paapa e'-to' ku'-kî, it-u'se amîrî*
 3-want God be-INST:NOMLZR do-IMP 3-want 2:PRO

e'-to' pepîn
 be-INST:NOMLZR NEG:NOMLZR
 'Do what God wants, not what you want.'

The particle *pepîn* often occurs to negate future tense sentences ('I will not . . .'). Such sentences then form the predicate nominal constituent of an equative construction. Frequently the subject nominal constituent is ellipsed (sect. 3), or the pronouns *mîrîrî* or *sîrîrî* can be added as the proform for the missing constituent (172, 173).

- (172) uurî era'tî pepîn (or)
1:PRO turn NEG:NOMLZR

uurî era'tî pepîn mîrîrî
1:PRO turn NEG:NOMLZR that
'I won't turn.'

- (173) yapi'sî-u-ya pepîn (or)
catch-1-ERG NEG:NOMLZR

yapi'sî-u-ya pepîn mîrîrî
catch-1-ERG NEG:NOMLZR that
'I won't catch it.'

The third negative particle *pîn* 'past negation' is used to express an emphatic past tense. It is not a class changer and occurs with both verbs and nouns. When it occurs on nouns, the semantics of the negative pertains to existence, not to identity (177b, 178b); where identity is in focus, *pepîn* is used (177a, 178a).

- (174) it-akon-ya anî' wîî pîn
3-brother-ERG who kill NEG
'His brother didn't kill anyone!'

- (175) pia'san pe a-wanî ye'nen yarî to'-ya pîn
witchdoctor DENOM 3-be because carry 3:PRO-ERG NEG
'Because he was a witchdoctor, they didn't take him (to get medicine.)'

- (176) maikan-ya mararî mîrîkkî yonpa pîn
fox-ERG little DIMIN taste NEG
'The fox didn't even taste a little bit.'

- (177a) it-ese' pepîn mîrîrî
3-name NEG:NOMLZR that
'That's not her name.'

- (177b) it-ese' pîn mîîkîrî
3-name NEG 3:PRO
'She doesn't have a name.'

- (178a) paruru pepîn mîrîrî
 banana NEG:NOMLZR that
 'That's not a banana.'
- (178b) sîrîrî poro paruru ton pîn
 SI over banana BEN NEG
 'There aren't any bananas around here.'

12.2 Constituent negation. There are different negative morphemes for adverbial and nominal constituents.

12.2.1 Adverbials, including derived adverbials and postpositional relators, are negativized by the particle *pra* 'NEG:ADVBLZR'. Many common adverbials have the negative form added to give the meaning of the antonym: *mararî* 'few', *mararî pra* 'many', *pri'ya* 'well', *pri'ya pra* 'sick', *morî pe* 'good', *morî pe pra* 'bad'.

- (179) aminke pra mîikîrî ena-'pî
 far NEG 3:PRO become-PAST
 'He became near.'
- (180) i-tî-pai pra man
 ADVBLZR-go-DESID NEG 3:be
 'He didn't want to go.'
- (181) a-ako'mamî-'pî t-ekkari
 3-remain-PAST 3:REFLX-food

 t-onpa-i pra
 ADVBLZR-taste-ADVBLZR NEG
 'He remained not eating.'
- (182) ene'-kî naka ta-ka-i pra
 bring-IMP doubt ADVBLZR-say-ADVBLZR NEG
 'Bring (it), for sure! (not saying *naka*.)'
- (183) tî-ko'man pe pra iwarîka ena-'pî
 3:REFLX-remain DENOM NEG monkey fall-PAST
 'After his remaining a little while, the monkey fell.'

Adverbial purpose clauses (sect. 14.3.5) are negativized by *namai* 'NEG:PURP'.

- (184) i-tîrî-'pî-i-ya paaka ewomî namai
 3-put-PAST-3-ERG cow enter NEG:PURP
 'He put it (there) so that the cows could not enter.'

- (185) to' wîî namai see-pata to'
 3:PRO:PL go NEG:PURP this-place 3:PRO:PL

ii'-to'pe, ta-'pî-i-ya
 come-PURP say-PAST-3-ERG

'He said, "They must come here in order that they not go." '

The suffix *-mara* 'NEG' occurs with a certain sub-class of nouns to form a special class of adverb that is negative in form and meaning. There is a corresponding nominalized form, with the suffix *-mîn* 'NEG:NOMLZR' replacing *-mara*.

Adverb:

Nominal:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|--------|--------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| (186) | ipo'-mara | a-wanî | mîrîrî | ipo'-mîn | mîrîrî |
| | taste-NEG | 3-be | that | | taste-NEG that |
| | 'It's without taste.' | | | 'It's one without taste.' | |
| (187) | ka'-mara | a-wanî | mîrîrî | ka'-mîn | mîîkîrî |
| | fast-NEG | 3-be | that | | fast-NEG 3:PRO |
| | 'He is slow.' | | | 'He's a slow one.' | |
| (188) | pe'-mara | a-wanî | mîrîrî | pe'-mîn | mîrîrî |
| | expensive-NEG | 3-be | that | | expensive-NEG that |
| | 'It is free.' | | | 'It's a free one.' | |

12.2.2 Nominals are negated by the negative nominalizer *pepîn* and the past tense negative form *pîn* (177, 178).

- (189) mara-ron pepîn wayaka eperu wanî-'pî
 few-NOMLZR NEG wayaka fruit be-PAST
 'There was a lot of *wayaka* fruit.'

- (190) kura' yapurî-nen pepîn uurî
 blowpipe use-S:NOMLZR NEG 1:PRO
 'I'm not one who uses a blowpipe.'

- (191) i-seruku pepîn mîrîrî
 3-lie NEG that
 'That's not his lie' or 'He's not lying.'

More than one element in a sentence may be negated and the result is always positive.

- (192) î' ton pra a-wanî pepîn
 what BEN NEG 3-be NEG
 'He won't be without anything' or 'He will have something.'

- (193) a-n-tîrî-kon yarima-'pî-Ø-ya-kon, tiwin ite'ka
 2-NOMLZR-give-COLL send-PAST-2-ERG-COLL one time

 pra, î' ton pra wanî namai
 NEG what BEN NEG 1:be NEG:PURP
 'You all sent (me) your gifts, not just one time, in order that I not be without.'

13 Anaphora

13.1 Zero anaphora. The following types of zero anaphora occur: (i) omission of the subject and object pronominal affixes (194–197), (ii) omission of the quotation margin in direct speech (198), (iii) omission of elements in interrogative sentences (199), and (iv) omissions in answers to questions (200–201).

In subordinate clauses where the subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, no pronominal subject occurs (sect. 14), the referent of the zero anaphora being the subject of the main clause. It may refer forward or backward as the subordinate clause may occur before or after the main clause.

- (194) si'na ya'tî tîpo, attî-'pî
 bushrope cut after 3:go-PAST
 'After cutting the bushrope, he went.'

The third person object of vowel-initial (or semi-vowel-initial) transitive verbs is always zero. This zero marker refers back usually to the preceding clause to a nominal or pronominal referent (195). Occasionally, within a single clause, when the object is a "heavy" construction it is dislocated to the right following the verb. The zero marker then has cataphoric reference to the noun phrase or clause following the verb (196, 197).

- (195) i-pun mo'ka-'pî-i-ya, Ø-yarî-'pî-i-ya kaikusi
 3-flesh take:out-PAST-3-ERG 3-carry-PAST-3-ERG jaguar

no'pî pia

wife to

'He took out his flesh and carried (it) to the jaguar's wife.'

- (196) Ø-era'ma-'pî-i-ya, ti-nyo sa'manta-sa'
 3-see-PAST-3-ERG 3:REFLX-husband die-CMPL
 'She saw (him), her dead husband.'

- (197) innape pe Ø-era'ma-'pî to'-ya, arauta
 true DENOM 3-see-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG monkey

kure'-nan rimî

big-NOMLZR AUG

'They truly saw (it), a really big monkey.'

Direct speech is normally signalled by the quotative verb *taa* 'say' (sect. 1.1.5). A single occurrence of *taa* can govern a multisentence unit of direct speech, so that there can be a sequence of direct speech clauses that do not have the normal *taa* margin. The quotation margin, with the verb *taa*, is also sometimes omitted in brief responses in a dialogue (198).

- (198) A: eporî-u-ya pra wai, ta-'pî-i-ya
 find-1-ERG NEG 1:be say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "I didn't find (it)," he said.'

- B. inna moriya aase. to'
 yes then let's:go 3:PRO:PL

at-aponka-'pî

DETRANSVZR-start:out-PAST

' "O.K. then, let's go." They started out.'

Omission of elements in interrogative sentences occurs frequently. In question-word questions, any or all elements other than the question word can be omitted, if they are recoverable from the context (199).

- (199) A: attî-'pî t-onpa-yamî kore'ta
 3:go-PAST 3:REFLX-relative-PL among
 ' "He went among his friends." '

B: o'non pata
 which place
 ' "Where (has he gone?)" '

There is a preference for complete answers to questions, but occasionally the main verb is omitted.

(200) A: î' nai a-yenya
 what 3:be:INTER 3-hand:in
 ' "What is in your hand?" '

B: yei
 wood
 ' "A stick." '

(201) A: o'non pata attî mîrîrî
 which place 2:go AI
 ' "Where are you going?" '

B: tuna ka
 water to
 ' "To the water." '

13.2 Pronouns. Anaphora is expressed by both personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns in the case of third person referents. For the complete set of pronouns, see section 16. Both deictic and nondeictic pronouns are used anaphorically and their antecedents may precede or follow.

13.2.1 Personal pronouns. Verbal affixes are the normal anaphoric means of referring to entities (subject and direct object) across clause or sentence boundaries (202). They only occur when there is no free pronoun or full noun phrase referring to the entity in the same clause. The third person reflexive prefix *î-* is anaphorically related only to the subject of the same clause or of a superordinate clause and does not cross sentence boundaries (sects. 4.2 and 16.1.2).

(202) u-yonpa-kon mia-ron-kon pîika'tî-i-ya
 1-relative-COLL there-NOMLZR-COLL help-3-ERG
 'He helps our relatives, the ones who live there.'

The bound pronominal subject *-i* in (202) is the anaphor referring to the subject (also a bound pronominal subject) in the preceding clause.

A free pronoun occurs clause initial to establish a new topic immediately after the introduction of the topic as a noun phrase. Once it has been established as topic by occurring one or two times as a free pronoun, a bound pronominal affix generally occurs thereafter to refer to the topic (203).

- (203) u-yonpa-kon João-ya tî-maimu yarima-'pî aa-pia.
1-relative-COLL John-ERG 3:REFLX-word send-PAST 2-to

mĩĩkĩrĩ wanĩ manni e'mai' pe Macedonia
3:PRO be that first DENOM Macedonia

po-n-kon esa' pe a-wanĩ ne'tĩkini
in-NOMLZR-COLL boss DENOM 3-be previously
'Our relative John sent you his greetings (word). He is the one
who was first in Macedonia as their boss.'

The free pronoun *mĩĩkĩrĩ* 'he' in the second sentence refers to *João* in the first sentence, where he was introduced for the first time. There is another occurrence of the free pronoun *mĩĩkĩrĩ ya* in the sentence that follows, this fronted transitive subject giving emphasis to establish John as topic. From then on he is referred to by a pronominal affix in the following four clauses, before a new topic is introduced.

A free pronoun also co-occurs with a nominal to re-introduce a topic that has not been referred to for several clauses.

- (204) mĩĩkĩrĩ pemonkon eka'tumĩ-'pĩ
3:PRO person run-PAST
'That person (man) ran.'

In this case, *mĩĩkĩrĩ* here is referring to a man mentioned nine clauses back in the text. Two other participants were interacting, so he is introduced again as a topic.

Pronominal anaphora can also occur between a main clause and a subordinate clause, and with the use of the third person reflexive *tĩ-* (205) when the *tĩ-* constituent is coreferential with the third person subject of the main clause. The subordinate clause may precede (205a) or follow (205b) the main clause.

- (205a) te-erepamî yai tamî'nawîrî ekaremekî-i-ya
 3:REFLX-arrive at all tell-3-ERG
 'When he arrives, he will tell everything.'
- (205b) tamî'nawîrî ekaremekî-i-ya te-erepamî yai
 all tell-3-ERG 3:REFLX-arrive at
 'He will tell everything when he arrives.'

Pronominal anaphora occurs between elements in coordinate structures in the same way as across clause and sentence boundaries, juxtaposition being the principle form of coordination (sect. 8).

13.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns. All demonstrative pronouns have anaphoric reference. One form, *mîrîrî*, occurs frequently, and its antecedent may extend back further than one or two sentences. It occurs frequently with temporal and logical connectives in constructions such as: (temporals) *mîrîrî tanne* 'during that time' (206), *mîrîrî tîpo* 'after that' (207); (adversative) *mîrîrî tîise* 'in spite of that' (208); (causal) *mîrîrî ye'nen* 'because of that' (209); and (manner) *mîrîrî yawîrî* 'according to that' (210), *mîrîrî warantî* 'like that' (211) and *mîrîrî neken* 'only that' (212). These connectives occur clause initial and may refer back only one clause, or to a sequence of several clauses, or to the whole of the discourse. Cataphoric reference occurs less frequently and is expressed by *sîrîrî* 'this', or *see warantî* 'like this' (213, 214).

- (206) kaane ta-'pî porco-ya. mîrîrî tanne maikan-ya
 no say-PAST pig-ERG that while fox-ERG
- i-puma-'pî
 3-blow-PAST
 ' "No", said the pig. During that time, the fox blew it (down).'

In this example, *mîrîrî* refers to the previous two sentences, a dialogue between the fox and the pig, the pig refusing to come out of the house and the fox requesting him to do so.

- (207) mîrîrî tîpo arimaraka-yamî era'ma-'pî-i-ya
 that after dog-PL see-PAST-3-ERG
 'After that, he saw the dogs.'

In this context, the third person subject (a chicken) had said he would not come down from the tree when the fox told him to do so. But after he said that, he saw a man coming with dogs. He knew the dogs would chase

the fox away and so he changed his mind about coming down. *mîrîrî* refers to the whole of the paragraph (5 clauses), which ended with the preceding clause.

- (208) *mîrîrî* *tîise* *epu'-sa'* *to'-ya* *wanî-pî*
 that but know-CMPL 3:PRO:PL-ERG be-PAST
 'In spite of that, they knew.'

mîrîrî refers to what their father had said in the previous clause. It was a lie he told them, expecting to deceive them. But contrary to his expectation, they knew the real reason.

- (209) *mîrîrî* *ye'nen* *sîrîrî* *poro* *paruru* *ton* *pîn*
 that because this over banana BEN NEG
 'Because of that, there are no bananas around here.'

In (209), *mîrîrî* refers back to the previous stretch of discourse, describing how the branch of the tree that bore bananas fell in the opposite direction. Because it fell that way, there were no bananas over here. *sîrîrî* 'here', in this example, is a deictic referring to a place near the speaker and does not have cataphoric reference as in example (213). (See also sect. 16.3.1.)

- (210) *mîrîrî* *yawîrî* *i-tîrî-'pî-i-ya*
 that according:to 3-give-PAST-3-ERG
 'According to that, he gave it (to him).'

In (210), *mîrîrî* refers to the previous clause, a request for some grass.

- (211) *mîrîrî* *warantî* *nîrî* *epu'tî-'pî* *to'-ya*
 that like also know-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 'Like that also, they knew.'

In (211), *mîrîrî* refers to a similar situation which occurred several clauses back. The father repeats the same deception with another group of children, but they too knew what was happening.

- (212) *mîrîrî* *neken*
 that only
 'That is all.'

This is a discourse closure formula, in which *mîrîrî* refers to the whole discourse that precedes. The same kind of formula may occur in opening a discourse referring to all that is to follow, but in this case the cataphoric

form *sîrîrî* is used (213). A similar cataphoric device may also occur within a discourse to introduce something that directly follows (214).

- (213) *sîrîrî* es-enuminka-to'
 this DETRANSVZR-think-INST:NOMLZR
 'This (the following) is my thinking.'

- (214) see *warantî* ta-'pî-i-ya
 this like say-PAST-3-ERG
 'He said like this:' (followed by a quote)

For a fuller discussion of *mîrîrî* and *sîrîrî*, distinguishing physical and psychological dimensions of meaning for each, see Abbott (1980).

13.3 Particles. Certain particles occur that have anaphoric reference to a previous section of the narrative. These are: *nîrî* 'also'; *inî'rî* 'again'; *kanan* 'next in succession'. The subordinating and coordinating connectors also have an anaphoric function in linking the previous clause or clauses with what follows. See examples and explanations in sections 21.2 and 21.3.

- (215) *yei* *pia'pî* *yanumî-'pî* *kaikusi-ya*
 wood piece pick:up-PAST jaguar-ERG

moropai *iwarîka-ya* *nîrî*
 and monkey-ERG also
 'The jaguar picked up a piece of wood and the monkey (did) also.'

- (216) to' *erepamî-'pî* *goiaba* *ye'kana* *inî'rî* *waikin* *warantî*
 3:PRO:PL arrive-PAST guava orchard again deer like
 'They arrived at the guava orchard again, like (he did with) the deer.'

14 Subordinate Clauses

14.1 General characteristics. The most general distinction between main and subordinate verbs is the absence of tense. This causes the subordinate verb to depend on the tense marking of the main verb. Compare the subordinate clauses in (217a) and (218a) with the main clauses in (217b) and (218b).

- (217a) si'na ya'tî tîpo, attî-'pî
bushrope cut after 3:go-PAST
'After cutting the bushrope, he went.'
- (217b) si'na ya'tî-'pî-i-ya
bushrope cut-PAST-3-ERG
'He cut the bushrope.'
- (218a) t-eerepamî pe e-ewomî-'pî t-ewî' ta
3:REFLX-arrive DENOM 3-enter-PAST 3:REFLX-house in
'Arriving, he entered his house.'
- (218b) e-erepamî-'pî e-ewomî-'pî t-ewî' ta
3-arrive-PAST 3-enter-PAST 3:REFLX-house in
'He arrived. He entered his house.'

In these examples, the absence of tense clearly indicates subordination. However, in some types of subordinate clauses, tense does occur (219, 220).

- (219) aw-enna'po-'pî-kon epu'tî-'pî-i-ya
2-return-PAST-COLL know-PAST-3-ERG
'He knew you all returned.'
- (220) mîrîrî era'ma-'pî-i-ya, tî-rui
that see-PAST-3-ERG 3:REFLX-brother

nî-kupî-'pî
O:NOMLZR-do-PAST
'He saw that, what his brother had done.'

In these cases, though tense occurs, other factors are present which clearly indicate subordination (see especially (v) below).

The various types of subordinate clause constructions, based on formal distinctions, are:

- (i) where the verb has been nominalized by the addition of one of the affixes described in section 15.4 (220), these functioning as subject (221) or object (222) complements, or as predicate complements in equative clauses (223):

- (221) moropai to' era'ma-nenan nîrî wanî-'pî tu'ke
 and 3:PRO:PL see-S:NOMLZR also be-PAST many
 'And the ones who guarded them also were many.'
- (222) mîrîrî e-epîrema-to' eta-'pî paapa'-ya
 that 3-pray-INST:NOMLZR hear-PAST God-ERG
 'God heard his prayer (i.e., what he prayed).'
- (223) mîîkîrî yarakkîrî asa-koi pepîn uurî
 3:PRO with walk-S:NOMLZR NEG:NOMLZR 1:PRO
 'I'm not the one that walks with him.'

(ii) where the verb has been nominalized by a suffix (as in (i)), and is followed by a postposition, the whole construction being a postpositional phrase that functions in the clause as an indirect object (224) or an oblique constituent (225):

- (224) mîîkîrî-ya tî-maimu tîrî-'pî
 3:PRO-ERG 3:REFLX-word give-PAST
 tî-n-aipontî-san pia
 3:REFLX-O:NOMLZR-send-NOMLZR to
 'He gave his (own) word to the ones whom he had sent.'
- (225) te-es-erinka-sannon yarakkîrî attî-'pî
 ADVBLZR-DETRANSVZR-sing-NOMLZR with 3:go-PAST
 'He went with the ones who sing.'

(iii) where the verb does not have a nominalizing suffix but there is a subordinating particle in the clause-final position; most of the examples in section 14.3 are of this type;

(iv) where there is neither a nominalizing affix nor a subordinating particle but where an adverbial derived form of the verb occurs (226):

- (226) e-erepamî-'pî moro' tî-poka-i
 3-arrive-PAST fish ADVBLZR-arrow-ADVBLZR
 t-aatausinpa-i pu'kuru
 ADVBLZR-happy-ADVBLZR very
 'He arrived very happy, (having) arrowed fish.'

(v) where the verb stem occurs without nominalizing affixes but is clearly functioning as a nominal, this being indicated by its potential for (a) being followed by a postposition, such as *pe* 'DENOM', whose function is to denominalize a nominal and thus form an adverbial (227), (b) co-occurring with the prefix *tî-* '3:REFLX' when the third person subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause (sect. 4) (228, 229), and (c) occurring with the ergative suffix *-ya*, which causes the whole nominalized clause to function as subject of the superordinate (transitive) clause (230):

- (227) e-erepamî pe e'ma arakkita ewaronpamî-'pî
 3-arrive DENOM path middle become:night-PAST
 'As he arrived in the middle of the path, it became night.'
- (228) tîw-enna'po epu'tî-'pî-i-ya
 3:REFLX-return know-PAST-3-ERG
 'He knew (of) his returning.'
- (229) t-ekkari aretî'ka-sa'-tîu-ya yai aw-enna'po-'pî
 3:REFLX-food finish-CMPL-3:REFLX-ERG at 3-return-PAST
 'When he finished his food, he returned.'
- (230) kure'ne e-es-enupa-'pî-ya ayawî pe
 much 3-DETRANSVZR-teach-PAST-ERG crazy DENOM
 a-ku'-sa' mîrîrî
 2-make-CMPL AI
 'Your much learning made you crazy.'

14.2 Relative Clauses. There are no regular finite forms of relative clause. There are three main types of construction by which the function of a relative clause can be expressed.

(i) Simple nominalization, as described in section 15.4, often results in an appositive relationship with another noun phrase (sect. 2), usually with an intonational break. The nominalized construction can also occur alone without a head noun (cf. 231 and 232). The head noun can occur either before (231) or following (233) the relative clause, depending upon what is being emphasized or highlighted. The head noun and the nominalized modifier frequently occur in a discontinuous sequence, separated by the main verb, functioning either as direct object (234) or as subject (235) of the clause (see also sect. 2).

- (231) surara-yamî to' era'ma-nenan wîti-'pî
 soldier-PL 3:PRO:PL see-S:NOMLZR go-PAST

Manaus pona

Manaus to

'The soldiers, the ones who guarded them, went to Manaus.'

- (232) to' era'ma-nenan wîti-'pî Manaus pona
 3:PRO:PL see-S:NOMLZR go-PAST Manaus to
 'The ones who guarded them went to Manaus.'

- (233) u-n-era'ma-'pî pemonkon ekaremekî-u-ya
 1-O:NOMLZR-see-PAST person tell-1-ERG

sîrîrî a-pî'

SI 2-to

'I will tell you (about) the man, the one I saw.'

- (234) Taitai wî-'pî-u-ya, maama, pemonkon yanî pî'
 Taitai kill-PAST-1-ERG maama person eat at

tîi-ko'man-se-n

ADVBLZR-live-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR

'I killed Taitai, Mother, the one who kept eating people.'

- (235) warayo' wîti-'pî, tikîi-pan
 man go-PAST cripple-NOMLZR

e'-katî-'pî

DETRANSVZR-crooked-PAST

'The man went, the one who is crippled, the one who is crooked.'

The possibilities with regard to the grammatical relations which can be relativized are restricted to the different types of nominalizations: subject nominalization (*-koi*, *-nen*, *-tîpon*, *-ton*) (236), object nominalization *n-* (237), instrument nominalization *-to'* (238) and derived adverb nominalization *t- . . . -sen* (239). (See sect. 15.4.)

- (236) mîikîrî woro'ke es-eurîma-koi
 3:PRO parrot DETRANSVZR-talk-S:NOMLZR
 'That parrot is one who speaks.'

- (237) sararu ti-nyo n-arima-'pî
 meat 3:REFLX-husband O:NOMLZR-send-PAST

yanumî-'pî-i-ya
 pick:up-PAST-3-ERG
 'She picked up the meat that her husband had sent.'

- (238) wa'ka yari-'pî-i-ya, yei ya'tî-to'
 axe carry-PAST-3-ERG wood cut-INST:NOMLZR
 'He carried away the axe, the thing with which wood is cut.'

- (239) mîrîrî t-ena'-se-n
 that ADVBLZR-eat-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR

yapi'sî-'pî-i-ya
 receive-PAST-3-ERG
 'She received that, the one that can be eaten (fruit).'

(ii) A sequence of two clauses may occur, the second being an equative clause which modifies a constituent of the first clause. There are two main clauses in (240). The first is an intransitive clause which happens to have as subject a nominalized postpositional phrase (sect. 15.4). The second is an equative clause, in which *inkamoro* is the subject and *teesrinkasannonkon* is the predicate nominal that is the primary modifier of the subject of the first clause. A further modifying noun phrase (or phrases) may occur in the equative clause, as indicated by the noun phrase in parenthesis. The predicate nominal in the equative clause is frequently a derived nominal as in (240), but it can also be a simple noun phrase, as in (241).

- (240) Marakkan po-n-kon erepamî-'pî.
 Maracanā from-NOMLZR-COLL arrive-PAST

te-es-rinka-sannon-kon inkamoro
 ADVBLZR-DETRANSVZR-sing-NOMLZR-COLL those

(erepamî-'san)
 (arrive-S:NOMLZR)

'The ones from Maracanā arrived. Those are ones who sing (the ones who arrived).'

- (241) Marakkan po-n-kon erepamî-'pî. u-yonpa-yamî
 Maracanã from-NOMLZR-COLL arrive-PAST 1-relative-PL
 inkamoro
 those
 'The ones from Maracanã arrived. Those are my relatives.'

(iii) Question words may occur as relative pronouns or indefinite pronouns (sects. 16.2 and 16.5): *o'non pata* in (242) and *i' pensa* in (243).

- (242) paapa-ya mîikîrî enepî-'pî sîrîrî pata pona, o'non
 God-ERG 3:PRO bring-PAST this place to which
 pata uurî'-nîkon ko'mamî manni pata ya'
 place 1:PRO-COLL live that place in
 'God brought them to this place, to this place where we live.'

- (243) mîrîrî yai, î' pensa kono' iipî yai,
 that at what time rain come at
 tî-mî-ri-kon pîmî to'-ya
 3:REFLX-field-POSSN-COLL plant 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 'At that time, at the time when the rain comes, they will plant their fields.'

14.3 Adverbial clauses. I distinguish below six semantic types of adverbial clause on the basis of the particular subordinating particles that occur with them. These particles always occur at the end of the subordinate clause. In the case of contrary-to-fact constructions, in addition to the subordinating particle, there is a special nominalized form in the main clause (14.3.2). In all types, the subordinate clause may occur before or after the main clause.

14.3.1 Time clauses. There are five types of adverbial time clause, distinguished by their subordinating particles: *tîpo* 'after' (244, 245), *rawîrî* 'before' (246), *tîpose* 'until' (247), *yai* 'at the time of' (248, 249), *ya* 'if, when' (that is, it can have either a temporal (250) or conditional (251) meaning).

- (244) si'na ya'tî tîpo, attî-'pî
 bushrope cut after 3:go-PAST
 'After cutting the bushrope, he went.'

- (245) *tî-nre* *yenpo-sa-i'-ya* *tîpo, ka'ne'* *pe*
 3:REFLX-child birth-CMPL-3-ERG after fast DENOM

iponi ya'tî-Ø-ya *pepîn*
 cord cut-2-ERG NEG
 'After she has given birth to her child, you are not to cut the cord quickly.'
- (246) *maasa* *t-uutî* *rawîrî, Jesus-ya* *tî-maimu*
 yet 3:REFLX-go before Jesus-ERG 3:REFLX-word

tîrî-'pî *tî-n-aipontî-san* *pia*
 give-PAST 3:REFLX-O:NOMLZR-send-NOMLZR to
 'Before his going away, Jesus gave his word to the ones he sent.'
- (247) *iwarîka-ya* *violão* *ye'nunpa-'pî pata* *erenmapî* *tîpose*
 monkey-ERG guitar play-PAST place dawn until
 'The monkey played the guitar until dawn.'
- (248) *amen* *uutî-sa'* *yai, ekaremekî-'pî* *to'-ya*
 recently 1:go-CMPL at tell-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 'They told me recently, at the time I went.'
- (249) *mîrîrî* *eta-tîu-ya'-nîkon* *yai, inkamoro* *ekore'ma-'pî*
 that hear-3:REFLX-ERG-COLL at those angry-PAST

inî' *panpî*
 again more
 'Upon hearing it, they became even more angry.'
- (250) *miarî* *erepan-sa'* *ya,* *a-yera'ma-u-ya*
 there arrive-CMPL when 2-see-1-ERG
 'When I've arrived there, I'll see you.'
- (251) *i-wî-sa-u'-ya* *pra* *a-wanî ya, miarî rî* *u-wî-i-ya*
 3-kill-CMPL-1-ERG NEG 3-be if there EMPH 1-kill-3-ERG
 'If I don't kill him, he will kill me right there.'

14.3.2 Contrary-to-fact constructions. In contrary-to-fact constructions the subordinator *ya* is also used, but in this case the main clause has a special nominalized form of the copula occurring as an auxiliary verb. It is the nominalized desiderative form of the copula *e'painon* 'one wanting to be'.

- (252) epu'-sa-u'-ya ya, a-yarakkîrî
 know-CMPL-1-ERG if 2-with
 uutî-'pî e'-pai-non
 1:go-PAST be-DESID-NOMLZR
 'If I had known it, I would have gone with you.'

14.3.3 Adversative: *tîise* 'but, in spite of, even though' (cf. sect. 8.3).

- (253) Davi era'ma-i-ya pra a-wanî-'pî, moro a'ta ya Davi
 David see-3-ERG NEG 3-be-PAST there hole in David
 tîise
 even:though
 'He didn't see David, even though David was there in the hole.'
- (254) maasa pra Davi wî-sa-u'-ya pra tîise, amîrî wanî
 because David kill-CMPL-1-ERG NEG but 2:PRO be
 pepîn rei pe
 NEG king DENOM
 'Because, even though I don't kill David, you won't be king.'
- (255) tî-pîika'tî-nen-kon erepamî pra tîise,
 3:REFLX-help-NOMLZR-COLL arrive NEG but
 tî-nmuku-kon yenpo-nan
 3:REFLX-child-PL birth-S:NOMLZR
 'Even though their helper doesn't arrive, they are ones who give birth to their children.'

14.3.4 Manner clauses. Two types of subordinate construction are used to express manner clauses: (i) where the verb functions as a nominal and is followed by the particle *pe* 'DENOM'; and (ii) where there is a derived adverbial having the affixes *t-* . . . *-i* or *-i'ma*. (See sect. 14.1 (iv) and (v) and also sect. 20.2.)

- (256) t-uutî-kon pe to' es-erinka-'pî
 3:REFLX-go-PL DENOM 3:PRO DETRANSVZR-sing-PAST
 'They sang as they went.'

- (257) Elias eporî-tîu-ya pe i-pî' ta-'pî-i-ya
 Elias find-3:REFLX-ERG DENOM 3-to say-PAST-3-ERG
 'Finding Elias, he said to him.'

- (258) e-erepamî-'pî moro' tî-poka-i
 3-arrive-PAST fish ADVBLZR-arrow-ADVBLZR

t-aatausinpa-i pu'kuru
 ADVBLZR-happy-ADVBLZR very
 'He arrived very happy, (having) arrowed fish.'

- (259) a-ye'ma-'pî-kon pî' te-era'tî-i
 2-path-PAST-PL at ADVBLZR-turn-ADVBLZR

pra atî-tî
 NEG 2:go-IMP:PL
 'You all go, not turning back in your path.'

- (260) t-ewan yanu'-nîpî-'pî Jesus-ya ka'
 3:REFLX-heart lift-TRNSTVZR-PAST Jesus-ERG heaven

era'ma-i'ma
 see-ADVBLZR
 'Jesus lifted up his heart, looking to heaven.'

14.3.5 Purpose clauses. There are two types of purpose clause, motion and non-motion. The motion purpose clause occurs only as a complement of verbs of motion: for example, intransitive *wîî* 'go', *iîpî* 'come', *epa'ka* 'go out', *ena* 'fall', *enna'po* 'return', *erepamî* 'arrive' and transitive *yarima* 'send'. The verb stem in the subordinate motion purpose clause occurs with one of the suffixes *-i* or *-se* 'purpose of motion'. Verbs with a weak final syllable, replace that syllable with *-se*. All others occur with *-i*. The subject of the derived motion purpose clause is never overtly expressed, always being coreferential with the subject of the main verb.

- (261) uutî sîrîrî, Taitai wî-i
 1:go SI Taitai kill-PURP
 'I'm going to kill Taitai.'

- (262) tiaron-kon wîî-'pî, moro' yapi'-se
 other-COLL go-PAST fish catch-PURP
 'Others went to catch fish.'

- (263) moropai su'minan-se to' epa'ka-pî-tî-'pî poro pona
 and play-PURP 3:PRO go:out-ITER-PAST outside to
 'And they went outside to play.'

The non-motion purpose clause occurs as the complement of verbs other than those involving motion. The subordinate verb occurs with the suffixes *-to'pe* 'purpose, when the subject is first or third person' and *-pa* 'purpose, when the subject is second person or the same person as the subject of the main verb'. In the case of *to'pe*, the subject is always overtly expressed by the first or third person markers occurring as a suffix on transitive verbs and as a prefix on intransitive verbs. When *-pa* occurs, the subject is not overtly expressed, but is clear from the context if the second person is indicated or if it is the same person as the subject of the main verb. In (267), a motion purpose clause is embedded in a non-motion purpose clause (*apo' yi'nî'se attîpa*) and there is another motion purpose clause earlier in the sentence that governs the later sequence of purpose clauses.

- (264) to' enepî-'pî-i-ya warayo'-ya to' ese'
 3:PRO:PL bring-PAST-3-ERG man-ERG 3:PRO:PL name
 tî-tî-to'pe
 give-PURP
 'He brought them for the man to name them.'

- (265) toron yarima-'pî-i-ya tuna apa-sa'
 bird send-PAST-3-ERG water dry-CMPL
 epu'tî-pa kai'ma
 know-PURP INTENT
 'He sent the bird in order to know if the water was dried up.'

- (266) waku'ka-ya tî-nta yenkara'ma-'pî
 dove-ERG 3:REFLX-mouth open-PAST
 te-es-erinka-pa
 3:REFLX-DETRANSVZR-sing-PURP
 'The dove opened its mouth to sing.'

- (267) tuna, amîrî era'ma-i yi'nî pî' wai apo' yi'nî'se
 water, 2:PRO get-PURP come at 1:be fire quench-PURP

attî-pa

2:go-PURP

'Water, I came to get you to come quench the fire.'

See section 12.2.1 for negative forms of purpose clauses.

14.3.6 Cause clauses. The verb in the subordinate cause clause functions as a nominal and is followed by the postposition *wenai* 'on account of, by means of'.

- (268) mîrîrî eta-tîu-ya'-nîkon wenai innape
that hear-3:REFLX-ERG-COLL on:account:of true

i-kupî-'pî to'-ya

3-make-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG

'On account of hearing that, they believed it.'

- (269) u-yepotorî, insemoro kî-taruma'tî-i imakui'pî to'
1-lord those NEG-punish-IMP badness 3:PRO:PL

nî-kupî wenai

O:NOMLZR-do on:account:of

'My lord, don't punish them on account of the badness they do.'

Reason-result clauses occur with the subordinating particles *ye'nen* 'because' or *mûto'pe* 'because'. The particle may follow a fully nominalized form of the verb (272) or a verb that functions as a nominal (271, 273). (See sect. 14.1, (v).)

- (270) mîi pe nai, moro' poka-sa'-Ø-ya ye'nen
proud DENOM 2:be fish arrow-CMPL-2-ERG because
'You are proud because you arrowed fish.'

- (271) kaikusi emikku-'pî t-ewî' ta
jaguar go:home-PAST 3:REFLX-house in

tîi-ma'ta-i,

ADVLZR-shame-ADVLZR tî-yo' ton

yapi'-sa'-tîu-ya

catch-CMPL-3:REFLX-ERG pra tî-wanî ye'nen

NEG 3:REFLX-be because

'The jaguar returned home ashamed because he hadn't caught his

meat food.'

- (272) uurî e'-ka'nama pepîn ta-'pî-i-ya, iwarîka
 1:PRO DETRANSVZR-scratch NEG say-PAST-3-ERG monkey
 e'-ka'nama-koi mîito'pe
 DETRANSVZR-scratch-S:NOMLZR because
 ' "I'm not scratching", he said, because monkeys are ones that scratch.'
- (273) anna wîti sîrîrî presidente yewî' ta
 1:EXCL go SI president house to
 es-eurîma-i, ka' e'-soroka
 DETRANSVZR-speak-PURP sky DETRANSVZR-scatter
 pe man mîito'pe
 DENOM 3:be because
 'We are going to the president's house to talk (with him), because the sky is going to fall.'

14.4 Copula-complement clauses. There are two types of subordinate clause that always occur as the complement of the copula: desire and negation.

14.4.1 Desire clauses. Statements of desire are expressed as the complement of the copula *wanî* (or *ena* 'become', or *ko'mamî* 'remain'). There are two constructions, depending on whether the subject of the desire is coreferential with the subject of the action or state that is desired. If it is coreferential, the suffix *-pai* 'DESIDERATIVE' is added to the adverbialized form of the verb. The subject is expressed only in the copula, which is syntactically the main verb.

- (274) i-sa'manta-pai wai
 ADVBLZR-die-DESID 1:be
 'I want to die.'
- (275) waikin ena-'pî tuna an-enî-pai
 deer become-PAST water ADVBLZR-drink-DESID
 'The deer became thirsty (wanting to drink water).'
- (276) to' yaka'ma-pai uu-ko'mamî sîrîrî see-pata, yu' ya
 3:PRO:PL lose-DESID 1-remain SI this-place bush in
 'I still (remain) want to lose them here in this place, in the bush.'

If the subject of the desire is not coreferential with the subject of the action or state desired, the postposition *yu'se* follows the verb, which functions as a nominal (see sect. 14.1 (v)). In this case the subject of the desire is expressed in the copula and the subject of the action/state desired is expressed in the subordinate clause.

- (277) maikan era'tî yu'se iwarîka wanî-'pî
 fox turn DESID monkey be-PAST
 'The monkey wanted the fox to turn.'

- (278) u-yewî' ta enna'po yu'se pra aa-ko'mamî-'pî
 1-house in 1:return DESID NEG 3-remain-PAST
 'He kept wanting me not to return to my house.'

14.4.2 Negation clauses. Negation of a sentence occurs as a negative adverbial complement of the copula (279, from the text in the Appendix, sentence 2).

- (279) it-akon wanî-'pî tî-rui
 3-younger:brother be-PAST 3:REFLX-older:brother

 maimu yuuku-i-ya pra
 word answer-3-ERG NEG
 'His younger brother didn't obey his older brother's word.'

See section 12.1 for further description and examples.

14.5 Indirect discourse. Indirect statements (281a, 282a), questions (283a, 284a) or commands (285a, 286a) occur with subordinate constructions as object complement clauses. These take the form of an indirect quotation as the direct object complement of transitive speech verbs such as: *taa* 'say', *eta* 'invite, tell' *ekaremekî* 'tell', *esatî* 'ask', *ekaranmapo* 'question' and *epu'tî* 'know, feel'. When they occur with the intransitive speech verb *eseurîma* 'speak', they must be followed by a postposition or an adverbial.

- (280) î' kai'ma i-kupî-'pî-i-ya pî' es-eurîma-'pî
 how 3-do-PAST-3-ERG at DETRANSVZR-speak-PAST
 'I spoke about how he did it.'

Indirect speech differs from direct speech in that direct speech can only function as the object complement of the quotative verb *taa* 'say'. The system of pronominal reference is, of course, the other major distinguishing characteristic of indirect speech as opposed to direct speech. (Compare the

pronouns used in the embedded complements in the pairs of examples below, (a) showing indirect and (b) direct speech complements, and see section 1.1.5 for fuller explanation of direct speech.) Indirect commands express a polite command. (Compare the (a) indirect commands, with the (b) direct commands in 285, 286 and see section 11 for more explanation of the imperative system.)

- (281a) es-enyaka'ma-pai tî-wanî ekaremekî-'pî-i-ya
DETRANSVZR-work-DESID 3:REFLX-be tell-PAST-3-ERG

more-yamî yarakkîrî
child-PL with
'She told (me) she wanted to work with children.'

- (281b) more-yamî yarakkîrî es-enyaka'ma-pai wai,
child-PL with DETRANSVZR-work-DESID 1:be

ta-'pî-i-ya u-pî'
say-PAST-3-ERG 1-to
' "I want to work with children," she said to me.'

- (282a) paapa yapurî-tîu-ya'-nîkon ekaremekî-'pî
God praise-3:REFLX-ERG-COLL tell-PAST

to'-ya
3:PRO:PL-ERG
'They told (me) they were praising God.'

- (282b) paapa yapurî anna-ya, ta-'pî to'-ya u-pî'
God praise 1:EXCL-ERG say-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG 1-to
' "We are praising God," they said to me.'

- (283a) o'non pata attî esatî-'pî-u-ya
which place 3:go ask-PAST-1-ERG
'I asked (her) where she was going.'

- (283b) esatî-'pî-u-ya. o'non pata attî
ask-PAST-1-ERG which place 2:go

ta-'pî-u-ya i-pî'
say-PAST-1-ERG 3-to
'I asked (her). "Where are you going?", I said to her.'

(284a) anî' pe a-wanî ekaranmapo-'pî-u-ya
 who DENOM 3-be question-PAST-1-ERG
 'I questioned (him) who he was.'

(284b) ekaranmapo-'pî-u-ya. anî' pe a-wanî mîrîrî,
 question-PAST-1-ERG who DENOM 2-be AI

ta-'pî-u-ya
 say-PAST-1-ERG
 'I questioned (him). "Who are you?", I said.'

(285a) miarî tî-nîmî-to'pe anna-ya taa-sa-i'-ya
 there 3:REFLX-wait-PURP 1:EXCL-ERG say-CMPL-3-ERG

wanî-'pî
 be-PAST
 'He told us to wait for him there.'

(285b) ta-'pî-i-ya anna pî', u-nîmî-'tî miarî ya',
 say-PAST-3-ERG 1:EXCL to 1-wait-IMP:PL there in

ta-'pî-i-ya
 say-PAST-3-ERG
 'He said to us, "Wait for me there," he said.'

(286a) inkamoro-ya taa pî' man penane João yarî-pa
 those-ERG say at 3:be tomorrow John take-PURP

u-yesa'-kon pia
 1-boss-COLL to
 'They said for you to take John to the boss tomorrow.'

(286b) penane João yaa-ta u-yesa'-kon pia, ta-'pî
 tomorrow John take-IMP:MOT 1-boss-COLL to say-PAST

to-'ya
 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 ' "Tomorrow you go and take John to the boss," they said.'

Syntax Of Phrase Types

15 Noun phrase structure

The noun phrase is defined as the constituent that can occur as the subject or direct object of a sentence or as the head of a postpositional phrase. The internal structure consists of a nucleus and optional peripheral elements. The nucleus is:

- (i) a single noun or pronoun (simple noun phrase), or
- (ii) a sequence of nouns, each constituent pair of which is in a possessor-possessioned relationship (possessioned noun phrase).

The peripheral elements are preposed or postposed modifiers and/or postposed particles.

15.1 Marking for case. Macushi has an ergative case-marking system that operates in both main clauses and subordinate clauses. The subject of transitive clauses is marked by the suffix *-ya*, both when it is a free form nominal or pronoun, and also when it is a verbal suffix. Intransitive subject and transitive object are not morphologically marked. The ergative system is also reflected in the constituent ordering: intransitive subject (including copular clauses) and direct object free forms occur immediately before the verb, and bound forms are verbal prefixes, whereas the unmarked position of transitive subject free forms is postverbal (sect. 1.1.1), and when a bound form occurs it is always a suffix. The ergative system operates also in the nominalizing processes (sect. 15.4).

(287) more-yamî yenupa-'pî to' yenupa-nen-ya
 child-PL teach-PAST their teach-S:NOMLZR-ERG
 'Their teacher taught the children.'

(288) mîikîrî eporî-'pî-i-ya
 3:PRO find-PAST-3-ERG
 'He found him.'

(289) warayo'-ya tî-nmu eporî-'pî
 man-ERG 3:REFLX-son find-PAST
 'The man found his own son.'

- (290) i-koneka-'pî-u-ya
3-make-PAST-1-ERG
'I made it.'
- (291) u-koneka-'pî-i-ya
1-make-PAST-3-ERG
'He made me.'
- (292) u-yonpa-kon João ko'mamî-'pî miarî
1-relative-COLL John remain-PAST there
'Our relative, John, stayed there.'
- (293) aa-ko'mamî-'pî asakî'ne wei kaisarî
3-remain-PAST two day up:to
'He remained two days.'
- (294) waikin erepamî-'pî t-ekkari yonpa aretî'ka-sa'
deer arrive-PAST 3:REFLX-food taste finish-CMPL

kaikusi-ya tanne
jaguar-ERG while
'The deer arrived at the time the jaguar had finished eating his food.'
- (295) tî-wenna'po-sa' yai, e-es-enyaka'ma-'pî i-pî'
3:REFLX-return-CMPL at 3-DETRANSVZR-work-PAST 3-at
'When he returned, he worked at it.'

Noun phrases involved in syntactic functions other than subject and direct object are marked by postpositions (sect. 17). These include indirect objects (296, 297), locatives (298), and other peripheral clause constituents, such as comitative (299).

- (296) i-tîrî-'pî-u-ya to' pia
3-give-PAST-1-ERG 3:PRO:PL to
'I gave it to them.'
- (297) asi'-kî ta-'pî-i-ya i-pî'
come-IMP say-PAST-3-ERG 3-to
'"Come", he said to him.'

- (298) u-nmî-ri ya to' wîî-'pî
 1-field-POSSN to they go-PAST
 'They went to my field.'
- (299) to' es-enyaka'ma-'pî u-yun yarakkîrî
 they DETRANSVZR-work-PAST 1-father with
 'They worked with my father.'

15.2 Genitives. There is alienable and inalienable possession and also obligatory non-possession in Macushi. The possessor always occurs before the possessed noun, whether it is a nominal, free form pronoun or bound pronominal prefix. The possessed item is the morphologically marked noun. It has the possessor prefix, unless a free form possessor occurs (compare 300a and 300b and see section 16.1.2 for pronoun affixes). The alienable set of nouns also requires the possession suffix *-ri*, *-rî*, or other less common variants, *-si*, *-ni*, *-ka*, *-no*. No distinction is made between temporary and permanent possession, but different suffixal forms are used to distinguish present and past possession (15.2.2).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (300a) mîîkîrî wa'ka-ri
3:PRO axe-POSSN
'his axe' | (300b) i-wa'ka-ri
3-axe-POSSN
'his axe' |
|---|---|

15.2.1 Alienable and inalienable possession. The syntactic difference between alienable and inalienable possession is that the possession suffix must occur on alienably possessed items together with the possessor prefix or a free form possessor (300–304). The inalienably possessed item never, except in past possession, occurs with the possession suffix, but only with the possessor prefix (305–308). Some items, principally kinship terms (306), generic terms for food (307) and body parts (308), are obligatorily possessed and are always marked by the possessor noun, pronoun or prefix. Certain obligatorily possessed items such as animals and generic terms for food can be specified by placing the specific noun in apposition to the generic word (309, 310).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (301) u-ye'ma-rî
1-path-POSSN
'my path' | (302) u-ya'na-si
1-corn-POSSN
'my corn' |
|---|---|

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-------|---|
| (303) | u-tarara-ni
1-cart-POSSN
'my cart' | (304) | u-meruntî-ri
1-strength-POSSN
'my strength' |
| (305) | u-yewî'
1-house
'my house' | (306) | u-no'pî
1-wife
'my wife' |
| (307) | u-yo'
1-meat food
'my meat food' | (308) | u-pana'
1-ear
'my ear' |
| (309) | u-yekîn kaware
1-pet horse
'my horse' | (310) | u-yekkari ma'pîya
1-fruit:food papaya
'my papaya' |

Other items are obligatorily non-possessed and never occur with the affixes that mark possession. These include descriptive nouns (311), personal names and kinship terms used in direct address (312), names of plants (313), species of animals (314), and natural phenomena (315).

- (311) morî
'good'
- (312) ko'ko'
'grandmother'
- (313) pattia
'watermelon'
- (314) waikin
'deer'
- (315) meren mere'
'rainbow'

15.2.2 Present and past possession. Past possession is marked by the suffix *-rî'pî* 'former possession' following either the noun root or the possession suffix *-ri* 'possessed item'. When the form of the possession suffix is *-rî*, it is deleted before adding *-rî'pî* 'former possession' to the root. The 'former possession' suffix occurs on items in the inalienable category (316, 317) as well as on alienably possessed items (318, 319).

- (316) u-ye u-ye-rî'pî
 1-tooth 1-tooth-former:possession
 'my tooth' 'my former tooth'
- (317) i-no'pî i-no'pî-rî'pî
 3-wife 3-wife-former:possession
 'his wife' 'his former wife'
- (318) u-wa'ka-ri-rî'pî
 1-axe-POSSN-former:possession
 'my former axe'
- (319) u-sanpa-ri-rî'pî
 1-hoe-POSSN-former:possession
 'my former hoe'

Past possession also occurs on derived nominals (320), but is then marked only by the past tense suffix *-pî* 'PAST'.

- (320) u-n-tîrî u-n-tîrî-'pî
 1-O:NOMLZR-give 1-O:NOMLZR-give-PAST
 'what I give' 'what I gave'

Future possession may be expressed by adding the benefactive *ton* 'for' following the possessed item marked with the usual possession affixes. It indicates a beneficiary, one who will receive the item as a result of some action.

- (321) u-yewî' ton koneka-i-ya
 1-house BEN make-3-ERG
 'He will make me a house.'
- (322) u-yo' ton i-poka-'pî-i-ya
 1-meat:food BEN 3-arrow-PAST-3-ERG
 'He shot it for my meat food.'
- (323) u-wa'ka-ri ton i-tîrî-'pî-i-ya
 1-axe-POSSN BEN 3-give-PAST-3-ERG
 'He gave it (to me) for my axe.'

15.3 Modifiers. Except for numerals (see below) and certain modifying affixes and particles (see below and section 21.3.1), only a noun can modify another noun. The modifier can occur before or after the head (324, 325).

The modifying noun phrase and its head often occur after the verb (326), and the modifying phrase can be dislocated from its noun head to the right of the verb (327).

- (324) Marakkan po-n-kon pemonkon-yamî iipî-'pî
 Maracanā from-NOMLZR-COLL person-PL come-PAST
 'The people from Maracanā came.'

- (325) tuna a'ne' mîrîrî anna wuku
 water hot:one that 1:EXCL drink
 'That hot water is our drink.'

- (326) mîîkîrî wanî-'pî kusan i-pon, i-rupîkon
 3:PRO be-PAST long:one 3-clothes 3-ankles

pîkî-ron
 up:to-NOMLZR
 'He had long clothes, down to his ankles.'

- (327) sararu pia'pî yawa'tî-'pî-i-ya tî'-si pî',
 meat piece tie-PAST-3-ERG 3:REFLX-leg at

ipi-yamî pokon-pan
 maggot-PL with-NOMLZR
 'He tied a piece of meat to his leg, one that had maggots.'

These descriptive nouns that function as modifiers include:

<i>morî</i>	'good one'
<i>imakui'pî</i>	'bad one'
<i>kusan</i>	'long one'
<i>kaiwan</i>	'fat one'
<i>a'ne'</i>	'hot one'
<i>komi'</i>	'cold one'
<i>ka'ne'</i>	'fast one'

They can only function as adverbs when *pe* 'DENOMINALIZER' is added (328).

- (328a) morî mîîkîrî
 good 3:PRO
 'He is a good one.'

- (328b) morî pe a-wanî
 good DENOM 3:be
 'He is good.'

In their basic forms, numerals and other quantifiers, such as *kure'ne* 'large, much', are adverbs.

- (329) kure'ne i-koneka-'pî-i-ya
 large 3-make-PAST-3-ERG
 'He made it large.'
- (330) it-ekîn-kon wanî-'pî eseurîwî'ne
 3-pet-COLL be-PAST three
 'He had three pets.'
- (331) maikan-yamî yarî-'pî-i-ya asakî'ne
 fox-PL take-PAST-3-ERG two
 'He took the foxes, two (of them).'

These numeral adverbs can be nominalized to modify nouns (332), but the adverb form of the numeral also sometimes occurs as a modifier in the noun phrase. In (333), *asakî'ne maikanyamî* 'two foxes' is an example of this.

- (332) to' yawasi-rî wanî-'pî tiwin-nan wîrî'
 3:PRO:PL girlfriend-POSSN be-PAST one-NOMLZR woman
 'Their girlfriend was the same (one) woman.'
- (333) t-ekîn-kon yarî-'pî-i-ya asakî'ne maikan-yamî
 3:REFLX-pet-COLL take-PAST-3-ERG two foxes-PL
 'He took his own animals, two foxes.'

Modifiers can be, and often are, nominalized forms derived from verbs (334), adverbs (335), and postpositions (336).

- (334) i-mare-rî moro wanî-'pî, pemonkon yapi'-nen
 3-trap-POSSN there be-PAST person catch-S:NOMLZR
 'His trap was there, the one that catches people.'
- (335) arauta kure'-nan rimî era'ma-'pî to'-ya
 monkey big-NOMLZR AUG see-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 'They saw the huge monkey.'

- (336) pemonkon wanî-'pî t-akon yarakkî-ron
 person be-PAST 3:REFLX-brother with-NOMLZR
 'The man was with his own brother.'

There are also modifying suffixes and particles that occur with nouns and noun phrases. The suffixes are: *-yamî*, *-kon*, *-tonon*, *-san* which are all indicators of plural/collective/group number; *-imî* 'AUGMENTATIVE', and *-pa* 'female'. The collective form *-yamî* 'PLURAL' occurs only on animate nouns (337). Inanimate nouns generally are not pluralized but, when they are, the collective suffix *-kon* 'COLL' occurs (338). The principal function of *-kon* is to indicate number with respect to the possessor rather than the possessed item. However, *u-yewî'-kon* can be glossed as 'our house' or 'our houses', with *-kon* primarily signalling the change of person from first person singular to first person inclusive. Compare (a) and (b) in (338, 339). The first person exclusive *anna* 'our' occurs without the collective suffix *-kon*. The suffix *-kon* can also occur on derived nouns and descriptive nouns but always relates to some animate entity (340–342). The other collective suffixes, *-tonon* and *-san*, occur on a limited sub-class of nouns (343, 344). They function as a group marker rather than a plural or collective marker.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (337a) pemonkon-yamî
person-PL
'people' | (337b) maikan-yamî
fox-PL
'foxes' |
| (338a) asakî'ne taura
two knife
'two knives' | (338b) u-yetawarai-kon
1-knife-COLL
'our knife' or 'our knives' |
| (339a) u-yonpa-yamî
1-relative-PL
'my relatives' | (339b) u-yonpa-kon
1-relative-COLL
'our relative' or
'our relatives' |
| (340a) pri'ya-won-kon
well-NOMLZR-COLL
'the healthy group' | (340b) pena-ron-kon
long:ago-NOMLZR-COLL
'the ancient ones' |
| (341) es-eurîma-koi-kon inkamoro
DETRANSVZR-speak-S:NOMLZR-COLL those
'Those are ones who talk.' | |

(350) u-karaiwa-rî-pa
1-non:Indian-POSSN-FEM
'my female employer'

(351) u-poitorî-pa
1-servant-FEM
'my female servant'

There are other particles which occur to modify nouns such as: *pu'kuru* 'very', *rimî* 'AUG' (see section 21.3.1 for further description and examples).

(352) mîikîrî morî pu'kuru
3:PRO good:one very
'He is very good.'

(353) arauta kure'-nan rimî era'ma-'pî-i-ya
howler:monkey big-NOMLZR AUG see-PAST-3-ERG
'He saw a huge howler monkey.'

15.4 Nominalizations. There are three main types of nominalization: forms derived from (1) verbs, (2) adverbs, and (3) postpositions. Derived nominals occur as subject (354), direct object (355), or head of a postpositional phrase (356, 357), as non-derived nouns do also.

(354) moropai warayo'-kon yarakkîrî t-uutî-sanon
and man-COLL with ADVBLZR-go-NOMLZR

emî'pamî-'pî
stop-PAST
'And those who went with the men stopped.'

(355) tîise mîrîrî a-n-apurî-kon rumaka-tî
but that 2-O:NOMLZR-praise-COLL forsake-IMP:PL
'But leave that which you all worship.'

(356) paapa-ya mîikîrî enepî-'pî, o'non pata
God-ERG 3:PRO bring-PAST which place

uurî'-kon ko'mamî pata ya'
1:PRO-COLL live place to
'God brought him to the place where we live.'

- (357) mĩkĩrĩ wĩtĩ-'pĩ
3:PRO go-PAST

te-es-enyaka'ma-sannon pokonpe
ADVBLZR-DETRANSVZR-work-NOMLZR with
'He went with the workers.'

15.4.1 Nominalization derived from verb stems. This includes three types of nominalization: (i) subject nominalization, (ii) object nominalization, and (iii) instrument nominalization. (See also section 14.1 (v) for use of verb stems as nominals without the addition of affixes.)

15.4.1.1 Subject nominalization. There are three processes of subject nominalization.

(i) Characteristic or customary action is expressed by the suffix *-koi/-ke* on intransitive verb stems and by the suffix *-nen* on transitive verb stems. These may be pluralized by *-kon* 'COLL' on intransitive stems and by replacing *-nen* with *-nenan* on transitive stems.

- (358) es-enyaka'ma-ke uuri
DETRANSVZR-work-S:NOMLZR 1:PRO
'I'm a worker.'

- (359) inkamoro moro' pĩ' entamo'ka-koi-kon
those fish at eat-S:NOMLZR-COLL
'Those are ones who eat fish.'

- (360) inĩ'rĩ pemonkon enna'po-'pĩ, pan yenna-nen
again person return-PAST salt buy-S:NOMLZR
'Again the man returned, the one who buys salt.'

- (361) Taitai wanĩ-'pĩ pemonkon ya-nen
Taitai be-PAST person eat-S:NOMLZR
'Taitai was a people-eater.'

- (362) toron-yamĩ yoroi ena'-nenan inkamoro
bird-PL cashew eat-S:NOMLZR:PL those
'Those birds are cashew-eaters.'

(ii) Past specific action of a subject is expressed by the nominalizing suffix *-ĩpon* on transitive verbs and *-pĩ* on intransitive verbs. The suffix *-san*

replaces *'pî* for the plural. On transitive verbs the collective suffix *-kon* is added to *tîpon*.

- (363) uurî'-kon koneka-tîpon mîikîrî Deus
 1:PRO-COLL make-S:NOMLZR 3:PRO God
 'God is the one who made us.'

- (364) pena-ron-kon yan-pîti-tîpon mîikîrî,
 long:ago-NOMLZR-COLL eat-ITER-S:NOMLZR 3:PRO

kaikusi, tî-nama-se-n

jaguar ADVBLZR-fear-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR

'He is the one who repeatedly ate the old ones, the jaguar, who is one to be feared.'

- (365) i-nyo i-sa'manta-'pî wîrî' iipî
 3-husband ADVBLZR-die-S:NOMLZR:PAST woman come

era'ma-'pî-i-ya

see-PAST-3-ERG

'He saw the woman whose husband had died come.'

- (366) entamo'ka'-san wanî-'pî 4.000 kaisarî
 eat-S:NOMLZR:PL be-PAST 4,000 up:to
 'Those who ate were 4,000 (people).'

- (367) to' era'ma-i iipî'-san wanî-'pî
 3:PRO get-PURP come-S:NOMLZR:PL be-PAST

Mutti moropai Bode

Mutti and Bode

'The ones who came to get them were Mutti and Bode.'

(iii) Potential action of the subject is expressed by the nominalizing suffix *-ton*. This occurs on both transitive and intransitive verb stems and expresses a capability or potential to act on the part of the subject. The suffix *-kon* occurs following *-ton* to pluralize it.

- (368) anna pîika'tî-ton mîikîrî
 1:EXCL help-S:NOMLZR 3:PRO
 'He is our helper (i.e, one able to help us).'

- (369) inna moriya, u-pata-'pî ya' a-wanî-ton-kon
 yes then 1-place-PAST in 3-be-S:NOMLZR-COLL

mo'ka-kî

choose-IMP

'O.K. then, choose those to be in my place.'

- (370) iwî-ton mîîkîrî
 kill-S:NOMLZR 3:PRO
 'He is a killer (i.e., dangerous, with potential to kill).'
 (This was said about a poisonous snake.)

15.4.1.2 Object nominalization occurs by adding the prefix *n-/nî-* to transitive verb stems. Person possessor prefixes or a free form noun or pronoun possessor occur, and these refer to the subject of the action. A present or future tense is expressed when no suffix occurs (371a) and past tense is expressed by adding the suffix *-pî* 'PAST' (371b). This is replaced by *-san* to express plural number (371c).

- (371a) u-n-tîrî
 1-O:NOMLZR-give
 'what I give'

- (371b) u-n-tîrî-'pî
 1-O:NOMLZR-give-PAST
 'what I gave'

- (371c) u-n-tîrî-'san
 1-O:NOMLZR-give-NOMLZR:PL
 'those I gave'

- (372) seni a-nyo' n-arima-'pî sararu
 this 2-husband O:NOMLZR-send-PAST meat
 'This is the meat your husband sent.'

- (373) pemonkon-yamî tî'ka-i-ya,
 person-PL destroy-3-ERG

tî-n-kupî'-san

3:REFLX-O:NOMLZR-make-NOMLZR:PL

'He will destroy the people, the ones he himself made.'

15.4.1.3 Instrument nominalization occurs with the suffix *-to'* 'INST:NOMLZR'. This occurs on both transitive and intransitive verb stems. The meaning and focus of the nominalization is not restricted to instrument, but includes also place, time, appropriate circumstance, or thing associated with the action. These derived nominals occur with person-marking possessor prefixes or suffixes, or with a free form possessor.

- (374) *seni anna es-enyaka'ma-to'*
 this 1:EXCL DETRANSVZR-work-INST:NOMLZR
 'This is our tool (i.e., what we work with).'
- (375) *u-we'na-to' pata'-se mîrîrî*
 1-sleep-INST:NOMLZR place-POSSN that
 'That is the place where I sleep.'
- (376) *mîrîrîya paapa'-ya tî-repa-to-i'-ya*
 so:then God-ERG 3:REFLX-give-INST:NOMLZR-3-ERG

yapi'sî-'pî
 receive-PAST
 'So then God received what he gave him.'

15.4.2 Nominalization derived from adverbs

15.4.2.1 Simple adverb stems. Adverbs are nominalized by adding (or substituting a part of) the nominalizing suffix *-CVn*. Where a substitution takes place, the initial consonant and following vowel of the suffix depend on the final syllable of the adverb, the consonant remaining the same and the vowel changing to either an *a* or *o* (377–379). Elsewhere, the suffix is added to the adverb (380–381) or, in the case of a negative form, the nominal negative suffix is substituted for the adverbial negative suffix (382).

- (377) *kawîne* → *kawî-nan*
 'high' high-NOMLZR
 'a high one'
- (378) *enkaru'ne* → *enkaru'-nan*
 'blind' blind-NOMLZR
 'a blind one'

- (379) ipatîkarî → ipatîka-ron
 'forever' forever-NOMLZR
 'an eternal one'
- (380) tarî → tarî-ron
 'here' here-NOMLZR
 'one that is here'
- (381) pri'ya → pri'ya-won
 'well' well-NOMLZR
 'a healthy one'
- (382) pe'-mara → pe'-mîn
 price-NEG price-NEG:NOMLZR
 'cheap' or 'free' 'one without a price'

15.4.2.2 Derived adverbs. Nominalization of derived adverbs occurs by adding the nominalizing suffix *-n* to an adverb whose derivational suffix is *-se* to form *-sen* (see sect. 20.2). The collective form is expressed by replacing *-sen* with *-sannon*. The primary adverb derivational process applies only to the absolutive case, referring either to the subject of an intransitive verb stem (383–385) or to the object of a transitive stem (386–388). The derived desiderative adverb is nominalized by adding the suffix *-non* (389, 390).

- (383) warayo' wanî-pî
 man be-PAST
 te-es-enyaka'ma-se-n mîi ya'
 ADVBLZR-DETRANSVZR-work-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR field in
 'The man is a worker (i.e., a working one) in the field.'
- (384) tîw-e'-taruma'tî-sannon inkamoro
 3:REFLX-DETRANSVZR-suffer-NOMLZR:PL those
 'Those are the ones who suffer.'
- (385) Taitai wî'-'pî-u-ya maama, pemonkon-yamî yanî
 Taitai kill-PAST-1-ERG mother person-PL eat

pî' tîi-ko'man-se-n
 at ADVBLZR-remain-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR
 'I killed Taitai, mother, the one who kept eating people.'

- (386) te-era'ma-se-n mîrîrî wî'
 ADVBLZR-see-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR that mountain
 'That mountain is one that can be seen.'

- (387) mîrîrî panpe tîi-koneka-se-n
 that like ADVBLZR-make-ADVBLZR-NOMLZR

mîrîrî atta
 that hammock
 'Like that is how a hammock can be made.'

- (388) moropai kiya'wari pe nîrî,
 and porridge DENOM also

tî-rintî-sannon kaiyuma
 ADVBLZR-boil-NOMLZR:PL squash
 'And as porridge also, squashes are boiled.'

- (389) i-tî-pai-non wanî ya,
 ADVBLZR-go-DESID-NOMLZR be COND

ma-ka-i u-pî'
 FUT:IMP-say-IMP 1-to
 'If there is one who wants to go, tell me.'

- (390) tuna an-enî-pai-non mîîkîrî
 water ADVBLZR-drink-DESID-NOMLZR 3:PRO
 'He's a thirsty one (one who wants to drink water).'

15.4.3 Nominalization derived from postpositions. Postpositions are nominalized by the same process as simple adverbs, by adding (or substituting a part of) the nominalizing suffix *-CVn* (see 15.4.2.1).

- (391) yarakkîrî → yarakkî-ron
 with-NOMLZR
 'with' 'one with . . .'

- (392) yentai → yentai-non
 'greater than' greater:than-NOMLZR
 'one greater than . . .'
- (393) pia-pai → pia-pai-non
 to-from to-from-NOMLZR
 'from' 'one from . . .'

16 Pronoun system

16.1 Personal pronouns. There occur both free form pronouns and affixes serving the same syntactic functions. Free forms are shown below as: subject (394), direct object (396), head of postpositional phrase (397), and possessor (398). The free form pronoun does not co-occur with its corresponding affix (395). There are inclusive and exclusive first person plural distinctions and, in the affix system, a third person and third person reflexive distinction. Deictic distinctions occur in the third person singular and plural forms, these being the demonstrative forms described in section 16.3

16.1.1 Personal pronoun free forms

Personal Pronoun Free Forms

	non-COLL	COLL
1	uurî	
1 + 2	uurî'kon	uurî'nîkon
1 + 3	anna	anna
2	amîrî	amîrî'nîkon
3 (non-deictic)	mîîkîrî	to'
(deictic-near)	mîserî	insemoro
(deictic-remote)	mîîkîrî	inkamoro

- (394) uurî-ya i-koneka-'pî
1:PRO-ERG 3-make-PAST
'I made it.'
- (395) *uurî-ya i-koneka-'pî-u-ya
1:PRO-ERG 3-make-PAST-1-ERG
'I made it.'
- (396) amîrî'-nîkon era'ma-'pî paapa'-ya
2:PRO-COLL see-PAST God-ERG
'God saw you all.'
- (397) ta-'pî-u-ya mîîkîrî pî', penane m-aipî-i
say-PAST-1-ERG 3:PRO to tomorrow FUT:IMP-come-IMP
'I said to him, "Come tomorrow".'
- (398) mîîkîrî yekîn pe a-wanî
3:PRO animal DENOM 3-be
'That is his animal.'

There are two other third person pronouns that occur only as free forms and their only syntactic function is to show possession: *imîrî* 'his, hers, its' and its reflexive counterpart *tîmîrî* 'his, hers, its (own)' (the collective suffix *-kon* may occur: *imîrî-kon* and *tîmîrî-kon* 'theirs').

- (399) uurî'-nîkon koneka-'pî-i-ya tîmîrî ton pe
1:PRO-COLL make-PAST-3-ERG his:own BEN DENOM
'He made us for his own.'
- (400) imîrî uurî
his 1:PRO
'I am his (i.e., I belong to him).'

16.1.2 Personal pronoun affix forms

Personal Pronoun Affix Forms

Person	Intransitive Stems			Transitive Stems		Nominal Possessors
	subject affixes			object prefix	subject suffix	possessor prefix
	VC initial	V initial	C initial			
1	∅	∅	u-	u(y)-	-u	u(y)-
1 + 2	-n/-nî	-n/-nî	-n/-nî	u(y)-	-∅	u(y)-
*1 + 3	(anna)	(anna)	(anna)	(anna)	(anna)	(anna)
2	aw-	V-length	a-	a(y)-	∅	a(y)-
3	aw-	V-length	i-	i(t)-/∅-	-i	i(t)-
3:REFLX	tîw-	t-	tî-	t-/tî-	-tî(u)	t-/tî-
*3:COLL	(to')	(to')	(to')	(to')	(to')	(to')

(Note: *indicates that only the free forms occur.)

The bound pronominal forms are shown in the table above. The same basic set of forms, with a few individual variations, occurs both as a prefix marking person of an intransitive subject or transitive direct object and also as a suffix marking transitive subject. The main divergence is in the '1 + 2' (i.e., inclusive) forms; this is the only suffix in the intransitive set and it has a quite different form for the transitive, both the object prefix and the subject (null) suffix. There are minor variations in the intransitive set, conditioned by whether the initial segments of the verb stem are VC, V, or C. The table also shows the forms for the nominal possessor markers, which are virtually identical with the transitive object forms (with the exception of the null form for third person that occurs with vowel-initial transitive verb stems; this null form never occurs as nominal possessor, where the form is always *i(t)-* (417)). The (y) and (t) are epenthetical forms that occur between vowels, and (u) occurs before y. The transitive subject suffixes are followed immediately by -*ya* 'ERG' (404), except for the '1 + 2' null form (413), where the ergative marker does not occur. There

is also no overtly expressed form for '2', but the ergative does occur in this case, in both non-collective and collective forms (401, 402). The third person reflexive affixes occur as subject only in subordinate clauses when that subject is coreferential with the subject of the verb in the superordinate clause (404, 409), but they occur elsewhere as person markers on nouns and postpositions (sect. 4.2). The first person plural exclusive and the third person plural are always free forms and do not have corresponding affix forms (405, 406). The collective form *-kon* refers to the possessor rather than the possessed item (418, 419), but it never occurs with the first person plural exclusive or the third person plural (416).

- (401) mîikîrî waikin era'ma-'pî-Ø-ya ko'manpra
 3:PRO deer see-PAST-2-ERG yesterday
 'You saw that deer yesterday.'

- (402) mîrîrî warantî u-pîika'tî-Ø-ya'-nîkon
 that like 1-help-2-ERG-COLL
 'Like that you all help me.'

- (403) u-wetun sîrîrî
 1-sleep SI
 'I'm sleeping.'

- (404) mîrîrî era'ma-tîu-ya ya, i-kupî-'pî-i-ya innape
 that see-3:REFLX-ERG COND 3-do-PAST-3-ERG true
 'When he saw that, he believed him (made it true).'

- (405a) to' es-enuminka-'pî
 3:PRO:PL DETRANSVZR-think-PAST
 'They thought.'

- (405b) i-koneka-'pî to'-ya
 3-make-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 'They made it.'

- (406a) anna ewomî-'pî
 1:EXCL enter-PAST
 'We entered.'

- (406b) a-pî' Ø-ekaremekî-'pî anna-ya
 2-to 3-tell-PAST 1:EXCL-ERG
 'We told you it.'
- (407) es-erinka-n sîrîrî
 DETRANSVZR-sing-1:INCL SI
 'We all will sing.'
- (408) moro' pî' aw-entamo'ka-'pî-kon
 fish at 2-eat-PAST-COLL
 'You all ate fish.'
- (409) tiw-entamo'ka-kon tîpo, to' epa'ka-'pî
 3:REFLX-eat-COLL after 3:PRO:PL go:out-PAST
 'After they ate, they went out.'
- (410) to' wîî-'pî it-ewî' ta
 3:PRO:PL go-PAST 3-house to
 'They went to his house.'
- (411) erepan-nî
 arrive-1:INCL
 'We arrive.'
- (412) entamo'ka-n
 eat-1:INCL
 'We eat.'
- (413) morî u-pata'-se-kon eporî-Ø mîrîrî
 good 1-place-POSSN-COLL find-1INCL AI
 'We will find our place.'
- (414) mîrîrî manannî-to' rumaka uurî'-nîkon-ya
 that dance-INST:NOMLZR desert 1:PRO-COLL-ERG
 'We will forsake our dancing.'
- (415) morî pe a-panama-u-ya-kon
 good DENOM 2-counsel-1-ERG-COLL
 'I will counsel you all well.'

- (416a) *anna-kon (416b) *to-kon
 1:EXCL-COLL 3:PRO:PL-COLL
 'we' 'they'
- (417) it-ewî' *Ø-ewî'
 3-house 3-house
 'his house' 'his house'
- (418) u-yewî'-kon
 1-house-COLL
 'our house'
- (419) a-yewî'-kon
 2-house-COLL
 'your(pl.) house'
- (420) anna yewî'
 1:EXCL house
 'our house' or 'our houses'
- (421) to' yewî'
 3:PRO:PL house
 'their house' or 'their houses'
- (422) anna yaponse ma'ta-'pî, tiwin
 1:EXCL seat break-PAST one
 'Our bicycles broke, one (of them).'

16.2 Indefinite pronouns. There is no distinct set of indefinite pronouns as such, but the interrogative pronouns, *anî'* 'who, animate', and *î'* 'what, inanimate,' are used as indefinite pronouns.

- (423) aase'-nîkon yaa-to'pe-u-ya anî'
 come-COLL take-PURP-1-ERG who

 a-n-uwa-kon epo-se
 2-O:NOMLZR-search-COLL meet-PURP
 'Come (you all), I will take you to find who you are searching for.'
- (424) î'-rî moro a-wanî ya, i-tî-kî ii-pia
 what there 3-be COND 3-give-IMP 3-to
 'Whatever you have, give it to him.'

The semantic notion of indefinite pronouns may also be expressed by the first person plural inclusive pronoun (425) and, in certain discourse types, the second person singular (426). Another means to express indefiniteness is the use of the generic *pemonkon* 'person' or *warayo* 'man' (427).

(425) yaikka-Ø, ya'tî-Ø, po'tî-Ø mîrîrî warantî
 clean-1INCL cut-1INCL burn-1INCL that like
 'We clean it, cut it and burn it like that (making a field).'

(426) tarîpai enu'tî-Ø-ya it-ette yapai
 from:here lower-2-ERG 3-hammock from
 'Then you lower her from her hammock.'

(427) kure'ne pemonkon es-enyaka'ma ya,
 much person DETRANSVZR-work COND
 t-ekkari ton eporî-i-ya
 3:REFLX-food BEN find-3-ERG
 'If a person works a lot, he will find his own food.'

16.3 Demonstratives

16.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns. Within the demonstrative pronoun set there is a distinction in the third person pronouns between animate and inanimate. There also occurs a distinction between two deictic forms: near to the speaker, and remote from the speaker.

Third Person Demonstrative Pronouns

	Animate		Inanimate	
	non-COLL	COLL		
near	mîserî	insemoro	seni	sîrîrî
remote	mîĩkîrî	inkamoro	siini	mîrîrî

All demonstrative pronouns occur as independent clause constituents (428) and also as modifiers in a noun phrase (429, 431).

Another word, *manni* 'that one', occurs sometimes as a non-deictic pronoun, making no distinction between animate and inanimate. It also functions as a relative pronoun and is discussed in section 16.5, with examples.

- (428) inkamoro mana'-pîî-'pî pena
 those dance-ITER-PAST long:ago
 'Those people used to dance long ago.'
- (429) tîise mîîkîrî João manni u-yonpa-kon Leandro
 but 3:PRO John that:one 1-relative-COLL Leandro
- mîîkîrî mumu mîîkîrî
 3:PRO son 3:PRO
 'But that John is our relative Leandro's son.'

The first *mîîkîrî* 'he' refers back to the preceding clause where John was introduced as 'another John'. *manni* 'that one' is functioning as a relative pronoun, connecting John with the equative clause that follows to further identify *John*. The next *mîîkîrî* 'his' refers to the immediately preceding nominal *Leandro* and functions as a possessor pronoun in the phrase *mîîkîrî mumu*. The final *mîîkîrî* is referring back to *John*, and to its anaphor *manni*.

- (430) apo' era'ma-ta. siini era'ma-kî apo', ta-'pî-i-ya
 fire get-IMP:MOT that look-IMP fire say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "Go get some fire. Look at that fire," he said.'
- (431) mîrîrî si'na yeku'na-pîî-'pî-i-ya, o'ma-ya
 that bushrope pull-ITER-PAST-3-ERG beast-ERG
 'He pulled and pulled on that bushrope, the beast (did).'

The deictic pronouns *sîrîrî* 'this' and *mîrîrî* 'that' primarily express physical proximity (in both location and time) to the speaker (432, 433) or addressee (434) respectively, but they can also refer to a psychological proximity (that is, psychological involvement by them). Specifically, *sîrîrî* could indicate information that is known only to the speaker and *mîrîrî* information that is psychologically closer to the addressee, as in questions to the addressee (434) and background information especially directed to the addressee (435). In these usages, *sîrîrî* is glossed as 'SI' (Speaker Involvement) and *mîrîrî* as 'AI' (Addressee Involvement).

- (432) uutî sîrîrî
 1:go SI
 'I'm going.'

- (433) *î wani awanî ye'nen u-yuwa-i aa-i-sa' sîrîrî*
 what be because 1-search-PURP 2-come-CMPL SI
 'Why did you come to search for me now?'

This is a rhetorical question meaning 'you shouldn't have come . . .' and therefore an addressee involvement *mîrîrî* does not occur, since he is not expected to answer this question.

- (434) *attî mîrîrî*
 2:go AI
 'Are you going?'

- (435) *mararî pra toron-yamî we'na-'to' mîrîrî*
 little NEG bird-PL sleep-INST:NOMLZR AI
 'That was where many birds slept.'

16.3.2 Demonstrative adverbs. These are locative words and deictically prefixed locative postpositions, which function as demonstrative adverbs in a clause. The prefixes *see-* and *sin-* (from the pronouns *seni* and *siini*) combine with various postpositions to distinguish the same two deictic parameters, nearness and remoteness from the speaker. The prefix *mî-* (from *mîrîrî*) also occurs with postpositions.

Demonstrative Locative Adverbs

Near

Remote

Free forms	<i>tarî</i>	'here'	<i>miarî</i>	'there'
	<i>tarîwaya</i>	'to here'	<i>miarî ya'</i> <i>moro</i>	'to there' 'there'
Bound forms	<i>see-pata</i>	'this place'	<i>sin-pata</i>	'that place'
	<i>see-poro</i>	'over this'	<i>sin-poro</i>	'over that'
	<i>see-kaya</i>	'this direction'	<i>sin-kaya</i>	'towards that'
		'towards this'		
	<i>see-wîni</i>	'this direction'	<i>mî-wîni</i>	'in that direction'
			<i>mî-yairî</i>	'around over there'

- (436) inna, to' yaka'ma-pai wanî sirîrî
 yes 3:PRO:PL lose-DESID 1:be SI

see-pata yu' ya'
 this-place bush in
 'Yes, I want to lose them here in the bush.'

- (437) enwara'-ya yenu'tî-pîti-'pî sin-pata pai
 lizard-ERG lower-ITER-PAST that-place from
 'The lizard lowered him from that place (from there, far away).'

- (438) mîi-wîni panpî attî ya, eporî-Ø-ya
 there-direction:of more 2:go COND find-2-ERG
 'If you go more in that direction (far), you will find (it).'

- (439) pemonkon tarî man, ta-'pî-i-ya
 person here 3:be say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "The man is here," he said.'

- (440) e'-nîmî-n pî' man miarî
 DETRANSVZR-stay-1:INCL at 3:be there
 'He stayed behind there.'

The locative demonstrative *moro* 'there' has an existential sense when it occurs with the copula ('there is' (441, 442)). In discourse this is used to introduce a new participant either at the beginning of a narrative or at some relevant point later in the narrative (443). It is also a discourse-oriented deictic meaning 'the location at this point in the narrative of the participants in focus' (444).

- (441) a-san moro nai
 2-mother there 3:be:INTER
 'Is your mother living?'

- (442) pan moro nai
 salt there 3:be:INTER
 'Is there salt?'

- (443) no'santan moro wanî-'pî tî-payan-yamî
 old:woman there be-PAST 3:REFLX-grandchildren-PL

pokon-pan-kon
 with-NOMLZR-COLL
 'There was an old woman with her grandchildren.'

- (444) moropai moro to' ko'mamî-'pî
 and there 3:PRO:PL live-PAST
 'And they stayed there.'

In (444), *moro* refers to the place mentioned in the preceding clause, inside the house, the place the participants had reached at this point in the narrative.

16.4 Reflexive pronouns. There are no reflexive pronouns, as such, but the postposition *warîrî* occurs with person-marking prefixes to express emphasis and reflexivity (445, 446). The third person reflexive prefix *tî-* occurs on nominals, verbs of subordinate clauses, and postpositions to indicate that the possessor (or subject) is the same as the subject of that clause or a superordinate clause (sects. 4.2; 13.2.1; 14)

- (445) tîî-warîrî i-kupî-'pî-i-ya
 3:REFLX-self 3-do-PAST-3-ERG
 'He did it by himself.'
- (446) aw-ainumî-'pî aa-warîrî
 2-fly-PAST 2-self
 'You flew by yourself.'

16.5 Relative pronouns. A relative clause is usually expressed by nominalizations that occur with a head noun or without a head noun (sects. 14.2 and 15.4). Question words also sometimes function to introduce a (nominalized) relative clause, as well as to express indirect questions (sect. 14.5). There is one demonstrative pronoun that functions as a general type of relative pronoun: *manni* 'that (one)' (collective form *mannankan* 'those'). It can refer to both animate (447) and inanimate (448, 449) referents, and sometimes substitutes for the head of a relative clause.

- (447) anna yonpa pîika'tî-kî, irmão Luiz, Mato
 1:EXCL relative help-IMP brother Luiz Mato

Grosso po aa-ko'mamî manni
 Grosso in 3-live that:one
 'Help our relative, brother Luiz, that one who lives in Mato Grosso.'

- (448) mai' enîrî manni eko're'ma-n emapu'tî-nen
bitter drink that:one angry-1:INCL cause-S:NOMLZR

mîrîrî

that

'It is the drinking of strong drink that makes us angry (fight).'

- (449) aa-warîrî e-etî'nînma manni warantî etî'nînma-kî
2-self 2-love that:one like love-IMP
'Like the way you love yourself, be loving (with others).'

16.6 Interrogative pronouns. These occur as general question words, e.g., *anî* 'who?' (450), which substitutes for animate nouns, and *î* 'what?' (451), which substitutes for inanimate nouns. They function in both direct and indirect question clauses. They also function as indefinite pronouns in declarative sentences (16.2) and sometimes as relative pronouns (16.5).

- (450a) anî' mîîkîrî
who 3:PRO
'Who is he?'

- (450b) u-nmu mîîkîrî
1-son he
'He's my son.'

- (451a) î' mîrîrî
what that
'What's that?'

- (451b) u-ye-rî'pî mîrîrî
1-tooth-PAST:POSSN that
'That's my former tooth.'

Other question words and phrases that occur are:

<i>o'non</i>	'which?'
<i>î' ton pe</i>	'why?, for what purpose?'
<i>o'non pata</i>	'where?, which place?'
<i>o'non ye'ka</i>	'how?, like which?'
<i>î' wani awanî ye'nen</i>	'why?, what caused it?'
<i>î' kai'ma</i>	'how?, like what?'
<i>î' kai</i>	'why?, to do what?' (occurs with motion verbs).

17 Adpositional phrase structure

Only postpositional phrases occur. These consist of an obligatory nucleus, which may be either (i) a noun phrase (including a nominalized clause) followed by a relator postposition or (ii) a possessed (prefixed) form of the relator without any preceding noun phrase, and one or more optional

particles that follow the nucleus. In its syntactic function, the postpositional phrase is an adverbial that occurs as either the complement of a copular sentence (452) or an oblique constituent of any type of sentence (456, 457). Both relators and particles are postpositions but are distinguished on syntactic and morphological grounds. Syntactically, relators only occur following noun phrases (including nominalized clauses) or as free forms (with possessor prefixes), whereas particles can follow any type of phrase (sects. 21.3–21.5). On morphological grounds, only relators can be inflected (for possession) and be the subject of derivational processes (negation and nominalization). Particles cannot be inflected. Relators are used to express a wide range of semantic functions, including location, time, manner, instrument, comparison, comitative, benefactive and source.

- (452) imakui'pî kupî pî' a-wanî mîrîrî
 bad do at 3-be AI
 'He was doing bad.'
- (453) t-akon pia attî-'pî
 3:REFLX-brother to 3:go-PAST
 'He went to his own brother.'
- (454) ii-pia uutî-'pî
 3-to 1:go-PAST
 'I went to him.'
- (455) e-ekore'ma-'pî wa'ka pî'
 3-angry-PAST axe at
 'He got angry at the axe.'
- (456) anna es-enyaka'ma-'pî to' yaka pî'
 1:EXCL DETRANSVZR-work-PAST 3:PRO:PL dig at
 'We worked at digging them out.'
- (457) Asa ko'man-nîpî-'pî mîrîrî panpe si'ma
 Asa live-TRNSTVZR-PAST that like being
 tîi-sa'manta pîkîrî
 3:REFLX-die until
 'Asa lived like that until he died.'

- (458) waikin pîkîrî e-eka'tumî-'pî
 deer up:to 3-run-PAST
 'He ran following the deer.'

- (459) i-pîkîrî attî-'pî
 3-up:to 3:go-PAST
 'He ran behind him.'

Most frequently used locational relators

	'in/on'	'into/onto'	'via/from'
enclosed place	ta	ta-pî'	ta-pai
liquid	ka	ka-ta	ka-pai
open place	ya	ya-pî'	ya-pai
flat place	po	pona	poi

Postpositions frequently occur with other postpositions to form a new postpositional relator: *winî* 'in direction of' + *pai* 'from' = *winîpai* 'from the direction of'. Several postpositional phrases can occur juxtaposed in the same clause.

- (460) mîrîrî ya' tîise yenu'tî-'pî to'-ya cidade
 that in but lower-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG city
- iwa'-to' poi winîkîi poro pona
 wall-NOMLZR from direction:of outside to
 'They lowered him in that (basket) from the wall to the outside (over the wall).'

- (461) imakui'pî kore'ta, es-eurîma-n-to'
 bad among DETRANSVZR-speak-1:INCL-INST:NOMLZR
- kore'ta, ekore'ma-n-to' kore'ta,
 among angry-1:INCL-INST:NOMLZR among
- manan-nî-to' kore'ta ko'man-nî man
 dance-1:INCL-INST:NOMLZR among live-1:INCL 3:be
 'We live among dancing, anger (fighting), bad talk, and badness (of all kinds).'

18 Verb and verb phrase structure

There are four inflectional categories marked by verb affixes: person-markers, aspect, tense and number. They occur in the following sequence: (i) prefixes, which agree in person with the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs, (ii) aspect suffixes, which immediately follow the stem, (iii) tense suffixes, (iv) suffixes which agree in person with the subject of transitive verbs and are immediately followed by *-ya* 'ERG', and (v) number suffixes.

18.1 Tense. Three tenses occur: past, proximate, and universal. The universal tense does not have any overt form and occurs with reference to the present or future, without any formal distinctions. The past tense refers to action which occurred the previous day or earlier and is marked by *-pî* 'PAST'. The proximate tense refers to the immediate present, whether the action is about to take place, is taking place at the time of utterance, or has taken place earlier that day, the whole potential time range being within a fairly strict 24-hour period. This is marked by special forms of the copula (sect. 18.1.2).

18.1.1 Universal tense. The universal tense occurs as the simple stem of the verb and may also be inflected for aspect. The reference to present, future or universal, may be indicated by a time adverbial (464).

(462) *eporî-i-ya*
find-3-ERG
'He is finding it now' or 'He will find it soon' or 'He finds it.'

(463) *attî mîrîrî*
3:go AI
'He is going now' or 'He will go soon' or 'He goes.'

(464) *penane eporî-i-ya*
tomorrow find-3-ERG
'He will find it tomorrow.'

18.1.2 Proximate tense. The proximate tense refers to a time close to the time of the utterance, namely within a twenty-four hour period. It occurs frequently in direct speech, and in narratives it only occurs in direct speech. Proximate time is marked by suppletive forms of the copula. Different sets occur for declarative and interrogative moods (see also section 10 for interrogatives). The full paradigm is:

Person	Declarative mood	Interrogative mood
1	wai	
2	nai	nan
3	man	nai
1 + 2	man	nai
1 + 3	man	nai
2PL	naatîi	nantî

The difference between the universal tense (a) and the proximate tense (b) examples (465–467) is that the (a) set is indefinite as to time and can be relatively timeless, whereas the (b) set is specific, referring to immediate past, present or future time.

(465a)	morî pe a-wanî good DENOM 3-be 'He is/will be good.'	(465b)	morî pe man good DENOM 3:be 'He is good (now).'
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(466a)	moro a-wanî there 3-be 'He is/will be there.'	(466b)	moro man there 3:be 'He is there.'
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(467a)	mîikîrî pia a-wanî 3:PRO to 3-be 'It is/will be his.'	(467b)	mîikîrî pia man 3:PRO to 3:be 'It is his.'
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When action is involved, this form of the copula occurs as the main verb inflected for tense. Its complement is the verb that expresses the main action and this is embedded in a postpositional phrase or an adverbial phrase, except when the aspectual suffix *-sa* 'CMPL' occurs (see below). Elsewhere, the postposition *pî* 'at' occurs following the first person plural inclusive form of the verb to express this proximate tense. It may express an action about to be executed (468), an action in progress at the time of the utterance (469), or an action performed within the past several hours (470). They all express certainty.

(468) wîî-n pî' wai
go-1:INCL at 1:be
'I'm going (just now).'

- (469) entamo'ka-n pî' wai
eat-1:INCL at 1:be
'I'm eating (now).'
- (470) mîikîrî yaso'ka-Ø pî' wai
3:PRO stab-1:INCL at 1:be
'I gave him an injection (several hours ago).'

The negative form of a verb may occur in the proximate tense, embedded in an adverbial clause with *pra* 'NEG' as the complement of this form of the copula (sect. 12.1, exs. 161b, 164b). The verb may be inflected for completed aspect in the proximate tense to express an action or state already completed today (471).

- (471) entamo'ka-sa' wai
eat-CMPL 1:be
'I have eaten (today).'

When the verb occurs with *pe* 'DENOM' (which functions to denominalize and adverbialize a noun phrase or clause), and this is followed by the proximate tense copula, it expresses a future certainty. In the mind of the speaker the action is proximate even though it has not yet occurred.

- (472) maasa mîikîrî Taitai wî-u-ya pe
later 3:PRO Taitai kill-1-ERG DENOM

wai ta-'pî-i-ya
1:be say-PAST-3-ERG
' "Later I'll kill Taitai," he said.'
- (473) more yenpo-Ø-ya pe man
child birth-2-ERG DENOM 3:be
'You will give birth to a child.'

The proximate tense form of the copula is sometimes also used with a main verb complement that is marked for past tense (-'pî). In this case, the real time of the action extends beyond the previous 24 hours, but the proximate tense construction is used by the speaker to make it more vivid and emphasize the certainty of the action. It is thus a close parallel to the use of the historic present in English and some other languages.

- (474) mĩĩkĩrĩ wĩtĩ-'pĩ man, ta-'pĩ-i-ya
 3:PRO go-PAST 3:be say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "He went," he said.'

A hortative verb followed by the proximate tense copula brings a sense of certainty or urgency to the proposed action.

- (475) kure'ne es-enuminkan-pai'-nĩkon man paapa winĩkĩi
 much DETRANSVZR-think-HORT-COLL 3:be God toward
 'Let's think much about God.'

The proximate tense copula may also occur in the obligation and potential moods, again expressing urgency (sects. 18.3.1. and 18.3.2, exs. 515, 516).

18.1.3 Past tense. The past tense expresses action that took place the previous day or any time in the past before that. It is marked by *-pĩ* 'PAST'. A time adverb optionally occurs to express remoteness: *pena* 'long ago'. The suffix *-pĩ* occurs following any aspect affixes and preceding either the subject of a transitive verb (476) or the number suffix (479).

- (476) pemonkon y anumĩ-'pĩ-i-ya
 person pick:up-PAST-3-ERG
 'He picked up the man.'
- (477) i-pĩ' aw-entamo'ka-'pĩ
 3-at 3-eat-PAST
 'He ate him.'
- (478) pena to' at-a'so'ka-pĩtĩ-'pĩ
 long:ago 3:PRO:PL DETRANSVZR-stab-ITER-PAST
 'Long ago they used to stab each other.'
- (479) aminke attĩ-'pĩ-kon
 far 2:go-PAST-COLL
 'You (all) went far.'

The suffix *-pĩ* can occur on the copula when it functions as an auxiliary verb, as well as on the main verb. This expresses remoteness, an action that took place before the direct past tense time line of the discourse, a past perfect meaning.

(480) to' yemekon yanî-'pî anî'-ya wanî-'pî
 3:PRO:PL arm eat-PAST who-ERG be-PAST
 'Something had eaten their arm.'

(481) to' erepamî-'pî wanî-'pî
 3:PRO:PL arrive-PAST be-PAST
 'They had arrived (before).'

When the past tense co-occurs with completed aspect, the *-pî* occurs on the copula and *-sa'* 'CMPL' occurs on the main verb. This may also express past perfect, as well as direct past with completed/perfect aspect.

(482) attî-sa' wanî-'pî
 3:go-CMPL be-PAST
 'He had gone' or 'He has already gone.'

18.2 Aspect. The aspectual system is a complex one, with nine different aspects. Some are marked by a simple suffix on the verb: *-sa'* 'CMPL', *-pî* 'ITER', *-ka* 'REV', and *-tu'ka*, 'finally'. Another aspect is marked by a particle that follows the verb: *kupî* 'impending'. Others are marked by incorporating certain transitive verb roots, forming compound verbs: *yonpa* 'try', *pia'tî* 'begin', and *aretî'ka* 'finish' express conative, ingressive, and terminative aspects. The other aspect is marked by *ko'mamî* 'remain', which is primarily a main verb, but also functions as an auxiliary verb to express continuative action. Two or three aspects frequently co-occur.

18.2.1 Completed action is expressed by the suffix *-sa'*. It differs from other aspect suffixes in that it replaces the tense suffix. The past tense suffix *-pî* can co-occur, but only on the copula auxiliary, and this normally expresses past perfect aspect (484). The suffix *-sa'* occurs on both finite and non-finite verb forms, and includes the notion of perfective aspect.

(483) attî-sa' mîrîrî aminke
 3:go-CMPL AI far
 'He went/has gone far.'

(484) i-nîmî-sa-i'-ya wanî-'pî
 3-leave-CMPL-3-ERG be-PAST
 'He had left it.'

- (485) u-nyo wî-sa' pemonkon-ya man
 1-husband kill-CMPL person-ERG 3:be
 'The man killed my husband.'

The completed action suffix occurs following other aspectual suffixes. It does not co-occur with impending action aspect.

- (486) aa-ko'man-pî'-sa'
 3-remain-ITER-CMPL
 'He has remained (repeatedly).'

- (487) yei ya'tî-yonpa-sa-i'-ya
 tree cut-CONAT-CMPL-3-ERG
 'He tried to cut the tree.'

18.2.2 Iterative and habitual aspect. This is expressed by the suffix *-pîî* 'ITER', which occurs following the verb and before the completed aspect or the past tense, whenever either of these also occurs. When it occurs before the completed aspect *-sa'*, or the imperative suffix *-kî*, the final syllable is replaced by a glottal fricative. It expresses repeated or habitual action, but when it co-occurs with *-pî* 'PAST', only habitual action is indicated. (See sect 18.8 for its use in a special construction involving the copula *e'* 'be'.)

- (488) paapa-ya yei ya'tî-pîî
 father-ERG tree cut-ITER
 'Father cuts the tree (repeatedly).'

- (489) aa-ko'man-pîî mîrîrî
 3-remain-ITER AI
 'He is still living (there).'

- (490) mîîkîrî i-n-koneka-'pî yapurî-pîî-'pî
 3:PRO 3-O:NOMLZR-make-PAST praise-ITER-PAST

to'-ya
 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 'They used to worship that which he made.'

- (491) sin-poro atî-pî'-kî ta-'pî-i-ya
 that-over go-ITER-IMP say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "Go over that," he said.'

18.2.3 Reversative action is expressed by the suffix *-ka*. It is limited in usage, only occurring with certain verbs. Its function is much like the prefix *un-* in English. It may occur with the completed aspect (493) but not with the iterative.

(492a) yettapurî-kî
cover-IMP
'Cover it.'

(492b) yettapurî-ka-kî
cover-REV-IMP
'Uncover it.'

(493a) mĩkĩrĩ ekomi'ma-sa' sĩrĩrĩ
3:PRO have:fever-CMPL SI
'He has fever now.'

(493b) mĩkĩrĩ ekomi'ma-ka-sa' sĩrĩrĩ
3:PRO have:fever-REV-CMPL SI
'He is now without fever.'

(494a) pemonkon yarakkanma-'pĩ to'-ya
person lock:up-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG
'They locked up the men.'

(494b) pemonkon yarakkanma-ka-'pĩ to'-ya
person lock:up-REV-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG
'They unlocked the man (let him go free).'

18.2.4 Procrastinated action finally undertaken is expressed by the suffix *-tu'ka* 'finally'. This is not a transitive verb stem (as the corresponding form is in Hixkaryana, see Derbyshire 1979) but occurs only as an aspectual suffix. It denotes the fact that the action had been previously anticipated or desired, but it is now finally undertaken. It may occur with other aspects, such as completed and iterative (497).

(495) pri'ya pra mĩkĩrĩ ena-tu'ka-n pĩ' man
well NEG 3:PRO become-finally-1:INCL at 3:be
'He has finally become sick.'

- (496) yei ya'tî-tu'ka-'pî-i-ya
wood cut-finally-PAST-3-ERG
'He finally cut the wood.'
- (497) i'-po'-pî-tî-tu'ka-'pî-i-ya
3-whip-ITER-finally-PAST-3-ERG
'He finally whipped him.'

18.2.5 Impending action is expressed by the particle *kupî*, which follows the verb with all its inflections. It is usually followed by *sîrîrî* 'SI'. (See section 16.3.1 for the notion of speaker involvement, 'SI'.) It can co-occur with 'ITER' and 'REV'.

- (498) Jesus iipî kupî sîrîrî
Jesus come IMPEND SI
'Jesus is about to come.'
- (499) i-koneka-i-ya kupî sîrîrî
3-make-3-ERG IMPEND SI
'He is about to make it.'

18.2.6 Conative aspect is expressed by the suffix *-yonpa*, which is also the stem of a transitive verb meaning 'try, test, taste'. As an aspectual suffix, it expresses the fact that the action is attempted but without successful completion.

- (500) yei ya'tî-*yonpa*-'pî-i-ya
wood cut-CONAT-PAST-3-ERG
'He tried cutting the wood.'
- (501) mîikîrî sa'manta-*yonpa*-'pî
3:PRO die-CONAT-PAST
'He tried to die' or 'He almost died.'

18.2.7 Ingressive aspect is expressed by the suffix *-pia'tî*, which is also a transitive verb meaning 'to begin'.

- (502) yei ya'tî-*pia*'tî-'pî-i-ya
wood cut-INGR-PAST-3-ERG
'He began to cut the wood.'

- (503) mĩĩkĩrĩ wĩtĩ-pia'tĩ-'pĩ
 3:PRO go-INGR-PAST
 'He began to go.'

18.2.8 Terminative aspect is expressed by the suffix *-aretĩ'ka*, which is also a transitive verb meaning 'to finish'.

- (504) yei ya'tĩ-aretĩ'ka-'pĩ-i-ya
 wood cut-TERM-PAST-3-ERG
 'He finished cutting the wood.'

18.2.9 Continuous aspect is expressed by the verb *ko'mamĩ* 'remain'. When the main verb is intransitive, the transitivized form *ko'mannĩpĩ* occurs, and it functions like an auxiliary verb (sect. 18.8). It is not inflected for person, the main verb having the person-marking prefix (505), but the past tense suffix *-'pĩ* may occur on the auxiliary (506). When the main verb is transitive, there are two possible constructions. Normally, the basic intransitive form of *ko'mamĩ* occurs, fully inflected as a main verb, and the verb that expresses the main action, together with its other verb phrase constituents (including direct object), is embedded in a postpositional phrase governed by the postposition *pĩ'* 'at' (507). The subject of the clause occurs immediately preceding *ko'mamĩ*, outside of the postpositional phrase, and without ergative marking (508). The other possibility, which occurs rarely, is to have *ko'mamĩ* occurring in its basic intransitive form but functioning as an auxiliary, in the sense that it does not have a person-marking prefix, though it can have the past tense suffix *-'pĩ* (509). In this case, there is no postpositional phrase complement and the main action verb occurs in its normal form (except that it lacks the past tense suffix), and both subject (with the ergative marker) and direct object are directly related to that main verb (509).

- (505) attĩ ko'man-nĩpĩ
 3:go remain-TRNSTVZR
 'He continues going.'

- (506) epĩrema ko'man-nĩpĩ-'pĩ
 1:pray remain-TRNSTVZR-PAST
 'I continued praying.'

- (507) paapa maimu ekaremekĩ pĩ' aa-ko'mamĩ-'pĩ
 God word tell at 3-remain-PAST
 'He continued telling God's word.'

- (508) t-ewî' koneka pî' it-akon ko'mamî-'pî
 3:REFLX-house make at 3-brother remain-PAST
 'His brother continued making his house.'
- (509) no'santon yeurî-pîî arimaraka-ya ko'mamî-'pî
 old:woman bark-ITER dog-ERG remain-PAST
 'The dog kept barking at the old woman.'

18.3 Mood/Modality. Indicative mood contrasts with interrogative mood and imperative mood. The indicative mood is an unmarked form of the verb asserting an action or a state. The interrogative mood is marked by the interrogative intonation to ask a question. The interrogative forms of the proximate tense copula may occur as well as question words, but the distinguishing characteristic is the intonation (sect. 10). The imperative mood is marked by imperative affixes which make distinctions between person and number, motion and non-motion, and positive and negative, as well as indicating varying degrees of imperativeness. The imperative mood expresses a direct command (sect. 11). There are two other moods that occur: potential and obligation.

18.3.1 Potential mood. The potential mood is expressed by the adverb *eserîke* plus an inflected form of the copula, both of which follow the uninflected main verb. This expresses potential action or capability and can usually be translated into English as 'can' or 'may', although it does not express the permissive sense that these English words can have.

- (510) tarîpai apisî to'-ya eserîke awanî miarî ya'
 from:here catch 3:PRO:PL-ERG can 3-be there to
 'Therefore, they can catch (them) there.'
- (511) yai pra inon-kon pe to' ena pî'
 perhaps big-COLL DENOM 3:PRO:PL become at

 to' nama uurî'-kon-ya eserîke a-wanî
 3:PRO:PL fear 1:PRO-COLL-ERG can 3-be
 'Perhaps at their becoming big we may fear them.'

Impossibility or incapability is expressed by the negative *pra* following the *eserîke*.

(512) tîise enîrî to'-ya eserîke pra a-wanî-'pî
 but drink 3:PRO:PL-ERG can NEG 3-be-PAST
 'But they couldn't drink it.'

(513) es-eurîma eserîke pra wai
 DETRANSVZR-speak can NEG 1:be
 'I cannot speak.'

18.3.2 Obligation mood. The obligation mood is expressed by the desiderative suffix *-pai* occurring on the copula and forming *e'pai* 'want to be'. The addition of this suffix results in an adverbial form and it is always followed by an inflected form of the copula. The main verb is uninflected and occurs as the nucleus of a complement clause. It is translated into English as 'must, should, or need to'.

(514) tîise anna wîî e'-pai a-wanî aminke
 but 1:EXCL go be-DESID 3-be far
 'But we must go far' or 'It is desirable/necessary that we go far.'

(515) tamî nawîrî to' yarî anna-ya e'-pai man
 all 3:PRO:PL take 1:EXCL-ERG be-DESID 3:be
 'We need to take all of them' or
 'It is desirable/necessary that we take them all.'

(516) uurî'-kon es-enyaka'ma e'-pai man
 1:PRO-COLL DETRANSVZR-work be-DESID 3:be

uurî'-kon ton pe
 1:PRO-COLL BEN DENOM
 'We must work for ourselves' or
 'It is desirable/necessary that we work for ourselves.'

18.4 Person and number. The person of the subject is encoded by a suffix on all transitive verbs when there is no free form subject. The person of the direct object and of the subject of an intransitive verb is encoded by a prefix when no free form occurs. Collective number is encoded by a verb suffix and refers to the person of the subject or object or both, but it never occurs with the person categories of '1' or '1 + 3' or '3:PL'. See section 16.1.2 for a fuller description of these forms and categories.

18.5 Voice. (See also sections 4.1 and 5 on passive and section 6 on causative.) There are two types of valence-changing affixes: detransitivizers and transitivity-causatives.

18.5.1 Detransitivizers. Prefixes occur on transitive verb stems to express a range of meanings that include reflexive, reciprocal, medial-passive and simply intransitive (sect. 4.1). Whatever the meaning, any form of a direct object is excluded. The person-marking prefixes occur before the detransitivizer, following the same rule as for any intransitive verb (sect. 16.1.2). The detransitivizing prefixal forms are: *es-*, *e'-* and *at-* (*e'* occurs before consonant-initial verb stems, *at-* occurs on *a*-initial stems and *es-* occurs on other vowel-initial verb stems (517–519). There are a few exceptions, some verbs occurring idiosyncratically with *e-* or *et-* (520, 521).

(517a) waikin era'ma-i-ya
 deer see-3-ERG
 'He sees the deer.'

(517b) es-era'ma-n sîrîrî
 DETRANSVZR-see-1:INCL SI
 'We will see each other.'

(518a) anna yausinpa-'pî-Ø-ya
 1:EXCL happy-PAST-2-ERG
 'You made us happy.'

(518b) i-pî' a-at-ausinpa-'pî
 3-at 3-DETRANSVZR-happy-PAST
 'He was/is happy about it.'

(519a) kaarita tîrî-i-ya
 book give-3-ERG
 'He will give the book.'

(519b) it-ra'ko e'-tîrî-'pî
 3-hat DETRANSVZR-give-PAST
 'His hat was given.'

(520a) kîse mo'ka-'pî-i-ya
 cassava take:out-PAST-3-ERG
 'He took out the cassava.'

(520b) ee-mo'ka-sa mîrîrî
 3:DETRANSVZR-take:out-CMPL AI
 'It was taken out.'

- (521a) tî-no'pî rumaka-'pî-i-ya
3:REFLX-wife desert-PAST-3-ERG
'He left his wife.'
- (521b) mûlkîrî et-urumaka-'pî it-enya
3:PRO DETRANSVZR-desert-PAST 3-hand:in
'He surrendered himself into his hands.'

18.5.2 Transitivizers. The opposite process occurs with intransitive verb stems. That is, a derivational affix occurs to form transitive verbs, which occur with direct objects. The transitivizer affixes that occur are: two suffixes, *-nîpî* 'TRNSTVZR' and *-pa* 'CAUS'; and a prefix *i-* '3:TRNSTVZR', which occurs with a small set of verbs.

- | | | | |
|-------|----------|---|--|
| (522) | ko'mamĩ | → | ko'man-nĩpĩ
remain-TRNSTVZR
'keep, guard (something)' |
| (523) | ereuta | → | ereuta-nĩpĩ
sit-TRNSTVZR
'sit (something) down' |
| (524) | mo'ta | → | mo'tan-nĩpĩ
move-TRNSTVZR
'move (something)' |
| (525) | mamanu | → | a-manun-pa-u-ya
2-dance-CAUS-1-ERG
'I dance (with) you (i.e.,
cause you to dance).' |
| (526) | i-sisi | → | i-si'run-pa-u-ya
3-laugh-CAUS-1-ERG
'I cause him to laugh.' |
| (527) | entaime | → | i-ntaime-u-ya
3:TRNSTVZR-shout-1-ERG
'I shout at him.' |
| (528) | ekore'ma | → | i-kore'ma-u-ya
3:TRNSTVZR-angry-1-ERG
'I'm angry at him.' |

(529)	era'tî	→	i-ra'tî-i-ya
			3:TRNSTVZR-turn-3-ERG
	'turn'		'He turns it.'

18.6 Nonfinite forms. The only nonfinite verbal forms are the derived nominals and adverbials. (See sect. 15.4.)

18.7 Incorporation of nominal elements into the verb. One type of incorporation involves noun roots co-occurring with derivational suffixes (which themselves are a part of a verb stem) to form verb stems. Thus *-tî* from *tîrî* 'give, put' occurs frequently with noun roots to form transitive verb stems. Examples are:

<i>epi'</i>	'cure'	→	<i>yepi'tî</i>	'to cure'
<i>ese'</i>	'name'	→	<i>ese'tî</i>	'to give a name (to someone)'
<i>e'ma</i>	'path'	→	<i>ye'ma'tî</i>	'to start out on a path'
<i>paran</i>	'sickness'	→	<i>yeparantî</i>	'to make sick'
<i>keme'</i>	'firewood'	→	<i>keme'tî</i>	'to put on firewood'
<i>inre</i>	'her child'	→	<i>inre'tî</i>	'to make pregnant'

The transitivity suffix *-pa* 'CAUS' (sect. 18.5.2) also occurs with some nouns to form transitive verb stems. It retains its causative meaning:

<i>wo'</i>	'drink'	→	<i>wo'pa</i>	'to cause (someone) to drink'
<i>mai'</i>	'bitter thing'	→	<i>mai'pa</i>	'to make (something) bitter'
<i>yenu</i>	'eye'	→	<i>yenupa</i>	'to teach (i.e., cause to see)'

An aspect suffix *-ka* 'REVERSATIVE' (sect. 18.2.3), which may be derived from *mo'ka* 'to take out', occurs also with a limited number of nouns to form transitive verb stems:

<i>iratai</i>	'its side'	→	<i>irataika</i>	'to divide it' or 'take out'
<i>we</i>	'feces'	→	<i>aweka</i>	'to defecate'
<i>pi'pî</i>	'skin'	→	<i>pi'ka</i>	'to peel, unskin'

The suffix *-ta* 'in a state of' also occurs with some nouns to form intransitive verb stems:

<i>kaiwan</i>	'fat'	→	<i>kaiwanta</i>	'to be fat'
<i>no'pî</i>	'wife'	→	<i>ano'pîta</i>	'to be married, be wifed'
<i>kamo</i>	'game'	→	<i>kamo'ta</i>	'to hunt with success, be with game'

The derivational suffix *-ma* 'VERBALIZER' is a general verbalizing suffix which is used to incorporate loan words. It also occurs with some other nouns to form transitive or intransitive verb stems.

'pray'	(loan)	→	<i>epîrema</i>	'to pray'
<i>uweiyu</i>	'my light'	→	<i>weiyu'ma</i>	'to illumine'
<i>paru'</i>	'juice'	→	<i>paru'ma</i>	'to wet, soak'
<i>komi'</i>	'cold'	→	<i>ekomima</i>	'to have fever'

18.8 Auxiliary verb system. There are two verbs that occur as auxiliary verbs: the copula and *ko'mamî* 'remain'. The auxiliary verb always follows the main verb, in clause-final position, and is never marked for subject but always marked for tense.

The verb *ko'mamî* occurs as an auxiliary verb, usually in its transitivized form *ko'man-nîpî*, to express continuous aspect (sect. 18.2.9).

- (530) *i-karau ko'man-nîpî-'pî*
 3-cry remain-TRNSTVZR-PAST
 'He kept crying.'

- (531) *uurî'-nîkon-ya it-ekare eta ko'man-nîpî-'pî*
 1:PRO-COLL-ERG 3-news hear remain-TRNSTVZR-PAST
 'We kept on hearing his news.'

The basic form of the copula is *wanî* and it is regular in its inflection for person (except for 1 + 2), number and past tense. The non-motion purpose suffix *-pa* and the nominalization suffix *-ton* can also occur. It is inflected in the same way as other non-transitive vowel-initial stems. However, the stem changes to *e'-* for '1 + 2' and in order to add the suffixes *-sa'* 'CMPL', *-pîti* 'ITER', *-pai* 'DESID', *-to'pe* 'NONMOT:PURP', the imperative affixes (except third person), and the adverbializing affixes.

1	<i>wanî</i>	<i>e'-sa'</i>
1 + 2	<i>e'-nî</i>	<i>e'nî-sa'</i>
1 + 3	<i>anna wanî</i>	<i>anna e'-sa'</i>
2	<i>a-wanî</i>	<i>aw-e'-sa'</i>
2 COLL	<i>a-wanî-kon</i>	<i>aw-e'-sa'-kon</i>
3	<i>a-wanî</i>	<i>aw-e'-sa'</i>

3 COLL	to' wanî	to' e'-sa'
3 REFLX	tî-wanî	tîw-e'-sa'
3 REFLX:COLL	tî-wanî-kon	tîw-e'-sa'-kon

The stem of the copula occurs in still another form, *si*, for the third person imperative and subject nominalization, and for the manner adverbial, *si'ma*.

- (532) tîwî nî-si
 leave:it 3-be
 'Leave it alone.'
- (533) si-'pî
 be-S:NOMLZR:PAST
 'one who was'
- (534) si'-san
 be-NOMLZR:PL
 'ones who were'

When the copula occurs as an auxiliary verb, it can occur with the past tense suffix *wanî-'pî* (or *e'pîî'pî*, if it is inflected for aspect as well), but it never occurs inflected for person. The person-marking subject occurs on the main verb. When the main verb is inflected for completed aspect with *-sa'*, and the past tense form of the auxiliary follows, it expresses a perfect or a past perfect action (535, 536). When the main verb and the auxiliary are both inflected for past tense the resulting construction expresses only past perfect (537). When the copula auxiliary is inflected with both the iterative aspect and past tense suffixes, it expresses customary action in the past (cf. sect. 18.2.2) (538).

- (535) to' ewon-sa' wanî-'pî
 3:PRO:PL enter-CMPL be-PAST
 'They have entered' or 'They had entered.'
- (536) mîlîkîrî yarima-sa-i'-ya wanî-'pî
 3:PRO send-CMPL-3-ERG be-PAST
 'He has sent him' or 'He had sent him.'
- (537) tî-tawarai yenumî-'pî i-wanîyakon-ya wanî-'pî
 3:REFLX-knife drop-PAST 3-companion-ERG be-PAST
 'His companion had dropped his knife.'

- (538) attî-pîî e'-pîî-'pî
 3:go-ITER be-ITER-PAST
 'He used to go (repeatedly).'

19 Adjective phrase structure

There are no adjectives. Only nouns occur to modify nouns in noun phrases (sect. 15.3). Some adverbs appear to be like adjectives in their glosses, but their primary syntactic function is adverbial, and they need to be nominalized in order to function as modifiers in noun phrases.

20 Adverb phrase structure

An adverbial phrase may consist of (i) a single adverb (539), (ii) an adverb followed by one or more postpositional relators (540), or (iii) a nominalized clause followed by a postpositional relator, which could be construed as an adverbial (postpositional) phrase (541).

- (539) kure'ne a-wanî
 big 3-be
 'It is big.'

- (540) aw-autî-'pî kawîne poi
 3-descend-PAST high from
 'He came down from high up.'

- (541) mîlkîrî eporî-tîu-ya yai i-pî' ta-'pî-i-ya
 3:PRO find-3:REFLX-ERG at 3-to say-PAST-3-ERG
 'At the time he met him, he said (it) to him.'

20.1 Simple adverbs. Simple adverbs occur such as:

(numerals and quantifiers)

<i>tu'ke</i>	'many'	<i>tamî'nawîrî</i>	'all'
<i>mararî</i>	'few'	<i>askî'ne</i>	'two'

(time words)

<i>sîrîrîpe</i>	'today'	<i>ko'manpra</i>	'yesterday'
<i>pena</i>	'long ago'	<i>maasa</i>	'later'
<i>iko'noro</i>	'regularly'	<i>ko'mamûiya</i>	'afternoon'

(descriptives)

<i>kure'ne</i>	'big'	<i>sa'me</i>	'hard'
<i>pri'ya</i>	'well'	<i>tu'na</i>	'deep'

(locationals, see also sect. 16.3.2)

<i>moro</i>	'there'	<i>tari</i>	'here'
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They occur clause initial (542), clause final (543), or both (544). These simple adverbs may be nominalized by the same process as for postpositions (sects. 15.4.2.1 and 15.4.3).

- (542) *tamî'nawîrî* to' *wanî-'pî*
 all 3:PRO:PL be-PAST
 'They were all (there).'

- (543) *yei arenta-sa' eporî-'pî-i-ya kure'ne*
 tree grow-CMPL find-PAST-3-ERG big
 'He found that the tree had grown big.'

- (544) *pri'ya a-wanî-'pî mararî*
 well 3-be-PAST little
 'He was well, a little bit.'

20.2 Derived adverbs. Both nouns and verbs can undergo adverbializing processes. Nouns are denominalized by *pe* 'DENOM' for them to occur as adverb phrases in a clause (545, 546, 548, 549).

The postposition *ke* follows adverbials derived from the class of nouns that is adverbialized by the prefix *it-*, and they then function as adverb phrases (547).

- (545) *morî pe a-wanî*
 good DENOM 3-be
 'It is good.'

- (546) *waikin wî-nen pe a-wanî*
 deer kill-NOMLZR DENOM 3-be
 'He is a deer killer.'

- (547) *it-ewî' ke a-wanî*
 ADVBLZR-house with 3-be
 'He has a house.'

(548) inî'-non tiaron wei pe aw-e'ne'-pîî'-pî
 again-NOMLZR another day DENOM 3-dream-ITER-PAST
 'Again on the next day he dreamed.'

(549) to' erepamî-'pî kanpî' pe
 3:PRO:PL arrive-PAST mess DENOM
 'They arrived with a mess of fish.'

Adverbs are derived from verbs to form four basic types of subordinate derived-adverb clause (sect. 14.3, where other non-derived adverbial clauses are also described): (i) manner clauses are formed by adding to the verb stem affixes *t-* . . . *-i/-se* (550) or *-i/ma* (551); (ii) negative clauses are formed by adding the negative adverbializer *pra* (sect. 12.1) (552); (iii) purpose clauses are formed by adding the purpose suffixes *-i/-se* 'purpose of motion' (553) and *-to'pe*, *-pa* 'non-motion purpose' (554); and (iv) desiderative clauses are formed by adding the prefix *i-* (on intransitive stems), or *an-* (on transitive stems) and the suffix *-pai* 'desiderative' (555, 556) (sect. 14.4.1).

(550) it-enya t-api'-se
 3-hand ADVBLZR-catch-ADVBLZR

i'-mî'sa'ka-'pî-i-ya
 3-raise-PAST-3-ERG
 'Taking her by the hand, he raised her up.'

(551) innape i-kupî-'pî-i-ya era'ma-i'ma pra
 true 3-do-PAST-3-ERG see-MAN NEG
 'He believed it, not seeing (it).'

(552) t-era'tî-i pra atî-tî
 ADVBLZR-turn-ADVBLZR NEG go-IMP:PL
 'You all go, not turning around.'

(553) attî-'pî a'nai era'ma-i
 3:go-PAST corn get-PURP
 'He went to get corn.'

(554) kariwana wîi-Ø-pa yi'nî pî' wai
 chicken kill-2-PURP come at 1:be
 'I came for you to kill the chicken.'

- (555) tuna an-enî-pai wai
 water ADVBLZR-drink-DESID 1:be
 'I'm thirsty' or 'I want to drink water.'
- (556) i-tî-pai wai
 ADVBLZR-go-DESID 1:be
 'I want to go.'
- (557) e'-katî-'pî pe o'ma eporî-'pî-i-ya
 DETRANSVZR-cripple-PAST DENOM beast find-PAST-3-ERG
 'He found the beast crippled.'
- (558) uurî-'nîkon tî'ka-i aa-ipî pe man
 1PRO-COLL kill-PURP 3-come DENOM 3:be
 'He will come to kill us all.'
- (559) a-nre ton yenpo-Ø-ya pe man
 2-child BEN birth-2-ERG DENOM 3:be
 'You will have a child.'
 (Lit.: 'It is you will give birth to your child.')
- (560) Taitai wîi-sa-i'-ya pe man
 Taitai kill-CMPL-3-ERG DENOM 3:be
 'He will have killed Taitai.'

Other adverbial postpositional phrases are described in section 17.

Particles

21 Particles

Particles are words that cannot undergo any inflectional or derivational processes. They can be divided into five classes on the basis of their function: (i) response particles, (ii) coordinating and subordinating particles, (iii) modifying particles, (iv) emphatic particles, and (v) verification particles.

21.1 Response particles. These particles are distinct in that they only occur as responses to questions or proposals. They may occur alone or with other particles, or may introduce a longer response clause. See sects. 10.4 and 11.5 for examples and further description.

There are two that occur with various modifications of the basic meanings: negative *kaane* 'no', and affirmative *inna* 'yes'. The modifications that occur are:

<i>kane kane</i>	'emphatic no'	<i>inna tî</i>	'with certainty'
<i>inna rî</i>	'truly'	<i>inna wa'rî</i>	'agreement, o.k.'
<i>inna perî</i>	'is that so!'	<i>inna ka'rî</i>	'indefinite'
<i>inna paaye</i>	'I don't know'		

- (561) A: mîîkîrî yun sa'manta-'pî ko'manpra
 3:PRO father die-PAST yesterday
 'His father died yesterday.'

B: inna perî
 is:that:so
 'Is that right!'

- (562) A: pri'ya a-san nai ta-'pî-i-ya
 well 2-mother 3:be say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "Is your mother well?," he said.'

B: inna paaye, era'ma-u-ya pra wai
 I:don't:know see-1-ERG NEG 1:be
 ' "I don't know, I didn't see her." '

- (563) A: a-yanî-u-ya tarîpai, ta-'pî-i-ya
 2-eat-1-ERG from:here say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "So then I'll eat you," he said.'
- B: kane kane, ta-'pî-i-ya. e-eka'tumî-'pî
 no no say-PAST-3-ERG 3-run-PAST
 ' "No, no," he said. He ran away.'
- (564) A: anî' moro nai amîrî
 who there 3:be:INTER 2:PRO
 ka'rî, ta-'pî-i-ya
 uncertainty say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "Who is there? It's you? (maybe)," he said.'
- B: inna tî
 ' "Certainly." '

21.2 Coordinating and subordinating particles. (See sects. 8 and 14.) These particles occur clause initial or clause final, relating the clause in which they occur to the preceding or following clause, sentence or sentences of the discourse. The most frequently occurring particles with this function are: *moropai* 'and, and then', *tarîpai* 'from here', *mîrîrîya* 'then', *moriya* 'therefore', *maasa pra* and *maasa ma're* 'because' and *tîise* 'but'.

The particle *moropai* can link two clauses in a time sequence or without a time sequence, and can link a clause to a previous event after a digression in a narrative. See examples of these functions in sect. 8 and in the text in the Appendix.

The particle *tarîpai* can occur clause initial or clause final and has a discourse-pragmatic function marking a change in the direction or purpose in the narrative.

- (565) tarîpai to' yarî-u-ya yu' ya, ta-'pî-i-ya
 from:here 3:PRO:PL take-1-ERG bush in say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "From here then, I will take them in the bush," he said.'

In this example, the speaker had just failed with one plan to deceive his children, so he changed his tactics and decided to take them and lose them in the bush; *tarîpai* signals this change.

The causal particles *maasa pra* and *maasa ma're* 'because' seem to be used in the same way, occurring clause initial and linking the cause clause to a previously stated result. As with the other connectives, the linkage may be with the preceding clause or with a whole section of the preceding discourse.

- (566) *tĩise* *ekaremekĩ-i-ya* *pra* *a-wanĩ-'pĩ*, *maasa pra* *to'*
 but tell-3-ERG NEG 3-be-PAST because 3:PRO:PL
wakĩri *pe* *Davi* *wanĩ-'pĩ*
 pleasing:to DENOM David be-PAST
 'But he didn't tell, because they liked David.'

The adversative particle *tĩise* may function in three ways: (i) sentence initial, contrasting something in that sentence with something that has preceded (567); (ii) coordinating, in an adversative relationship, the following clause with the previous one within the same sentence (568); and (iii) subordinating a clause or phrase to another clause that may precede or follow the subordinate construction. In this relationship, *tĩise* always occurs following the subordinate clause or phrase, and the meaning is not a true adversative 'but', but rather, 'even though' or 'in spite of' (569), (570).

- (567) *a'nai* *soroka* *pe* *attĩ-'pĩ*. *tĩise*
 corn scatter DENOM 3:go-PAST but
yaku *yari-'pĩ-i-ya*
 eat carry-PAST-3-ERG
 'He went scattering corn. But she went along eating (it).'

- (568) *pisa'sa* *yeuka-'pĩ-i-ya* *tĩise* *e-ekore'ma* *pra*
 shoe pull:out-PAST-3-ERG but 3-angry NEG
a-wanĩ-'pĩ
 3-be-PAST
 'He pulled out a shoe (of water), but he didn't get angry.'

- (569) *mĩĩkĩrĩ* *era'ma* *yu'se* *to'* *tĩise*, *tiwinarĩ*
 3:PRO see want 3:PRO:PL but quickly
asakĩ'-nan-kon *warayo'-kon* *es-enpo-'pĩ*
 two-NOMLZR-COLL man-COLL DETRANSVZR-appear-PAST
to' *pia*
 3:PRO:PL to
 'Even though they were wanting to see him, two men suddenly appeared to them.'

- (570) anna es-e'ma'tî-'pî aminke pu'kuru
 1:EXCL DETRANSVZR-start:out-PAST far very

pra Bom Fim tãse

NEG Bom Fim but

'We started out, in spite of not being very far from Bom Fim.'

21.3 Modifying particles. These occur primarily as modifiers of nouns (sect. 21.3.1), but a few occur modifying verbs (sect. 21.3.2). A few of these particles also have an anaphoric discourse function, as is described in section 13.3.

21.3.1 Modifiers of nouns. These particles occur following the nouns they modify. Some may also modify verbs, but their primary function is to modify nouns:

<i>pu'kuru</i>	'very, genuine'
<i>panpî</i>	'more, greater degree'
<i>teken</i>	'pure, unmixed'
<i>neken</i>	'only'
<i>rimî</i>	'augmentative'
<i>mîrîkkî</i>	'diminutive'
<i>kanan</i>	'next in progression'
<i>nurî'tî</i>	'deceased'
<i>nîrî</i>	'also'

- (571) mîlîrî morî pu'kuru
3:PRO good:one very
'He is very good.'

- (572) o'ma era'ma pî wai, more yan
beast see at 1:be baby mother

rimî, ta-'pî-i-ya

AUG say-PAST-3-ERG

‘ “I saw the beast, a big pregnant one,” he said.’

- (573) a-colher-rî kanan ta-'pî-i-ya
2-spoon-POSSN next:in:turn say-PAST-3-ERG
' "And now your spoon?," he said.'
(The speaker had already put out his spoon.)

- (574) uurî nîrî e'-ka'nama pepîn
 1:PRO also DETRANSVZR-scratch NEG
 '“Me too, I won't scratch,” (said the monkey).'

In (574), the particle *nîrî* 'also' refers to the previous speech of another participant, the fox, who said, “I won't turn around”.

- (575) morî panpî tîrî-i-ya anna pia
 good:thing more give-3-ERG 1:EXCL to
 'He will give us better (things).'

- (576) warayo'-kon taken wanî-'pî miarî
 man-COLL unmixed be-PAST there
 'There were only men there (no women).'

21.3.2 Modifiers of verbs. These usually follow the verb, but some occasionally precede the verb they modify:

<i>aasîrî</i>	'already'
<i>ipîra</i>	'extremely'
<i>tîwîrî</i>	'always'
<i>inî</i>	'again'
<i>ne'tîkini</i>	'aforementioned, beforehand'
<i>kanpîrî</i>	'anyhow'
<i>tîwî</i>	'leave it'
<i>teuren</i>	'in vain'

- (577) aasîrî to' eporî pî' man, ta-'pî-i-ya
 already 3:PRO:PL find at 3:be say-PAST-3-ERG
 '“He found them already,” he said.'

- (578) mîikîrî wanî manni e'mai' pe Macedonia
 3:PRO be that:one first DENOM Macedonia

po soosi esa' pe a-wanî ne'tîkini
 in church leader DENOM 3-be beforehand
 'He is that one who was in the past the church leader in Macedonia.'

- (579) paapa'-ya anna pîika'tî pî' man tîwîrî
 God-ERG 1:EXCL help at 3:be always
 'God is always helping us.'

- (580) tuna an-enî-pai e-ena-'pî ipîra
 water ADVBLZR-drink-DESID 3-become-PAST extremely
 'He became extremely thirsty (wanting to drink water).'
- (581) tîwî i-kupî-'pî-i-ya
 leave:it 3-make-PAST-3-ERG
 'He left it alone (i.e., after trying, he gave up and left it).'
- (582) attî-'pî teuren, anî' eporî-i-ya pra a-wanî-'pî
 3:go-PAST FRUST who find-3-ERG NEG 3-be-PAST
 'He went (hunting) in vain; he didn't find anything.'

21.4 Emphatic particles. This is a small set of three: *tî*, *rî*, and *se*, all of which express emphasis or greater intensity. They occur following any class of word, including other particles. When *rî* and *se* co-occur, *se* follows *rî* (586).

- (583) iyarî se, ta-'pî-i-ya, mîi ya
 let's:go INTNSF say-PAST-3-ERG field to
 ' "Let's go," he said, "to the field." '
- (584) i-wî-sa-u'-ya pra a-wanî ya, miarî rî
 3-kill-CMPL-1-ERG NEG 3-be COND there INTNSF
 u-wî-i-ya
 1-kill-3-ERG
 'If I don't kill him, he'll kill me right there.'
- (585) mîrîrî ye'nen tî morî ku'-pai'-nîkon
 that as:result INTNSF good:thing do-HORT-COLL
 'So especially because of that, let's do good.'
- (586) inkamoro-ya epu'tî pra a-wanî-'pî, o'non pata
 those-ERG know NEG 3-be-PAST which place
 rî se t-uutî pî' e-es-eurîma
 INTNSF INTNSF 3:REFLX-go at 3-DETRANSVZR-speak
 'They didn't know just exactly where it was he said he was going.'

21.5 Verification particles. These particles occur following other word classes and express the attitude or relationship of the speaker to what he is saying. Their scope is the whole clause or sentence:

<i>pama</i>	‘poor thing, misfortune’
<i>sa'ne</i>	‘expression of pity, modesty’
<i>kinî</i>	‘in fact, contrary to appearance’
<i>kooye</i>	‘doubt, uncertainty’
<i>naka</i>	‘perhaps, maybe’
<i>tai'se</i>	‘strong uncertainty’
<i>sa'rî</i>	‘said before’
<i>ken</i>	‘who/what in the world!’
<i>renamo</i>	‘memory recall’ (i.e., an effort to recall the name of something).

- (587) o'non-kon se u-payan-yamî
 where-COLL INTNSF 1-grandchild-PL

kooye, ta-'pî-i-ya
 UNCERT say-PAST-3-ERG
 ‘ “I wonder where my grandchildren are,” she said.’

- (588) ene'-kî naka t-aka-i pra
 bring-IMP perhaps ADVBLZR-say-ADVBLZR NEG
 ‘Bring (it), not saying “maybe” (i.e., bring it without fail).’

- (589) mîîkîrî asarî yai, it-enya wanî-'pî,
 3:PRO walk at 3-hand:in be-PAST

î' renamo
 what memory:recall
 ‘When he walked, he had in his hand, whatever was it?’

- (590) mîrîrî it-e'mata-rî-'pî sa'ne kinî
 that 3-leg-POSSN-PAST pity in:fact
 ‘That was, in fact, his former leg (not just a lump of meat), poor thing.’

- (591) kapoi kinî mîîkîrî
 moon really 3:PRO
 ‘She was, in fact, the moon (not just a human being).’

Phonology

22 Phonology

22.1 Phonemes

22.1.1 Consonants. There are ten consonants: obstruents p, t, k; fricatives s, ' (h); sonorants m, n, r; and semi-vowels w, y.

The bilabial obstruent p has voiced and voiceless variants. Voicing occurs following a “long” syllable (CVV, CVC or VC) in which there is a long vowel or a final n or ' (this does not include all cases of rhythmically long syllables described in section 22.2):

[paaba]	<i>paapa</i>	‘father’
[iibi]	<i>iipî</i>	‘come’
[sumba]	<i>sunpa</i>	‘tray, shallow basket’
[ahbu]	<i>a'pu</i>	‘your foot’

It is voiceless elsewhere:

[piriu]	<i>pîriu</i>	‘arrow’
[kapoi]	<i>kapoi</i>	‘moon’

The alveolar obstruent t also has voiced and voiceless variants. Voicing occurs following a long syllable as defined above :

[depoodorî]	<i>yepotorî</i>	‘lord’
[unda]	<i>unta</i>	‘my mouth’
[mohda]	<i>mo'ta</i>	‘move’

It is voiceless elsewhere:

[pata]	<i>pata</i>	‘place’
[taitai]	<i>taitai</i>	‘mythical being’

The velar obstruent k also has voiced and voiceless variants which follow the same rules as for p and t:

[paaga]	<i>paaka</i>	'cow'
[ahga]	<i>a'ka</i>	'light'
[ingamoro]	<i>inkamoro</i>	'those'
[kaane]	<i>kaane</i>	'no'
[iwarika]	<i>iwarika</i>	'monkey'

The alveolar fricative *s* has the following variants:

[š] voiceless palatal fricative, which occurs preceding and following a high front vowel *i*, as well as preceding a high back vowel *u*:

[šumba]	<i>sunpa</i>	'tray'
[šiki]	<i>siki</i>	'flea'
[išaŋ]	<i>isan</i>	'his mother'

[z] voiced alveolar fricative, which occurs following a long syllable as defined above, except when the preceding or following vowel is a high front vowel:

[aaze]	<i>aase</i>	'Let's walk.'
[uyabonze]	<i>uyaponse</i>	'my bench'
[yuhze]	<i>yu'se</i>	'want'

[ž] voiced palatal fricative, which occurs following a long syllable as defined above, only when the preceding or following vowel is a high front vowel:

[iŋženaŋ]	<i>insenan</i>	'these'
[uyeŋži]	<i>uyensi</i>	'my daughter'
[tiwiŋžeri]	<i>tiwinseri</i>	'alone'
[aiihža']	<i>aii'sa'</i>	'He came.'

It is voiceless and nonpalatal elsewhere:

[sahmaŋ]	<i>sa'man</i>	'hard'
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The glottal fricative ' occurs only in syllable-final position. (In Abbott 1976: 266 this was listed as a glottal stop, but it is, in fact, a fricative.)

[moh]	<i>mo'</i>	'worm'
[ahda]	<i>a'ta</i>	'hole'
[ikuhbi]	<i>iku'pi</i>	'lake'

The bilabial nasal *m* occurs only in syllable-initial position:

[miigiri]	<i>mũkîrî</i>	'he'
[ameŋ]	<i>amen</i>	'recently'

The alveolar nasal *n* has the following variants:

[*m*] Although the bilabial nasal contrasts with the alveolar nasal in syllable-initial position, a homorganic process occurs in syllable-final position, the contrast between [*m*] and [*n*] being neutralized by the following consonant:

[umbo]	<i>unpo</i>	'my shoulder'
[samba]	<i>sanpa</i>	'tray'

[*ŋ*] The velar nasal occurs preceding *r*, *k*, or in word-final position. It only occurs syllable final:

[aŋrah]	<i>anra'</i>	'heron'
[aimutuŋ]	<i>aimutun</i>	'white'
[maŋga]	<i>manka</i>	'manga'

[*n*] occurs elsewhere:

[inoɦbi]	<i>ino'pî</i>	'his wife'
[nahnah]	<i>na'na'</i>	'older sister (male speaker)'

The alveolar flap *r* occurs in all positions, except word-final. It doesn't appear to be a simple flap, but more of a lateral flap. The exact phonetic quality has not been determined:

[eraɦdî]	<i>era'tî</i>	'turn'
[paruru]	<i>paruru</i>	'banana'
[rumaka]	<i>rumaka</i>	'desert'

The palatal semi-vowel *y* has the following variants:

[*d*] voiced alveolar fricative, with low tongue tip, which occurs in all environments, except before or after a front or back high vowel:

[waradoh]	<i>warayo'</i>	'male'
[dahre]	<i>ya're</i>	'food'
[anihda]	<i>ani'ya</i>	'who + ERG'

[y] high front unrounded semi-vowel, which occurs before and after u and i:

[uye]	<i>uye</i>	'my tooth'
[uyun]	<i>uyun</i>	'my father'
[yihni]	<i>yi'ni</i>	'come'

The bilabial semi-vowel w has the following variants:

[b] voiced bilabial fricative, which occurs preceding front vowels:

[tibĩŋ]	<i>tiwin</i>	'one'
[bei]	<i>wei</i>	'sun'
[ereube]	<i>ereuwe</i>	'housefly?'

[w] occurs elsewhere:

[wahwah]	<i>wa'wa'</i>	'baby'
[kanawa]	<i>kanawa</i>	'canoe'
[uwugu]	<i>uwuku</i>	'my drink'

22.1.2 Vowels. The phonetic distinctions in vowels are numerous, but only the more significant ones are described here. Nasality is not a contrastive feature, nor is tone. Length is contrastive and is written with a double vowel.

The phonemic vowels are: i, e, a, î (ĩ), o (õ), u. All may be lengthened.

The high front vowel i has the following variants:

[ĩ] occurs contiguous to a nasal consonant in an accented syllable:

[innā]	<i>inna</i>	'yes'
[tiwĩŋ]	<i>tiwin</i>	'one'

[i] occurs elsewhere:

[piibi]	<i>piipi</i>	'brother'
[iʃaŋ]	<i>isan</i>	'his mother'

The mid front vowel *e* has the following variants:

[ē] occurs contiguous to a nasal consonant, in an accented syllable:

[ēdamohga]	<i>entamo'ka</i>	'eat'
[tarēŋ]	<i>taren</i>	'witchcraft'

[ɛ] occurs when followed by a glottal fricative and in word-final position following a nasal consonant:

[ɛhtiri]	<i>e'tîrî</i>	'was given'
[sahmɛ]	<i>sa'me</i>	'hard'

[e] occurs elsewhere:

[siriripe]	<i>sîrîrîpe</i>	'today'
[ereube]	<i>ereuwe</i>	'housefly'

The low central unrounded vowel *a* has the following variants:

[ā] occurs contiguous to a nasal consonant in an accented syllable:

[āŋrah]	<i>anra'</i>	'heron'
[pāŋ]	<i>pan</i>	'salt'

[a] occurs elsewhere:

[erahma]	<i>era'ma</i>	'see'
[ahda]	<i>a'ta</i>	'hole'

The mid central unrounded vowel *ɨ* has the following variants:

[î] occurs following a nasal consonant:

[iinî]	<i>îinî</i>	'pot'
[mîŋ]	<i>mîn</i>	'blood'

[ɨ] occurs elsewhere:

[ih]	<i>i'</i>	'what'
[p̥iŋgi]	<i>p̥iŋki</i>	'bushpig'

The high back rounded vowel u has the following allophones:

[ũ] occurs preceding a nasal consonant and following a nasal consonant in an accented syllable:

[pũŋ]	<i>pun</i>	'flesh'
[ũŋre]	<i>unre</i>	'my child'
[mũmũ]	<i>mumu</i>	'son'

[u] occurs elsewhere:

[uuruwai]	<i>uuruwai</i>	'grave'
[sararu]	<i>sararu</i>	'meat'
[paruru]	<i>paruru</i>	'banana'

The mid back rounded vowel o has the following allophones:

[õ] occurs preceding a nasal consonant:

[põŋ]	<i>pon</i>	'clothes'
[põna]	<i>pona</i>	'to'

[ɔ] occurs elsewhere:

[ɔhma]	<i>o'ma</i>	'beast'
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22.2 Syllable length and rhythmic patterning. Syllable length is important in Macushi for the way it influences rhythmic patterning. (Cf. the discussion on related Hixkaryana in Derbyshire 1979:184.) The basic rhythmic pattern of a sequence of V or CV syllables within a word/phrase is short-long-short-long, etc. (where "long" is defined as having stress and vowel length). The final CV in a phonological phrase (i.e., a phrase bounded by pause) is always long and stressed, but within the phrase, even across grammatical word boundaries, the pattern is that the even numbered V or CV syllable, counting from the left, is long:

- (1) *arimarakayamî* (V.C \bar{V} .CV.C \bar{V} .CV.C \bar{V} .C \bar{V}) 'dogs'
 (2) *umaimu yawîrî* (V.C \bar{V} \bar{V} .CV.C \bar{V} .CV.C \bar{V}) 'according
 to my word'

(The second syllable of *umaimu* happens to have a diphthong (see (ii) below), but it does not affect the basic pattern described for CV syllables above.)

The following factors affect the basic rhythm pattern:

(i) A syllable may be added to a word, as when a possessive pronoun is affixed. This changes the pronunciation of the basic stem in the sense that different syllables are short and long, but the basic rhythm pattern is preserved. For example:

<i>pata</i>	(CV. C \bar{V})	'place'
<i>upata</i>	(V. C \bar{V} . C \bar{V})	'my place'

(ii) Syllables that contain a contrastively long vowel (sect. 22.1.2) or a diphthong, i.e., CVV syllables, and VC and CVC syllables, are inherently long and affect the basic pattern accordingly. Thus:

<i>eipepî</i>	(\bar{V} \bar{V} . CV. C \bar{V})	'I am ashamed.'
<i>eerepamî</i>	(\bar{V} \bar{V} . CV. C \bar{V} . C \bar{V})	'You arrive.'

with which compare

<i>erepamî</i>	(V. C \bar{V} . CV. C \bar{V})	'I arrive.'
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where the basic pattern for V and CV syllables applies.

Compare the following with *upata* above:

<i>upata'pî</i>	(V. C \bar{V} . C \bar{V} C. C \bar{V})	'my former place'
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This can result in a succession of long syllables:

<i>e'mî' sa'ka'pî</i>	(\bar{V} C. C \bar{V} C. C \bar{V} C. C \bar{V} C. C \bar{V})	'I arose.'
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Where, however, a succession of CV syllables follows a CVV or CVC syllable, the basic pattern is resumed:

waimuyamî (C \bar{V} \bar{V} . CV. C \bar{V} . C \bar{V}) 'rats'

The only consonants that occur in syllable-final position are ' and n, and sometimes these occur in a word- and phrase-final CVC pattern. Since a final CV is always long, this does not change the basic pattern:

entamo'kan (V̄C. CV. C \bar{V} C. C \bar{V} C) 'We eat.'

(iii) Occasionally long consonants occur. These are indicated by writing two consonants together and they are pronounced simply by holding the consonants a little longer than normal. The resulting syllable patterns are CVC.CV(C), where C.C represents the lengthened consonant:

uyekkari (V. C \bar{V} C. CV C \bar{V}) 'my fruit food'

The long consonants that occur are p, t, k, n:

esippia'tî (V. C \bar{V} C. CV. V̄C. C \bar{V}) 'beginning'
atta (V̄C. C \bar{V}) 'hammock'

22.3 Deletion. A short unstressed vowel is reduced to open transition before stops and may be completely lost before voiced consonants. The quality of the vowel is known from longer, inflected forms of the word.

<i>pata</i>	'place'	is realized as	[pəta]
<i>era'mata</i>	'go get it'	is realized as	[era'məta]
<i>pe'mara</i>	'free'	is realized as	[pe'mra]
<i>seeporo</i>	'along here'	is realized as	[seebro]

The form *pra* [pra] 'negative' is written with an initial consonant cluster, since it is never inflected and there is never any vowel that actually occurs between the two initial consonants.

A vowel preceding a long consonant is never lost, but it is less resonant than a vowel in a long syllable, the length being transferred to the consonant.

<i>uyepa</i>	'my backbone'	(V.C \bar{V} C.C \bar{V})
<i>peppe</i>	'butterfly'	(C \bar{V} C.C \bar{V})
<i>uyette</i>	'my hammock'	(V.C \bar{V} C.C \bar{V})

Certain CV syllables with the *î* vowel appear to be weak and are reduced or lost completely when certain affixes are added. The *pî*, *tî*, *kî*

and *sî* syllables are reduced to a glottal; the *rî* syllable is deleted and the preceding vowel lengthened; and the *nî* and *mî* syllables are reduced to *n*.

<i>esatî</i>	'ask for'	+ <i>-kî</i>	'IMP'	= <i>esa'kî</i>	'Ask!'
<i>yapisî</i>	'catch'	+ <i>-to'pe</i>	'PURP'	= <i>yapi'to'pe</i>	'in order to catch'
<i>pîmî</i>	'neck'	+ <i>i-</i>	'3SG'	= <i>i'mî</i>	'his neck'
<i>tîrî</i>	'give'	+ <i>-sa'</i>	'CMPL'	= <i>tîûsa'</i>	'gave'
<i>yanî</i>	'eat'	+ <i>-sa'</i>	'CMPL'	= <i>yansa'</i>	'ate'
<i>erepamî</i>	'arrive'	+ <i>-sa'</i>	'CMPL'	= <i>erepansa'</i>	'I arrived.'

22.4 Metathesis. Metathesis occurs at morpheme boundaries where ' is followed by a high vowel (i or u):

<i>koneka-sa'-i-ya</i>	changes to	<i>konekasai'ya</i>	'He made it.'
<i>ku'-to'-u-ya</i>	changes to	<i>ku'tou'ya</i>	'what I did'

22.5 Insertion. Insertion of *y* takes place between the person prefixes *u-* '1' and *a-* '2' and a stem-initial vowel. Insertion of *t-* takes place between the prefix *i-* '3' and a stem-initial vowel. These epenthetical segments are seen in:

<i>ayera'mauya</i>	'I see you.'
<i>itewî'</i>	'his house'

There is insertion of *u* between the suffix *-tî* '3 REFLX' on a transitive verb stem and *-ya* 'ERG':

<i>era'matîuya ya</i>	'when he saw (it)'
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23 Morphology

The morphology has been dealt with in the preceeding sections.

Ideophones

24 Ideophones

Ideophones are onomatopoeic words that occur in most types of discourse. They denote the action normally expressed by a finite verb form. In many sentences they are an additional constituent reinforcing the inflected verb form (592) and usually occur sentence-initial or sentence-final. They are never inflected.

- (592) mîrîrî pî' to' wanî-'pî. tîren, tîren, tîren,
 that at 3:PRO:PL be-PAST sound:of:spoons:and:plates

pîratu pa'tî-'pî to'-ya
 plates hit-PAST 3:PRO:PL-ERG
 'They were at that (doing that). Banging of plates and spoons, they hit the plates.'

Ideophones can also occur with an inflected form of the verb *taa* 'say'. In this case the ideophone occurs before the verb like an embedded direct speech complement of the verb. This ideophone construction thus parallels quotation sentences.

- (593) tuna-ya tîko, tîko taa tanne, tiaron wîtî-'pî
 water-ERG sound:of:bubbling say while, another go-PAST
 'While the water was bubbling, another one went.'

- (594) tî-pu'pai ke wîu ta-'pî-i-ya,
 3:REFLX-head with wîu say-PAST-3-ERG
 e-es-eurîma-to'pe kai'ma
 3-DETRANSVZR-speak-PURP INTENT
 'He said with his head, *wîu*, in order for him to speak.'
 (i.e., 'He motioned with his head that he could speak'.)

- (595) Paulo-ya t-enya ke weu ta-'pî to' pî'
 Paul-ERG 3:REFLX-hand with weu say-PAST 3:PRO:PL to

te-es-eurîma

kai'ma

3:REFLX-DETRANSVZR-speak INTENT

‘Paul gestured (i.e., said with his hands *weu*) that he would speak to them.’

Some concepts can only be expressed by ideophones. These can result in derived nouns or verbs, usually a repetition of the onomatopoeic word, and can be inflected for possession like regular nouns (598, 599) or undergo some of the verbal processes (596b).

(596a) sisiu ta-i-ya

lightning say-3-ERG

'It is lightning' or 'The lightning flashes.'

(596b) wara'napi e'-sisiuka

warantî e-ena-'pî

thunder DETRANSVZR-lightning

3-become-PAST

'It became like thunder lightning'.

(597) ahe' he' ta-i-ya

coughing:noise say-3-ERG

'He is coughing'.

(598) sarai sarai

→

u-saraisara-ri

1-comb-POSSN

‘combing action’

‘my comb’

(599) kîrî kîrî

u-kîrîkîrî-ri

1-file-POSSN

‘filing action’

'my file'

Ideophones also function as nominals and occur with *pe* 'DENOM' as complements of the copula or as adverbials in other clause types.

(600) sîpa sîpa

pe

a-wanî-'pî

action:of:waves

DENOM

3-be-PAST

'It (the water) was rough.'

(601) kono' rena-'pî peru

peru

pe

rain rain-PA

sound:of:rain

DENOM

'It rained hard (sound of rain falling)'.

- (602) son son pe attî-'pî
 running:action DENOM 3:go-PAST
 'He went, running fast.'

Some frequently occurring ideophones are:

<i>taw taw</i>	'sound of axe chopping wood'
<i>pîko pîko</i>	'sound of fish jumping in water'
<i>turun</i>	'sound of heavy object falling'
<i>siro ro ro ro</i>	'sound of water pouring'
<i>siuuu</i>	'person walking with a flashlight'
<i>kîyîn kîyîn</i>	'caterpillar or snake moving'
<i>koo koo</i>	'sound of gulping a lot of liquid'
<i>saku saku</i>	'sound of eating farinha'
<i>pîsoi</i>	'sound of lid being removed'
<i>popo</i>	'bird flying'
<i>tîn</i>	'person thinking'
<i>too oo</i>	'sleeping soundly'
<i>tapi tapi</i>	'rain leaking through roof'
<i>kurui</i>	'swallowing just a little, coffee or medicine'
<i>sîpe sîpe</i>	'dog lapping water'
<i>e'e'e'</i>	'sound of belching or nausea'
<i>tuu tuu</i>	'sound of rain on trees coming near'
<i>tîrin tîrin</i>	'sound of bicycle bell approaching'
<i>soso o</i>	'sound of throwing water out of a basin'
<i>isōin</i>	'stomach sounds (worms)'

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Appendix

Macushi Text

as told by João Maçarico Raposo
Weï moropai Kapoi moropai Kaiwano'
 'Sun and Moon and Star'

1. pemonkon wanî-'pî t-akon yarakkî-ron.
 person be-PAST 3:REFLX-younger:brother with-NOMLZR
 'There was a person with his younger brother.'

2. it-akon wanî-'pî tî-rui maimu
 3-younger:brother be-PAST 3:REFLX-older:brother word

 yuuku-i-ya pra.
 answer-3-ERG NEG
 'His younger brother didn't obey his older brother's word.'

3. aase, moyi, ta-'pî-i-ya, toron-yamî poka-i
 let's:go brother say-PAST-3-ERG bird-PL arrow-PURP

 kura' ke, ta-'pî-i-ya.
 blowpipe with say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "Let's go, brother," he said, "to arrow birds with the blowpipe,"
 he said.'

4. kanne u-wi, kura' yapurî-nen pepîn uurî.
 no 1-brother blowpipe use-S:NOMLZR NEG 1:PRO
 ' "No, brother, I am not a user of blowpipes." '

5. u-yenya ke to' poka-nen uurî,
 1-hand with 3:PRO:PL arrow-S:NOMLZR 1:PRO

 ta-'pî-i-ya.
 say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "I am one who arrows them with my hands," he said.'

6. moropai i-rui-ya kura' yarî-'pî, to'
 and 3-brother-ERG blowpipe carry-PAST 3:PRO:PL

wî-tî-'pî, moropai to' erepamî-'pî
go-PAST and 3:PRO:PL arrive-PAST

t-ewî'-kon ta.

3:REFLX-house-COLL in

'And his older brother carried the blowpipe; they went, and they arrived at their own house.'

7. inî'rî to' wî-tî-'pî mai'wa-yamî tî'ka-i.
again 3:PRO:PL go-PAST duck-PL kill-PURP
'Again they went to kill ducks.'

8. aase, moyi, mai'wa-yamî tî'ka-i, ta-'pî-i-ya.
let's go brother duck-PL kill-PURP say-PAST-3-ERG
' "Let's go, brother, to kill ducks," he said.'

9. kaane, uwi, u-yenya ke rî to'
no brother 1-hand with EMPH 3:PRO:PL

tî'ka-nen uurî, ta-'pî-i-ya, kura'
kill-S:NOMLZR 1:PRO say-PAST-3-ERG blowpipe

yaa-kî taa-sa' i-rui-ya tanne.

carry-IMP say-CMPL 3-brother-ERG while

' "No, brother, I am one who kills them with my hands," he said, at the same time his older brother had said, "Carry the blowpipe." '

10. moropai to' wî-tî-'pî miarî i-rui-ya to'
and 3:PRO:PL go-PAST there 3-brother-ERG 3:PRO:PL

poka-pî-tî-'pî kura' ke.

arrow-ITER-PAST blowpipe with

'And they went there and his brother arrowed them with the blowpipe.'

11. to' tî'ka-'pî-i-ya tu'ke.
3:PRO:PL kill-PAST-3-ERG plenty
'He killed plenty of them.'

12. it-akon-ya anî' wîî pîn.
3-brother-ERG who kill NEG
'His younger brother didn't kill anything.'
13. moropai to' emikku-'pî.
and 3:PRO:PL go:home-PAST
'And they returned home.'
14. moropai, wîî-n sîrîrî, ta-'pî-i-ya,
and go-1:INCL SI say-PAST-3-ERG

i-wo'non-se.
ADVBLZR-hunt-PURP
'And, "We go," he said, "hunting." '
15. to' wîî-'pî teuren, yu' ya to' erepamî-'pî.
3:PRO:PL go-PAST in:vain bush in 3:PRO:PL arrive-PAST
'They went (in vain); they arrived in the bush.'
16. moro o'ma'-ya to' yeporî-'pî.
there beast-ERG 3:PRO:PL find-PAST
'There a beast found them.'
17. i-rui-ya i-wî-'pî, mîîkîrî.
3-brother-ERG 3-kill-PAST 3:PRO
'His older brother killed him.'
18. it-akon eka'tumî-'pî moropai a-at-aka'ma-'pî
3-brother run-PAST and 3-DETRANSVZR-lose-PAST

inkarî' ta.
bush in
'His younger brother ran and got lost in the bush.'
19. moropai aa-ko'mamî-'pî, aa-ko'mamî-'pî t-ekkari
and 3-remain-PAST 3-remain-PAST 3:REFLX-food

t-onpa-i pra asakî'ne wei, moropai
ADVBLZR-taste-ADVBLZR, NEG two day and

pîretîku eporî-'pî-i-ya.

frog find-PAST-3-ERG

'And he remained; he remained not eating food for two days and then he met a frog.'

20. pîretîku-ya yeporî-'pî.

frog-ERG find-PAST

'A frog met him.'

21. aase, ta-'pî-i-ya, pîretîku-ya.

let's:go say-PAST-3-ERG frog-ERG

' "Let's go," he said, the frog (said).'

22. pîretîku-ya yanumî-'pî tî-npo pona, yarî-'pî-i-ya
frog-ERG pick:up-PAST 3-back on carry-PAST-3-ERG

aminke tuna kata pî', pîranna yarakkita
far water in at ocean middle

pî', pîranna pia a-wanî mîrîrî.

at ocean to 3-be that

'The frog picked him up on his back and carried him far to the water, to the middle of the ocean. It was in the ocean.'

23. pîranna yarakkita pî' yarî-'pî-i-ya, moropai pîranna
ocean middle at carry-PAST-3-ERG and ocean

yarakkita ikîrî pona i-rumaka-'pî-i-ya.

middle hill on 3-desert-PAST-3-ERG

'He carried him to the middle of the ocean and he left him on an island in the middle of the ocean.'

24. moropai pîretîku wîî-'pî.

and frog go-PAST

'And the frog went away.'

25. t-onpa-yamî pia aw-enna'po-'pî.

3:REFLX-relative-PL to 3-return-PAST

'He returned to his own relatives.'

26. aa-ko'mamî-'pî, mĩkĩrĩ pemonkon t-ekkari
 3-remain-PAST 3:PRO person 3:REFLX-food
 t-onpa-i pra, i-karau
 ADVBLZR-taste-ADVBLZR NEG 3-cry
 ko'man-nĩpĩ-'pî, ikĩrĩ mĩrĩrĩ, yei mara-ron
 remain-TRNSTVZR-PAST hill that tree little-NOMLZR
 pepĩn mĩrĩrĩ ikĩrĩ.
 NEG that hill
 'He remained, that man, not eating food. He remained crying. That hill, there were many trees on that hill.'
27. moro a-wanĩ-'pĩ.
 there 3-be-PAST
 'There he was.'
28. aa-ko'mamĩ-'pĩ moro, toron-yamĩ weka-pĩtĩ-'pĩ i-po.
 3-remain-PAST there bird-PL defecate-ITER-PAST 3-on
 'He remained there and the birds defecated on him.'
29. mararĩ pra toron-yamĩ we'na-to' mĩrĩrĩ.
 little NEG bird-PL sleep-INST:NOMLZR that
 'It was the sleeping place of a lot of birds.'
30. waku'ka-yamĩ, tararamu-yamĩ, tamĩ'nawĩrĩ mai'wa-yamĩ,
 dove-PL jabiru-PL all duck-PL
 toron-yamĩ we'na-to' mĩrĩrĩ.
 bird-PL sleep-INST:NOMLZR that
 'Doves and jabirus and all the ducks, it was the sleeping place of birds.'
31. nora pe a-wanĩ-'pĩ, moropai eporĩ-'pĩ pemonkon-ya.
 dirty DENOM 3-be-PAST and find-PAST person-ERG
 'He was dirty and a person found him.'
32. eporĩ-'pĩ-i-ya.
 find-PAST-3-ERG
 '(S)he found him.'

33. î' wani a-wanî mîrîrî? ta-'pî-i-ya.
 what 3-be AI say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "What are you doing here?," (s)he said.'
34. uurî, uu-i-'sa sîrîrî, pîretîku-ya u-yene-'sa'
 1:PRO 1-come-CMPL SI frog-ERG 1-bring-CMPL

 sîrîrî, tarî-wayâ.
 SI here-to
 ' "I, I came. The frog brought me here." '
35. inna ka'rî, a-san pepîn uurî, ta-'pî-i-ya.
 yes ALT 2-mother NEG 1:PRO say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "Is that so? I'm not your mother," (s)he said.'
36. a-san iipî sîrîrî ikînî'pî, ta-'pî pemonkon-ya.
 2-mother come SI last say-PAST person-ERG
 ' "Your mother comes behind," said the person.'
37. attî-'pî. kaiwano' kinî mîîkîrî.
 3:go-PAST star really 3:PRO
 ' (S)he went. That one was really a star.'
38. moropai inî'rî aa-ko'mamî-'pî.
 and again 3-remain-PAST
 'And again he remained.'
39. eporî-'pî pemonkon-ya, tiaron-ya.
 find-PAST person-ERG another-ERG
 ' A person found him, another one.'
40. maama, ta-'pî-i-ya pemonkon-ya.
 mother say-PAST-3-ERG person-ERG
 ' "Mother," said the man'.
41. a-san pepîn uurî, ta-'pî-i-ya.
 2-mother NEG 1:PRO say-PAST-3-ERG
 ' "I'm not your mother," she said.'
42. a-san yi'nî pî' man ikînî'pî.
 2-mother come at 3:be last
 ' "Your mother comes behind." '

43. nora pe aw-e'-kî'pa-sa' waku'ka-yamî
 dirty DENOM 3-DETRANSVZR-smear-CMPL dove-PL
 we' ke.
 dung with
 'He was smeared dirty with the dove's dung.'
44. moropai mĩkĩrĩ pemonkon wĩtĩ-'pĩ, kapoi kinĩ mĩkĩrĩ.
 and 3:PRO person go-PAST moon really 3:PRO
 'And she, the person, went. She was really the moon.'
45. moropai tĩ-ko'man pe pra, aa-ko'mamĩ-'pĩ,
 and 3:REFLX-remain DENOM NEG 3-remain-PAST
 moropai eporĩ-'pĩ kaiwano' kure'-nan-ya.
 and find-PAST star big-NOMLZR-ERG
 'And not remaining long, he remained, and a large star met him.'
46. maama, ta-'pĩ-i-ya, pemonkon-ya.
 mother say-PAST-3-ERG person-ERG
 ' "Mother," said the person.'
47. kaane, a-san pepĩn uurĩ, a-san yi'nĩ
 no 2-mother NEG 1:PRO 2-mother come
 pĩ' man ikĩnĩ'pĩ.
 at 3:be last
 ' "No, I'm not your mother, your mother comes behind." '
48. i-nĩmĩkĩ-'pĩ-i-ya.
 3-wait-PAST-3-ERG
 'He waited for her.'
49. mĩkĩrĩ pemonkon wĩtĩ-'pĩ, moropai i-san
 3:PRO person go-PAST and 3-mother
 erepan-tu'ka-'pĩ.
 arrive-finally-PAST
 'The person went and his mother finally came.'

50. maama, ta-'pî-i-ya.
mother, say-PAST-3-ERG
' "Mother," he said.'
51. î', u-nre, ta-'pî-i-ya.
what 1-child say-PAST-3-ERG
' "What, my child?," she said.'
52. yapurî-'pî-i-ya, morî pe i-rona-'pî-i-ya,
praise-PAST-3-ERG good DENOM 3-wash-PAST-3-ERG

moropai morî pe i-koneka-'pî-i-ya.
and good DENOM 3-fix-PAST-3-ERG
'She praised (cared for) him, washed him and fixed him up well.'
53. i-pon ton eka'ma-'pî-i-ya moropai
3-clothes BEN dress-PAST-3-ERG and

to' wîî-'pî.
3:PRO:PL go-PAST
'She dressed him with his clothes and they went.'
54. wei kinî mîîkîrî.
sun really 3:PRO
'She was really the sun.'
55. tamî'nawîrî pata ya'karuma-i-ya mîrîrî.
all place light-3-ERG AI
'She lights up the whole place (earth).'
56. moropai yarî-'pî-i-ya, i-nna'po-'pî-i-ya
and carry-PAST-3-ERG TRNSTVZR-return-PAST-3-ERG

i-san-tonon yewî' ta, it-un-tonon yewî' ta, miarî
3-mother-COLL house in 3-father-COLL house in there

erepan-nîpî-'pî-i-ya, moropai wei wîî-'pî.
arrive-TRNSTVZR-PAST-3-ERG and sun go-PAST
'And she carried him, and returned him to his mother's house, to his father's house. She took him home and then the sun went.'