

A GRAMMAR OF YINE (PIRO)

Submitted by

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Statement of Authorship

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Rebecca Hanson

Summary

This thesis is a grammar of Yine (also known as Piro), an Arawak language spoken by about 4000 people, most of whom live in the Cusco, Ucayali and Madre de Dios provinces of Peru. The description is based primarily on data gathered in the village of Diamante over a total of 11 months between 2003 and 2006. The thesis consists of 13 chapters. The first chapter serves as an introduction to the language and its speakers, providing a overview of the language and its typological profile, and is followed by a description of its phonological system in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presents the closed word classes, and in Chapter 4 the structure and grammatical status of adjectives are addressed. Chapters 5 to 7 are centred around the class of nouns, presenting their lexical subcategories and morphological structure before treating the structure and organization of the noun phrase and, finally, the means by which they are derived from other word classes. In Chapter 8 the discussion moves to the verb, its structure and the morphology unique to verbal predicates. Both verbal and nonverbal predicates are treated in Chapter 9, with a focus on their morphological structure and the categories expressed in bound predicate morphology. The roles expressed by the predicate's core arguments, and the manipulation of those roles, are treated in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 to 13 deal with syntactic organization. The basic structure of the declarative clause is described in Chapter 11, and negation, politeness, and non-declarative clause types including interrogatives, exclamatives, and imperative strategies are described in Chapter 12. Finally, Chapter 13 discusses the relationships and strategies involved when linking more than one clause together in a single sentence.

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Abbreviations

ACTN.NOM	action nominalizer	LIM	limitive
ADD	additive	LOC.NOM	location nominalizer
ADJ	adjective	M, MSC	masculine
ADV	adverb	MAND	mandative
AFFCT	affected argument	MIR	mirative
AG.NOM	agent nominalizer	N	noun
ANTIC	anticipatory	NP	noun phrase
ANTIC.PASS	anticipatory passive	NEG	negative
ANTIC.REFL	anticipatory reflexive	NONDUR	non-durative
APPL	applicative	NONSPEC	non-specific
ASSOC	associative	NVS	subject of non-verbal predicate
ASSRT	assertive	OBL	oblique
ATTRIB	attributive	OBLG	obligative
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
CAUS.NOM	cause nominalizer	PFV	perfective
CHAR	characteristic action	PL	plural
CMPV	completive	PRIV	privative
CNTREXP	counter-expectation	PROP.NOM	property nominalizer
COM	comitative	PROX	proximal
CONTIN	continuous	PSSD	possessed noun
DIST	distal	PSSR	possessor
DISTR	distributive	PSUBJ.NOM	passive subject nominalizer
DP	<i>Diccionario Piro</i>	QUOT	quotative
DUR	durative	RECIP	reciprocal
ELV	elative	REF	referential article
EM	Matteson (1965)	REFL	reflexive
EMPH	emphatic	REIT	reiterative
EXCL	exclamative	REM	remote
EXTNS	extensive	RESTR	restrictive
F, FEM	feminine	SG	singular
FREQ	frequentative	SER	in series
FRUST	frustrative	SIM	similative
GENZ	generalized	SPEC	specific
IMP.DECL	impersonal declarative	SUBD	subordinate
IMP.NONDECL	impersonal non-declarative	SUBJ.NOM	subject nominalizer
IMPFV	imperfective	TEMP	temporal/conditional
INCH	inchoative	UNPSSD	unpossessed noun
INFER	inferential	V	verb
INSTR.NOM	instrument nominalizer	VCL	verb-stem closure
INTNS	intensive	VICIN	vicinity
INTRG	interrogative	VS	subject of verbal predicate
ITER	iterative		

1 Introduction

This thesis presents a description of Yine, an Arawak language spoken primarily in Peru on the south-western edge of the Amazon basin. Figure 1.1¹ illustrates the location of Yine communities in Peru, situated in the departments of Cusco, Ucayali, Madre de Dios, and Loreto.

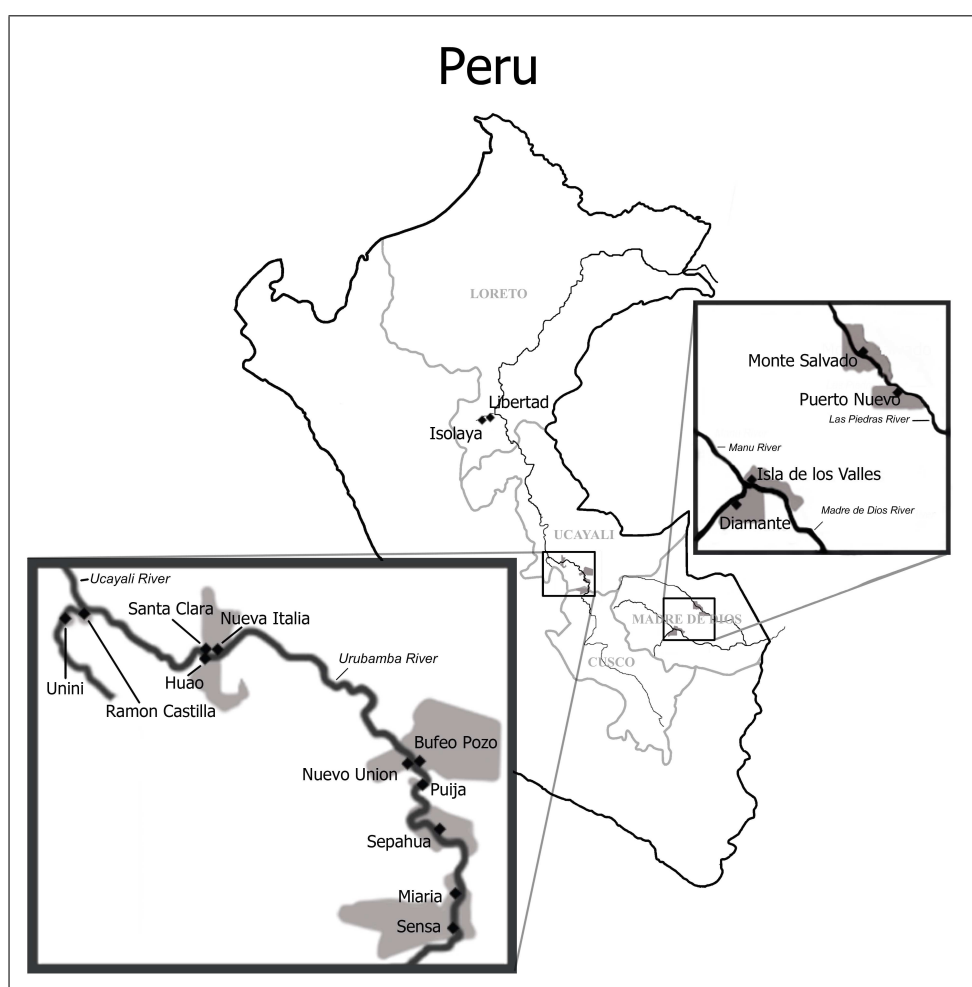


Figure 1.1: Map of Yine communities

¹The map was compiled based on the following sources: Instituto del Bien Comun (Sistema de Informacin sobre Comunidades Nativas de la Amazona Peruana, en convenio con organizaciones indgenas y con la colaboracin de AIDSESEP, ACPC, CEDIA y PETT. Lima, May 2009); and the Federacion Nativa del Río Madre de Dios y Afuentes, (<http://fenamad.org.pe/sig.htm>)

The principal territory of the Yine is in the Ucayali Department and lies along the Urubamba River upstream (south) from its confluence with the Tambo to form the Ucayali River. There are several communities in this area (see the larger inset in Figure 1.1) and the Yine population is greatest here. In Madre de Dios, the largest Yine community is Diamante on the Alto Madre de Dios River; other communities are Isla de Los Valles at the confluence of the Manu and Madre de Dios, and further east on the Las Piedras River are Monte Salgado and Puerto Nuevo (see the smaller inset in Figure 1.1). In the Department of Loreto, the communities of Libertad and Isolaya lie on the banks of the Cushabatay River near its confluence with the Ucayali.

Estimates of the number of Yine speakers vary from 2500-5000 depending on the source. The Ethnologue states an ethnic population of between 4000 and 5000, with the number of speakers estimated at around 4000 (Lewis 2009), though numbers as high as 5000 ethnic Yine in the Urubamba area alone have been cited elsewhere (see Salazar 2008:34).

1.1 Autodenomination

In the linguistic and anthropological literature, Yine is commonly known as Piro (e.g. Matteson 1965, Wise 2008, Gow 1991), a name that appears to have its source in a Panoan word for a particular species of catfish (*Megalodoras sp.*; cf. Smith Bisso 2003:140); other terms that have been used include Chontaquiroy, Contaquiroy, Pira, Pirro, Simiranch, Simirinche, and Chichineri (Lewis 2009). In Brazil and Bolivia, the Manchinere² speak a language very similar to Yine, but the relationship between the two varieties has not been established.

The shift to the ethnonym *Yine* (their own word for ‘people’) has occurred relatively recently. It is to some extent artificial as an ethnonym, since in the language the word *yine* does not identify a single ethnic group, and the people have not been completely

²Also known as Manchineri, Manitenére, Manitenerí, Maxinéri (Lewis 2009).

unanimous in embracing it for this reason (cf. Gow 1991, Opas 2008:2). Nonetheless, it has become established as standard within the linguistic literature (e.g. Sebastián 2006, Sebastián and Marlett 2008, Lewis 2009) and in other fields (e.g. Smith Bisso 2003, Opas 2008) as well as in the political sphere. In this grammar, I use *Yine* to refer to both the ethnic group and their language (the Yine word for the latter being *yineri tokani* [yine-li tokani] [people-3SGM speech.of] ‘Yine person’s speech’).

The word *yine* itself is linguistically interesting. It is, to my knowledge, the only inherently plural lexeme in the language, meaning ‘people’ or ‘human beings’.³ To identify a single person, the suffix *-li* ‘SGM’ or *-lo* ‘SGF’ is added: i.e. *yineri* ‘man’; *yinero* ‘woman’.⁴ These suffixes function otherwise in the language as gender agreement markers (see Chapter 4) and as nominalizers (see Chapter 7) and have this singular function only with the word *yine* in my corpus.

1.2 Linguistic profile

1.2.1 Genetic affiliation

Yine is a member of the Arawak language family, one of the largest families in South America. The history, genetic relationships, and general characteristics of the Arawak family are treated in detail in various works in the literature (see especially Tovar 1986, Payne 1991, and Aikhenvald 1999); here I will briefly summarize some key points.

The family was first identified and named Maipuran in 1783 by Father Fillipo Salvatore Gilij. Just over a century later, it was renamed Arawak, and was referred to by this name until the mid- to late 20th century, when ongoing work on the family unfortunately resulted in confusion and even controversy about what its name should be.

³Gow (2000:49) analyzes *yine* as bimorphemic, composed of a root *yi-* and the regular plural suffix *-ne*. There is no evidence that, at least in the current language, the word is compositional – there is no otherwise identifiable root *yi* – but given the word’s inherent plurality and the fact that *-ne* is the regular plural suffix in the language, the possibility of a historically compositional source is worth investigating. However, as Gow notes in his footnote 4, the *-ne* portion of *yine* is included in cognate forms such as Campa *-shane-* (cf. Payne 1991). This weakens the plausibility of *yine* being historically bimorphemic.

⁴The lateral /l/ surfaces as a flap /ɾ/ following certain vowels, including /e/; see §2.3.4.

Noble (1965) and Matteson (1972) tentatively proposed a macro-family that included Arawak and, among others, Arawa and Harakmbut languages. This classification used the term “Arawakan” to refer to the larger grouping, one branch of which was the “Maipuran” family. However, the methodology used in these studies did not conform to accepted comparative practice, and the postulated larger “Arawakan” family has since been discredited.

Once the putative relationships were rejected, a complication arose when referring to the group of languages that were uncontroversially accepted as forming a genetic group. It became necessary to clarify whether one was assuming the larger grouping or the smaller one. Three solutions are currently in use. Many linguists continue the use of the name “Maipuran”, not as a branch of the defunct “Arawakan” but as the name of the accepted family itself. Others, particularly in South America and Australia, use the name “Arawak” for the same thing. Finally, the name “Arawakan” continues to be in use, but now refers to the accepted group while rejecting the discredited relationships; this usage follows Kaufman (1990)’s convention for distinguishing, via the suffix *-an*, between the family and one of its members. The intention is not to impart credibility to the defunct grouping, but to avoid potential confusion between the Arawak(an) family and the Arawak (Lokono) language. In this grammar, I follow the South American tradition and use the term “Arawak”.

Although the set of languages belonging to the Arawak language family is generally agreed upon, their internal organization is the subject of ongoing research and much work remains to be done. Languages that are now uncontroversially considered to be members of this family are represented in Figure 1.1, according to the current understanding of the internal relationships. The organization presented here is largely adopted from Danielsen (2007 fig.1.1), an adaptation of Aikhenvald (1999) incorporating work by Facundes (2002); there is some influence from Payne (1991) and Lewis (2009) as well. Yine’s direct genetic line is indicated in bold type.

NORTHERN ARAWAK	SOUTHERN ARAWAK
<i>North-Amazonian</i>	?Chamicuro
Orinoco	†Chamicuro
!Baré	?Amuesha
!Baniwa of Guiana (incl. Warekena)	Amuesha
?†Yavitero (Baniwa of Yavita)	<i>Campa</i>
†Mandawaka	Asháninca
†Yabaana	Ashéninca
Middle Rio Negro	!Caquinte
!Kaijana	Machiguenga
!Bahwana/Chiriana	Nomatsiguenga
†Manao	Pajonal Campa
Upper Rio Negro	<i>Purus/South-Western Arawak</i>
Baniwa of Içana (/Kurripako)	Piro-Apurinã
!Tariana	Apurinã
!Guarequena	Iñapari
Colombian	Yine/Piro
Piapoco	Manchinere
!Yucuna (†Guarú)	(dialect of Yine?)
!Achagua	Mashco-Piro
!Cabiyari	<i>Pareci-Xingu</i>
?(†)Resígaro	?Pareci-Saraveca
†Maipure	!Pareci
<i>Caribbean or Extreme North</i>	†Saraveca
<i>ta-Arawak subgroup</i>	?Xingu
Lokono/Arawak	Waurá
Guajiro/Wayyu	Mehinaku
Añun/Parauhano	!Yawalapiti
Garifuna (Cariff, Black Carib)	†Kustenaú
†Island Carib (Iñeri)	<i>South-Arawak</i>
<i>Palikur</i>	Terêna
Palikur	Trinitario (Moxo)
†Marawan	Ignaciano (Moxo)
†Aruan/Aroñ	Salumã (Enawenê-nawê)
<i>Rio Branco</i>	!Bauré
Wapishana	!Paunaca (Pauna)
!Mawayan/Mapidian/Mawakwa	†Kinikinao
	†Guané/Layana
	†Chané/Izoceño
	†Apolista
	†Paiconeca

! - endangered; †- extinct; ? - problematic classification

Table 1.1: Arawak Family

It is generally accepted that Yine's closest linguistic relative is Apurinã, a language spoken along the Purus River in Brazil (see Facundes 2000, 2002 for further detail). Yine has also been cited as the closest relative of Iñapari, a language whose membership to the Arawak family was established in Valenzuela (1991). Iñapari, once believed to be extinct, is maintained by a handful of speakers in the Madre de Dios Department near Puerto Maldonado (Parker 1999). It has been named as the language of the Mascho-Piro (cf. Stiglich 1908), a group living in voluntary isolation in Madre de Dios, but Parker identifies them as distinct based on his field notes on the two languages (Parker 1999 fn. 2). A comparative study in Facundes (2002) offers tentative support for a subgrouping within the Purus branch that includes Apurinã, Yine, and Iñapari; but the relationships to this (putative) subgrouping of Mashco-Piro and the language of the Manchinere remain to be determined.

Culturally, the Yine have much more in common with other Arawak groups in the Urubamba/Ucayali region, especially the Campa, Matsiguenga and Yanesha, as well as with the Panoan-speaking Shipibo-Conibo than they do with their closest linguistic relatives. This has received a considerable amount of attention in the anthropological literature (see, for example, the studies in Hill and Santos-Granero 2002), but its linguistic consequences have not received a dedicated study of their own. The impact on the Yine language (and vice versa) of the sustained contact and close cultural ties with these other groups is a research topic that would greatly enrich our understanding of these languages.

1.2.2 Varieties of Yine

Very little information is available on dialectal variation within the Yine language. Sebastián (2006:2) provides an informal list of four Spanish words, comparing their equivalents in the Urubamba, Cushabatay, and Brazilian speech varieties. Though the examples are few and not intended as a systematic comparison, they are indicative that both phonological and lexical differences exist. I am also aware of some minor

differences between the Urubamba variety and that spoken in Madre de Dios. Again, these differences have not been systematically studied, but informal conversations with people in Diamante suggest that they involve both phonological and morphological variation as well as lexical differences.

To my knowledge, there have been no studies done on the Yine spoken in the communities along the Cushabatay and Las Piedras rivers. Although I conducted my fieldwork in Diamante, I can contribute very little about the Madre de Dios variety for the reasons outlined in §1.3.2 below; the description in this grammar is based on data collected with speakers from the Urubamba river communities. Much further work is needed to determine the extent and nature of variation in the Yine language. A corpus including data from the Madre de Dios and Loreto regions would in particular provide valuable insight into the Yine language and its relationship to other Arawak languages.

1.2.3 Linguistic profile

This section provides a typological profile of Yine as an Arawak language. The principal works consulted for information about general Arawak characteristics are Payne (1991), Aikhenvald (1999), and Wise (1986).

Yine's phonological system is fairly typical of Arawak languages, with a few notable departures. There are sixteen consonants, with the liquids /l/ and /r/ showing only a marginal contrast and limited distribution, and five vowels, including the high central unrounded /i/. Length and nasality are not contrastive. Syllable structure is (C)(C)CV with a possible allowance for nasal consonants in the coda. The lack of a phonological coda position is a typical Arawak feature, but the availability of very complex onsets, where clusters of up to three consonants of (almost) any combination are permitted, is highly unusual for the family. Yine's stress system is, tentatively, bidirectional: primary stress is anchored to the penultimate syllable and secondary stresses are assigned from left to right; but there is considerable variation in the latter and the system requires further study. Stress assignment not quantity or quality sensitive.

Open word classes include nouns, verbs, and (by derivation) adjectives. The latter share many properties with nouns and few with verbs, but can be identified as a distinct word class. Nouns are lexically marked for alienable versus inalienable possession, a distinction which has morphological and syntactic consequences. The class of inalienable nouns includes kinship terms, body parts, some objects, and classificatory roots that characterize their possessors according to properties like size, shape, or consistency. Secondary possession of inalienable nouns is productive and marked using the morphology of possessed alienable nouns. Grammatical gender distinguishes masculine versus feminine gender for all but a subset of inalienable nouns. There is one number-marking suffix, expressing plural, which is obligatory for human referents but optional otherwise.

There are nine nominalizing suffixes. Nominalization is very productive and prevalent; it also serves as a relativization strategy as the language lacks a dedicated relative clause construction. Attributive and privative prefixes, common to many Arawak languages, derive adjectives from other parts of speech. Verbs can be derived using one of several formative suffixes, the most common being another typical Arawak suffix *-ta*, which has little if any semantic content.

The overall morphological profile of Yine is typical of Arawak languages. It is polysynthetic, agglutinating, head-marking, and almost entirely suffixing with only a handful of prefixes. There is no case marking, but oblique participants in the clause must have one of three suffixes marking them as such.

Predicates have the extensive range of morphology expected of southern Arawak languages. Up to two arguments may be indexed on the predicate. Argument indexing is, generally speaking (see §3.2.2), in complementary distribution with overt NP arguments when the latter precede the predicate, and obligatory otherwise. On verbal predicates, subjects are indexed with a pronominal prefix and objects with a suffix. Predicates may also be headed by most other word classes, including nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. With all non-verbal predicates, only the subject may be in-

dexed, via a pronominal suffix drawn from a paradigm almost identical to that marking the object of a transitive verbal predicate. This word-class based split-intransitivity marking is unusual in Arawak languages, which typically split based over active versus stative verbs, but it is not unique to Yine. Incorporation of nouns and certain adverbs is productive and pervasive. Incorporated nouns must be possessed (whether alienably or inalienably), and their possessor must be expressed as a core argument in the clause.

There is a large set of valency manipulating morphology, including two causatives, an applicative, two passives, two reciprocals and an associative marker. Noun incorporation also functions to rearrange valency and is often valency-increasing because of the requirement that the possessor be a core argument. Multiple valency-manipulating devices may co-occur in a single predicate, with semantic consequences that are not well understood. Predicate morphology also expresses motion, syntactic and temporal/conditional subordination, and a number of aspect, mood and aktionsart distinctions, but does not encode tense.

Constituent order is very fluid both in the clause, between the predicate and its arguments, and in the noun phrase, between the head and its modifiers. While Yine is often cited as an SOV language (cf. Lewis 2009), I have not found clear evidence for this or any other “basic” constituent order in my research; the order seems to be sensitive to pragmatic rather than syntactic factors and the question of a basic order, if any, remains open.

1.3 This work in context

1.3.1 Previous work

Aside from a few wordlists (Izaquirre 1927: 1775 words, Carrasco 1901: 170 words), the first major linguistic work on Yine was done by the SIL missionary linguist Esther Matteson, who worked with the Yine beginning in the late 1940's, and in 1965 published her PhD dissertation, a grammar (cast in the tagmemics framework) and small

dictionary (Matteson 1965). This grammar is the data source for most subsequent work on the Yine language, including the phonological studies in Lin (1987, 1992, 1997) and Parker (1989) and for typological surveys of Amazonian and Arawak(an) languages.⁵ In addition to the grammar, Matteson also produced several other linguistic and anthropological studies, including a grammar sketch in Matteson (1951), papers on Yine phonology and morphology (Matteson 1954; Matteson and Pike 1958), and an analyzed text (Matteson 1955),

The second major primary work on Yine is the *Diccionario Piro* (Wise 2008), developed in collaboration with a team of Yine speakers and originally published in 1986. It was revised for a second edition published in 2008.

Additionally, a set of bilingual educational materials have been produced by SIL in conjunction with the Peruvian Ministry of Education.⁶ A bilingual education program for primary school has been in effect in the Urubamba region since the 1960's and is available through high school in Miaria; other communities, including Diamante, offer Spanish education through high school. There is no bilingual education in the Madre de Dios Department nor, to my knowledge, in Loreto.

1.3.2 Fieldwork setting

All of my fieldwork was conducted in Diamante, in the Department of Madre de Dios (see the smaller inset in Figure 1.1). The data was collected over the course of two fieldwork trips, the first from October 2003 to July 2004 and the second from November 2005 to February 2006. The first trip was divided into three stays lasting approximately 2-3 months, each followed by 2 to 3 weeks in Cusco where I replenished fieldwork supplies, backed up my data, and worked on analysis.

⁵An important exception is the very recent work by the Yine native speaker and teacher Rittma Urquía Sebastian (Sebastián 2006, Sebastián and Marlett 2008), who, in addition to short reports on the phonology and sociolinguistic situation, has begun a new Yine-Spanish dictionary with an extract online at http://www.lengamer.org/publicaciones/diccionarios/Dic_Prelim_Yine.pdf.

⁶The Yine-language materials are available on the SIL website at the address http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=pib.

The community of Diamante lies just upstream from the mouth of the Manu River, which serves as the entrance to the touristic zone of the Manu Biosphere Reserve, and the only air strip in the area is in Yine territory. Except for in the height of the wet season (January through March), there is a steady flow of tour groups passing through the area, and many tours include a visit to Diamante. The Yine have considerable contact with tourists, researchers, medical workers, and others who either pass through the area or make use of the air strip, in addition to the already long-established contact with lumber and oil workers and gold prospectors. This steady contact provides a motivation for fluency in useful contact languages, particularly Spanish, and interest in learning English has been frequently voiced in the community, though when lessons are offered they are rarely taken advantage of.

In Diamante, Yine and Spanish are both consistently used in daily life. Schooling and Catholic church activities are in Spanish, while Protestant church activities are in Yine. The consultants with whom I was able to work consistently are all bilingual, but were most comfortable speaking Yine. All of my main consultants spent the majority of their lives, and received their education, in the Urubamba area. I had more difficulty than I anticipated being able to work with speakers of the local dialect. This was perhaps due, at least in part, to language attitudes: the local dialect was held in lower prestige and the Urubamba variety was viewed as “correct” Yine – better for presenting to a recently-arrived linguist. While I do have a few recorded texts narrated by native Diamantinos, their transcription was problematic and they have not been properly analysed. Frequently, the recorded versions were altered to Urubamba Yine during transcription, or I was told that the recording was mistaken.⁷ Thus, although my fieldwork was conducted in Madre de Dios, this grammar is representative of the

⁷In one instance, for example, I recorded and transcribed a short (about 3 min.) narrative with a young woman who had spent her whole life in Diamante. I was struck by how she consistently pronounced the word for ‘his wife’ as *rhaninro* [r-hninro] [3-wife.of], with the *r*-allomorph of the 3sg masculine possessor prefix (the appearance of the *a* is an irregular, but expected, property of this word). As §3.2.1 describes, the zero-allomorph of this prefix is expected before consonant-initial stems, including those beginning with *h*: i.e. [\emptyset -]haninro. When I inquired about the *r*-initial form with other consultants, I was told that it was incorrect and that no one speaks like that.

Urubamba/Ucayali dialect, and a study of the differences between the two dialects remains to be done.

1.3.3 Fieldwork methodology

The primary source of data for this grammar consists of audio recordings, totalling about 15 hours of speech recorded from fifteen different speakers, both male and female, ranging in age from sixteen to about seventy; most were between thirty and fifty. The bulk of the corpus consists of traditional and personal narratives, with some procedural texts and a few short conversations. The recordings were transcribed into the standard Yine orthography (see §1.4), glossed, and translated with the help of these speakers and four other consultants; conversion into IPA for presentation in this grammar was done myself. The audio corpus is supplemented by field notes, and targeted elicitations were also conducted in order to fill in paradigms and gather information about morpheme meaning, order, and co-occurrence possibilities; but formal, systematic elicitation sessions make up a relatively small proportion of the data I collected. As a result, the examples in this grammar are primarily drawn out of narratives and while they represent unprompted speech, they do not always provide for detailed illustrations in every desirable case; nor do they establish the boundaries of grammaticality. Further work on the language can help to fill the gaps left by this particular methodology.

Nearly all of the examples in this thesis come from my recorded texts, and are cited according to a shorthand abbreviation of the text name and the line within the text where the example is found (e.g. “Pts3” for the third sentence in the story of the *pitsoti* ‘electric eel’). Examples taken from elsewhere in my field notes are cited with the notebook label (A-E or a-h) and page number. Some examples are taken, after confirmation with my consultants, from the Yine-Spanish dictionary and cited as such with DP (*Diccionario Piro*). In general, I have avoided repeating examples from Matteson’s work or from the SIL materials unless they bear directly on the discussion at hand, as this grammar is intended to be a description of the language as I encountered

it and based on data that I personally recorded. Where they occur, Matteson's examples are cited as EM along with the page number in Matteson (1965).

1.4 Orthography

The current standard orthography for Yine differs only slightly from that used in Matteson (1965): they are identical for the vowels, and in the consonants they differ only in the representation of the palatal, palatoalveolar, and laryngeal consonants. The system employed in this grammar differs slightly from both of these, as I follow a broad IPA transcription rather than an orthographic convention in presenting the examples. A comparison of the three systems is presented in Table 1.2, organized according to the conventional alphabetical order. Parentheses indicate the official IPA equivalent where it differs from the symbols used in this grammar.

Standard orthography	This grammar (IPA)	Matteson 1965
a	a	a
ch	tʃ	tš
e	e	e
g	h (/h/)	h
i	i	i
ç	j	x
k	k	k
l	l	l
m	m	m
n	n	n
o	o	o
p	p	p
r	r (/r/)	r
s	s	s
sh	ʃ	š
t	t	t
ts	ts (/ts/)	ts
u	u	u
w	w	w
x	c	tx
y	y	y

Table 1.2: Comparison of Yine orthographies

2 Phonology and Phonetics

This chapter provides an overview of the Yine phonological system, addressing the phoneme inventory in §2.1, syllable structure in §2.2, morphophonological processes in §2.3, stress in §2.4, and intonation contours in §2.5.

There are a few noteworthy aspects of Yine phonology. Like a number of Amazonian languages, Yine’s phoneme inventory includes a nasalized laryngeal continuant; in Yine, the nasality can be demonstrated to be a distinctive feature of the nasal itself. As such, it embodied what Matisoff (1975) calls “rhinoglottophilia” – the somewhat surprising connection between laryngeal articulations and nasality. Syllable structure is also unusual, particularly for an Arawak language, in allowing an almost unconstrained combination of up to three consonants in onset position, but lacking codas at an underlying level. The stress system in Yine is problematic. It has been described as bidirectional in previous works on the language, but new data exemplified in §2.4 casts doubt on that analysis.

Examples throughout this grammar are given in a broad (phonemic) IPA transcription, with the exception of the palatal glide which I write with the Americanist symbol /y/ rather than IPA /j/. In the current chapter, further phonetic detail is occasionally useful; in such examples I enclose the example in square brackets [] following standard IPA practice.

2.1 Phoneme Inventory

The Yine phoneme inventory consists of 5 vowels and 16 consonants.

2.1.1 Vowels

The five vowel phonemes are /i, e, a, o, i/. There are no diphthongs, and length and nasality are not phonemic.

Figure 2.1 below provides F2 vs F1 scatterplots for one male and one female speaker, with ten tokens of each vowel, to show the distribution of the vowels over the acoustic space. These measurements were taken from stressed, unnasalized vowels. Unstressed vowels show essentially the same distribution, somewhat more centralized but without any significant reduction.

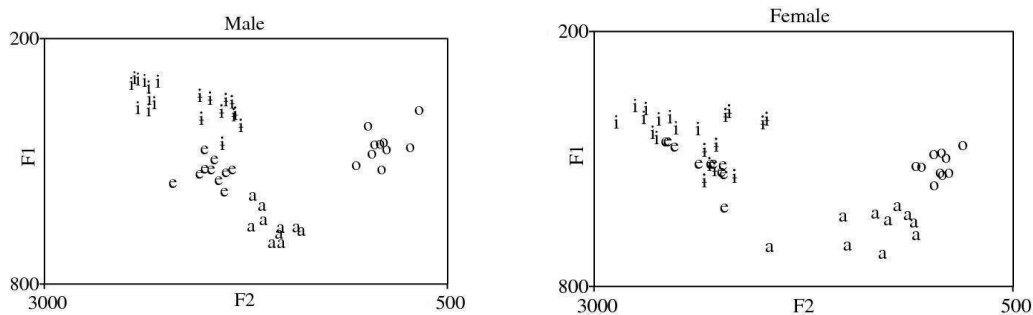


Figure 2.1: Vowel scatterplots for two speakers

Minimal pairs illustrating the height contrasts are provided in (1).

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|-------------|
| (1) a. | çi ‘small part of; fruit of’ | /i/ vs. /e/ |
| | çe ‘stick of’ | |
| b. | wale ‘3SGM’ | /e/ vs. /a/ |
| | wala ‘3SGF’ | |
| c. | hico ‘much’ | /o/ vs. /a/ |
| | hica ‘2PL’ | |
| d. | tika ‘there (REM.SGM)’ | /i/ vs. /o/ |
| | toka ‘there (REM.SGF)’ | |
| e. | pimyo ‘your hand’ | /i/ vs. /a/ |
| | pamyo ‘five’ | |

Minimal pairs illustrating the frontness distinction are provided in (2).

- (2) a. -çri ‘nose of’ /i/ vs. /ĩ/
 -çri ‘handle of’
 b. hikneka ‘(to) master’ /e/ vs. /o/
 hiknoka ‘(to) throw out’

Allophonic nasalization of vowels occurs following m, n, and h, and never spreads beyond the syllable. Because it is predictable and exceptionless, I will not mark it in transcriptions unless it is immediately relevant to the discussion. Nasalization triggered by the laryngeal continuant is treated in detail in §2.1.2.3.

2.1.2 Consonants

Yine has 16 consonant phonemes, listed in Table 2.1, which are distributed over six places of articulation and seven manners of articulation. Voicing is not contrastive in any series.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Stop	p	t		c	k	
Affricate		ts	tʃ			
Fricative		s	ʃ	ç		
Nasal	m	n				ḥ
Liquid		l, r				
Approximant	w			y		

Table 2.1: Yine Consonant Inventory

2.1.2.1 Obstruents

All Yine obstruents are voiceless and unaspirated. The stop series contrasts four places of articulation: bilabial /p/, apical-alveolar /t/, palatal /c/, and velar /k/. On a purely phonetic level, these often undergo partial voicing lenition between vowels in natural or rapid speech.

The palatal stop /c/ varies freely between [c] and [ç], a variation which is reflected in how the segment is characterized in the literature: it is analyzed as a palatalized

stop /tʰ/ in Matteson (1954) and Wise (2008), and as a palatal affricate /tç/ in Matteson (1965) and Sebastián and Marlett (2008). It is analyzed here as a palatal stop because it frequently surfaces with very little frication in the release. While it is common for palatal stops to have a highly fricated release (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:30-1), it is not common for affricates to lack such frication. Additionally, like the other stops (but unlike the affricates), /c/ optionally undergoes some degree of voicing lenition between vowels.

The fricatives and affricates do not undergo voicing lenition.¹ Fricatives contrast three places of articulation: apical alveolar /s/, laminal postalveolar /ʃ/, and palatal /ç/. Both affricates are coronal: apical alveolar /ts/ and laminal postalveolar /tʃ/.

The obstruents all exhibit some restrictions on their distribution before certain vowels in native lexical roots.

- the apical obstruents /s, ts/ do not occur before the high front vowel /i/ (exception: *-stsi* ‘side of’ has /ts/ before /i/); /t/ does so only across morpheme boundaries
- all non-apical obstruents /ʃ, tʃ, c, ç, k/ are unattested before the high central vowel /ɨ/
- ç does not occur before any non-front vowel /a, o, ɨ/

Given the highly restricted distribution, the status of these segments as distinct phonemes is naturally in question. Their phonemic status can be affirmed by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs.

- (3) a. *salwata* ‘walk around’ /s/ vs. /ʃ/
 ʃalewata ‘make a nest’

¹The laryngeal continuant *h* is exceptional, if analyzed as a fricative, as it may surface with a degree of voicing; see §2.1.2.3.

- | | | |
|--------|--|--------------|
| b. | pika ‘be afraid’
pica ‘you (sg.)’ | /k/ vs. /c/ |
| c. | sero- ‘red’
çeri ‘horsefly’ | /s/ vs. /ç/ |
| | | |
| (4) a. | hitoko ‘inside of’
hitfoŋfo ‘rough’ | /t/ vs. /tʃ/ |
| b. | hita ‘1SG’
hitsa ‘its thread’ | /t/ vs. /ts/ |
| c. | jiçi ‘corn’
tʃiçi ‘earth, land’ | /ʃ/ vs. /tʃ/ |
| d. | serni ‘color’
tserni ‘size’ | /s/ vs. /ts/ |

2.1.2.2 Nasals

There are two nasal stops, bilabial /m/ and alveolar /n/, and a laryngeal continuant that I also categorize as a nasal phoneme. This categorization based on the segment’s allophonic realizations, which all preserve nasality; the details are provided in the next section.

The place contrast in nasal consonants is illustrated in (5). The contrast between non-nasal stops and nasal stops is illustrated in (6).

- | | |
|--------|---|
| (5) a. | mimata ‘not know’
nimata ‘I know’ |
| b. | neta ‘I see’
heta ‘you (pl) see; to see’ |
| | |
| (6) a. | mimata ‘not know’
pimata ‘you (sg) know’ |
| b. | napoka ‘I arrive’
tapoka ‘she arrives’ |

2.1.2.3 /h̃/

The laryngeal *h* shows a high degree of variation in its phonetic realization depending on its segmental environment. Its behavior is strikingly different from the other phonemes in the language, which show very little allophonic variation and never surface with a major place of articulation other than the one they are specified for.

Nasalization is of direct relevance to the analysis of *h*, so it will be indicated in transcriptions in this section. Throughout the rest of this grammar, it is not shown because it is fully predictable and there is no nasal/oral contrast in laryngeals.

Before a vowel, *h* is realized as a voiceless laryngeal continuant with both nasal and oral (but primarily nasal) airflow. Between vowels, it surfaces with a variable amount of voicing. In sequences of two consonants (CC sequences), *h* is relatively unaffected if it is the second consonant, surfacing as it would in any hV context. It is only when *h* precedes another consonant that its surface realization shows significant variation. The allophony of *h* in hC sequences is described in detail throughout the remainder of this section.

As a general pattern, before any consonant C_2 *h* assimilates to the place and (buccal) continuancy of C_2 , but surfaces with the opposite voicing value; that is, if C_2 is voiceless *h* will be voiced and if C_2 is voiced *h* will be voiceless or partially voiced. Since (aside from *h*) all voiceless phonemes are obstruents in Yine and all voiced phonemes are sonorants, this amounts to the same thing as saying that *h* is voiced before obstruents and voiceless before sonorants.

Where C_2 = Non-nasal stop: *h* surfaces as a homorganic voiced nasal stop.²

- (7) [tʃiyampotita]
tʃiyaha-poti-ta
cry-INTNS-VCL
'He was sobbing.' (My1178)

²The vowel deletion that creates the hC cluster in these and many other examples is addressed in §2.3.1.

- (8) [tɨçhayentapli]
 t-hiçha-yehi-ta-pa-li
 3SGF-search.for-VICIN-VCL-ELV-3SGM
 ‘She went to search in his area.’

- (9) [çiwrisaŋkaka]
 çiwri-sahi-kaka
 thread-ball.of-DISTR
 ‘each ball of thread’ (MyI178)

Where $C_2 = \text{Fricative}$: *h* surfaces as a voiced nasal continuant, usually more glide- than fricative-like: there is little if any frication and its quality is transitional between the preceding vowel and the fricative. The vowel following the fricative is not nasalized in this situation.

- (10) [rajçita]
 r-hahçita
 3-ask.for
 ‘He asks for (something).’ (MyI178)

Where $C_2 = \text{Nasal, Liquid or Glide}$: Before a sonorant consonant, as before a vowel, *h* surfaces as a nasalized laryngeal continuant; it is usually voiceless but may have some degree of voicing. A release burst or intrusive vowel (see §2.2.3 below) can often be detected between the *h* and the sonorant.

This is one of the few situations where there may be no discernible nasality in the environment of *h*. However, there is evidence that the lack of nasality is due to the lack of a salient host rather than the loss or absence of the nasal feature. This evidence comes from two sources. First, if there is an intrusive vowel, that vowel has a nasal quality, as in (11) and (12):

(11) [sah(ṣ)maneta]
 sa**hi**-**mane**-ta
 paint-body.of- VCL
 ‘paint one’s body’

(12) [h̃ō**h**(ṣ)ri]
 ho**h**ri
 unchala
 ‘(type of bird)’

Second, a glide following *h* often has a clearly perceptible nasal quality:

(13) [h̃yoprih̃anno]
 h-yopri**h**a-ni-no
 2PL-cut.fringe-ANTIC-1SG
 ‘(You pl) cut a fridge (on) me.’ (Hetn53)

Where C₂ = h: There is a unique pattern of allophony when *h* occurs adjacent to another *h*. In this situation, the second *h* is unaffected, but the first *h*, while always voiced and nasal, varies widely in its degree of supralaryngeal constriction. It may surface:

- with a vowel-like articulation matching that of the preceding vowel, as in (14):

(14) [h̃iya**h̃**h̃imni]
 hiya**h**o-hima-ni
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL
 ‘then, reportedly’ wap211

- with a small degree of closure similar to that of a velar approximant (15):

(15) [yopri**h̃**himata]
 Ø-yopri**h**a-hima-ta
 3-cut.fringe-QUOT-VCL
 ‘He cut (her) fringe.’ (hetn71)

- or with a very closed, stop-like articulation approaching to or equal to that of [ŋ] as in (16). It is not unusual for there to be a discernible intra-cluster release (transcribed with [ɾ]) between the two *h*'s (17), particularly in emphatic speech.³

(16) [serostaŋhãtá:]
 sero-sta-ha-tá:
 red-chest.of-liquid.of-EXCL
 ‘(such) a blood red chest!’ (MyI166)

(17) [tʃiyɑŋhĩmanatkaaná:]
 Ø-tʃiyaha-hima-na-ta-na-tka-na+ɾ
 3-cry-QUOT-DUR-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3PL-EXCL
 ‘He was crying for such a long time, reportedly.’ (MyI177)

Summary: allophones of *h* The variation observed in the surface realization of *h* is summarized in Table 2.2.

environment	Nasal	Place	Manner	Voice
<i>h</i> +Vowel	+	glottal	continuant	-(+)
<i>h</i> +Stop/Affr	+	full assimilation	stop	+
<i>h</i> +Fricative	+	(full?) assimilation	continuant	+
<i>h</i> +Sonorant	+	glottal	continuant	-(+)
<i>h</i> + <i>h</i>	+	vocalic, transitional, velar	vowel, contin, stop	+

Table 2.2: Realization of *h* in different segmental environments

It can be noted that depending on what segment class it precedes, *h* is variably voiced and exhibits varying degrees of buccal constriction at various places of articulation. The only consistent feature is nasality. Furthermore, it can trigger allophonic nasalization on the following segment, always if it is a vowel and sometimes if it is a glide. Because *h*'s allophones are always nasalized, and because *h* triggers a change of nasality in its environment, I conclude, following Huffman (1993:307), that the feature [+nasal] is part of its phonemic representation.

³The lengthening and high pitch of the final vowel in these examples is characteristic of certain exclamative constructions; see §2.5.3 below.

2.1.2.4 Liquids

The liquids /l/ and /r/ exhibit only a marginal contrast and the distinction between them carries a very low functional load. Minimal or near-minimal pairs, like those in (18), can be found, and illustrate their individual phonemic status:

- (18) a. -pro ‘disc-shaped object of’
-plo ‘belly button of’
- b. -pra ‘domestic animal of’
-pla ‘crop of, maw of’
- c. koprita ‘(to) cross (e.g. a bridge)’
kopli ‘chigoe flea’
- d. kamrita ‘to work’
kamla ‘termite’

However, the contrast between the lateral and rhotic is neutralized to /r/ following the vowels /i/, /e/, and /i/; and following /n/, the segment surfaces as a voiced alveolar stop [d]. This neutralization has a significant impact in the morphology because of the relatively large number of suffixes that begin with /l/; see §2.3.4 below.

The liquids are also the only class of consonants that are restricted in their distribution within the phonological or grammatical word. Setting aside obvious loanwords (such as *lapi* ‘pen, pencil’ from Spanish *lápiz*), the lateral never occurs word-initially, and the rhotic only does so as a 3SGM / 3PL pronominal prefix. Neither is attested root-initially, but affixes beginning with both are attested.

2.1.2.5 Approximants

There are two approximants, both of which are voiced. The palatal /y/ has a vocalic allophone [i] when it appears between two consonants, which happens only in morphological concatenation; this is described in §2.3.3 below.

The labial-velar glide /w/ surfaces as [w] in most environments, and has the allophones [β̞] and [w̞]. The former, with little discernible velar quality and with spread lips, occurs before or between the front vowels /i/ or /e/:

- (19) a. wica [βica] ‘2PL’
 b. kawini [kaβini] ‘when he bathes’
 c. kewe [keβe] ‘dog’
 d. hewi [hẽβi] ‘here’

Between two low vowels /a/, /w/ may be pronounced with little or no labial articulation, but retaining the velar articulation; i.e. [uɣ]. This pronunciation seems to be in free variation with [w] and is very common in speech of a relaxed pace or register.

- (20) a. hawa [hauɣa] ‘and’
 b. hoyetʃnokawa [hoyetʃnokauɣa] ‘morning’

The palatal glide is not attested before /i/, but appears in all other environments.

- (21) a. [yimaka] ‘teach’
 [yawo] ‘sloth’
 [yetʃno] ‘night’
 b. [kayi] ‘afternoon’
 [piyo] ‘ray’
 [hiyeka] ‘curassow’

2.2 Syllable structure

2.2.1 Syllable template

The syllable template in Yine is (C)(C)CV(N). In lexical roots, the minimal syllable is CV, and the maximal syllable is CCV. This holds for both root-initial and root-medial position. In grammatical words, an additional onset consonant may be added to the onset during morphonological concatenation. There is little evidence for phonologically licensed coda consonants in the language, though some data indicates that nasal codas are permissible.

All words (phonological or grammatical) are vowel-final, and insofar as it can be determined, word-internal CC sequences are syllabified into onset position. My principle basis for this claim comes from my experience transcribing Yine texts, during which my consultants would spontaneously break long words into more manageable chunks and repeat them slowly, distinctly, and often for me. Almost without exception, the units thus dictated to me were of the shape (C)CV, and did not necessarily match up with morpheme boundaries. For example, a word like *kowtfohatatnakna* ‘they are fishing again’, with the morphological structure of (22a), would be syllabified as (22b); similarly for *saçrihimatkanaktatkana* ‘they were completely surrounded everywhere, reportedly’ in (23).

- (22) a. Ø-kowtfohata-tnak(a)-na
 b. ko.wtfo.ha.ta.tna.kna

- (23) a. Ø-saçrik(a)-hima-t(a)-ka-na-kta-tka-na
 b. sa.çri.khi.ma.tka.na.kta.tka.na

The nasal stops were the most consistent exceptions to this open-syllable dictation. They were often (but inconsistently) treated as ambisyllabic, both closing the preceding syllable and opening the next: *ripteka-m-ta-tnaka* [ri.pte.kam.mta.tna.ka] ‘he gave a start again’. They were never treated as only codas.

Words beginning with three consonants in sequence are very common. They arise whenever a Class 2 pronominal prefix is attached to a CC-initial stem; for example *n-mtfira-te* [1SG-spider.monkey-PSSD] ‘my spider monkey’; *p-knoya-te* ‘your tortoise’.⁴ All three consonants are pronounced and there are no phonological processes that apply to reduce or change such clusters when they arise.⁵

⁴These are elicited forms. A more natural way to express ownership of an animal in Yine employs the periphrastic possessive construction described in §5.2.3: e.g. *no-pra mtfira* [1SGPSSR-pet.of spider.monkey] ‘my pet/domesticated spider monkey’.

⁵The laryngeal *h*, which is employed as the 2PL prefix, is the only exception. When attached to a stem beginning with a consonant, *h* assimilates according to the pattern described in §2.1.2.3 above.

Triconsonant clusters are only attested word-initially, with nasals again being exceptional. Word-internally, vowel deletion that is normally obligatory at the boundary before certain suffixes is blocked if it would create a -CCC- sequence; this is described and exemplified in §2.3.1 below (see example (29) in particular). If the first consonant is a nasal, however, vowel deletion at least optionally applies even where it results in -CCC-. This is well-attested with /m/, and less so with /n/, but the extent to which it occurs has not been fully explored to date. Examples are given in (24).

- (24) a. rethim**mt**kanna
 r-heta-hima-**m-ta-ka**-na-na
 3-see-QUOT-NONDUR-VCL-PASS-CMPV-3PL
 ‘They were seen / caught sight of.’ (Mshk80)
- b. ric**mt**na
 r-hica-**m-ta-na**
 3-be-VCL-3PL
 ‘They were (like that) for a while.’ (PkN50)
- c. n**ink**yanro
 n-h**inka-ya**-na-lo
 1SG-shoot-APPL-CMPV-3SGF
 ‘I shot it there.’ (Caz29)

2.2.2 Phonotactics

Consonant clusters in Yine show enough range in attested combinations, both word-initially and word-internally, to suggest that there are no sonority-based restrictions imposed on them. The monomorphemic words in (25) provide illustrative examples.

- (25) a. ɕpiro ‘lizard’
 b. mɕfira ‘spider monkey’
 c. nso ‘genipa’
 d. -tpali ‘thigh of’

However, there are a few apparently banned clusters. Sequences of identical consonants are not attested, nor are affricate-only clusters; and of the possible coronal obstruent combinations only *st* and *ʃtʃ* occur with any frequency:

- (26) a. *histaka* ‘(to) cut’
 -stono ‘cylindrical object of; trunk of (body or tree)’
 b. *ʃaʃtʃoka* ‘flex, bend without breaking’
 -ʃtʃeha ‘curly object (hair) of’

Coronal obstruents freely cluster with non-coronals.

- (27) a. *-spi* ‘lip of’
 hiʃpaka ‘exit, emerge’
 tspata ‘guava’
 kapʃo- ‘strong’
 b. *-skita* ‘V-intersection of’
 haʃkata ‘bite’
 tkatʃi ‘sun’
 -tski ‘pelvis of’
 tʃkoti ‘squirrel monkey’

2.2.3 Intra-cluster release / intrusive vowel

A very salient feature of Yine consonant clusters is the prevalence of an audible interval between the release of the first consonant (C_1) and the closure of the second consonant (C_2). The duration and quality of this interval varies considerably; it is never obligatory and does not occur if C_1 is a fricative. Based on a preliminary scan of tokens, there does seem to be a limited degree of predictability: if C_1 and C_2 are both stops (and therefore voiceless), the interval consists of little more than a release burst; and if one of the consonants is a sonorant (and therefore voiced), it is typically voiced and may have a duration approaching that of a full vowel. The quality of the interval, however, does not seem to be predictable. The range of variation in how these intervals are realized, their optionality, and the (apparent) influence of the immediate phonological environment all suggest that they do not have a phonological origin and are purely

phonetic. Hall (2006) draws a distinction between epenthetic vowels, which have a phonological reality, and intrusive vowels, which do not. The vowel-like intervals in Yine can be identified as intrusive vowels; but this term is not suitable for situations where there is only a release burst. Since it is not ideal to use two distinct terms for the realizations of essentially the same phenomenon, I use “intra-cluster release” as a cover term for both the intrusive vowel and the release burst.

2.3 Morphophonology

2.3.1 Boundary vowel deletion

A process of vowel deletion occurs at two levels in Yine: at the boundary between a stem and a suffix, where it is obligatory with certain suffixes; and at the boundary between two grammatical words, where it is always optional.

2.3.1.1 Word-internal vowel deletion

A subset of Yine suffixes trigger the deletion of the final vowel in the stem to which they attach. This deletion is obligatory with the relevant suffixes, and incorrect retention of the vowel renders the word unintelligible. Whether a suffix triggers boundary vowel deletion or not is lexically specified. It cannot be predicted based on grammatical function: for example, while four of the possessed status suffixes trigger vowel deletion, one (*-te*) does not. Nor is it determined by phonological form: the applicative suffix *-ya* triggers deletion, but the homophonous oblique marker does not. The only suffixes that predictably do *not* trigger vowel deletion are those that begin with two consonants: e.g. *-y_ma* ‘comitative’, *-t_ka* ‘perfective’, *-m_ni* ‘in series’, etc. These are banned from triggering apocope because if they did it would derive a triconsonant cluster.⁶

⁶The extent to which nasal stops are exceptional with all of these suffixes requires further research.

- (28) a. **netli** ‘I see him.’ (pronominal suffix)
 n-heta-**li**
 1SG-see-3SGM
 ‘I see him/it.’
- b. **nanikçetli** (internal aspect)
 n-hanika-çe-**ta-li**
 1SG-carry-FREQ-VCL-3SGM
 ‘I always bring it.’
- c. **pkawapanmaka** (frustrative)
 p-kawa-pa-**ni**-maka
 2SG-bathe-ELV-ANTIC-FRUST
 ‘Go to bathe (said in vain).’
- d. **njimne** (possessed)
 n-**jima**-ne
 1SG-fish-PSSD
 ‘my fish’

Vowel deletion is blocked if it would result in a sequence of three consonants:

- (29) a. **netatkali** *netatkli
 n-heta-t**ka**-li
 1SG-see-PFV-3SGM
 ‘I saw him.’
- b. **ninkaçetyanri** *nunkçetyanri; *ninkaçtyanri
 n-hinka-çe-ta-ya-na-**li**
 1SG-shoot-FREQ-VCL-APPL-CMPV-3SGM
 ‘I kept shooting it there.’

The relative suffix *-pa* is exceptional in that it triggers the deletion of the penultimate stem vowel rather than the final one.

- (30) a. **rethimtapanrina**
 r-heta-hima-ta-pa-na-**li**-na
 3-see-QUOT-VCL-ELV-CMPV-3SGM-3PL
 ‘They went to see it, reportedly.’ (Oso39)

- b. rinkaçtapatka
 r-hinka-çe-ta-pa-tka
 3-shoot-FREQ-VCL-ELV-PFV
 ‘He went to shoot (a spider monkey)’ (Nwd47)
- c. ritkapanro
 r-hitaka-pa-ni-lo
 3-put-ELV-ANTIC-3SGF
 ‘He went to place it.’

As with the other vowel-deleting suffixes, deletion triggered by *-pa* is blocked if it would create a triconsonant cluster:

- (31) a. nsalwatapa *nsalwtapa
 n-salwata-pa
 1SG-walk.around-ELV
 ‘I went for a walk.’
- b. hiçapatka *hçapatka
 hiçha-pa-tka
 search.for-ELV-PFV
 ‘to go to search now’

2.3.1.2 Word-boundary vowel deletion

Boundary vowel deletion may also occur across grammatical word boundaries within a prosodic phrase. At this boundary, vowel deletion is optional, being more common in naturally-paced or rapid speech, and generally avoided in careful speech. The examples in (32)-(35) illustrate this, indicating the word boundary with a hyphen (the hyphen will be omitted elsewhere in the grammar); in each case, the deleted vowel could be retained with no change in meaning.

- (32) hewi nwaçet-hita ~ hewi nwaçeta hita
 hewi n-hwa-çe-ta hita
 here 1SG-be(loc)-FREQ-VCL 1SG
 ‘I am always here.’ (hetn39)

(33) wanepnit-koca ~ wanepnite koca
 wanepnite koca
 next also
 ‘next also’

(34) hof-hima yatka ~ hoja hima yatka
 hoja hima Ø-ya-tka
 forest QUOT 3-go-PFV
 ‘He went into the forest, reportedly.’ (WatE140)

(35) hi w-mahatinitka ~ hi wa mahatinitka
 hi wa Ø-mahata-ini-tka
 NEG REF 3-lack-TEMP-PFV
 ‘when it was not lacking’ (Yam46)

2.3.2 Cluster repair

Consonant clusters, including those that are not attested morpheme-internally, are often derived during word-formation due to boundary vowel deletion. Most of these derived clusters are well-tolerated and surface unchanged, but some do not. Those involving the laryngeal nasal were described in §2.1.2.3 above; this section describes the process of C_1 deletion plus compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, which is obligatory with sequences of stops, affricates or liquids with the same place of articulation (36), optional with identical approximants (37) (and with *hh* as described above), and unattested with identical nasal stops (38). Data regarding fricatives is not available. Note that this process only applies word-internally: word-initial clusters surface unchanged, as with *pp* in (38).

(36) a. **niikaliri** *obligatory*
 nika-ka-liri
 eat-PASS-PSUBJ.NOM+MASC
 ‘food’ (that which is eaten)

- b. wale hasi**ik**akanna
 wale hasi**ka-k**aka-na-na
 3SGM run-CAUS-CMPV-3PL
 ‘He made them run.’ (Tgn10)
- c. hitsrika**atfi**
 hitsrikate-**tfi**
 chief.of-UNPSSD
 ‘chief’
- d. hiilewata
 hiri-lewa-ta
 drink-CHAR-VCL
 ‘to customarily drink/drink in a characteristic way’

- (37) a. hew**wi** ~ heewi *optional*
 hewi-**wi**
 here-1PL
 ‘We are here.’
- b. kihleyyi ~ kihleeyi
 kihle-**ya-yi**
 good-APPL-2SG
 ‘It is good for you.’

- (38) a. **tfina** *non-occurring*
t-tfina
 3SGF-say
 ‘she said’
- b. hi wa **ppikaninno**
 hi wa **p-pika-ni-na-no**
 NEG REF 2SG-be.afraid-ANTIC-CMPV-1SG
 ‘Don’t be afraid of me at all.’

2.3.3 Vowel mutation before -ya: /a/ > [i]

The applicative suffix -ya (but not the homophonous oblique suffix) is among those that trigger deletion of the preceding vowel. If -ya is followed by a suffix that likewise triggers deletion, -ya is realized as -i.

- (39) hawla ntʃanicika
 hawla n-tʃanica-**ya**-ka
 there 1SG-invite-APPL-PASS
 ‘I am invited over there.’

If apocope is blocked at the boundary between a verb stem and the applicative suffix *-ya* (because it would yield *-CCC-*), stem-final /a/ mutates to [i].

- (40) a. ramha ‘he is lost’
 ramhiya ‘he is lost there’
 b. riçha ‘he is searching’
 riçhiya ‘he is searching there’
 c. rimka ‘he is sleeping’
 rimkiya ‘he is sleeping there’

Further research is needed to determine whether this vowel mutation also occurs with vowels other than /a/. It is extremely rare for a verb stem to end in a vowel other than /a/, and examples where such a stem is both suffixed with *-ya* and blocks apocope are not available in my corpus.

2.3.4 Rhotacization of *-l-*

When any suffix beginning with *l* attaches to a stem ending in *i*, *e*, *ɨ*, or *n*, the lateral surfaces as [r].

The examples in (41) illustrate the alternation between the *l*-initial and *r*-initial allomorphs, as conditioned by the preceding vowel. The lateral occurs following the low vowels /a, o/ (41a,b), and the rhotic occurs following the high vowels /i, e, ɨ/ (41c-e).

- (41) a. klata-**li** ‘white-SGM’
 klata-**lo** ‘white-SGF’
 b. sepro-**li** ‘crazy-SGM’
 sepro-**lo** ‘crazy-SGF’
 c. ksaçi-**ri** ‘black-SGM’
 ksaçi-**ro** ‘black-SGF’

- d. kihle-**ri** ‘good-SGM’
kihle-**ro** ‘good-SGF’
- e. kfinikani-**ri** ‘intelligent-SGM’
kfinikani-**ro** ‘intelligent-SGF’

The examples in (42) illustrate how the alveolar nasal triggers the same allomorphy. Additionally, a comparison of (42b) and (42c) reveals that rhotacization applies after apocope, since the quality of the deleted vowel is irrelevant.

(42) pnika ‘you eat’

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| a. | pnikli
p-nika-li
2SG-eat-3SGM
‘you eat it (masc.)’ | pniklo
p-nika-lo
2SG-eat-3SGF
‘you eat it (fem.)’ |
| b. | pnikan ri
p-nika- ni -li
2SG-eat-ANTIC-3SGM
‘you will eat it (masc.)’ | pnikan ro
p-nika- ni -lo
2SG-eat-ANTIC-3SGF
‘you will eat it (fem.)’ |
| c. | pnikan ri
p-nika- na -li
2SG-eat-CMPV-3SGM
‘you ate it (masc.) all’ | pnikan ro
p-nika- na -lo
2SG-eat-CMPV-3SGF
‘you ate it (fem.) all’ |

The sequences *il*, *el*, *nl* are all unattested in my corpus; thus, rhotacization in these morphemes can be considered part of a more general phonotactic constraint at work in the language. The surface variation triggered by the attachment of pronominal prefixes, on the other hand, is strictly morphophonological. It involves changes that are not observed elsewhere in the language (consonant suppletion and vowel mutation) as described in the next section.

2.3.5 Prefix-conditioned allomorphy

As described in Chapter 3, all Class 1 pronominal prefixes except for 2PL trigger a special allomorphy when they attach to a stem beginning with *h*: the pronominal prefix replaces the *h* and, if the vowel following *h* is *i*, vowel mutation is triggered as well

such that the *i* surfaces as *i*. This allomorphy is described in detail in §3.2.1.1.⁷ Rather than repeating the description here, I will briefly illustrate the pattern and address the exceptional behavior of the 2PL prefix *hi-*.

- (43) *himka* ‘sleep’
nimka ‘I sleep’
rimka ‘he sleeps’
himka ‘you (pl) sleep’

The fact that *i* does not mutate in the 2PL form, for which the pronominal prefix is *h-*, suggests a phonological motivation for the change where it does occur. An obvious candidate for an explanation would be a prohibition against the sequence *-hi-*, along the lines of the CV phonotactic restrictions noted in §2.1.2.1 above. The examples in (44) illustrate that there does not seem to be such a restriction at work here – but it must be noted that these, and derivationally related forms, represent all of the instances in which *-hi-* is attested in my corpus. Their rarity is consistent with perhaps a past phonological restriction, but it cannot be said that *-hi-* sequences are banned in the current language.

- (44) *tfowhita* ‘rob’
phiçe- ‘clear’
waphi ‘cotton’

2.4 Stress

This section presents the stress system of Yine as I currently understand it; however, the description here is tentative and is only intended as preliminary.

Stress assignment in Yine is not quantity (or quality) sensitive, and it is never contrastive. The most consistent aspect of stress in Yine is in the placement of primary

⁷The same mutation occurs with the associative prefix *him-* and with privative *m-*, but not with the attributive prefix *k-*; see §4.3.1.

stress, which always falls on the penultimate syllable (setting aside the exclamative construction described in §2.5.3 below). Secondary prominences frequently occur on the first syllable and on alternating syllables from left to right, excepting the syllable adjacent to the primary stress. Data illustrating this pattern is given in (45); this data is consistent with the analysis in Matteson (1965) and is the source of Yine’s reputation as having a bidirectional stress system.

- (45) a. ra'watka ‘He was there.’
 b. ,rawa'tkana ‘They were there.’ (Dil19)
 c. ,raniika'tkana ‘They were carried’ (Dil17)
 d. ,rawa,nata'tkana ‘They were living there.’ (Dil18)
 e. ,rikji,khimçena'tlina ‘They kept finding it, reportedly.’ (Yam48)
 f. ,rica,nani,mtana'tkana ‘They went along (hungry) for a long time.’ (Dil5)
 g. ,saçri,khima,tkanakta'tkana ‘They were completely surrounded everywhere, reportedly. (Mshk53)’
 h. ,numla,lafye,hitanna'tkayi ‘I will untie the rope near you. (Gav13)’

The pattern illustrated in the above examples is very well-attested in my corpus, but it is not exceptionless. While primary stress is entirely predictable, secondary stresses show considerable variation. The data in (46) provide exceptions to the generalization that secondary stress alternates from the left edge rightwards. In (46a-b), it appears to alternate from the right edge, with a (secondary) prominence anchored to the left edge; and in (46c-e), the prominences do not follow the alternating-syllables pattern observed in (45). These examples, like those in (45), are all representative of patterns well-attested in my data.

- (46) a. ,hiyoli,kachri'tnaka ‘A hunting one again (does something)’ (Gua8)
 b. ,ranika,natka'lina ‘They carried him off’ (Hmn75)
 c. ,ricana,nimtana'tkana ‘They went along doing/being (thus) for a little while’ (Dil5)
 d. ,tomkahhi,mamtana'tkana ‘She followed them for a while, reportedly’ (Gua27)

- e. *ˌrita,ɦɦimata,natka'lona* ‘They gave her (a lot of) food/drink, reportedly’ (Wap36)

The data in (47) provide counterexamples to the generalization that secondary stress always falls on the first syllable. In these, it falls on the second syllable.

- (47) a. *hi,yahhima'tkani* ‘then it was, reportedly, (that) ... ’ (Gua27)
 b. *sa,timnina'nika* ‘each and every one’ (Nwd14)
 c. *re,tamka,ta'tkana* ‘They tried to see’ (Wap25)
 d. *tʃi,nakte,nani'mtatka* ‘he went along crying out in tears’ (Nwd93)

I have not found clear examples where neither of the first two syllables is prominent (to my ear). Such an example is given in Sebastián and Marlett (2008), however: */tapa,lɨʃakan,wathimananimtana'tnaka/*. In fact, as this word exemplifies, the transcriptions throughout Sebastián and Marlett (particularly in the transcribed text) are suggestive of even further departure from Matteson’s bidirectional stress rules than I have described. As Sebastián is herself a linguistically trained native Yine speaker, her annotations have a considerable advantage over my own English-biased ones, and they underscore the need for further work to be done on the Yine stress system (if it is a “stress” system at all). Phonetic studies targeting the acoustic correlates of prominence in Yine would be especially beneficial.

2.5 Intonation

The basic intonation patterns in Yine are the following: the neutral contour, which may be subdivided into smaller phrases marked off with a non-final boundary tone; the exclamative contour, which may span over a clause or only over an adjective; and the interrogative contour used with basic polar questions.

2.5.1 Neutral contour

The neutral intonation contour is used with declarative clauses and with all interrogatives other than basic polar questions (cf. §2.5.4 below). This contour is characterized by level pitch gradually lowering until the last two syllables of the phrase; on the penultimate syllable there is a pitch accent, and this is followed by a sharp pitch drop on the last syllable.

2.5.2 Non-final boundary tone

In cases where two clauses are intended to be inferentially linked, a distinct intonation contour occurs at the boundary. This non-final contour is characterized by a sustained high pitch over the last two syllables of the first clause, and occurs at the boundary of both subordinate and non-subordinate clauses.

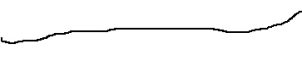
2.5.3 Exclamative intonation

There are two types of exclamative intonation. Basic exclamative clauses, including those introduced with the interrogative particle (see §12.4), are characterized by an exaggerated declarative contour. Exclamative utterances that include a sense of surprise or wonder, including those in which the mirative enclitic is used (see §12.4) have a distinct contour. This contour is what I label here as the exclamative contour, and is characterized by high pitch and optional lengthening on the final syllable of the domain. The degree of lengthening can be freely manipulated by the speaker, but regardless of how long or short the vowel is, the high pitch is strictly obligatory.

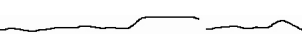
There are two syntactic domains over which the exclamative contour is attested: the clause, and the adjective in the periphrastic exclamative adjective construction (see §4.3.4). Because this is such a distinctive contour in Yine, it is illustrated with pitch traces in the traces below.

The trace in (48) illustrates a clausal exclamative intonation contour. As the trace

shows, the overall contour begins low and is relatively flat until the final syllable, when it rises sharply. In this case, the edge of the contour corresponds with the end of the clause.

- (48) 
 ralnahimamtatnaka walé:
 r-halna-hima-m-ta-tnaka wale
 3-fly-QUOT-NONDUR-VCL-REIT 3SGM
 ‘He flew a bit further again.’ (MyI85)

When focused on the adjective, the exclamative contour is embedded within the basic contour of the containing clause. This is illustrated in (49), where the sharp rise and sustained high pitch, corresponding to the end of the exclamative adjective, is followed by a typical declarative contour on the predicate *richimata*.

- (49) 
 klatahwistetá: richimata
 klata-hwi-ste-tá: r-hica-hima-ta
 white-flower.of-bumpy-EXCL 3-be/do-QUOT-VCL
 ‘It was all covered in little white flowers.’ (Shj6)

2.5.4 Interrogative

In most cases, questions have the same intonation as the declarative clause, but they may optionally have a rising intonation contour. This is most common with – in fact typical of – basic polar questions, which are distinguished from statements only by intonation (see §12.3.1.1). The interrogative contour is characterized by a sloping rise in pitch over the final two syllables of the clause.

3 Closed Classes

This chapter presents and illustrates the closed word classes that are not treated in other chapters: articles §3.1, pronouns §3.2, demonstratives §3.3, adverbs §3.4, and numerals and quantifiers §3.5. As noted in §3.6 and §3.7, interrogative words and clause linkers are discussed elsewhere in the grammar.

Finally, in §3.8 I briefly present two sets of particles – adverbial and evidential – whose grammatical status is not certain, but which are not directly treated elsewhere.

3.1 Articles

There are three articles in Yine. Two are distinguished by specificity and are mutually exclusive: the specific article *sati*, and the nonspecific article *pa*. Both of these may also be used as quantifiers. The third (and most frequently occurring) article, *wa*, is characterized by referentiality, and can cooccur with either *sati* or *pa*.

3.1.1 *sati* ‘specific’

The article *sati* (masc.) / *sato* (fem.) identifies a specific entity from a set and introduces it into the discourse.

- (50) cani ninkakletanro sato makloçi pirana
cani n-hinkakleta-ni-lo
now 1SG-tell-ANTIC-3SGF

[**sato** makloçi pirana]_{NP:O}
[**SPEC+FEM** youth+FEM story.of]

‘Now I will tell the story of a (certain) girl.’ (Sen1)

- (51) *sati hahmina hima ratskotna*
 [**sati** hahmina]_{NP:O} hima r-hatskota-na
 [SPEC+MASC trunk.of] QUOT 3-climb-3PL
 ‘They climbed a (certain) tree.’ (Mch18)

3.1.2 *pa* ‘nonspecific’

The article *pa* is nonspecific referent marker. A noun determined by *pa* occurs in its possessed form: if alienable, it must have the ‘possessed’ suffix (52); if inalienable, it does not have the ‘unpossessed’ suffix (53).

- (52) a. *pa kanawate* ‘a canoe’
 (*kanawa-te* [canoe-PSSD])
 b. *pa t̥içine* ‘some other country; someone (else)’s country’
 (*t̥içi-ne* [land-PSSD])
- (53) a. *pa t̥raçi* ‘a fragment’
 (*t̥raçi* ‘fragment of’)
 b. *pa tsa* ‘a cord’
 (*t̥sa* ‘cord, line of’)

Pa is combined with the abstract noun *hicani* ‘thing, being’, derived from the verb *hica* ‘be/do’ with the property nominalizer, to form a phrase that corresponds in meaning to an indefinite noun: i.e. *pa hicani* ‘something’.

3.1.3 *wa* ‘referential’

The article *wa* is defined in terms of referentiality rather than definiteness for two reasons: it can cooccur with *pa* or *sati*; and it has certain anaphoric properties.

First, it can be used with either of the indefinite articles. This is most common with the specific article *sati*, where the two serve to introduce a new participant into the discourse, as in (54), or with an anaphoric function to refer to a relatively new participant whose identity or import has not yet been revealed, as in (56) below.

- (54) *cani ninkakletanri wa sati mtiri*
cani n-hinkakleta-ni-li [wa sati mtiri]_{NP:O}
now 1SG-tell-ANTIC-3SGM [REF SPEC+MASC small+MASC]
 ‘Now I will tell (about) the/a certain boy.’ (Paj1)

The examples in (55) and (56) are uttered a few sentences apart in the same narrative. In (55), the main character is out fishing when a man (*sati yineri*) suddenly appears on the beach near him. This man asks what he is doing and he answers. Shortly thereafter the stranger is referred to again, this time with both the referential and the specific articles (56).

- (55) *riphiçewna sati yineri*
r-hiphiçewna [sati yine-li]_{NP:VS}
3-appear [SPEC+MASC people-SGM]
 ‘A man appeared.’ (Yam75)

- (56) *wane tfinri wa sati tinwataftri ...*
wane tfinri-li [wa sati tinwata-tftri]_{NP:VS}
there/thus say-3SGM [REF SPEC+MASC stand-SUBJ.NOM+MSG]
 ‘The one standing (on the beach) said ...’ (YineYami.083)

The fact that *sati* and *wa* can cooccur indicates that they do not represent opposing values of a single feature. The same is true of *wa* and *pa*, which do not cooccur very often in my corpus but, as the examples in (57) illustrate, are not restricted from doing so. The contrast in specificity between *wa* and *sati* is also highlighted in these examples.

- (57) a. *wa sati hohne* ‘the one day’
 b. *wa pa hohne* ‘some other day.’ (g51)
- (58) a. *wa sati tsapane* ‘someone else’s bag, a certain man’s bag’
 b. *wa pa tsapane* ‘someone’s bag.’ (g55)

Secondly, *wa* can, in restricted circumstances, occur alone in an NP; examples are given in (59)-(60) below. Its function when doing so is not well understood, but it appears to have anaphoric properties, serving to maintain the pragmatically active status of a given participant across phrases or clauses. It does not itself express any nominal features like gender or number that are known to impart a referential sense in Yine (cf. Chapter 7 for discussion); nor does it alternate with pronominal affixes on the predicate. These facts indicate that *wa* is not a pronoun.

Just before the example in (59) the narrator has described how her husband killed a game bird and she cooked it. Then, with the people who live there, she eats it (where ‘it’ is expressed via *wa*). Here, *wa* represents the extended argument of the predicate (see §10.1.3 regarding extended arguments).

- (59) *wa* *nimnikna* *wane* *haçene*
 [*wa*]_{NP:E} *n-him-nika-na* *wane* *haçe-ne*
 [REF] 1SG-ASSOC-eat-3PL there/thus dweller-PL
 ‘I ate this/it with the ones who live there.’ (Hws.017)

The consecutive clauses in (60) represent a very common use of *wa*, where it functions like a relativizer. Here, there are two nonverbal identity clauses, both of which refer to the same entity. The reference to this entity is continued into the second clause via *wa*, which is co-referential with the subject-indexing pronominal suffix on the second predicate. The most natural translation is the one given in the example; one closer to the Yine structure would be ‘It was me; the one you were talking to is me’.¹ The morphological structure of nonverbal predicates is described in Chapter 9, and the relationships they express in §11.5.

- (60) *hitakatvani wa pʃinanrono*
 [*hita-ka-tka-ni*] [*wa* *p-ʃina-ni-lo-no*]
 [1SG-ASSRT-PFV-IMP.DECL] [REF 2SG-say-ANTIC-SGF-1SG]
 ‘It was me (who) you were talking to.’ (Wap11)

¹This translation misleadingly implies that the pronoun is the predicate head in the second clause, which it is not. A more literal translation of that clause would be ‘the I am the one you talked to’, which makes no sense in English.

For the role of *wa* in focussing negative scope onto a nominal argument in the clause, see §12.1.2.

3.2 Pronouns

Yine has a small set of independent personal pronouns, presented in Table 3.1. They distinguish three persons, two numbers, and in 3rd singular, two grammatical genders. Gender is neutralized in 3rd plural. There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction, no case or role marking, and no special reflexive or reciprocal forms. Possessive pronouns are derived; see §3.2.3 below.

	SG	PL
1st	hita	wica
2nd	pica	pica
3rd masc	wale	wanna
3rd fem	wala	

Table 3.1: Personal pronouns

In addition to the independent pronouns, which are relatively rare in my corpus, Yine has a system of bound pronominal morphology, both prefixal and suffixal, which it employs to index possessors of nouns and core arguments of predicates. The pronominal affixes are described in §3.2.1. The bound and free pronominals are in semi-complementary distribution; this is treated in detail in §3.2.2.

3.2.1 Pronominal affixes

The form and function of the pronominal affixes is discussed in Chapter 5 (possessors) and Chapter 9 (arguments). The purpose of this section is to provide a unified summary of their distribution.

3.2.1.1 Pronominal prefixes

Pronominal prefixes index the subject of a verbal predicate and the possessor of a noun. There are three prefix classes, provided in Table 3.2. Class 1 and 2 appear on both verbs and nouns, while the Class 3 prefixes are only used to index the possessor of inalienable nouns; the details of their distribution are treated below. Note that 3PL marking requires the combination of two affixes, with the suffix *-na* in a discontinuous dependency relationship with the 3rd person masculine prefix. The suffix is the same in all the prefix classes, and is also used – without the prefix – for 3PL objects of transitive verbs.

	Class 1		Class 2		Class 3	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st person	n-	w-	n-	w-	no-	wi-
2nd person	p-	h-	p-	h-	pi-	hi-
3rd masc	r-	r- ... -na	∅-	∅- ... -na	hi-	hi- ... -na
3rd fem	t-		t-		to-	

Table 3.2: Pronominal prefixes

Class 1 Class 1 prefixes are used with stems that begin with the consonant *h*, which the prefix consonant replaces. The stem may be a verb, in which case the prefix indexes the subject, or an alienable or kinship noun, in which case it indexes the possessor. If the stem-initial *h* is followed by the vowel *i*, the *i* mutates to *ɨ*. This is an obligatory process, but one that is restricted to the morphological boundary between a prefix and a *hi*-initial stem. Vowels other than *i* are not affected.

Note that the 2PL prefix is exceptional in that it does not trigger vowel mutation. As discussed in §2.3.5, it is hypothesized that this reflects a phonological constraint no longer active in the current language.

The distribution of the Class 1 prefixes is summarized as follows. An example of the 1SG and 3SG forms is provided for each attested environment; these together are

sufficient to identify the prefix class for any given stem. Any word class that is not mentioned in a particular environment has been purposely omitted: it is not attested in that environment.

- verbs and kinship terms; stem begins with *hi*, *i > i*

eg. verb: *himata* ‘know’: *nimata*, *rimata*

eg. kin term: *hiri* ‘father of’: *niri*, *riri*

- verbs, kinship terms, non-kin inalienables, and alienable nouns; stem begins with *h* followed by vowel other than *i*

eg. verb: *heta* ‘see’: *neta*, *reta*

eg. kin term: *haçiro* ‘grandmother of’: *naçiro*, *raçiro*

eg. other inal: *-hayıçi* ‘spine of’: *nayıçi*, *rayıçi*

eg. alienable: *heptfi* ‘axe’: *neptfite*, *reptfite*

Class 2 The Class 2 prefix paradigm is used with stems that begin with a consonant other than *h*. With these, the pronominal prefix does not replace the initial consonant of the stem. This paradigm differs from Class 1 only in the 3rd person masculine/plural prefix, which is *r-* in Class 1 and \emptyset - in Class 2. The Class 2 prefixes are not attested on non-kin inalienables, which instead take the Class 3 forms if they do not begin with *h*.

- verbs, alienable nouns, and kinship terms; stem does not begin with *h*

eg. verb: *satoka* ‘return’: *nsatoka*, *satoka*

eg. alienable: *kanawa* ‘cedar, canoe’: *nkanawate*, *kanawate*

eg. kin term: *-palikleri* ‘nephew of’: *npalikleri*, *palikleri*

Class 3 The Class 3 prefixes are used only with inalienable nouns, and only with those whose stem does not begin with *h*. Most of the nouns that take Class 3 are non-kin inalienables, but there are also a few kinship terms that do.

- inalienable nouns; stem does not begin with *h*

eg. non-kin inal: *-yhale* ‘eye of’: noyhale, hiyhale

eg. kin term: *-mole* ‘kinsman of’: nomole, himole

3.2.1.2 Pronominal suffixes

The distribution of the pronominal suffixes depends entirely on the word class heading the predicate to which they are suffixed. This distribution is summarized in Table 3.3. Regarding the allomorphs in the 3SGM and 3SGF forms, see §2.3.4. For examples illustrating the pronominal suffixes, see Chapter 9.

	SG	PL	Predicate head
1st person	-no	-wi	V, N, Adj, Adv
2nd person	-yi	-hi	V, N, Adj, Adv
3rd masc	-li/-ri	-na	V, Adj, Adv
3rd fem	-lo/-ro		
impers.decl	-ni		N, Pron, Adv
impers.nondecl	-la/-ra		

Table 3.3: Pronominal suffixes: summary

In Chapter 9, I divide the pronominal suffixes into two paradigms: the O paradigm, which indexes the object of a transitive verb; and the NVS paradigm, which indexes the subject of a nonverbal predicate. The impersonal suffixes are only available with the latter. As I note in §9.1.2, this division is done for expository purposes, and is reflected in the glosses.

Note that the 3SGM and 3SGF suffixes are identical in form to the gender agreement suffixes and with the product/object nominalizing suffixes. However, only the pronominal suffixes express plurality with *-na*; the others mark it with the nominal plural suffix

-ne. Because of this distinction, the gender/number agreement suffixes and the nominalizers are analysed as identical (and glossed as SGM), with the pronominal suffixes being distinct (and glossed as 3SGM).

3.2.2 Distribution of bound pronominals

Pronominal affixes are in semi-complementary distribution with independent co-referential NPs, including those expressed via a personal pronoun. The degree to which they tend to cooccur depends on the word class of the head.

On nouns On nouns, independent possessors are in full complementary distribution with the pronominal prefixes. This is the case for both alienable (61) and inalienable (62) nouns.

(61) *sawli* ‘machete’

- a. **hita** sawlite
hita sawli-te
1SG machete-PSSD
‘my machete’
- b. **nsawlite**
n-sawli-te
1SG-machete-PSSD
‘my machete’

(62) *-tpali* ‘thigh of’

- a. **hita** tpali
hita tpali
1SG thigh.of
‘my thigh’
- b. **notpali**
no-tpali
1SG-thigh.of
‘my thigh’

On nonverbal predicates Pronominal indexing is always marked on nonverbal predicates, regardless of the relative order of the predicate and independent argument; (63)-(65) illustrate their obligatory specification.

(63) hewni nopçi
 hewi-**ni** **no-pçi**
 here-IMP.DECL 1SGPSSR-house.of
 ‘Here is my house.’ (Hetn39)

(64) çinanipyi
 çinani-pa-**yi**
 full-ELV-2SG
 ‘You will be full.’ (Hetn15)

(65) wala yinero natfinatatfroni
wala yine-lo natfi-na-ta-tfro-**ni**
 3SGF **people-SGF** hunger-DUR-VCL-SUBJ.NOM+FSG-IMP.DECL
 ‘That woman was one who was hungry for a long time.’ (Nwd117)

On verbal predicates The distribution is a bit more complicated with the pronominal affixes on a verbal predicate. With these, the only time pronominal indexing is optional is when there is an independent coreferential NP preceding the predicate in the clause. In this situation, the pronominal affixes are not marked on the predicate unless an emphatic sense is intended.

(66) a. hita histakyi
hita histaka-yi
 1SG cut-2SG
 ‘I cut you.’
 b. hita nistakyi
hita n-histaka-yi
 1SG 1SG-cut-2SG
 ‘I cut you.’

- (67) a. pica nistaka
pica n-histaka
2SG 1SG-cut
 ‘I cut you.’
- b. pica nistakyi
pica n-histaka-**yi**
2SG 1SG-cut-**2SG**
 ‘I cut *you*.’

If, however, the NP follows the predicate (or if there is no independent argument at all) pronominal indexing is obligatory.

- (68) a. nistakyi hita (VS)
n-histaka-yi hita
1SG-cut-2SG 1SG
 ‘I cut you.’
- b. *nistakyi hita

- (69) a. nistakyi pica (O)
n-histaka-yi pica
1SG-cut-2SG 2SG
 ‘I cut you.’
- b. *nistaka pica

3.2.3 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns in Yine are derived from personal pronouns using the property nominalizing suffix *-ni*. They are presented in Table 3.4.

	SG	PL
1st	hitani	wicani
2nd	picani	picani
3rd masc	waleni	wannani
3rd fem	walani	

Table 3.4: Possessive pronouns

Examples of the possessive pronouns are extremely limited in my corpus, so I can offer little discussion here. Studies of their distribution – for example, must they always occur as predicate heads? – and the types of possessive relationships encoded with these pronouns are topics for future research. The examples in (70) and (71) were encountered in elicitation, and though semantically odd are well-formed; (72) provides an example from a narrative. The possessive pronouns seem to express an abstract close relationship between two entities, rather than one of ownership.

(70) hitanni kamkoli
 hita-ni-ni kamkoli
 1SG-PROP.NOM-IMP.DECL cloud
 ‘(the/a) cloud is mine’ (g29)

(71) picanni katahiri
 pica-ni-ni katahiri
 2SG-PROP.NOM-IMP.DECL star
 ‘(the/a) star is yours’ (g29)

(72) hitanni wa fima
 hita-ni-ni wa fima
 1SG-PROP.NOM-IMP.DECL REF fish
 ‘(the) fish are mine’ (Yam84)

3.3 Demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives in Yine distinguish three degrees of spatial proximity to the speaker (the position of the addressee is not relevant); each has masculine singular, feminine singular, and plural forms.

Some observations can be made about the forms of the demonstratives. The initial consonant *t-* can be identified as a formative in all singular forms; *-cra* is present in all of the distal forms as well as the remote plural; *-ka* distinguishes the remote from

	Proximal	Distal	Remote
masc.sg	tye	tiçra	tika
fem.sg	twi	toçra	toka
pl	nyi	naçra	waçra

Table 3.5: Demonstratives

the proximal in the non-plural forms. The gender theme vowels *i* ‘masculine’ and *o* ‘feminine’ can also be identified. The proximal series is irregular. There is no obvious gender vowel; the first consonant can be identified as a number formative, but the remainder is not formally like any of the other series. This irregularity can plausibly be attributed to the obscuring effects of phonological change: in Apurinã, one of Yine’s closest relatives, the cognate forms are more transparent: *i-ye* ‘prox. masc.’, *o-ye* ‘prox.fem.’ (Facundes 2000:356). However, this analysis is only hypothetical until more comparative work has been done.

All of these demonstratives are regularly used as determiners or as pronouns. The examples in (73)-(75) illustrate that they may occur with a noun (and a numeral).

- (73) nyi hepi makloçine
nyi hepi makloçi-ne
PROX.PL two youth+FEM-PL
‘these two young women’

- (74) toçra sico
toçra sico
DIST.SGF woman
‘that woman (distal)’

- (75) tika sreta
tika sreta
REM.SGM area.of
‘that (remote) area’

The examples in (76)-(78) illustrate that the demonstratives can also themselves constitute a well-formed noun phrase.

(76) tye pnikani
 [**tye**]_{NP:O} p-nika-ni
 [**PROX.SGM**] 2SG-eat-ANTIC
 ‘Eat (you will eat) this.’

(77) klinernihe tiçra?
 kli-neri-ni=he [**tiçra**]_{NP:NVS}
 what+SGM-entity-IMP.DECL=MIR [**DIST.SGM**]
 ‘What is that (thing)?’

(78) tika nikfikamtyatkalo
 [**tika**]_{NP:E} n-hikfika-m-ta-ya-tka-lo
 [**REM.SGM**] 1SG-find-NONDUR-VCL-APPL-PFV-3SGF
 ‘I found her (in that place) far away.’ (Nwd.076)

The demonstratives are primarily deictic. The proximal series is used anaphorically in my texts only when accompanied by the referential article *wa*, as in (79)-(81). In each of these examples, the demonstrative is being used to refer back to an established referent rather than to point one out.

In (79), the subject NP refers back to the mythical character who has been the topic of the narrative.

(79) wane tñinapiranata wa twi hetinero sico
 wane t-ñina-pirana-ta
 there/thus 3SGF-say-story.of-VCL
 [**wa twi** hetinero sico]_{NP:VS}
 [**REF PROX.SGF** tree.frog.woman woman
 ‘Thus says the story of this tree frog woman.’ (hetn122)

The excerpt in (80) was said to me as an aside during a narrative, explaining why the narrator and his friend were eager to trap a water rat. Here, the demonstrative (which is the functional NP head) refers back into the narrative.

- (80) ...hi ricani wa tye wa kotfi hitokha hwaɸfri, kwenirni himta
 hi rica-ni [**wa tye**]_{NP:NVS}
 INTRG be/do-PROP.NOM [**REF PROX.SGM**]
 [wa kotfi hitoko-ha hwa-ɸfri]_{NP(NVS)}
 [REF rat inside-liquid.of be/do-SUBJ.NOM+MSG]
 [k-weni-li-ni hi-mta]_{PRED}
 [ATTRIB-worth-SGM-IMP.DECL 3PSSR-skin]
 ‘...because this one, the water rat, has a valuable coat.’ (Kch33)

- (81) pamyo makloçine ɸinanni wa tye tsri hohne
 pamyo makloçi-ne ɸina-ni-ni
 five adolescent+SGF-PL say-PROP.NOM-IMP.DECL
 [**wa tye** tsri hohne]_{NP:NVS}
 [**REF PROX.SGM** big+MASC day]
 ‘This fiesta is for the sake of five young women.’ (Fst36)

The anaphoric function is not attested with the distal and remote series. Instead, the 3rd person pronouns are used, in which case these too may be accompanied by *wa* (82)-(83) (but need not be, as pronouns can always be anaphoric).

- (82) rethimatli wa wale yineri
 r-heta-hima-ta-li [**wa wale** yine-ri]_{NP:O}
 3-see-QUOT-VCL-3SGM [**REF 3SGM** people-SGM]
 ‘He saw that man, reportedly.’ (in a dream) (Hmn37)

- (83) rikɸikatkalona yopo wa wale hohne
 r-hikɸika-tka-lo-na yopo
 3-find-PFV-3SGF-3PL mahogany
 [**wa wale** hohne]_{NP:OBL}
 [**REF 3SGM** day]
 ‘They found mahogany trees that day.’ (Unc16)

3.4 Adverbs

Yine has a closed class of adverbs providing locational, temporal, manner, and epistemic modification in the clause. The purpose of this section is to present and illustrate the adverbs that I have encountered in my research, organized according to their semantic type. The lists provided in the subsections below are as complete as I am currently able to make them; undoubtedly they can be expanded on further research, but based on my corpus the set of adverb roots in Yine is very small. Prominent among them is the polysemous adverb *wane*, which conflates location and manner, and is also used for existential predicates.

Adverbs can be identified as a word class based on their ability to modify a predicate, their lack of inflectional morphology, and their distribution in the clause. There is no morphology that derives adverbs in Yine, and none that is unique to this class of words. This is not to say that adverbs are always morphologically simple. As modifiers, they may host floating clause-level suffixes (see §9.5), and almost all are attested with the emphatic suffix *-ko* (see §9.2.4). As predicate heads, adverbial roots may take any of the morphology available to nonverbal predicates (see Chapter 9), and adverbs are the only class of words that utilize the full range of non-verbal subject (NVS) markers; this is described in §9.1.2.2.

In the clause, adverbs may either precede the predicate and its arguments, or follow them (see §11.1), modifying the predicate in either position. A few adverbs are attested as noun modifiers within the NP, in which case they may be distinguished from adjectives in that they do not take agreement morphology.

3.4.1 Locational adverbs

The locational adverbs are listed in (84).

- (84) *hewi* ‘here (deictic)’
hawla ‘(over) there (deictic)’
teno ‘high, deep’
howika ‘far’
mala ‘downriver’
hawaka ‘upriver’
*wane*² ‘there, in that place’

Hewi and *hawla* are deictic adverbs that express, respectively, proximity to and distance from the speaker. Although they are semantically opposing pairs, their frequency, distribution, and morphological possibilities are quite different. *Hewi* is attested modifying both predicates and nouns and as the head of a nonverbal predicate, as well as taking the emphatic suffix *-ko*; but *hawla* is only used as a predicate modifier and takes no morphology in my corpus.

The examples below illustrate how *hewi* may be used to modify either predicates (85)-(86) or nouns (87)-(89).

- (85) *hewi napokatka*
hewi n-hapoka-tka
here 1SG-arrive-PFV
‘I arrived here.’ (Via38)

- (86) *hewi pmoletani*
hewi p-moleta-ni
here 2SG-gather-ANTIC
‘Gather (them) here.’ (WatE116)

When *hewi* appears as a modifier in an NP, the NP in question typically also has the referential article *wa*, as in (87) and (88); or it may have a demonstrative, as in (89).

²polysemous; see also §3.4.3 and §3.4.4 for its manner and existential senses, respectively.

Examples where *hewi* modifies a noun in an NP with no determiner element are not attested. Note, however, that there is no agreement morphology on the adverb.

- (87) hiyahni wale ninkakletyehitna wa hewi klatalone
 hiyaho-ni wale n-hinkakleta-yehi-ta-na
 then-IMP.DECL 3SGM 1SG-relate-VICIN-VCL-3PL
 [wa **hewi** klata-lo-ne]_{NP:O}
 [REF **here** white-SGF-PL]
 ‘So this is what I relate in the presence of these white women here.’
 (Tra178)

- (88) wtomsatyatkana wa hewi haçene
 w-toma-sa-ta-ya-tka-na
 1PL-call.to-ITER-VCL-APPL-PFV-3PL
 [wa **hewi** haçe-ne]_{NP:O}
 [REF **here** dweller-PL]
 ‘We called out several times to the ones who live here.’ (Hws49)
 (*lit.* ‘to the here dwellers.’)

- (89) cani ninkakletanri tye hewi poktji pirana
 cani n-hinkakleta-ni-li [tye **hewi** poktji pirana]_{NP:O}
 now 1SG-relate-ANTIC-3SGM [PROX.SGM **here** village story.of]
 ‘Now I will tell a story of this village here.’ (Via1)

With the emphatic suffix *-ko*, *hewi* has a narrower sense, i.e. ‘right here’.

- (90) cani hewiko witikanitka
 cani **hewi-ko** w-hitika-ni-tka
 now **here-EMPH** 1PL-cease-ANTIC-PFV
 ‘Now we will stop / let us stop right here.’ (Mshk97)

The use of *hewi* as a predicate head is illustrated in (91)-(92).

- (91) hewni nopçi
hewi-ni [no-pçi]_{NVS}
here-IMP.DECL [1SGPSSR-house.of]
 ‘My house is here.’ (hten39)

- (92) wane hima tfinri “hewno!”
 wane hima t-fina-li “**hewi-no**”
 there/thus QUOT 3SGF-say-3SGM “**here-1SG**”
 ‘She said to him, “I am here!” (Kme65)

In all of my textual examples, the distal adverb *hawla* ‘(over) there’ is morphologically simple and modifies a predicate, as in (93) and (94). I have no examples of *hawla* modifying a noun, taking any morphology (including *-ko*), or heading a predicate. It is very likely that a study of conversational data would allow for a more enlightening discussion of *hawla*, but this must be left for future research. If it is the case that my data is in fact representative of *hawla*’s distribution, then it is significantly different from the proximal adverb in this regard.

- (93) hawla netyali himni hitsrikate
hawla n-heta-ya-li himni hitsrikate
there 1SG-see-APPL-3SGM snake giant.of
 ‘I saw a giant snake over there.’ (Kok11)

- (94) hawla ntjanicika
hawla n-tjanica-ya-ka
there 1SG-invite-APPL-PASS
 ‘I am invited there.’ (Reb17)

The remaining locational adverbs are non-deictic, including *wane* ‘there’ which refers to a place that has been established in the discourse. Though polysemous, *wane* has only a locational sense if it modifies a predicate with locational semantics, whether these semantics are inherent, as with the locative verb *hwa* ‘be in a place’ in (95), or derived with the applicative *-ya* as in (96).

- (95) wane twa tsro sani
wane t-hwa tsro sani
there/thus 3SGF-be(loc) big+FEM wasp
 ‘A big wasp lives there.’ (Tra55)

- (96) wane ninkyanri satni
wane n-hinka-**ya**-na-li sati-ni
there/thus 1SG-shoot-**APPL**-CMPV-3SGM SPEC+MASC-IMP.DECL
 ‘I killed one there.’ (Caz19)

Teno expresses distance along the vertical plane, modifying a predicate in terms of either height (as in (97) and (98)), or depth (see (99) below).

- (97) teno hima tatskotatka
teno hima t-hatskota-tka
high QUOT 3SGF-climb-PFV
 ‘She climbed up high, reportedly.’ (TsN11)

- (98) teno riçrikyatka
teno r-hiçrika-ya-tka
high 3-fall-**APPL**-PFV
 ‘He fell from high up.’ (Srp20)

Examples with *teno* referring to depth are rare in my corpus, but the sense is evident in examples like (99), where a locational noun referring to deep water is derived from *teno*.

- (99) tenhawakako yatka
teno-ha-waka-ko Ø-ya-tka
deep-liquid.of-LOC.NOM-EMPH 3-go-PFV
 ‘It (the electric eel) went to a very deep place in the water.’ (Pts26)

Howika expresses distance along the horizontal plane, i.e. ‘far’.

- (100) howika hima yaçenatna
howika hima Ø-ya-çe-na-ta-na
far QUOT 3-go-FREQ-DUR-VCL-3PL
 ‘They always went far, reportedly.’ (Nwd24)

- (101) mala howika wapoka
 mala **howika** w-hapoka
 downriver **far** 1PL-arrive
 ‘We arrived far downriver.’ (Via34)

Both *teno* and *howika* take obligatory agreement suffixes, like adjectives, when functioning to modify a noun as in (102), and have the semantics of dimension adjectives rather than locational adverbs.

- (102) a. tenro makloçi
 teno-lo makloçi
 high-SGF girl
 ‘tall girl’ (hetn49)
- b. howikli hatnihapo
 howika-li hatni-hapo
 far-SGM path-trail.of
 ‘long path’ (b98)

Teno is not attested as a predicate head in my corpus, but *howika* behaves like other adverbs in this function in taking both the personal (103a) and the impersonal (103b) 3rd person subject markers.

- (103) a. hi himamka howiknitkali
 hi hima-maka **howika-ni-tka-li**
 NEG QUOT-FRUST **far**-AFFECT-PFV-3SGM
 ‘He was not far away now.’ (but he would not reach his goal) (MyI87)
- b. hi howihimatkani
 hi **howika**-hima-tka-ni
 NEG **far**-QUOT-PFV-IMP.DECL
 ‘It was not far now.’ (to the port) (Nwd28)

The adverbs *mala* ‘downriver, downstream’ and *hawaka* ‘upriver, upstream’ are interpreted relative to the flow of the nearest (or most salient) river. They may either describe a static location, as in (104)-(105), or identify the direction in which the modified situation is occurring, as in (106).

- (104) sati poktji hima yatkana mala
 sati poktji hima Ø-ya-tka-na **mala**
 SPEC+MASC village QUOT 3-go-PFV-3PL **downriver**
 ‘They went to a certain village downriver, reportedly.’ (Mshk72)
- (105) wane nimkiya hawaka
 wane n-himka-ya **hawaka**
 there/thus 1SG-sleep-APPL **upriver**
 ‘There I slept, upriver.’ (Hws3)
- (106) pimrine mala ya hawa pimrine hawaka ya
 pimri-ne **mala** ya hawa pimri-ne **hawaka** ya
 other-PL **downriver** go and other-PL **upriver** go
 ‘Some go downriver and others go upriver.’ (Kch29)

Examples (107) and (108) illustrate the use of the emphatic suffix with these adverbs.

- (107) malahimako ranikatkalona wala
mala hima-ko r-hanika-tka-lo-na wala
downriver QUOT-EMPH 3-carry-PFV-3SGF-3PL 3SGF
 ‘They carried her way downriver, reportedly.’ (Mshk89)
- (108) hawakakmaka yatka wa sati
hawaka-ko-maka Ø-ya-tka wa sati
upriver-EMPH-FRUST 3-go-PFV REF SPEC+MASC
 ‘The one went way upriver (in spite of our effort to catch it).’ (Kch37)

Both *mala* and *hawaka* only occur as predicate modifiers in my corpus; I do not have examples of either being used to modify nouns or as predicate heads.

3.4.2 Temporal adverbs

The Temporal adverbs are listed in (109), and see the Addendum at the end of this section for a discussion of their possible etymologies.

- (109) *cani* ‘now, today, in this season/era’
kapethohne ‘yesterday; recently’
yefikawa ‘tomorrow’
mitfi ‘just, just before’
mitfikawa ‘long ago’
mitfinani ‘first(ly), before’

*Can*i describes an event as occurring at (110) or around (111) the utterance time, or expresses that a state of affairs holds in the general time period of the utterance (112).

- (110) wale ninkakletyehithi cani wa tye hohne
wale n-hinkakleta-yehi-ta-hi **cani** wa tye hohne
3SGM 1SG-relate-VICIN-VCL-2PL **now** REF PROX.SGM day
‘That (is what) I am telling about now, today.’ (Kme119)

- (111) cani hi kihlehoçinatcano
cani hi kihle-hoçi-na-tka-no
now NEG good-face.of-CMPV-PFV-1SG
‘Now my face is not good at all.’ (hetn86)
(the result of being injured several days earlier)

- (112) cani hewno hita
cani hewi-no hita
now here-1SG 1SG
‘Now I am here.’ (Jml25)
(by someone who has been living in that place for many years)

In order to specify the immediate present, the emphatic suffix *-ko* is used.

- (113) rinani caniko
r-hina-ni **cani-ko**
3-come-ANTIC **now-EMPH**
‘He will come right now.’ (Kme60)

This adverb is not attested modifying a noun or as the head of a nonverbal predicate in my corpus.

Like *cani*, *kapethohne* has a vague sense. It may refer to the day before the utterance time, as in (114), but may also be used to refer to a time further back in the recent past, as in (115) below.

- (114) nsatokatka kapethohne
n-satoka-tka **kapethohne**
1SG-return-PFV **yesterday**
'I came back yesterday.'

The use of *kapethohne* with an event many days in the past is illustrated by the excerpts in (115). These are drawn from a narrative in which a man expresses a wish that a frog he hears singing would become a woman; following this, he continues his work of hunting and storing up provisions. After many, many days, he returns to where he had heard the frog, and it is at this point that she, now a woman, tells him that she was the one he was speaking of *kapethohne*. The amount of time that has passed is not explicitly noted beyond *hico hohne* 'many days', but the description of repeated activities in the story suggests that it could have been several weeks or longer.

- (115) a. wane tfinhimata “yineromkapatkayi, picamka nhaninrotanitka” ...
 wane Ø-tfina-hima-ta yine-lo-maka-ta-tka-yi
 there/thus 3-say-QUOT-VCL people-SGF-FRUST-VCL-PFV-2SG
 pica-maka n-hninro-ta-ni-tka ...
 2SG-FRUST 1SG-wife.of-VCL-ANTIC-PFV ...
 He said, “If only you were a woman, I would like to marry you.” ...
- b. wane hima hico hohnetnakni satokatnaka ...
 wane hima hico hohne-tnaka-ni Ø-satoka-tnaka ...
 there/thus QUOT much day-REIT-IMP.DECL 3-return-REIT ...
 ‘So it was many days again, he returned again.’
- c. wane hima tfinri, “hitakatvani, wane pfinanatanrotkano kapethohne”
 wane hima t-tfina-li hita-ka-tka-ni
 there/thus QUOT 3SGF-say-3SGM 1SG-ASSRT-PFV-IMP.DECL
 wane p-tfina-na-ta-ni-lo-tka-no
 there/thus 2SG-say-DUR-VCL-PROP.NOM-SGF-PFV-1SG
kapethohne
yesterday
 ‘She said to him, “It was me, I am the one you spoke to many days ago.”’ (hetn14-25)

I do not have comparable data for *yetfikawa*, which only refers to the day following the utterance in my corpus, as it does in (116) and (117).

- (116) yetfikawa niyolikani
yetfikawa n-hiyolika-ni
tomorrow 1SG-hunt-ANTIC
 ‘Tomorrow I will go hunting.’ (Tra11)
- (117) yetfikawa wiçhapanitkali
yetfikawa w-hiçha-pa-ni-tka-li
tomorrow 1PL-search.for-ELV-ANTIC-PFV-3SGM
 ‘Tomorrow we will go look for it.’ (Hmn23)

More work is needed to determine whether it may likewise refer to a day further into the future.

References to the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow are both expressed phrasally using *pnite hohne* ‘another day’ along with the temporal adverb, as

in (118a) and (118b).

- (118) a. kapethohne pnite hohne
kapethohne pni-te hohne
yesterday OTHER-PSSD day
'the day before yesterday'
- b. yetfikawa pnite hohne
yefjikawa pni-te hohne
tomorrow OTHER-PSSD day
'the day after tomorrow' (a15)

The non-deictic adverb root *mitfi* 'just' is illustrated in (119). This adverb occurs rarely in my corpus. In all tokens, it is morphologically simple and never heads a predicate.

- (119) wa mitfi wane haçene
wa **mitfi** wane haçene
REF **before** there/thus dweller-PL
'the ones who were just living there'

Mitfikawa 'long ago' is illustrated in (120)-(121), and *mitfinani* 'first(ly), before' in (122)-(123) below. Regarding the possible etymology of these adverbs, see the addendum at the end of the current section.

Mitfikawa is attested modifying a predicate (120) and modifying a noun (121).

- (120) mitfikawa wane hima ricapnina
mitfikawa wane hima r-hica-pa-ni-na
long.ago there/thus QUOT 3-be/do-ELV-AFFCT-3PL
'This is how they were / what they did long ago.' (Jag1)
- (121) cani ninkakletanri wa mitfikawa pirana
cani n-hinkakleta-ni-li wa **mitfikawa** pirana
now 1SG-relate-ANTIC-3SGM REF **long.ago** story.of
'Now I will tell a story from long ago.' (Twm1)

Mitfinani is likewise attested as a predicate modifier (122) and a noun modifier (123).

- (122) *mitfinani* ninkakletanri hi ricpoko hwaletli honha wa pitsoti
mitfinani n-hinkakleta-ni-li hi r-hicpoko
first 1SG-relate-ANTIC-3SGM INTRG 3-do(manner)
 hwa-le-ta-li honi-ha wa pitsoti
 be(loc)-SUBD-VCL-3SGM water-liquid.of REF electric.eel
 ‘First I will tell about how the electric eel lives in the water.’ (Pts4)

- (123) hi hima rapkapatkana wa *mitfinani* kosetatfine
 hi hima r-hapka-tka-na wa **mitfinani** koseta-*tfine*
 NEG QUOT 3-catch.up.with-PFV-3PL REF **first** haul-SUBJ.NOM+PL
 ‘He did not catch up with the first ones to pull in (fish).’
 (*lit.* the first haulers) (Nwd27)

My corpus does not contain examples of *mitfinani* or *mitfikawa* taking the emphatic suffix or heading a predicate, but nor have these possibilities been explicitly ruled out.

ADDENDUM. While all of the temporal adverbs presented in this section exist as inseparable phonological and grammatical words in the current language, it is worth commenting on the forms of four of them: *kapethohne* ‘yesterday’, *yefikawa* ‘tomorrow’, *mitfikawa* ‘long ago’, and *mitfinani* ‘first’. These show a clear morphological relationship to other temporal words in the language and are suggestive of a derivational origin, while their semantics are idiosyncratic enough to suggest lexicalization.

The noun *hohne* ‘day’ is readily identifiable as a component of *kapethohne* ‘yesterday, recently’, but *kapet-* does not appear elsewhere in my corpus and I cannot speculate on its possible semantics. The tentative etymologies of the other three forms are more complicated to explore, as follows (and summarized in (124) below). *Yefikawa* ‘tomorrow’ and *mitfikawa* ‘long ago’ both contain the formative *kawa*, which they share with other temporal words including the noun *hoyetfnokawa* ‘morning’. Following Matteson (1965:126) *kawa* may be glossed as ‘period of time following’. *Yef-* may

also be identified as a component of both *hoyetfnokawa* ‘morning’ and another temporal noun, *hoyetfno* ‘night’ (cf.(124)). Given Matteson’s gloss of *kawa*, *yetf-* appears to express a stretch of time during which it is dark; so, *yetfikawa* is a time following a stretch of darkness. *Mitfikawa* could be translated (very awkwardly) as a time following ‘before’. There is a similar awkwardness in attempting a literal translation of *mitfinani* ‘firstly’, composed of *mitfi* ‘just, before’ and the ‘extensive’ particle *nani* (see §3.8.2 below): i.e. during the time span preceding the modified event or state of affairs.

The etymologies offered here are summarized in (124), but note that further research is needed to explore their validity.

- (124) kapethohne ‘yesterday, recently’
 kapet-?
 hohne ‘day’
 yetfikawa ‘tomorrow; period of time following darkness’
 yetf(i)- ‘time of darkness’
 -kawa ‘period of time following’
 mitfikawa ‘long ago; ?period of time following (what was) before’
 mitfi ‘just, before’
 -kawa ‘period of time following’
 mitfinani ‘first(ly); distributed over previous time’
 mitfi ‘just, before’
 nani ‘EXTNS’

3.4.3 Manner adverbs

The manner adverbs are listed in (125).

- (125) *wane*³ ‘thus’
 yihle ‘slowly’
 teyaka ‘lightly, swiftly’
 hiyampoti ‘quickly, immediately’

As noted above, *wane* is used for manner as well as locational modification. As a manner adverb, it has a very general sense, ‘thus, in this way’ (126).

³polysemous; see also §3.4.1 and §3.4.4 for its locational and existential senses, respectively.

- (126) wane tica knoya
wane t-hica knoya
there/thus 3SGF-be/do tortoise
 ‘This is how the tortoise was / what the tortoise did.’ (Kno2)

- (127) waneko picka hima riylahimatanro jifri
wane-ko picka hima r-hiyla-hima-ta-na-lo
there/thus-EMPH SIM QUOT 3-kill-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-3SGF
 jifri-ni
 black.fly-AFFCT
 ‘Just like that he killed the black fly.’ (Paj16)

Wane is obligatory with the speech verb *ʃina* ‘say’ (128).

- (128) wale wane ʃina ...
 wale **wane** ʃina
 3SGM **there/thus** say
 ‘He said (thus) ...’ (Unc35)

Examples of *yihle* ‘slowly’, *teyaka* ‘lightly, swiftly’, and *hiyampoti* ‘quickly, immediately’ are provided below.

- (129) yihleko napoka yopçewaka
yihle-ko n-apoka yopçewaka
slowly-EMPH 1SG-arrive port
 ‘I arrive really slowly to the port.’ (Caz50)

- (130) hawa teyakpotkocli
 hawa **teyaka**-poti-koca-li
 and **swiftly**-INTNS-ADD-3SGM
 ‘And it also moves very swiftly / is very swift.’ (Kch12)

- (131) hita hiylatli wa nnikanri hiyampoti
 hita hiylata-li wa n-nika-ni-li **hiyampoti**
 1SG kill-3SGM REF 1SG-eat-ANTIC-SGM **quickly**
 ‘I kill my food quickly.’ (Oso17)

The form of *hiyampoti* suggests that it is morphologically complex, a lexicalized combination of *hiyaho* ‘then, next, so’ and the adverbial particle *poti* ‘intensive’; the vowel elision and place assimilation of *h* to *p* follow the regular phonological rules of the language. There is no evidence that it is synchronically analysable, however: though both *hiyaho* and *-poti* exist in the current language, *hiyampoti* itself is a single inseparable grammatical and phonological word.

3.4.4 Existential adverbs

There are two adverbs that are used to head existential predicates: *wane*⁴ ‘there is, there exists’; and its negative counterpart *malefa* ‘there is not, there does not exist’. These are illustrated in (132)-(135) below. For further discussion, see also §11.5.3 on existence clauses.

- (132) wanero sato sico
wane-lo sato sico
there/thus-SGF SPEC+FEM woman
 ‘There was a woman.’

- (133) wanena nwihehene
wane-na n-whene-ne
there/thus-3PL 1SG-child.of-PL
 ‘My children exist; I have children.’ (Gav34)

- (134) mitfikawa malefananna sicone
 mitfikawa **malefa-nani-na** sico-ne
 long.ago **not.there-EXTNS-3PL** woman-PL
 ‘Long ago, there were no women.’ (hetn5)

⁴polysemous; see also §3.4.1 and §3.4.3 for its locational and manner senses, respectively.

- (135) maleflo wanna motorote
malefa-lo wanna motoro-te
not.there-SGF 3PL motorized.canoe-PSSD
 ‘Their motorized canoe was not (there).’ (Unc81)

3.4.5 Epistemic adverbs

Yine has three epistemic adverbs:

- (136) *halikaka* ‘certainly, indeed’ (strong commitment to truth of utterance)
halikta ‘maybe’ (general commitment, open to re-evaluation)
hiphita ‘apparently’ (some uncertainty, low commitment).

In the description below, I attempt to characterize the core meaning of each of these; however, my understanding of their range of uses is too limited to offer much in the way of discussion.

Halikaka ‘indeed’ expresses the highest degree of certainty. It is used when the speaker has either first-hand knowledge of, or a high degree of confidence in, the information presented in the sentence, as in (137)-(138); or with anticipated events over which the speaker has direct control, as in (139) and (140) below. It also serves to intensify an entire sentence.

- (137) cani halikaka nikfikatkali hico knoya
 cani **halikaka** n-hikfika-tka-li hico knoya
 now **indeed** 1SG-find-PFV-3SGM much tortoise
 ‘Now I have really found a lot of tortoises.’ (Kno50)

- (138) wanekli halikaka hima hi tnañitfatka
 wane-kli **halikaka** hima hi t-nañitfa-tka
 there/thus-time.of **indeed** QUOT NEG 3SGF-be.hungry-PFV
 ‘At that time she indeed was not hungry (any more).’ (Nwd120)

The speaker in (139) is the chief of the village, and has the authority to order a time of communal work.

- (139) cani halikaka wkamrirewatanitka
 cani **halikaka** w-kamrirewata-ni-tka
 now **indeed** 1PL-work-ANTIC-PFV
 ‘Now indeed we will work.’ (BfM46)

In examples like (140), the use of *halikaka* has the illocutionary force of an oath.

- (140) cani halikaka hi pa hohneko nsatokanitka
 cani **halikaka** hi pa hohne-ko n-satoka-ni-tka
 now **indeed** NEG NONSPEC day-EMPH 1SG-return-ANTIC-PFV
 ‘Now indeed I will never return again.’ (hetn87)

Halikta ‘maybe’ expresses a somewhat lower degree of commitment to the truth or accuracy of the utterance, in effect making an assertion while allowing for the possibility of being mistaken. It is used when the speaker is passing along general knowledge which he or she has not personally verified.

- (141) pamyo knoya halikta pnite
 pamyo knoya **halikta** pni-te
 five tortoise **maybe** OTHER-PSSD
 ‘five tortoises, maybe more’ (Kno56)

- (142) hiyahni ripweretinitkana halikta pnimni yatkana
 hiyaho-ni r-hipwereta-ini-tka-na
 then-IMP.DECL 3-hatch-TEMP-PFV-3PL

halikta pni-mni Ø-ya-tka-na
maybe OTHER-SER 3-go-PFV-3PL
 ‘Then after they hatch, they go in all directions, as far as I know.’
 (Kno70)

Hiphita ‘apparently’ expresses a low degree of commitment to or responsibility for the accuracy of the utterance. I have few textual examples of this adverb, and in all of them it heads a nonverbal predicate; (143) and (144) are typical examples. Further research is needed to address its function as a modifier.

- (143) hiphithimla mhenokli hiylatanatkalo
hiphita-hima-la mhenokli hiylata-na-tka-lo
apparently-QUOT-IMP.NONDECL jaguar kill-CMPV-PFV-3SGF
 ‘It seemed that a jaguar had killed her.’ (Nwd50)
- (144) hiphitla çeçi papokanatatka
hiphita-la çeçi p-hapoka-na-ta-tka
apparently-IMP.NONDECL man 2SG-have.sex-DUR-VCL-PFV
 ‘It seems like you’ve been having sex with a man.’ (Kme45)

3.5 Numerals and quantifiers

3.5.1 Numerals

The current Yine numeral system is presented in Table 3.6. Only two numerals are morphologically simple, *hepi* ‘two’ and *mapa* ‘three’. *Satipçe* ‘one’ is the only numeral that distinguishes gender; it also has a clear morphological relationship to the indefinite specific article *sati*, along with the restrictive suffix *-pçe*. The numerals *patfa* ‘hundred’ and *warahka* ‘thousand’ are Quechua borrowings.

1	satipçe (m.), satopçe (f.)
2	hepi
3	mapa
4	hepkocamkoçe
5	pamyo
6	patsriçire
7	payokhipre
8	yokhipi
9	mtiriçi
10	pamole
11	pamole satipçe
20	hepimole
25	hepimole pamyo
100	sati patfa
500	pamyo patfa
1000	sati warahka

Table 3.6: Numerals

Ordinal numerals are phrasal, composed of the cardinal numeral or a quantified noun plus *tfininri* (an action nominalization of the verb *tfiná* ‘say’): i.e. *hepi tfininri* ‘second’, *mapa tfininri* ‘third’, *hepkocamkoçe tfininri* ‘fourth’, etc. This is the construction used to refer to the time of day (145), (146) or a certain amount of elapsed time, as in (147). Note the code-mixing in (146), where the numeral and quantified noun are Spanish, but are adapted to the Yine ordinal number construction. The use of Spanish numerals, unadapted to Yine phonology, is very common in my corpus even in the traditional narratives, where many of my consultants made a conscious effort to avoid code-mixing and would usually self-correct if they did.

(145) payokhipre tfininri hoyetfno rapokatka
payokhipre tfiná-inri hoyetfno r-hapoka-tka
seven say-ACTN.NOM night 3-arrive-PFV
 ‘He returned at seven o’clock in the evening.’ (Kch23)

(146) tinatnaka hoyetfnokawa las ocho tfininri
 t-hina-tnaka
 3SGF-come-REIT
 hoyetfnokawa **las ocho tfiná-inri**
 morning **the(Sp.) eight(Sp.) say-ACTN.NOM**
 ‘She came back at eight o’clock in the morning.’ (Reb12)

(147) hepi ksiri tfininri
hepi ksiri tfiná-inri
two month say-ACTN.NOM
 ‘in the second month.’ (Kno69)

3.5.2 Quantifiers

Yine has three quantifiers: *hico* ‘much, many’, *psoli* ‘all/the entirety of’, and *peçni* ‘every, each’.

3.5.2.1 *hico* ‘a lot of’

Hico corresponds to either ‘much’ or ‘many’ in English depending on whether or not the noun it quantifies is individuated (i.e. marked for number). It is not attested with mass nouns; for these, a sizeable quantity is expressed via modification with the adjective *tsri* ‘big’ (e.g. *tsri koya* ‘a lot of manioc beer’).

Where the quantified noun has a human referent, *hico* is treated as a modifier and as a rule must take the gender/number agreement suffixes, as in (148)-(149).⁵ The example in (150) represents an exception to the rule. Here, the quantified noun is *yine* ‘(the Yine) people’ (as it is in (149)), but no agreement appears on the quantifier. This is the only such example in my corpus, so a well-motivated explanation for it cannot be offered, but the fact that the quantified noun here refers to corpses, not living humans, seems likely to be a very relevant point.

- (148) *hicoline maʃkonhima saçrikanna*
 [**hico-li-ne** maʃko-ne-hima]_{NP:VS} saçrika-na-na
 [**much-SGM-PL** maʃko-PL-QUOT] encircle-CMPV-3PL
 ‘A lot of Mashcos encircled them, reportedly.’ (Mshk48)

- (149) *hicoline yine hinanatatka*
 [**hico-li-ne** yine]_{NP:VS} hina-na-ta-tka
 [**much-SGM-PL** people] come-DUR-VCL-PFV
 ‘A lot of people/Yine people were coming.’ (Yam112)

- (150) *wane ripniyanna hico yinni*
 wane r-hipna-ya-na-na [**hico** yine-ni]_{NP:VS}
 there/thus 3-die-APPL-CMPV-3PL [**much** people-IMP.DECL]
 ‘There a lot of Yine died.’ (Fst30)

With non-human referents, no agreement morphology is used. Examples are provided in (151)-(153). Plural marking on the quantified noun is possible, but tends to be

⁵The feminine gender agreement suffix is not attested, presumably because groups are treated morphologically as masculine for the purpose of agreement, and nouns quantified with *hico* are always plural.

reserved for focused or highly prominent participants: for example, in (151) the narrator is relating a story about how he once came across a female tortoise being pursued by five male tortoises; the plurality of the tortoises here is central to the narrative.

- (151) hico çeçine homkaçitlo
 [**hico** çeçi-ne]_{NP:VS} homkaçita-lo
 [**much** man-PL] follow-3SGF
 ‘Many males follow(ed) her.’ (Kno3)

- (152) hico paranta ritaknina
 [**hico** paranta]_{NP:O} r-hitaka-ni-na
 [**much** plantain] 3-put-IMP.DECL-3PL
 ‘They planted a lot of plantains.’ (Yami25)

- (153) halikta hico ksiri palihatna
 halikta [**hico** ksiri]_{NP:OBL} Ø-palihata-na
 maybe [**much** month] 3-go.upstream-3PL
 ‘They went upriver for many months, I think.’ (Yam160)

3.5.2.2 *psoli* ‘all of’; *peçni* ‘every’

The distinction between individuated nouns, those whose status as individuals is viewed as relevant in the context, versus non-individuated, whose status as individuals is not relevant, is more useful in characterizing the difference between the universal quantifiers than is the count-mass distinction. It is also more consistent with the Yine number system, which divides between nouns that usually take plural marking – i.e. highly animate count nouns – and those that cannot or usually do not – i.e. mass nouns and low-animacy count nouns.

There are two universal quantifiers. Both agree in gender with the noun they quantify, but only one, *peçni*, can also agree in number.

Psoli quantifies over the entirety of a non-individuated group. It can be used with both noncount (154) and count (155) nouns, as long as the latter are taken as a unified

whole. It is not attested with animate or plural nouns. Internal morphology can be identified: the inalienable noun *-pso* ‘size of’ plus the nominalizing gender suffix *-li*, but it is analysed as monomorphemic here because of its distinct function in the grammar. The emphatic suffix *-ko* is very frequently marked on *psoli*, but it is not obligatory and does not alter the quantifier’s meaning.

- (154) a. *psoliko koya*
psoli-ko koya
all+SGM-EMPH manioc.beer
 ‘all of the manioc beer’
- b. *psoli yetfno rimeta*
psoli yetfno r-himeta
all+SGM night 3-be.intoxicated
 ‘he was intoxicated the entire night’
- c. *psoliko hiŋehi*
psoli-ko hi-ŋehi
all+SGM-EMPH 3SGMPSSR-crown.of(tree)
 ‘the whole crown of the tree’
- (155) a. *psoloko parantane*
psolo-ko paranta-ne
all+SGF-EMPH plantain-PL
 ‘the whole group/bunch of plantains’
- b. *psoliko niktŋi*
psoli-ko niktŋi
all+SGM-EMPH game.animal
 ‘all the game meat’

Peçni quantifies over a set of individuals, i.e. ‘every, each’, and thus is limited to use with individuated nouns. It agrees in number and gender with the head noun. If the quantified noun is plural, *peçni* quantifies over individuals or types, as in (156). If it is singular, which it rarely is in my data, it quantifies over a group of referents, each of which is characterized by the head noun, as in (157). Speakers varied whether they found it acceptable to use *peçni* with mass nouns; most did not.

- (156) a. peçnironeko sicone
peçni-lo-ne-ko sico-ne
every-SGF-PL-EMPH woman-PL
 ‘all the women, every woman’
- b. peçnirineko niktji
peçni-li-ne-ko niktji
every-SGM-PL-EMPH game.animal
 ‘all the game animals, every type of meat’

- (157) peçniko niktji
peçni-ko niktji
every-EMPH game.animal
 ‘every game animal’

3.6 Interrogatives

The interrogative words and phrases of Yine are presented and exemplified in §12.3.

3.7 Clause linkers

The elements used to combine clauses, and the relationships thus expressed, are discussed and illustrated in Chapter 13.

3.8 Particles

There is a small set of words that do not fit neatly into any word class and cannot be straightforwardly categorized as clitics or affixes. They take no inflectional morphology of their own. Though it is not clear that they constitute a coherent word class, and their proper placement in the Yine grammatical system remains a task for future research, they are addressed together here because of general properties that they share. These properties are as follows.

The ‘adverbial particles’ have a somewhat limited distribution in the clause, occurring either independently in the left periphery, or as incorporants within the predicate. When incorporated, they are fully integrated into their host and form a single phonological word with them. With one exception (*koca* ‘also’) they all take the same position as an incorporated noun in a verbal predicate (i.e. stem-internal, see §8.2.2); on nonverbal predicates they appear between the stem and the mood/aspect morphology. When placed as independent words, they follow the element they modify. This frequently places them after the first grammatical word in the clause and is reminiscent of a second-position clitic, but for none of them can their distribution be characterized as strictly second-position. Though they may stand as independent phonological words, and can be assigned their own primary stress, they are often phonologically bound, and boundary vowel deletion may occur between them and the preceding word. Because this deletion is optional, it can be identified as applying between grammatical words rather than between a stem and suffix. As phrase-final elements, these particles often host phrasal suffixes which operate on the discourse level (see §9.5 regarding these), and which do form a single grammatical and phonological word with their host.

There is some question of how best to write these particles, particularly in a way that can capture their status as words while still reflecting their optionally close phonological association with the element they modify. Here, I have adopted the following convention: the transcription line reflects the degree of phonological integration with the preceding word, including vowel deletion where applicable; and in the morpheme line the particle is written without a hyphen unless it is incorporated into the predicate (i.e. into the grammatical word). In the latter respect, the particles follow the same convention used for noun incorporants.

3.8.1 *poti* ‘intensifier’

The particle *poti* expresses an intensification of the meaning of the element it modifies. In my corpus *poti* is attested modifying nouns (158), noun phrases (159), adjectives

(160), and temporal (161), locational (163), and manner (162) adverbs.

- (158) noyhalpotiko netyali
no-yhale **poti**-ko n-heta-ya-li
1SGPSSR-eye.of INTNS-EMPH 1SG-see-APPL-3SGM
'I saw it with my very (own) eyes.' (Kch5)
- (159) wanekli pamyo knoya potniko nikfika
wane-kli pamyo knoya **poti**-ni-ko n-hikfika
there/thus-time.of five tortoise INTNS-AFFCT-EMPH 1SG-find
'At that moment I found really, *five* tortoises.' (Kno54)
- (160) mtirpothima waneylo masi
mtiri **poti** hima waneylo masi
small+MASC INTNS QUOT there/thus-APPL-3SGF gourd.bowl
'She had a very small gourd bowl, reportedly.' (Grl36)
- (161) cani potiko nalnamtanitka
cani **poti**-ko n-halna-m-ta-ni-tka
now INTNS-EMPH 1SG-fly-NONDUR-VCL-ANTIC-PFV
'Right this very moment I wil fly (for a bit).' (Sen16)
- (162) yihle potiko satokanitkana
yihle **poti**-ko Ø-satoka-ni-tka-na
slowly INTNS-EMPH 3-return-ANTIC-PFV-3PL
'They were going to return very slowly.' (BfM39)
- (163) hewpothimananiko tapokçiwiata
hewi **poti** hima nani-ko t-hapoka-çiwi-ta
here INTNS QUOT EXTNS-EMPH 3SGF-arrive-hair.of-VCL
'Her hair reached all the way even to here, reportedly.' (hetn32)

Poti also appears within both verbal (164)-(165) and nonverbal (166)-(167) predicates, where it takes scope over the event expressed in the clause. In verbal predicates,

as (164) and (165) illustrate, *poti* occurs inside the verb stem and is treated as an incorporant. In nonverbal predicates, *poti* is also integrated into the phonological and morphological structure of the predicate.

(164) *ɸima nikpotita*
ɸima Ø-nika-poti-ta
 fish 3-eat-INTNS-VCL
 ‘It really eats a lot of fish.’ (Kch10)

(165) *retpotitka wa pitsoti*
r-heta-poti-ta-ka wa pitsoti
 3-see-INTNS-VCL-PASS REF electric.eel
 ‘The electric eel is easily seen.’ (Pts8)

(166) *kihlepothimlo*
kihle-poti-hima-lo
 good-INTNS-QUOT-3SGF
 ‘She was very beautiful, reportedly.’ (hetn48)

(167) *kayipotitkani*
kayi-poti-tka-ni
 afternoon-INTNS-QUOT-PFV-IMP.DECL
 ‘It was right in the middle of the afternoon.’ (WtE42)

3.8.2 *nani* ‘extensive’

The particle *nani* indicates that the modified element is extended over space and/or time. It occurs within verbal and nonverbal predicates, and as a modifier it is attested following adjectives, adverbs or quantifiers.

On verbal predicates, it can be translated as “to Verb intermittently or at times, or to go along Verbing.”

(168) riçhananimtatalina nikanrina
 r-hiçha-**nani**-m-ta-tka-li-na
 3-search.for-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL-PFV-3SGM-3PL
 Ø-nika-ni-li-na
 3-eat-PFV-ANTIC-3PL
 ‘They went along looking for their food.’ (BfM40)

(169) tfinaktenanimta watahwero
 Ø-tfina-kte-**nani**-m-ta watahwero
 3-say-tear.of-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL glutton
 ‘The glutton went along wailing.’ (Tra54)

(170) siwa kowinanimta hinamaya
 siwa kowi-**nani**-m-ta hi-nama-ya
 anteater trumpet-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL 3SGMPSSR-mouth.of-OBL
 ‘The anteater trumpeted from time to time with its mouth.’ (Oso10)

The interpretation of *-nani* as a distribution over space seems to be the most natural, even with verbal predicates. For example, my consultants explained the sentence in (171) in terms of stopping to eat at one house after the other on the way home. This interpretation was explicitly preferred over one that involved, for example, spending a whole morning at someone’s house eating a bit now and then.

(171) nnikananimta
 n-nika-**nani**-m-ta
 1SG-eat-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL
 ‘I went along eating here and there.’ (i2)

However, as the example in (172) illustrates, *nani* can express a purely temporal extension. Here, there is no movement from *place to place* involved: the action is carried out from *time to time*.

(172) witakananimtatnakli fiçi
 w-hitaka-**nani**-m-ta-tnaka-li fiçi
 1PL-put-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL-repeat-3PL corn
 ‘We add corn bit by bit again.’ (Mas24)

On nonverbal predicates, *nani* typically expresses a state or condition that held for some contextually-defined time.

- (173) hi wa tsrinenaniwawi
 hi wa tsri-ne-**nani**-wa-wi
 NEG REF big+MASC-PL-EXTNS-IMPV-1PL
 ‘We were still young during that time.’ (Bfm72)

- (174) malefananro wa himati
 malefa-**nani**-lo wa himati
 not.there-EXTNS-SGF REF pot
 ‘(During that time) there were no pots.’ (Fst1)

Outside the predicate, *nani* is attested modifying adjectives (175), adverbs (176), and quantifiers. In each case it contributes the same sense of extension over space or time as appropriate to the semantics of the element it modifies.

In (175), *nani* expresses that *tsri* ‘big’ should include in its interpretation a sense of spatial extension, i.e. length.

- (175) tsripotinani ristaknanatkawa
 tsri poti **nani** r-histaka-na-na-tka-wa
 big+MASC INTNS EXTNS 3-cut-REFL-CMPV-PFV-REFL
 ‘He cut a very long strip out of himself.’ (Tra137)

In (176), similarly, *nani* contributes the sense that the participant’s hair reaches to a certain point; without *nani*, this sentence would mean something closer to ‘her hair was right here’ – for example, it grew out of that spot in her back, rather than covering a space up to that point.

- (176) hewi pothimananiko tapokçiwiata
 hewi poti hima **nani**-ko t-hapoka-çiwi-ta
 here INTNS QUOT EXTNS-EMPH 3SGF-arrive-hair.of-VCL
 ‘Her hair reached all the way even to here (i.e. lower back).’ (hetn32)

The temporal interpretation of *nani* is illustrated in (177).

- (177) cani hohnenani waneri koprire
 cani hohne **nani** wane-li Ø-kopriri-e
 now day EXTNS there/thus-3SGM 3-crossing-PSSD
 ‘Nowadays, there is a crossing.’ (there exists its crossing) (Via8)

3.8.3 *yaka* ‘more’

The *Diccionario Piro* defines *yaka* as expressing a ‘condition or state’.⁶ In my research, I have found it to function as an augmentative adverbial particle comparable to English ‘(a bit) more’, so I will describe it as such here. To avoid confusion with the more common interpretation of the term ‘augmentative’ as a marker for increased size, I gloss this particle as MORE.

Yaka is not a common particle in my corpus; the examples below present all of its occurrences. If these examples are truly representative of its distribution, then it modifies adverbs (178), demonstratives (179), (180) and verbs (182).

- (178) wane yaka yanatka
 wane **yaka** Ø-ya-na-tka
 there/thus MORE 3-go-CMPV-PFV
 ‘He went a bit closer (*lit.* a bit more there).’ (Hmn9)

- (179) hewi yaka
 hewi **yaka**
 here MORE
 ‘a bit closer / a bit more over here’

- (180) pnite yaka waneya ricinripna
 pnite **yaka** wane-ya r-hica-inri-pa-na
 OTHER-PSSD MORE there/thus-APPL 3-be/do-ACTN.NOM-ELV-3PL
 ‘in order that they should have more’ (BfM41)

⁶condición o estado

On predicates, *yaka* is integrated into the phonological and grammatical word of its host. (181) exemplifies it in an adjectival predicate, and in (182), its treatment as an incorporant in a verbal predicate is illustrated.

(181) tsroyakatkani
 tsro-**yaka**-tka-ni
 big+FEM-**MORE**-PFV-IMP.DECL
 ‘It was a little bit bigger.’ (Tso14)

(182) tiʃyayakatli wa tonaçi
 t-hiʃya-**yaka**-ta-li wa to-naçi
 3SGF-cover-**MORE**-VCL-3SGM REF 3SGFPSSR-egg.of
 ‘She covered her eggs a bit.’ (Kno68)

3.8.4 *koca* ‘additive’

The particle *koca* ‘also’ is an additive marker, signaling the inclusion of another participant in the current discourse context, or attributing another quality or action to an established participant. It has scope over the event, regardless of where it appears. Outside the predicate, it occurs as an independent phonological word; inside the predicate, it is phonologically bound. Unlike the other adverbial particles, *koca* appears at the end of the verb stem in a verbal predicate, rather than being treated as an incorporant within the stem (185).

(183) hawa riri koca salwayehitani
 hawa r-hiri **koca** Ø-salwa-yehi-ta-ni
 and 3-father.of **ADD** 3-visit-VICIN-VCL-ANTIC
 ‘And he was also going to visit his father.’ (Trt5)
 (in addition to going hunting)

(184) hawa wihenene koca hima tʃiyahata
 hawa Ø-whene-ne **koca** hima tʃiyahata
 and 3-child.of-PL **ADD** QUOT cry
 ‘And his children also cried, reportedly.’ (Hmn16)
 (in addition to their father crying)

(185) wala nimnikkocna
 wala n-him-nika-**koca**-na
 3SGF 1-ASSOC-eat-**ADD**-3PL
 ‘We also ate that (fem.)’ (Hws22)
 (in addition to cooking it)

3.8.5 Evidential particles

Yine has two evidential particles: *hima* ‘quotative’ and *hetko* ‘inferential’. They are obligatory in the appropriate context, and must appear at least once in the clause. There is a clear preference for them to appear following the first grammatical word in the clause, as many of the examples throughout this grammar will attest; but they may follow any pre-predicate constituent. Examples where the quotative particle appears more than once in a single clause are abundant, but such repetition of the inferential particle is not attested in my corpus. Presumably, this can be attributed to a gap in my data, which consists largely of either traditional or personal narratives and is thus less conducive to inferential contexts than quotative ones.

The examples below illustrate the distribution of the evidential particle *hima*: in the left periphery of the clause (186)-(188), and incorporated into various predicate types (189)-(191).

(186) hiyahni wane hima yana
 hiyaho-ni wane **hima** Ø-ya-na
 then-IMP.DECL there/thus **QUOT** 3-go-3PL
 ‘Then they went there, reportedly.’ (MyI10)

- (187) hi hima rikfikanro
 hi **hima** r-hikfika-ni-ro
 NEG QUOT 3-find-ANTIC-3SGF
 ‘He didn’t find her, reportedly.’ (Kme30)
- (188) hiyahni mayliyehhima rapoka
 hiyaho-ni mayli-yehi **hima** r-hapoka
 then-IMP.DECL black.vulture-VICIN QUOT 3-arrive
 ‘Then he came to where the black vulture was, reportedly.’ (MyI34)
- (189) wale poyi kofrikhimatatkalina
 wale poyi Ø-kofrika-**hima**-ta-tka-li-na
 3SGM parcel.of 3-untie-QUOT-VCL-PFV-3SGM-3PL
 ‘They untied that parcel, reportedly.’ (Wap22)
- (190) çinanhimanri wa thanirni
 çinani-**hima**-na-li wa t-hniri-ni
 full-QUOT-CMPV-3SGM REF 3SGF-husband.of-AFFCT
 ‘Her husband was completely full, reportedly.’ (Grl39)

Hima is very often incorporated into the connective *hiyahni*, which, as described in §11.2.1, has the morphological structure of a nonverbal predicate.

- (191) hiyahhimatkani hipçi yatka
 hiyaho-**hima**-tka-ni hi-pçi Ø-ya-tka
 then-QUOT-PFV-IMP.DECL 3PSSR-house.of 3-go-PFV
 ‘Then he went home, reportedly.’ (Kme22)

The examples in (192) to (194) illustrate that *hima* can be repeated in a clause, appearing in one or more of its potential positions simultaneously.

- (192) miñjikawa hima wica çrali hima wnikçenata
 mikawa **hima** wica çra-li **hima** w-nika-çe-na-ta
 long.ago QUOT 1PL blood-SGM QUOT 1PL-eat-FREQ-DUR-VCL
 ‘Long ago, we used to eat raw meat, reportedly.’ (MyI1)

(193) wane hima rimhimatanatka thanirni
 wane **hima** r-hime-**hima**-ta-na-tka
 there/thus QUOT 3-be.drunk-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-PFV
 t-hniri-ni
 3SGF-husband.of-AFFCT
 ‘Then her husband got drunk, reportedly.’ (Wap42)

(194) hiyahhimni wanna hima riçhahimatlina kofma
 hiyaho-**hima**-ni wanna **hima**
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL 3PL QUOT
 r-hiçha-**hima**-ta-li-na kofma
 3-search.for-QUOT-VCL-3SGM-3PL robe
 ‘Then they looked for robes, reportedly.’ (Mch45)

Examples (195)-(198) provide a typical sampling of the inferential evidential *hetko* to show that it has the same potential positions as *hima*; but as noted earlier, examples of *hetko* are not numerous in my corpus and its repetition in a clause is not attested.

(195) mhenokli hetko hiylatanatkalo nhaninroni
 mhenokli **hetko** hiylata-na-tka-lo n-hninro-ni
 jaguar INFER kill-CMPV-PFV-3SGF 1SG-wife.of-AFFCT
 ‘A jaguar has killed my poor wife, it looks like.’ (Nwd94)

(196) dosanyo hetko wane
 two.years(Sp.) **hetko** wane
 two.years INFER there/thus
 ‘(I was) two years there, it must have been.’ (JML9)

(197) rahyekhetkotanatka
 r-hahyeka-**hetko**-ta-na-tka
 3-drown-INFER-VCL-CMPV-PFV
 ‘He must have drowned.’ (Yam121)

- (198) halikta riylahetkotkanatkana wa nwiHenenni
halikta r-hiyla-**hetko**-ta-ka-na-tka-na
maybe 3-kill-**INFER**-VCL-PASS-CMPV-PFV-3PL
wa n-whene-ne-ni
REF 1SG-child.of-PL-AFFCT
'It looks like maybe my children were killed.' (Unc65)

4 Adjectives

Adjectives in Yine comprise one of the three open word classes. While the number of simple, underived adjectival roots is relatively small compared to that of nouns and verbs, there are two prefixes that derive adjectives from other parts of speech. Because of the productivity of these prefixes, the adjective class can be considered open by derivation. The properties that distinguish adjectives from other parts of speech are presented in §4.1 below, followed by a summary of the semantics of adjective roots from a typological perspective in §4.2. Finally, in §4.3, the morphological structure of the Yine adjective is presented and exemplified.

4.1 Adjectives as a word class

Although adjectives share many properties with nouns and some with verbs, they exhibit a unique set of properties of their own and constitute a distinct word class. The purpose of this section is to present a comparison between adjectives and the other two open classes, nouns and verbs.

4.1.1 Adjective versus noun

The line between the adjective and noun word classes is often very difficult to discern, particularly in examples like (199) where an adjective appears as the sole representative of the object NP (see §6.4 regarding nounless NPs).

- (199) posiri neta
[posi-li]_{NP:O} n-heta
[rotten-SGM] 1SG-see
'I see (something) rotten.' (b102)

It is important to note that in order to have this noun-like behavior, an adjective root must be inflected for gender agreement, which has nominalizing properties in Yine (see Chapter 7). Thus, the example in (199) would be ungrammatical if the adjective form was only the root *posi* rather than *posiri* with the gender agreement suffix *-li*.¹ Nouns do not have the same restriction: bare (alienable) noun roots can and frequently do function freely in the syntax (200). A comparison of (199) with (200) highlights the clearest difference between adjectives and nouns in Yine: gender is an agreement category on adjectives, but an inherent category in nouns.

- (200) *kewe neta*
 [*kewe*]_{NP:O} *n-heta*
 [*dog*] 1SG-see
 ‘I see a dog.’ (b102)

Another situation where nouns and adjectives are very similar to each other is when they head a nonverbal predicate: nouns and adjectives take suffixal subject marking, and verbs take prefixal markers. Where adjectives and nouns differ, however, is how they index 3rd person subjects: adjectives take the personal suffixes, and nouns take the impersonal suffixes (see §3.2.1.2).

It is worth pointing out that there are many instances where an adjective appears to be taking the impersonal subject markers; for example in (201). Again, however, gender marking is present on the adjective. Since this marking also functions as a nominalizer, this can be identified as a predicate headed by a de-adjectival noun.

- (201) *posirni wale*
 posi-li-ni *wale*
 rotten-SGM-IMP.DECL 3SGM
 ‘That’s a rotten thing.’

¹Because gender agreement is also nominalizing, examples like (199) are structurally ambiguous. They could be analysed as nominalized adjectives, i.e. [[*posi-li*]_N]_{NP} ; or as adjectives bearing agreement with an elided head noun, i.e. [*posi-li* \emptyset_N]_{NP} . The former is preferable because there is no independent need to postulate a null head noun; but regardless of the analysis, the requirement for gender marking is an essential difference between the class of adjectives and that of nouns in this language.

Finally, adjectives differ from nouns in that they cannot be possessed, and they are not incorporated into verbs.

We should note here that there are a few adjectives that are in fact indistinguishable from nouns; or rather, there are a few words with adjectival semantics that can function unchanged as either a noun or an adjective. All of these words contain a thematic gender vowel (cf. §5.1.1) that is identical to the vowel in the agreement suffix: i.e. *i* for masculine, and *o* for feminine. Very common examples include *tsri*, *tsro* ‘big (one) (m, f)’ and *mtiri*, *mtiro* ‘small (one) (m, f)’. These can be viewed as lexicalized nominalizations.

4.1.2 Adjective versus verb

Adjectives are more clearly distinct from verbs than from nouns. Most notably we find that, although adjectives are verb-like in that they can head a(n intransitive) predicate, there is a clear difference in how the subject is marked. Like all non-verbal predicates, those headed by adjectives index the subject with a pronominal suffix. All verbal predicates, on the other hand, index the subject with a pronominal prefix and the suffix indexes the object.

4.1.3 Adjective versus both noun and verb

Adjectives also have some properties that make them distinct from both nouns and verbs. There are two productive derivational prefixes that create adjectives from nouns and verbs: *k(a)-* ‘attributive’ and *m(a)-* ‘privative’; on adjective roots these prefixes are not class-changing. Additionally, there are two formative prefixes that are exclusive to adjective roots: *po-* ‘thoroughly’ and *ho-* ‘long’. Regarding *k(a)-* and *m(a)-*, see §4.3.1 below; regarding *po-* and *ho-*, see §4.3.2. Finally, there is a periphrastic emphatic construction that is not used with nouns or verbs, but only with adjective roots; this construction is described in §4.3.4 below.

Table 4.1 provides a summary of the properties that distinguish the adjective word class from those of nouns and verbs.

Property	Adjective	Noun	Verb
gender	agreement	inherent	(n/a)
possessable	no	yes	no
[root] _{NP}	no	yes	no
incorporation	no	yes	(n/a)
subject marking	suff: personal	suff: impersonal	prefix
attribution prefix	non-class-changing	class-changing	class-changing
periphrastic emphatic	yes	no	no

Table 4.1: Distinguishing characteristics of the adjective class

4.2 Adjectives by semantic type

The class of adjectives is too large to list in its entirety here, even if the list were to be limited to those adjectives that are most clearly underived lexemes. The purpose of this section is to illustrate the different semantic notions that are expressed by adjectives in Yine and provide common examples of each type. The discussion is organized according to semantic type, following Dixon (2006)'s typology of adjective notions.

Of the thirteen types of adjectival concepts delineated there, six are represented by (underived) adjectives in Yine: Dimension, Age, Value, Colour, Physical Property and Human Propensity. Not represented by adjectives are Speed, Difficulty, Similarity, Qualification, Quantification, Position and Cardinal Numerals; the word classes expressing these concepts are noted at the end of this section.

When citing the adjective roots here, I do so without the agreement suffix; a hyphen is used to indicate that agreement is necessary for the adjective to modify a noun.

(202) **DIMENSION, AGE**

tsri/tsro ‘big, thick, wide; old, important; strong (m/f)’
mtiri/mtiro ‘small, young (m/f)’
mtseri- ‘thin, small, short, narrow’
tseyo- ‘small, slight’
hero- ‘new, fresh, recent; raw’

Many dimension concepts are expressed by inalienable nouns, especially of the classificatory subtype: e.g. *-mta* ‘flat thing of’; *-çe* ‘stick-shaped thing of’ (see §5.1.2). Additionally, there are adverbial roots that, when inflected for gender agreement, function as adjectives with dimension semantics: *howika* ‘far’ (adv), *howika-* ‘distant, long’ (adj); *teno* ‘high (up)’ (adv), *teno-* ‘tall, high, deep’ (adj).

(203) **VALUE**

kihle- ‘good, beautiful, right, proper’
mihle- ‘bad, wrong, ugly’
hekti- ‘ugly, evil’
pomre- ‘beautiful, well preserved’

An additional Value term is the adverb *halikaka* ‘truly’, with the corresponding agreement-taking adjective *halikak-* ‘true’.

(204) **COLOUR**

ksaçi- ‘black’
klata- ‘white’
sero- ‘red’
pole- ‘blue, green’
popni- ‘grey’
pwalo- light yellow, any light color; pale’
ksoli- ‘ash grey’
pholoka- ‘beige’

Many color terms in Yine are nouns whose referent has the colour in question, and it is likely that several of the terms in (204) have the same source; e.g. *pole-* ‘green’ vs. *polero* ‘parrot’; *sero-* ‘red’ vs. *serolo* ‘ripe plantain’. However, the true noun color terms can be distinguished from (lexicalized) adjectives in that the noun is frequently followed by *pickaliti* ‘one that is like’, a nominalization of the similative particle *picka*:

e.g. *narahka pickaliti* ‘orange’ (*narahka* from Spanish *naranja*); also *tsotsota pickaliti* ‘light green’ (*tsotsota* ‘green plantain’).

(205) **PHYSICAL PROPERTY**

potfwa- ‘sweet’
kata- ‘brilliant’
çhi- ‘greasy’
poptfi- ‘soft, weak’
poniko- ‘rich, flavorful’
poktfe- ‘silent’
çinani- ‘full’
phiçe- ‘clear, visible’
male- ‘empty’

(206) **HUMAN PROPENSITY**

wamoni- ‘sad’
pomçi- ‘happy’
çmere- ‘eager, obedient’
sepro- ‘insane’

Most human propensity concepts are expressed by verbs; there are very few adjectives in this category beyond those listed in (206).

SPEED. Speed concepts are expressed by means of roots shared between adjectives and adverbs, where the uninflected root functions like an adverb but the same root, with an agreement suffix, functions as an adjective: e.g. *teyaka* ‘lightly, rapidly’, *teyaka-* ‘light, quick’; *yihle* ‘slowly’, *yihle-* ‘slow’.

DIFFICULTY. Difficulty concepts tend to be expressed by verbs in Yine, or by adjectives derived from verbs; eg. *mhimatì-* ‘easy’ (privative derivation of *himata* ‘to know’).

SIMILARITY. Similarity concepts are not expressed by simple adjectives. For likeness, the similative adverbial particle *picka* ‘-like’ is employed following a noun: *sotli picka* [rock SIM] ‘rock-like’. Syntactically, these constructions are predicate adjectives, with the relationship between them and the subject of the clause mediated by the

auxiliary verb *hica* ‘be/do’: *hahmina picka r-hica wale* [rock SIM 3-be/do 3SGM] ‘he was like a rock.’

QUALIFICATION, QUANTIFICATION. Both qualification and quantification concepts are expressed by word classes other than adjectives. Qualification is usually done through adverbs, e.g. *halikaka* ‘indeed’. As noted in the presentation of Value adjectives above, *halikaka* is one of the adverbs that can also be used adjectivally and take agreement.

Quantification is carried out by quantifiers and numerals, e.g. *peçni* ‘every’, *hico* ‘a lot, much’ *psoli* ‘all/the entirety of’. For a description of these see §3.5.

POSITION. Most position concepts are expressed by inalienable nouns (e.g. *hitoko* ‘inside of’), and adverbs (e.g. *hewi* ‘here’, *mala* ‘downriver’), a few of which can function as adjectives if inflected for agreement (e.g. *teno* ‘high (up)’ as we saw earlier).

4.3 Morphological Structure of the Adjective

The morphological structure of adjectives is summarized in (207).

(207)	Attribution prefix	(§4.3.1)
	Stem-formative prefix	(§4.3.2)
	Root	
	Agreement (§4.3.3)	or Exclamative suffix (§4.3.4)
	i. Gender	
	ii. Number	

4.3.1 Attribution prefixes

There are two mutually exclusive derivational prefixes that create adjectival stems: *k(a)*- ‘attributive’ (i.e. having the attribute expressed by the stem) and *m(a)*- ‘privative’ (i.e. lacking the attribute expressed by the stem). Both are used productively to derive adjectives from verbs and nouns, though they are most commonly used on inalienable

nouns. The resulting derivation obligatorily agrees in gender with the noun it modifies, and in addition to the regular agreement suffixes *-li/-lo* there is a second set, *-ti/-to*, that is typically – but not exclusively – used with the privative forms; see §4.3.3 below.

As the examples below will illustrate, the attribution prefix attaches directly to an inalienable noun root (without a possessor prefix), but alienable nouns must have their ‘possessed’ suffix specified (see §5.2.2.2), and verbs require either of their subordinating suffixes *-le* or *-ko* to be attached (see §8.2.3.2 for discussion of these suffixes). Deverbal derivations also frequently contain the ‘assertive’ suffix *-ka* (cf. §9.2.4).

Each attribution prefix exhibits allomorphy conditioned by the stem to which it attaches. The allomorph with *a*, i.e. *ka-/ma-*, occurs with inalienable noun roots and with (most) *h*-initial roots of any word class (but note the exceptions where the *h* is retained in (212) below). Some examples are provided in (208)-(210):

- (208) a. *-mane* ‘body of’
b. *kamane-* ‘having a body’
c. *mamane-* ‘incorporeal’

- (209) a. *-hapi* ‘bone of’
b. *kahapi-* ‘having bones’
c. *mahapi-* ‘boneless’

- (210) a. *-çi* ‘small member of’
b. *kaçi-* ‘fruiting’
c. *maçi-* ‘seedless’

The consonant-only allomorph, *k- / m-* is used with alienable noun stems beginning with consonants other than *h* (211), and also with a very few *h*-initial stems that retain the *h* when prefixed (212):²

²Due to a lack in my corpus, I cannot at this point confirm that the privative versions of the examples in (212) would also have the consonant-only allomorph, or whether they would follow the pattern illustrated in (214) and begin with *mi-*.

- (211) a. *ktfayne-* ‘having scabies’
 (*tfayi* ‘scabies’; *-ne* ‘possessed’)
- b. *kmasne-* ‘having a gourd bowl’
 (*masi* ‘gourd bowl’ *-ne* ‘possessed’)
- c. *mwaka-* ‘extinct’
 (*hwa* ‘be, do’ *-ka* ‘assertive’)
- d. *kweni-* ‘valuable’
mweni- ‘cheap, free’
 (*wenita* ‘pay for (tr)’)
- e. *myayicka-* ‘healthy’
 (*yayica* ‘be ill’)
- f. *mnika-* ‘fasting’
 (*nika* ‘eat’)

- (212) a. *khaninro-* ‘having a wife’
 (*hninro* ‘wife of’)³
- b. *khiwaka-* ‘named, classified’
 (*hiwaka* ‘name’)
- c. *khiwekle-* ‘living, spiritual’
 (*hiweka* ‘be alive’)

For most *h*-initial stems, the initial *h* is replaced by the privative or derivational prefix:

- (213) *kalicakle-* ‘believing’
malicka- ‘unbelieving’
malicko- ‘unbelievable’
 (*halica* ‘believe (tr)’); *-ka* ‘assertive’; *-le* ‘subordinate’)

With the privative prefix only, if the stem begins with *hi* and the initial *h* is replaced by *m-*, the stem-internal *i* changes to *ĩ*, just as it does with the Class 1 pronominal prefixes (see §3.2.1.1). This change does not occur with the attributive prefix, as the pairs in (214) and (215) illustrate (*hitfko-* has no attributive derivation, presumably for semantic reasons):

³The absence of *a* in the root, and its appearance in the possessed form, is an irregularity proper to this particular noun.

- (214) a. *kihle*- ‘good’
 b. *mihle*- ‘bad’

- (215) a. *hitfko*- ‘strong’
 b. *mitfko*- ‘weak’

The attribution prefixes can also derive attributive or privative adjectives from other adjective roots. (215) was one example set; others are provided in (216):

- (216) a. *wamoni*- ‘sad’
 kwamoni- ‘poor, unfortunate’
 b. *howika*- ‘long, far’
 mowika- ‘short’
 c. *pokyo*- ‘flexible’
 mpokyo- ‘rigid’

However, it is not the case that all *k*- or *m*-initial adjectives are derived. There are a number of such roots that, although their semantics resemble those of attributive or privative adjectives, their morphology is not compositional. This is especially the case with *k*: common examples include *ksaçi*- ‘black’, *kata*- ‘brilliant’, *ksolo*- ‘goose-bumped’, and *kohne*- ‘of good character’.

There are a small number of other *m*-initial adjectives that are not obviously derived forms; for example *mtiri* ‘small’ and *mtseri* ‘thin’.

4.3.2 Formative prefixes

There are two commonly-occurring formatives found in adjectival stems: *po*- ‘thoroughly’ and *ho*- ‘long’, many of which share a recognizable base⁴ with another part of speech. However, the shared portion does not itself always constitute a true stem, as it does with the attribution prefixes described above. It is primarily for this reason

⁴By ‘base’ I mean a submorphemic element shared between lexical items which does not necessarily occur independently. Some bases may be formally identical to bound morphemes, but not all are.

that *po-* and *ho-* are analyzed not as true derivational prefixes, but rather as adjective formatives with some derivational properties.

Po- can be loosely translated as ‘having the property of [base] to a great extent or thoroughly’. The examples in (217) below illustrate this, in comparison with other related words.

- (217) a. *pohmi-* ‘perforable’
(*hihmita* ‘be pierced’)
- b. *pojtype-* ‘given to shuddering’
(*hijiypeta* ‘shudder’)
- c. *pojpo-* ‘easily peeled; easily frightened’
(*hijpoka* ‘be peeled; be frightened’) (*hijpoli* ‘smallpox, disease that causes skin to peel’)
- d. *poçi-* ‘having many seeds’
(*-çi* ‘seed, small member of’)
- e. *popowa-* ‘clothed (person)’
(*-powa* ‘roll of’)

Ho- has the same morphological behavior as *po-*, occurring in the pre-root position as a formative prefix and able to co-occur with an attribution prefix (see below). It is straightforwardly translatable as ‘long’:

- (218) a. *hoyhi-* ‘long-toothed’
(*-yhi* ‘tooth of’)
- b. *hosta-* ‘long’
(*-sta* ‘chest of; width of’)
- c. *hoyaka-* ‘durable, longlasting’
(*yaka* ‘more’)
- d. *hopetsa-* ‘having long leg bones and muscles’
(*-petsa* ‘tendon of’)

These formatives are not incompatible with an attribution prefix; the two frequently co-occur as their semantics allow: e.g. *moyaka-* ‘fragile’, cf. (218c); *mowika-* ‘short’ vs. *howika-* ‘far’ (cf. (216) above); *pohro-* ‘weak; loosely attached’ vs. *mpohro-* ‘strong; half-attached’.

4.3.3 Agreement

An adjective must agree in gender with the noun it modifies, or with its subject if the adjective is the predicate head. There are two sets of gender agreement suffixes: the functionally unmarked set, *-li* (masculine) / *-lo* (feminine) and the ‘privative’ set *-li* (masculine) / *-to* (feminine). The only adjectives that do not mark gender agreement with these suffixes are those that contain a thematic gender vowel (as was noted in §4.1.1 above). Both of these agreement suffixes also function as nominalizers (see Chapter 7).

- (219) *çinaniro paranta; hi pomenro*
 [*çinani-lo* paranta]_{CL} [hi pomeno-**lo**]_{CL}
 [full-SGF plantain] [NEG skinny-SGF]
 ‘The plantains are fat; (they are) not skinny.’ (DP)

- (220) *powrali pantfi waneynina, powrali kosina*
 [powra-**li** pantfi]_{NP:E} [wane-ya-ni-na]_{PRED}
 [clean-SGM house] [there/thus-APPL-AFFCT-3PL]
 [powra-**li** kosina]_{NP(E)}
 [clean-SGM kitchen]
 ‘They had a clean house, a clean kitchen.’ (C7)

Whether adjectives mark number agreement is not entirely clear. I have not encountered examples of number agreement occurring on adjective roots that do not also have gender agreement or a gender theme vowel. There are two ways to interpret this. It could be the case that number marking is a separate suffix that follows gender agreement on the adjective stem, and only gender agreement is obligatory. Under

this analysis, (221) would be a single NP. The other possibility is that number is only marked once in an NP, on the head, and only occurs on nominalized adjectives. Under this analysis, (221) would be two juxtaposed NPs. Because there is no independent reason (such as phonological grouping) to choose the latter analysis, I have adopted the first one, as the bracketing in (221) indicates: number agreement is marked separately from gender, and is optional.

- (221) kewene ksaçrine
 [kewe-**ne** ksaçi-**ne**]_{NP}
 [dog-**PL** black-**PL**]
 ‘black dogs’

The optionality of number agreement is illustrated in examples like (222):

- (222) çeçine mtiri
 [çeçi-**ne** mtiri]_{NP}
 [man-**PL** small+**MASC**]
 ‘small men’ (Mshk117)

With privative-derived adjectives the gender agreement suffix is almost always *-ti* ‘privative masculine’ / *-to* ‘privative feminine’:

- (223) a. *mayhalet**i*** ‘blind (male)’
 b. *mayhalet**o*** ‘blind (female)’

- (224) waneyno mowikati sawli
 wane-ya-no m-howika-**ti** sawli
 there/thus-loc/appl-1SG PRIV-long-**PRIV+MASC** machete
 ‘I have a short machete.’ (CVb)

However, while *-ti/-to* is strongly correlated with *m-*, it is not in a strict dependency relationship: there are several non-privative adjectives that take *-ti/-to* (e.g. *kayaholiti* ‘small-sized’, *heroti* ‘fresh, new’). Privative adjectives that take *-li/-lo* are not as common, and it is uncertain how productive this is.

Adjectives, then, obligatorily agree in gender with the head noun, and optionally in number. They do not mark person agreement, as (225) illustrates.

- (225) *pica seprolo hicyawaka*
pica *sepro-lo hica-ya-waka*
 2SG crazy-SGF be/do-APPL-LOC.NOM
 ‘You’re being crazy.’ (feminine addressee) (C19)

4.3.4 Periphrastic exclamative construction

There is a special exclamative construction in Yine involving a predicate adjective where the auxiliary verb *hica* ‘be, do’, not the adjective, is the predicate head. In this construction, the adjective root has a distinctive intonation contour (cf. §2.5.3): its final vowel is given a high pitch and is typically lengthened, and the primary stress shifts to the final syllable. There is no agreement suffix. While the high pitch and final vowel lengthening are general properties of exclamative intonation, the construction with *hica* described here is unique to adjectives.

The entity which the adjective is modifying is the subject of *hica* and is indexed as such. The adjective also takes the suffix *-ta*, which is in complementary distribution with the agreement suffixes. While this suffix is homophonous with the verb stem-closing suffix *-ta* (see §8.2.4.1), it appears to function in this construction simply to host the exclamative phonology and does not verbalize the adjective.

The examples in (226)-(229) illustrate the exclamative adjective construction.

- (226) *powratá richimata!*
powra-tá: r-hica-hima-ta
 clean-EXCL 3SGM-be/do-QUOT-VCL
 ‘It was so clean!’ (Gua10)

- (227) kihletá rica!
 kihle-tá: r-hica
 good-EXCL 3SGM-be/do
 ‘It was delicious!’ (TsN10)
- (228) katatá richimata!
 kata-tá: r-hica-hima-ta
 shining-EXCL 3SGM-be/do-QUOT-VCL
 ‘It was shining very brightly!’ (Hor27)
- (229) kalyatá richimata Tsla
 kalya-tá: r-hica-hima-ta Tsla
 phlegm.covered-EXCL 3SGM-be/do-QUOT-VCL NAME
 ‘Tsla was all covered in phlegm.’ (TsN83)

5 Nouns and Noun Morphology

Nouns constitute one of the three open word classes in Yine, the other two being verbs and – by derivation – adjectives. They can be distinguished from other word classes by their lexical, morphological and syntactic characteristics: they are lexically categorized for possessability and/or gender; they take possessive morphology and the plural suffix *-ne*; they head a noun phrase; they can be incorporated (in their possessed form) into a verb stem; and when they head a predicate they take the impersonal subject markers for 3rd person referents. The noun phrase is discussed in Chapter 6, and noun incorporation is treated in §8.2.2. The purpose of the current chapter is to describe the lexical categories and morphological structure of the Yine noun. In §5.1, the alienable/inalienable distinction is presented along with gender in each noun subtype. The grammatical relevance of these categories will be addressed as relevant throughout the discussion of nominal morphology in §5.2, which presents the inflectional categories expressed on nouns and the order in which they appear relative to the nominal root.

5.1 Lexical distinctions: possessability and gender

The alienable/inalienable distinction is a central one in Yine. In addition to being a lexical category of noun roots, it has a significant impact on morphological and syntactic operations, with implications for noun incorporation and agreement as well as gender assignment and number marking patterns. These implications are discussed as they arise in the appropriate sections in the grammar; in the current chapter, the implications for gender assignment, number marking and agreement figure prominently.

Gender cuts across the alienable/inalienable distinction, with both alienable and inalienable nouns having grammatical gender. However, possessability and gender are

not entirely independent of each other in Yine, as will be seen especially in the discussion of inalienable nouns in §5.1.3 below. For this reason, the current section is organized first around possessability, beginning with alienable nouns in §5.1.1 followed by inalienable nouns in §5.1.2.

5.1.1 Alienable nouns

The majority of nouns in Yine are alienable. For these, being possessed – and specifying the possessor – is not a grammatical requirement. When they are possessed, they are obligatorily marked as such with one of five suffixes dedicated to this purpose. The choice between the five suffixes is to some extent predictable; this is discussed in detail in §5.2.2 below.

All alienable nouns are lexically specified as either masculine or feminine. For human and other sex-differentiable referents, grammatical gender is consistent with natural gender. For all other referents the basis of gender assignment is not as obvious, though certain tendencies can be observed: for example, abstract nouns strongly tend to be masculine, as do larger animals and snakes; reptiles, insects, small animals and birds tend to be feminine.

On most nouns gender is covert, and is revealed only through gender-sensitive agreement morphology, demonstratives, or anaphoric pronominal forms. Some nouns, however, have a phonological reflex of their gender such that masculine roots contain the vowel *i* and the feminine counterpart contains the vowel *o*. This is only true of highly animate nouns; some examples are given in (230)¹- (233).

- (230) *makliçi* ‘boy, young man’
makloçi ‘girl, young woman’

¹The *-çi* on *makliçi* and *makloçi* may have a historical sources in the inalienable noun root *-çi* ‘small part of’, but there is no evidence that these are synchronically multimorphemic.

(231) *mhenokli* ‘male jaguar’
mhenoklo ‘female jaguar’

(232) *hniri* ‘husband of’
hninro ‘wife of’

(233) *tsri* ‘big/old man’
tsro ‘big/old woman’

It is unlikely that it is a coincidence that the gender vowel is the same as that contained in the gender-agreement / nominalizing suffixes *-li* (masc) and *-lo* (fem); rather, it suggests that the examples above may have a derivational origin. All of these examples are not, however, synchronically analysable words.

5.1.2 Inalienable nouns

Unlike alienable nouns, inalienable nouns are bound roots that form a single phonological word with their possessor, whether the latter be expressed by a free noun or a pronominal prefix.

In the absence of a possessor, the inalienable root must take the suffix *-tʃi*, which appears in the same position in the noun template as the ‘possessed’ suffix on alienable nouns (see §5.2.2) below.

Table 5.1 below presents a sampling of inalienable noun roots in Yine, showing their possessed (1SG where possible; otherwise 3SGM)² and unpossessed forms (where available). This is not an exhaustive listing by any means: though closed, the set of inalienable nouns is quite large. Table 5.1 is organized into four major groupings: kinship term, parts of wholes and their extensions, geographical features, and spatial relations; inalienably possessed objects in the home and surroundings; and classificatory nouns. While primarily a conceptual grouping, each of these subtypes has a slightly different

²The possessor prefixes are discussed in §5.2.1.

morphosyntactic behavior, particularly with respect to gender agreement, as described in §5.1.3 below.

The semantically dependent nature of these nouns is reflected here and throughout this grammar in the translation of inalienables as “N of” (in glosses, “N.of”; cf. Facundes 2000).

Subgroup	Root	1SG (or 3SGM) PSSR	Unpossessed
Kin terms	<i>-hiri</i> ‘father of’	niri	hirtfi
	<i>-hinro</i> ‘mother of’	ninro	hinrotfi
	<i>-yehwakli</i> ‘older brother of’	nyehwakli	yehwaklitfi
	<i>-mekahyo</i> ‘granddaughter of’	nomekahyo	mekahyotfi
Parts, etc.	<i>-mane</i> ‘body of’	nomane	mantfi
	<i>-sire</i> ‘leaf of’	hisire	sirtfi
	<i>-spi</i> ‘lip, edge of’	nospı	spıtfi
	<i>-hiwaka</i> ‘name of’	nhiwaka	hiwaktfi
Objects	<i>-hriko</i> ‘mosquito net of’	nohriko	hriktfi
	<i>-poko</i> ‘home village of’	nipoko	poktfi
	<i>-pçı</i> ‘house of’	nopçı	panıtfi
Classificatory	<i>-çe</i> ‘stick, cylinder of’	hiçe	n/a
	<i>-çı</i> ‘small member of’	hiçı	n/a
	<i>-pso</i> ‘disk of’	hipso	n/a
	<i>-skita</i> ‘V-intersection of’	hiskita	n/a

Table 5.1: Some inalienable nouns by semantic type

5.1.3 Inalienable nouns and gender

This section describes how different types of inalienable noun roots behave with respect to gender, as revealed through gender agreement patterns. As will be seen, some inalienables appear to *always* have their own gender specification; others appear to *sometimes* have their own gender specification and sometimes rely on that of their possessor; and still others appear to *never* have their own gender specification but rely entirely on that of their possessor.

The ability of an inalienable noun to control gender agreement appears to depend

largely on the extent to which it is conceptually and concretely differentiable from its possessor. The most differentiable are kinship terms and inalienably possessed objects; these are also the inalienable nouns that clearly have their own gender specification, as illustrated in examples (234)-(235). With kinship terms, which have human referents, their grammatical gender is unsurprisingly the same as the natural gender of their referent.

(234) a. netanro rinro (Kin)
 n-heta-na-**lo** **r-hinro**
 1SG-see-CMPV-**3SGF** **3-mother.of**
 ‘I saw his mother’ (h148)

b. *netanri rinro
 n-heta-na-**li** **r-hinro**
 1SG-see-CMPV-**3SGM** **3-mother.of**

(235) a. netanri tiri (Kin)
 n-heta-na-**li** **t-hiri**
 1SG-see-CMPV-**3SGM** **3SGFPSSR-father.of**
 ‘I saw her father’ (h148)

b. *netanro tiri
 n-heta-na-**lo** **t-hiri**
 1SG-see-CMPV-**3SGF** **3SGFPSSR-father.of**

Inalienably possessed objects also appear to have their own grammatical gender:

(236) a. netanri topçi (Object)
 n-heta-na-**li** **to-pçi**
 1SG-see-CMPV-**3SGM** **3SGFPSSR-house.of**
 ‘I saw her house’ (h148)

b. *netanro topçi
 n-heta-na-**lo** **to-pçi**
 1SG-see-CMPV-**3SGM** **3SGPSSR-house.of**

Body parts and other parts of wholes are (by definition) inherently associated with their possessors and thus have a closer conceptual link to them; however, it is not impossible to view them as distinct concrete entities in their own right. This property of

being both a part of and distinct from their possessor is reflected in agreement patterns: with these, either the possessor or the noun itself can control agreement depending on which is the more prominent in the particular context. This is illustrated in the examples below:

- (237) a. rakapfotno noçiciçi (Agreement with possessor)
 r-hakapfota-**no** **no-çiciçi**
 3SGM-step.on-**1SG** **1SGPSSR**-toe.of
 ‘He stepped on my toe.’ (h148)
- b. rakapfotli noçiciçi (Agreement with body part)
 r-hakapfota-**li** no-**çiciçi**
 3SGM-step.on-**3SGM** **1SGPSSR**-toe.of
 ‘He stepped on my toe.’ (h148)

However, there is a significant gap in these examples, at least in my corpus: while it can be treated as grammatically masculine, as with ‘toe’ in (12), the inalienable noun never triggers feminine agreement. Consider, for example, the sentence in (238). Here, the possessor is 1st person singular; not surprisingly, the 1SG object suffix can be used to index it as in (237a). In this particular example, I myself am the possessor of the foot in question: in spite of the fact that I am female, only masculine gender is acceptable in the object marker, as in (237b), vs. (238).³

- (238) *rakapfotlo noçiciçi
 r-hakapfota-lo no-çiciçi
 3SGM-step.on-3SGF **1SGPSSR**-toe.of

That is, a body part noun can trigger either person agreement with the possessor, or 3SG agreement, and if 3SG, only 3SGM is possible. From examples like this we can make two useful observations. First, the ‘gender’ of the part noun is not the natural gender of the possessor.⁴ Second, the fact that it is only masculine agreement that is

³This is reminiscent of ‘external possession’ constructions where a highly affected possessor may be treated as a core argument of the predicate; cf. Payne and Barshi (1999).

⁴Yine does allow agreement with natural gender when 1st and 2nd person referents are involved. An example can be found in example (856) in §12.3.3.1: briefly, in that example the form of a gender-distinguishing interrogative word expresses the gender of the addressee, though 2nd person pronouns do not distinguish gender in Yine.

acceptable supports the view that masculine gender is functionally unmarked in Yine. It is possible that all part nouns are lexically assigned masculine gender, but more likely it is the case that part nouns have no gender specification at all and therefore the functionally unmarked gender form is used in marking agreement with them.

Finally, we come to classificatory nouns, which express the physical properties of their possessor and are, conceptually, inseparable from their possessor. These nouns never control agreement features: agreement with such nouns always expresses the gender of the possessor.

- (239) a. nnikanro parantaʈʃkehi
n-nika-na-**lo** **paranta**-ʈʃkehi
1SG-eat-CMPV-**3SGF** **plantain(f)**-mash.of
‘I ate the mashed plantain(s).’ (h148)
- b. nnikanro toʈʃkehi
n-nika-na-**lo** **to**-ʈʃkehi
1SG-eat-CMPV-**3SGF** **3SGFPSSR**-mash.of
‘I ate the mashed (feminine thing).’ (h148)
- c. *nnikanri toʈʃkehi
n-nika-na-**li** **to**-ʈʃkehi
1SG-eat-CMPV-**3SGM** **3SGFPSSR**-mash.of
- (240) a. nnikanri çimekaʈʃkehi
n-nika-na-**li** **çimeka**-ʈʃkehi
1SG-eat-CMPV-**3SGM** **manioc(m)**-mash.of
‘I ate the mashed manioc.’ (h148)
- b. nnikanri hiʈʃkehi
n-nika-na-**li** **hi**-ʈʃkehi
1SG-eat-CMPV-**3SGM** **3SGMPSSR**-mash.of
‘I ate the mashed thing (masculine).’ (h148)
- c. *nnikanro hiʈʃkehi
n-nika-na-**lo** **hi**-ʈʃkehi
1SG-eat-CMPV-**3SGF** **3SGMPSSR**-mash.of

There is no a priori reason to assume, then, that classificatory nouns have a gender specification; rather, they may be analysed as a subclass of noun roots that lack gender entirely, or could be said to ‘inherit’ the gender of their possessor.

5.2 Noun morphology

The structure of the Yine noun is summarized in (241), and its morphology is described in the indicated sections. The 3PL possessor suffix is in parentheses because it properly belongs with the possessor prefixes, as it is dependent upon the 3(SGM) prefix; but it appears at the end of the inflected noun. For alienable nouns, the only obligatory element is the noun itself; even number inflection is optional for most alienable nouns (see §5.2.5 below). For inalienable nouns, the noun root and its possessor are both obligatory.⁵

(241)	Possessor: Class 1,2,3	§5.2.1
	Root	§5.1
	Possessed status: <i>-fʃi</i> ; <i>-te</i> , <i>-ne</i> , <i>-re</i> , <i>-e</i> , <i>-le</i>	§5.2.2
	Number: <i>-ne</i>	§5.2.5
	(3PL possessor: <i>-na</i>)	§5.2.6

5.2.1 Possessor prefix

The pronominal prefixes were presented and their distribution summarized in Table 3.2 in Chapter 3, but for more convenient reference they are repeated here in Table 5.2 below. (Note that 3PL possessor marking requires the suffix *-na*, which co-occurs with the 3rd person (non-feminine-singular) prefix regardless of the prefix class).

There are two factors that are involved in the choice of possessor prefix: the subclass of noun (alienable, inalienable, or kin); and the phonological shape of the (beginning of the) stem. Neither of these factors is sufficient in itself; rather, it is a com-

⁵But note that if the possessor is expressed with a free noun, the possessor prefix is not used; see §3.2.2.

Class	1SG	2sg	3	3SGF	1PL	2PL	3PL
1	n-	p-	r-	t-	w-	h-	r- (...-na)
2	n-	p-	Ø-	t-	w-	h-	Ø- (...-na)
3	no-	pi-	hi-	to-	wi-	hi-	hi- (...-na)

Table 5.2: Pronominal prefixes: noun possessors

bination of the two that yields the best results for predicting the prefix class of a given noun.

5.2.1.1 Inalienable noun possessor prefixes: non-kin

Non-kin inalienable nouns are the most consistent in terms of their prefix class: nearly all of them take Class 3. Representative examples are given in (242)-(247); but note that kinship nouns are treated separately below.

- (242) a. *-myo* ‘hand of’
b. *nomyo* ‘my hand’
c. *himyo* ‘his hand’

- (243) a. *-stsi* ‘side of’
b. *nostsi* ‘my side, beside me’
c. *histsi* ‘his side, beside him’

- (244) a. *-pçi* ‘house of’
b. *nopçi* ‘my house’
c. *hipçi* ‘his house’

- (245) a. *-hriko* ‘quarters of’
b. *nohriko* ‘my quarters’
c. *hihriko* ‘his quarters’

- (246) a. *-sahi* ‘sphere of’
 b. *hisahi* ‘sphere-shaped masculine thing’
 c. *tosahi* ‘sphere-shaped feminine thing’

- (247) a. *-twa* ‘arc of’
 b. *hitwa* ‘arc-shaped masculine thing’
 c. *totwa* ‘arc-shaped feminine thing’

A very few inalienable nouns take Class 2 prefixes. These exceptions could plausibly be attributed to their phonology: the noun root in question conforms to the Class 2 profile (see §3.2.1.1) in that it begins with *h* followed by a vowel other than *i*:

- (248) a. *-haçcihi* ‘track, footprint of’
 b. *naçcihi* ‘my footprint’
 c. *raçcihi* ‘his footprint’

- (249) a. *-heçha* ‘scrotum of’
 b. *neçha* ‘my scrotum’
 c. *reçha* ‘his scrotum’

- (250) a. *-hayiçi* ‘spine of’
 b. *nayiçi* ‘my spine’
 c. *rayiçi* ‘his spine’

5.2.1.2 Kinship term possessor prefixes

Kinship terms select from all three prefix classes; a sampling of these is given in (251)-(254).

- (251) a. *niri* ‘my father’ (Class 1)
 b. *riri* ‘his father’
 c. *nikoçiri* ‘my maternal uncle’
 d. *rikoçiri* ‘his maternal uncle’
- (252) a. *naçiro* ‘my grandmother’ (Class 1)
 b. *raçiro* ‘his grandmother’
 c. *nepiri* ‘my younger brother’
 d. *repiri* ‘his younger brother’
- (253) a. *npalikleri* ‘my nephew’ (Class 2)
 b. *Ø-palikleri* ‘his nephew’
 c. *nyehwaklo* ‘my older sister’
 d. *Ø-yehwaklo* ‘his older sister’
- (254) a. *notiri* ‘my son’ (Class 3)
 b. *ritiri* ‘his son’
 c. *nomekahyi* ‘my grandson’
 d. *rimekahyi* ‘his grandson’

5.2.1.3 Alienable noun possessor prefixes

Alienable nouns take either the Class 1 or Class 2 possessor prefixes, with the choice between them being fully predictable based on the phonological form of the stem to which it attaches. That is, alienable noun stems beginning with *h* take Class 1; and stems beginning with any consonant other than *h* take Class 2.

- (255) a. *hepfı* ‘axe’ (Class 1)
 b. *nepfite* ‘my axe’
 c. *repfite* ‘his axe’

- (256) a. *haroso* ‘rice’ (Class 1)
 b. *narosote* ‘my rice’
 c. *rarosote* ‘his rice’
- (257) a. *kanawa* ‘boat’ (Class 2)
 b. *nkanawate* ‘my boat’
 c. \emptyset -*kanawate* ‘his boat’
- (258) a. *sotli* ‘rock’ (Class 2)
 b. *nsotlite* ‘my rock’
 c. \emptyset -*sotlite* ‘his rock’

5.2.2 Possessed status suffixes

The possessed status suffix is a marker of whether the noun is possessed or not. It is obligatory with alienable nouns that are possessed (hence the gloss ‘-PSSD’) and with inalienable nouns that are not possessed (hence ‘-UNPSSD’) – that is, when the expression of the possessor of the inalienable noun is suppressed. As indicated in (241), ‘possessed’ and ‘unpossessed’ are distinct sets, with one set (composed of five suffixes) used for alienable possession and the other (with one suffix only) used for inalienable non-possession. These sets will be addressed separately below, beginning with the unpossessed inalienable suffix *-tʃi*.

5.2.2.1 *-tʃi* ‘unpossessed inalienable’

If the possessor of an inalienable noun is not expressed within the NP, the suffix *-tʃi* is used to indicate that this is an unpossessed inalienable noun. In addition to suppressing the possessor specification, *-tʃi* allows the inalienable noun to function as an independent word. Most of the subtypes of inalienable noun can be suffixed with *-tʃi*:

kin terms (259); body parts (260); and inalienably possessed objects (261). However, *-tʃi* suffixed classificatory nouns are not attested in my corpus.

- (259) a. *hinrotʃi* ‘mother of’
(cf. *ninro* ‘my mother’)
b. *meknatçirtʃi* ‘brother in law of (of female)’
(cf. *nomeknatçiri* ‘my b-in-law’)

- (260) a. *myotʃi* ‘hand’
(cf. *nomyo* ‘my hand’)
b. *haçcihtʃi* ‘track, footprint’
(cf. *naçcihi* ‘my footprint’)

- (261) a. *hriktʃi* ‘quarters’
(cf. *nohriko* ‘my quarters’)

The possessed and unpossessed forms of the root are irregular in a very small set of inalienables: e.g. *panʃi* ‘house (unpossessed)’ / *noʃçi* ‘my house’; *tʃitʃi* ‘firewood’ / *notʃima* ‘my firewood’.

5.2.2.2 *-te, -ne, -re, -e, -le*: ‘possessed alienable’

In addition to the possessor prefix, possessed alienable nouns take a special suffix identifying them as such. This ‘possessed’ suffix occurs immediately following the noun stem and has five different forms: *-te*, *-ne*, *-re*, *-e*,⁶ and *-le*. The choice between these suffixes is largely predictable based on a combination of semantic and morphological factors as described below. The four possessed suffixes and the characteristics of the stem to which each attaches are briefly summarized in Table 5.3. Note that the characteristics presented below only represent general tendencies, and it is likely that for many of the nouns the appropriate possessed suffix is simply memorized. (The *-te* and

⁶Because of stem-final vowel deletion, this surfaces as a change of the stem-final vowel to *e*.

-ne classes are especially difficult to characterize, while the other classes are more restrictive and have fewer exceptions.)⁷

Note that *-te* is the only ‘possessed’ suffix that never triggers stem-final vowel deletion (regarding which see §2.3.1).

<i>-te</i>	residual class; most loanwords
<i>-ne</i>	human referents; high cultural relevance; utilized in important activities
<i>-re</i>	instrument nominalizations; a few others
<i>-e</i>	<i>-li</i> nominalizations; a few others
<i>-le</i>	<i>-waka</i> nominalizations; at least one other, optionally

Table 5.3: Possessed alienable noun suffixes

-TE The *-te* class appears to be the functionally unmarked possessed suffix class, involving nearly all loanwords as well as a wide variety of nouns that do not fit the ‘profile’ of the other classes (as described below); it is also the most common of the possessed suffixes in my data. Examples of nouns that take *-te* are given in (262) below; they include animals (other than pets, cultivated plants and other important animates), plants, inanimates, and, as noted, most loanwords.

(Throughout the current section I will present examples with a 1sg possessor in order to keep the irrelevant morphology as unobtrusive as possible.)

- (262) a. *heti* ‘tree frog’; *netite* ‘my tree frog’
 b. *mrici* ‘peccary’; *nmricite* ‘my peccary’
 c. *hetlo* ‘zapote’; *netlote* ‘my zapote’
 d. *çimeka* ‘yucca’; *nçimekate* ‘my yucca’
 e. *kšana* ‘herb’; *nkšanate* ‘my herb’
 f. *kamla* ‘termite’; *nkamlate* ‘my termite’
 g. *kanawa* ‘boat’; *nkanawate* ‘my boat’
 h. *riwi* ‘shingles’; *nriwite* ‘my shingles’

⁷The examples in this section were obtained through the elicitation of noun paradigms.

- i. *rimiryo* ‘cure’ (Sp. *remedio*); *nrimiryote* ‘my cure’
- j. *taso* ‘bowl’ (Sp. *tazon*); *ntasote* ‘my bowl’

-NE The *-ne* class of nouns seems best characterized in semantic terms. These nouns typically have referents that are human⁸ or in some cases nonhuman animates (263). Inanimate members of this class typically refer to objects utilized in daily or ceremonial life (264), or natural entities with similar importance (265).

- (263) a. *sico* ‘woman’; *nsicne* ‘my woman’
 b. *fima* ‘fish’; *njimne* ‘my fish’

- (264) a. *masi* ‘gourd bowl’; *nmasne* ‘my gourd bowl’
 b. *falkati* ‘basket’; *ntfalkatne* ‘my basket’
 c. *hisa* ‘herb magic’; *nisane* ‘my herb magic’
 d. *kowi* ‘horn’; *nkowne* ‘my horn’
 e. *tfali* ‘fishing net’; *ntfalne* ‘my fishing net’

- (265) a. *honi* ‘water’; *nonne* ‘my water’
 b. *fiçi* ‘land’; *notfiçne* ‘my land, country’
 c. *tafi* ‘white clay’; *ntafne* ‘my white clay’
 d. *fiçi* ‘corn’; *nfiçne* ‘my corn’

Other *-ne* nouns have no obvious semantic reason for being in this class:

- (266) a. *tfayi* ‘scabies’; *ntfayne* ‘my scabies’
 b. *tsomi* ‘worm’; *ntsomne* ‘my worm’

⁸Not including kinship terms, which are inalienable.

-RE Nearly all of the nouns that take *-re* are instrument nominalizations, derived using the suffix *-pi* (see §7.5). Typical examples are given in (267).

- (267) a. *heroyhipi* ‘toothbrush’; *neroyhipre* ‘my toothbrush’
b. *kowtfohapi* ‘fishing gear’; *nkowtfohapre* ‘my fishing gear’
c. *fifyapi* ‘clothes brush’; *nfifyapre* ‘my clothes brush’
d. *yonawapi* ‘pencil’; *nyonawapre* ‘my pencil’

The examples in (268) below illustrate that the *-pi* need not be stem final⁹.

- (268) a. *hatskopiçe* ‘stairs’; *natskopiçere* ‘my stairs’
b. *holopiçe* ‘smoking rack’; *nolopiçere* ‘my smoking rack’
c. *tıplapiçe* ‘bench’; *ntıplapiçere* ‘my bench’
d. *sapripiçe* ‘shuttle’; *nsapripiçere* ‘my shuttle’

It is not the case, however, that all instrument nouns belong to this class. For example, (269) has instrumental semantics, but is not derived; it belongs to the *-te* class.

- (269) *sameta* ‘polisher’; *nsametate* ‘my polisher’

The example in (270), on the other hand, is a *-pi*-derived instrument noun and therefore ‘should’ belong to the *-re* class; but it does not. Instead, it belongs to the *-ne* class – unsurprisingly, since it fits the *-ne*-class semantics very nicely: a broom is an item that is important to daily life.

- (270) *sacripi* ‘broom’; *nsacripne* ‘my broom’

Finally, I would like to draw attention to a few nouns that rather unexpectedly belong to the *-re* class (the first two of which are examples of secondary possession; regarding this see §5.2.4 below):

⁹It is perhaps significant that these are all compound nouns ending with the classificatory noun *-çe* ‘stick of, stalk of’. The significance here might be with the properties of *-çe*, or of classificatory nouns in general. Unfortunately, I do not have the data to speculate further on this question.

- (271) a. *hitfkehi* ‘mashed green plantains’; *nitfkehre* ‘my mashed ...’
 b. *himsahi* ‘pile of garbage’; *nimsahre* ‘my pile ...’
 c. *hafhaçi* ‘clay jar’; *nafhaçre* ‘my clay jar’

These are not instrument nouns, but interestingly they do share one property with *-pi* nominalizations: they all end with a front vowel. Because this is an environment that is known to trigger an allophonic *r*¹⁰, we might reasonably hypothesize that the *-re* class is in fact entirely phonologically determined. However, this cannot be the case, since not all words that end in *i* or *e* take the *-re* suffix. For example, *tfiçi* ‘land’, *fiçi* ‘corn’, and *natfi* all take *-ne*; and more significantly, there is a large set of animal names that end with *-pi*¹¹ yet take the *-te* suffix. We can conclude, then, that the front vowel characterizes, but does not define, the *-re* class, and if phonology is involved at all it is less important than the presence of dedicated instrumental morphology. However, I will return to this question shortly, and take a more detailed – but very speculative – look at a possible phonological role in both this class and the *-e* class, linking them with the *-le* class.

-E The class of *-e*-suffixing nouns are, like the *-re* class, nominalizations. Most of these are *-li* derivations¹², as in the following examples:

- (272) a. *nepomle* ‘my question’
 (*hepomli* ‘question’; *nepomhali* ‘I ask him’)
 b. *ninkakle* ‘my story’
 (*hinkakli* ‘story’; *ninkaka* ‘I tell a story’)
 c. *nsaçrikle* ‘my turn’
 (*saçrikli* ‘(a) turn’; *nsaçrika* ‘I turn’)
 d. *nsapowle* ‘my blanket’
 (*sapowli* ‘blanket’; *nsapowakli* ‘I wrap him up’)

¹⁰Specifically, where *l* surfaces as *r*-see §2.3.4.

¹¹The *pi* in this case comes from the classificatory noun *-pi* ‘long, thin, soft object’ commonly used, for example, to derive snake names from other words: e.g. *mfirapi* ‘spider monkey snake’, cf. *mfira* ‘spider monkey’; another example of this sort is *protapi* ‘dragonfly’.

¹²i.e. product/object nominalizations-see §7.1 for a full discussion.

- e. *nmeyiwle* ‘my celebration’
 (*meyiwli* ‘celebration’; *meyiwata* ‘I celebrate’)

There are, however, a few (synchronically) underived nouns in the *-e* class:

- (273) a. *nkahle* ‘my clay’
kahli ‘clay’
- b. *nsotle* ‘my rock’
sotli ‘rock’
- c. *nolote* ‘roast meat’
holoti ‘roast meat’
- d. *nçimapre* ‘my roast plantain’
çimapro ‘roast plantain’

-LE Nouns derived with the location/manner nominalizer *-waka*, take *-le* as their marker of possessed status.

- (274) a. *nyopçewakle* ‘my port’
 n-yopiçe-waka-**le**
 1SG-descend-FREQ-LOC.NOM-**PSSD**
 ‘my port’
- b. *yapařawakle*
 Ø-yapařa-waka-**le**
 3-roam-LOC.NOM-**SUBD**
 ‘his territory, the place where he roamed’ (Bfm4)

At least one underived noun, *himsahi* ‘pile of garbage’ can take either *-le* or *-re* when possessed: *nimsahle*, *nimsahre* ‘my pile of garbage.’

5.2.2.3 Phonological basis for *-re* and *-e* classes?

On purely phonological grounds, we might speculate that the *-re* and *-e* suffixes are allomorphs of *-le*. The reasoning behind this speculation is as follows (and see Chapter 2 for more discussion of the processes mentioned here). First, *-re* could surface from a morpheme of the form *-le* because of the fact that *r*, but not *l*, may occur following the

front vowels in the Yine phonological system. Because all noun stems of the *-re* class end with a front vowel, a suffix of the shape *-le* would always surface as *-re*. Thus it is possible to claim that the *-re* class is in fact an allomorph of *-le*.

Phonological facts could likewise allow for calling the *-e* class an allomorph of an original *-le* suffix. Two aspects of the phonological system are relevant here. First, there is the widespread stem-final vowel deletion (apocope), which would remove the *i* from the nominalizer *-li* and leave us with a stem ending in *l*. With the addition of a ‘possessed’ suffix of the shape *-le*, an illicit cluster of identical segments is then created: *lle*. As discussed in §2.3.2, an illicit *ll* sequence is repaired by deleting one of the *l*’s: *-lle* is pronounced as *-le*. The end result, then, is an apparent change of *i* to *e* signalling the addition of the ‘possessed’ suffix.

This phonological motivation for uniting *-re* and *-e* with *-le* is consistent with the current phonological system of Yine, and has the advantage of accounting for the phonological aspect involved in these two classes (but absent from the *-te* and *-ne* classes). However, it remains purely speculative. It is worth noting, in favor of the distinct-class analysis, that Proto-Arawak is supposed to have had *-re* and *-e* as separate markers of possessed nouns (Aikhenvald 1999:82; Payne 1991:378).

5.2.3 Periphrastic possession

Animals that are typically kept as pets are treated differently from other nouns with respect to their possessed forms. While it is possible to suffix them with one of the above ‘possessed’ suffixes (usually *-te*, e.g. *kewe* ‘dog’, *nkewete* ‘my dog’), a periphrastic construction is more commonly used. The construction involves the inalienable noun root *-pra* ‘young of, domestic animal of’:

- (275) *nopra kewe*
 no-pra kewe
 1SGPSSR-pet.of dog
 ‘my domesticated dog’

- (276) *nopra haxawripa*
 no-pra haxawripa
 1SGPSSR-pet.of chicken
 ‘my domesticated chicken’

A similar construction is available for cultivated plants, using the derived alienable noun *hitakli* ‘plant, crop’. The generic term is possessed in the usual way (as an unexceptional *-e*-class noun) and is followed in the same NP with the bare noun referring to the plant itself:

- (277) *nitakle kiri*
 ni-hitakli-e kiri
 1SGPSSR-plant-PSSD peach.palm
 ‘my peach palm plant’ (b98)

Again, the normal possession marking strategy is also possible with these nouns (e.g. *nkirite* ‘my peach palm’), but the sense of cultivation is then lost.

These constructions, which are always optional, are reminiscent of the possessive generic classifiers found in some Yuman, Uto-Aztecan, and North Carib languages (Aikhenvald 2000:126ff). Within the Arawak family, generic classifiers are attested in Palikur in the description by Aikhenvald and Green (1998:460), where they are attributed to influence from Carib.

5.2.4 Secondary possession

Most inalienable nouns can be possessed by a ‘secondary’ possessor – an entity other than their inherent (‘primary’) possessor; only kinship terms cannot. In order to morphologically express secondary possession, the ‘possessed’ alienable suffix is attached to the possessed inalienable noun stem; this is illustrated in examples (278)-(281) below.

(278) tomeçite
to-meçi-te
3SGFPSSR-feather.of-PSSD
'her feathers' (possessor is, e.g., a woman) (EM:100)

(279) nçemate tpali
n-çema-te tpali
1SGPSSR-tapir-PSSD leg.of
'my leg of a tapir' (EM:100)

(280) noçete
no-çe-te
1SGPSSR-stick.of-PSSD
'my stick-shaped thing' (e.g. 'my pen(cil)') (g26)

The possessed suffix may appear either on the primary possessor or at the end of the possessed inalienable noun stem; both appear to be equally valid (in fact, the two options in example (281) occur seven sentences apart in the same narrative text¹³).

- (281) a. nmaylotsate
n-naylo-tsa-te
1sgPSSR-plastic-cord.of-PSSD
'my plastic cord / cord of plastic' (h80)
- b. nmaylotetsa
n-naylo-te-tsa
1sgPSSR-plastic-PSSD-cord.of
'my plastic cord / cord of plastic' (h80)

5.2.5 Plural number suffix

Yine can be described as having a general (or unmarked) vs. plural number contrast on nouns; that is, nouns are either unmarked for number, which can be interpreted as either

¹³After considerable discussion – prompted by a direct inquiry on my part about any difference between the two options – my consultants came to the agreement that *naylotsate* was a preferable form. It was also agreed that perhaps *naylotetsa* was more like something an older person would say, while younger speakers would more likely use *naylotsate*. These impressions were not brought to other speakers for confirmation, however.

singular or plural, or explicitly marked as plural with the suffix *-ne*. Explicit number marking is obligatory only for humans, and the likelihood of a given noun appearing with *-ne* seems to be tied to animacy: the more animate the referent, the more likely it will receive number marking. However, it is never impossible to pluralize a count noun with *-ne*.

- (282) *çeçi-ne* ‘men’
nomole-ne ‘my brethren’
kfiyoçri-ne ‘caimans’
sotli-ne ‘rocks’

Typically, the plural suffix appears after the ‘possessed status’ suffix. This is the order given in (241), and it can be seen in the examples below:

- (283) *ntsomitne*
n-tsomi-te-ne
 1SG-worm-PSSD-PL
 ‘my worms’ (b47)

- (284) *nkapayotne*
n-kapayo-te-ne
 1SG-papaya-PSSD-PL
 ‘my papayas’ (b89)

However, this order is not fixed. Though rare, it is possible for their relative order to be reversed, as in (285).

- (285) a. *ntsetsetne*
n-tsetse-te-ne
 1SG-cricket-PSSD-PL
 ‘my crickets’ (b43)
- b. *ntsetsnete*
n-tsetse-ne-te
 1SG-cricket-PL-PSSD
 ‘my crickets’ (b43)

It is not clear at this point whether the ordering difference is grammatically significant (perhaps as a reflection of the scope of the plural suffix).

5.2.6 Third person plural possessor suffix

As indicated in (241), the suffix *-na* is used in conjunction with the 3rd singular (masculine) prefix to cross-reference a 3rd person plural possessor (unmarked for gender). The 3PL suffix occurs at the end of the inflected noun, following not only the possessed status (286) and number (287) suffixes, but also any phrase- or clause-level morphology that may be attached to the noun. The latter two categories are not selective for the word class of their host and therefore do not fit into a description of noun morphology *per se*; they are described in §6.7 (phrasal) and §9.5 (clausal).

(286) kanawatna
Ø-kanawa-te-**na**
3-boat-PSSD-**3PL**
'their canoe(s)' (Unc28)

(287) himolenna
hi-mole-ne-**na**
3SGMPSSR-relative.of-PL-**3PL**
'their relatives' (Dil8)

Theoretically, there should be no restriction against a noun being marked with a possessed suffix, a plural suffix and a 3pl possessor suffix, along the lines of *kafrenna* (Ø-kafri-e-ne-na [3SGMPSSR-arrow-PSSD-PL-3PL]) 'the arrows of each/all of them' – the equivalent of (287) for alienable nouns – but no such examples occur in my corpus. The rarity of such constructions is not surprising given that a noun root can be interpreted as plural without being overtly marked as such. The most common way of expressing plurality of both possessor and possessum in Yine is simply to use the 3PL possessor morphology, and leave the number of possessed objects unexpressed but implied (as in (286) above).

6 The Noun Phrase

This chapter examines the internal structure and organization of the Yine noun phrase (NP). The constituents of the NP are presented first (§6.1), followed by a discussion of modifiers, their types, and their positioning in the phrase (§6.2). Prominently featured in this discussion is the observation that adjectives and other descriptive modifiers are able to precede or follow the head noun, and several possible factors in this choice are explored. The use of nominalizations as relative clause strategies is also addressed. The focus of the discussion then turns to the head noun itself. §6.3 examines the properties of NP heads in Yine and identifies important differences between alienable and inalienable nouns in terms of their headship properties. Nounless and discontinuous NPs are addressed in §6.4 and §6.5, respectively, followed by a brief look at the structure of possessive NPs in §6.6. The chapter closes with a presentation of the phrasal suffixes that are only attested in the NP in §6.7.

6.1 Noun Phrase Structure

The constituents of the Yine noun phrase are given in Table 6.1 below. The order in which they are listed reflects the order in which they occur; see §6.2 below for further discussion.

A	Article
B	Demonstrative
C	Quantifier, Numeral
D	Pre-head modifier
E	Head noun
F	Post-head modifier

Table 6.1: Constituents of the Yine NP

With the probable exception of the modifier positions, elements listed in the same position here are mutually exclusive and may occur only once. That is, a single NP may contain maximally one article; maximally one demonstrative; either a quantifier or a numeral. It remains an open question as to what extent multiple adjectives are used to modify a single noun in the same modifier position; this is discussed in §6.2.1 below.

There do not appear to be any cooccurrence restrictions between the positions given in Table 6.1. Though I have not encountered any examples where all six positions are filled, I have also not found any indication that it is grammatically impossible to do so. The examples presented in (288)-(290) below were selected to both illustrate the relative order and the co-occurrence of each of the positions. Taken together, they suggest that a fully-elaborated noun phrase would be grammatically permissible.

The positions represented in each example are indicated along the righthand margin.

- (288) wa nyi hepi makloçine A B C E
 [wa nyi hepi makloçi-ne]_{NP}
 [REF PROX.PL two youth+FEM-PL]
 ‘these two young women’ (Tra2)
- (289) wa tsri honnewli A D E
 [wa tsri honnewli]_{NP}
 [REF big+MASC flood]
 ‘the big flood’ (Dil34)
- (290) waneyno tsri pantfi heroti D E F
 wane-ya-no [tsri pantfi heroti]_{NP}
 there/thus-APPL-1SG [big+MASC house new+MSC]
 ‘I have a big new house.’ (b97)

Noun phrases in which the head noun is possessed constitute a special subclass of NP and are described in §6.6 below.

6.2 Modifiers and NP-internal word order

The term ‘modifier’ is used in various ways in the literature. Here, I use it only to refer to descriptive modifiers, those that describe some property of the head noun. In Yine, the set of modifiers according to this definition includes adjectives, nouns, adverbs, NPs and nominalizations; and it excludes the article, demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers. If I need to refer to the latter as a set, I will use the term ‘determiner element’. This line is not purely descriptive but also has a syntactic basis. Within the Yine NP, constituent order is fixed (in the order given in Table 6.1) for the determiner elements, but flexible for modifiers.

The remainder of this section explores the potential factors influencing the relative order between the modifier(s) and the head noun. Different modifiers show different degrees of flexibility in their positioning, though there is, overall, a bias towards pre-nominal modifiers in my corpus. Adjectives and NPs have the most fluid positioning. Nouns are less fluid, and there is a subset of modifier nouns that occur almost exclusively in post-nominal position. Adverbial modifiers show little if any flexibility in their positioning and are almost always pre-head.

The discussion in this section will focus on adjectives to simplify the presentation. Other modifier types are discussed below.

Some typical examples of adjectives in the NP are provided in (291)-(292) below.

- (291) powrali pantʃi waneynina
 [**powra-li** pantʃi]_{NP:E} wane-ya-ni-na
 [**clean-SGM** house.of-UNPSSD] there/thus-APPL-AFFCT-3PL
 ‘They had a clean house / clean houses.’ (Fie22)

- (292) nwapani ʃiʃi katali
 n-hwapa-ni [ʃiʃi **kata-li**]_{NP:O}
 1SG-bring-ANTIC [firewood **luminous-SGM**]
 ‘I will bring a glowing ember.’ (Hetn37)

The morphological structure of the adjective, including the obligatory gender agreement morphology, is discussed in Chapter 4. As the above examples illustrate, there is no formal difference between a pre-head adjective and one that follows the head noun, but as we will see, there may be pragmatic differences involved.

Examples of attributive adjectives are relatively infrequent in my corpus. Two other descriptive strategies are more common: 1) the adjective occurs as the predicate head in a nonverbal clause (see §11.5); or 2) the adjective occurs in a nounless NP, where it is arguably nominalized and is itself the NP head; (cf. §6.4 below). The sample size on which the following discussion is based is therefore not very large, and the discussion is necessarily somewhat tentative and incomplete. Nonetheless, some observations can be made concerning the relative order of the head noun and its modifier.

In (293) below, two sentences are given that are identical except in the modifier-noun word order. When presented these sentences in an elicitation context, my consultants found both to be fully acceptable; however, they agreed that the [Adj N] order in (293a) was preferable to the [N Adj] order in (293b). What specifically made it preferable was not certain, but we might hypothesize based on this judgment that in the absence of any established discourse context, the [Adj N] order is most neutral (I will discount this conclusion later).

- (293) a. wale ksaçiri kewe saplewçeta [Adj-N]
 [wale **ksaçi-li** **kewe**]_{NP:VS} Ø-saplewa-çe-ta
 [3SGM **black-SGM dog**] 3-shout-FREQ-VCL
 ‘That black dog is barking.’ (c58)
- b. wale kewe ksaçiri saplewçeta [N-Adj]
 [wale **kewe** **ksaçi-li**]_{NP:VS} Ø-saplewa-çe-ta
 [3SGM **dog black-SGM**] 3-shout-FREQ-VCL
 ‘That black dog is barking’

Overall, the data in my corpus could be taken to support the same conclusion. For example, in a survey of 50 texts, the most common adjective, *tsri/tsro* ‘big (m/f)’, occurs as a modifier 73 times; of these, it precedes the head noun 71 times and follows

it only twice. This kind of asymmetry could be consistent with an analysis in which the [Adj N] order is pragmatically unmarked. However, there is other data that points to the opposite conclusion. Consider, for example, the sentences in (294) and (295), both taken from the same narrative text. These sentences depict a conversational exchange between two speakers, and both modifier-noun orders are used:

- (294) hita kowtʃohatani. jima tsro nkosetani
 [hita kowtʃohata-ni]_{CL}
 [1SG fish.with.hook-ANTIC]
 [[jima **tsro**]_{NP:O} n-koseta-ni]_{CL}
 [[fish **big+FEM**] 1SG-pull-ANTIC]
 ‘I will fish with a line. I will catch a big fish.’ (Yami56)

- (295) hita chalihatani. mtiro jima nkashitʃani
 [hita chalihata-ni]_{CL}
 [1SG fish.with.net-ANTIC]
 [[**mtiro** jima]_{NP:O} n-kajitʃa-ni]_{CL}
 [[**small+FEM** fish] 1SG-grab-ANTIC]
 ‘I will fish with a net. I will catch a small fish.’ (Yami60)

It is apparent that a contrast is being played up here, and that the two modifier positions are being exploited to underscore the contrast. But if the pre-head position is pragmatically neutral it is surprising to find that order in the second, contrastive, utterance rather than the first. It is perhaps important that there are two things being contrasted here: the style of fishing, and the size of the fish expected to be caught. As a result, the role of modifier-noun order in playing up the contrast is not entirely clear. There are, unfortunately, no other comparable, explicitly contrastive exchanges in my corpus to offer further insight. However, this particular example does suggest that, contrary to what was hypothesized earlier, it is the [Adj N] order that focuses on the modifier, while the post-head modifier is more neutral.

We can tie together these apparently contradictory conclusions if we substitute the notion of ‘prominence’ in place of ‘pragmatic neutrality’. In Chapter 11, I describe

how constituent order in the clause core is flexible, and there is a tendency for new and/or prominent information to precede old, established, topical or otherwise less prominent information. The same strategy seems to be at work here in the NP.¹

In (293a) above, the adjective is in an NP that is completely isolated from any particular context; thus, the information it provides is necessarily new (and, presumably, highly relevant because it was deliberately included). In (295), the adjective is under focus because it is involved in an explicit contrast. Both examples are consistent in suggesting that if the information provided by the adjective is relatively prominent (new, focused or salient in the discourse context), the adjective is more likely to precede the noun. The reverse tendency obtains if the adjective offers topical or established information, or if the noun itself is more prominent. In general, this hypothesis is supported by the patterns in my corpus: a background or established modifier tends to be expressed in post-nominal adjectives, and new and/or salient information brought in via pre-nominal adjectives. This is the case in the examples in (296), where the woman's pot is first introduced (*timate*) and then identified as big (*tsri himati*) with a pre-nominal adjective in (296a). When this pot is referred to again two sentences later, the same modifier follows the noun (296b).

- (296) a. hawa timate, tsri himati ...
 hawa [ti-himati-e]_{NP} [**tsri** himati]_{NP}
 and [3SGFPSSR-pot-PSSD] [**big+MASC** pot]
 'and her pot, a big pot ...' (Sns4)
- b. wane tkotpikotka himati tsri
 wane t-kotpika-tka [himati **tsri**]_{NP:O}
 there/thus 3SGF-remove.lid-PFV [pot **big+MASC**]
 'Thus she took the lid off the big pot' (Sns6)

The example in (297) below offers a different sort of support for the prominence hypothesis, and further suggests that it is the relative prominence between adjective and noun that affects their order. This example is taken from a narrative about the

¹The word order parallels between clause and NP go beyond this: in both constructions word order is flexible around the head and its closest syntactic neighbors, and more rigid in the periphery.

traditional fiestas of the Yine. Both the adjective (*kapsali* ‘strong’) and the noun (*koya*) receive their first mention in this sentence. The narrator has just established what his ancestors ate during the fiesta and here is moving on to focus on what they drank, making the *koya* (manioc beer) more prominent at this point than the fact that it is strong.

- (297) wanepnite wa riranrina koya kapsali
 wanepnite wa r-hira-na-li-na
 next REF 3-drink-CMPV-3SGM-3PL
 [koya kapsa-li]_{NP:O}
 [manioc.beer strong-SGM]
 ‘Next, they drank up strong manioc beer.’ (Fie12)

While all of the above examples do suggest that modifier-noun ordering is sensitive to their relative prominence, it is also clear that other factors must be involved as well. Particularly suggestive is the fact that pre-nominal adjectives are, on the whole, more common than post-nominal ones in my corpus (as we saw with *tsri* in the survey mentioned earlier). We might attribute this at least partially to the fact that adjectives are not usually carried through the discourse as topical information, and thus are more likely to be new and therefore pre-nominal. However, it is worth considering what other factors might be at play, especially those that are attested in other Amazonian languages. For example, Aikhenvald (2003) describes how the topicality, definiteness and specificity of the head noun all influence modifier-noun order in Tariana (North Arawak); and Fleck (2003) discusses how intrinsic, enduring characteristics are treated differently from temporary or transitory ones in Matses (Panoan). Another typologically common factor is the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive meaning.

A proper investigation of these (and other) possible contributors to modifier positioning in the NP awaits further research, but there is some indication that if they do have an influence it is not an obligatory one. For example, we saw in (296) above that the same adjective describing the same noun in the same story can appear either before or after the head noun. If the intrinsic versus transitory nature of the adjective were

central in Yine, we would not expect such a thing to happen. Further study is certainly warranted on this issue.

6.2.1 NPs with multiple adjectives

Examples like (290) above, where more than one element modifies a single noun, are not common in my text corpus. Adjective stacking – more than one adjective in the same modifier position – is even more rare; in fact I do not have any spontaneous examples of it. The only indication I have that it may be possible is the example given in (298); however, it is quite likely that this sentence is a calque as it was offered as a translation of its Spanish counterpart. It may not be representative of natural Yine speech. Further research is needed to determine the extent to which adjective stacking is possible, how much it is used, and what restrictions might be placed on it.

- (298) kewe tsri hitsrika ksaçiri haʃkatanri wa mtirni popnirni kewni
 [kewe **tsri** **hitsrika** **ksaçi-li**]_{NP:VS}
 [dog **big+MASC** **giant.of+MSC** **black-SGM**]
 hashkata-na-li
 bite-CMPV-3SGM
 [wa **mtiri-ni** **popni-li-ni** kewe-ni]_{NP:O}
 [REF **small+MASC-AFFCT** **grey-SGM-AFFCT** dog-AFFCT]
 ‘The big black dog bit the small grey dog.’ (f35)

6.2.2 Nouns as modifiers

Nouns can be used in Yine to modify the NP head in a variety of ways. For example, they may express the material from which the head noun is made, as in (299):

- (299) kaçpa himati riwlatapyanna
 [**kaçpa** himatu]_{NP:E} r-hiwlata-pa-ya-na-na
 [**clay** pot] 3-cook-ELV-APPL-CMPV-3PL]
 ‘They used to cook in clay pots.’ (Fie3)

Or they may restrict the reference of the head noun to a particular subset of its normal reference, as in (300)-(302):

(300) wa twi hetinero sico
 wa twi hetinero sico
 REF PROX.SGF tree.frog.person+FEM **woman**
 ‘that tree-frog woman (Hetn110)’

(301) wa payri çeçi
 wa payri çeçi
 REF spaniard **man**
 ‘the male Spaniard’ (Jrn12)

(302) kameçiri hojhaçeri
 kameçiri **hoja-haçe-li**
 wild.bird **forest-dweller-SGM**
 ‘game bird.’ (Unc17)

It is also common for locational nouns to act as modifiers:

(303) hewiko napokani tnaka wa diamante poktji
 hewi-ko n-hapoka-ni-tnaka [wa **Diamante** poktji]_{NP:E}
 here-EMPH 1SG-arrive-ANTIC-REIT [REF **NAME** village]
 ‘I will return right here again (to) Diamante village.’ (Jrn34)

These locational modifiers are particularly common when the NP head is deverbal, and the modifier represents the notional equivalent of the original verb’s locative argument:

(304) wa ksati tinwatafri hanikatkali
 [wa **ksati** tinwata-fri]_{NP:E} Ø-hanika-tka-li
 [REF **beach** stand-SUBJ.NOM+MSG] 3-carry-PFV-3SGM
 ‘The one (masc.) standing on the beach carried him off.’ (Yam109)

With some deverbal nominalizations, the transitivity of the original verb is retained (see Chapter 7). When such nominalizations head an NP, the entity corresponding to the object of the original verb appears in one of the modifier positions.

- (305) *nçemamtlo peçri konaçi nikanataçfro*
n-çema-m-ta-lo [*peçri*
 1SG-hear-NONDUR-VCL-3SGF [*agouti*
 [**konaçi** *nika-na-ta-çfro*]_{NP:MOD}]_{NP:O}
 [**huicungo.fruit** *eat-DUR-VCL-SUBJ.NOM+FSG*]]
 ‘I heard a *huicungo*-fruit eating *agouti*.’ (Caz10)

6.2.2.1 Classifying modifiers

A small subset of nouns are used with a generic sense to indicate the sex, age group, or size of the head noun. The nouns used this way are listed in Table 6.2, and representative examples follow. (The question marks in the table are addressed in the discussion below).

	Human	Head Noun Is:	
		Animate	Inanimate
<i>çeçi</i> ‘man’	male adult	male	n/a
<i>sico</i> ‘woman’	female adult	female	n/a
<i>makliçi</i> ‘adolescent man’	male youth	n/a?	n/a
<i>makloçi</i> ‘adolescent woman’	female youth	n/a?	n/a
<i>whene</i> ‘child of’	??	??	diminutive
<i>hitsrika</i> ‘big one (masc) of’		augmentative (masc)	
<i>hitsroka</i> ‘big one (fem) of’		augmentative (fem)	

Table 6.2: Classifying modifiers

For all animate referents, including humans, the terms for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ can be used to distinguish male and female sex:

- (306) *saplewçeta wa çeçi knoya*
 Ø-saplewa-çe-ta [*wa çeçi knoya*]_{NP:VS}
 3-shout-FREQ-VCL [REF **man** tortoise]
 ‘The male tortoise(s) kept roaring.’ (Kno26)

(307) hiyahni wa fiçi hima tyoçinata mayli sico
 hiyaho-ni wa fiçi hima t-yoçinata
 then-IMP.DECL REF corn QUOT 3SGF-crush

[mayli **sico**]_{NP:VS}
 [black.vulture **woman**]

‘Then the female black vulture crushed the corn, reportedly.’ (Myl2)

There is an obvious resemblance between (307), with a classifying modifier, and the example in (300) above, with a regular noun modifier; but they are syntactically different. The difference between them is apparent from their meaning: in (300), *sico* is the head noun – the NP refers to a type of woman; but in (307), *sico* is a modifier and the NP refers to a type of black vulture.

The terms for ‘adolescent male’ and ‘adolescent female’ allow for human referents to be further classified according to their general age group.²

(308) rawyehhimatalkalo wa haninro makloçi
 r-hwa-yehi-hima-ta-tka-lo
 3-be(loc)-VICIN-QUOT-VCL-PFV-3SGF

[wa Ø-hninro **makloçi**]_{NP:O}
 [REF 3PSSR-wife.of **adolescent+FEM**]

‘He lived where his young wife was.’ (i.e. in her house) (Nwd4)

(309) satì yinerhima makliçi hninrowata
 [satì yine-li-hima **makliçi**]_{NP:VS} hninrowata
 [SPEC+MASC people+MSC-QUOT **adolescent+MSC**] take.wife

‘A certain young man took a wife, reportedly.’ (Nwd3)

While the above nouns are restricted in use to modifying animate referents, *whene* ‘child of’ (an inalienable noun) can be used with inanimates to indicate that the referent is a particularly small representative of its class; it functions essentially as a diminutive.

²This usage does not extend to nonhuman animates in my corpus, but I suspect this is a gap in my data and not a true restriction in the language.

(310) waneyhimli sato platowhene
 wane-ya-hima-li [sato plato-**whene**]_{NP:E}
 there/thus-APPL-QUOT-3SGM [SPEC+FEM plate-**child.of**]
 ‘He had a little plate.’ (Paj12)

(311) wanepsohimlo kolpetowhene
 wane-pso-hima-lo [kolpeto-**whene**]_{NP:NVS}
 there/thus-size.of-QUOT-3SGM [clay.bowl-**child.of**]
 ‘The little clay bowl was thus-sized’ (hetn44)

(312) baldewhene
 balde-**whene**
 bucket-**child.of**
 ‘small bucket’

The difference between the inalienable use of *whene* and the diminutive use is not obvious when the modified noun is animate. This is the reason for the question marks in Table 6.2: with a human or animate head noun *whene* could be interpreted as meaning either ‘young of’ (a regular inalienable noun) or ‘young’ (a modifier). I do not have any examples of *whene* being clearly used in the diminutive sense with animates; but neither can I rule out this possibility.

The function of an augmentative is carried out by another inalienable noun, *hitsrika* (*hitsroka* fem.), which, as illustrated in (313)-(315) below, can be used with head nouns of any animacy.

(313) himni hitsrika niklokanatkali
 [himni **hitsrika**]_{NP:VS} Ø-nikloka-na-tka-li
 [snake **giant.of+MSC**] 3-swallow-CMPV-PFV-3SGM
 ‘A giant snake swallowed him.’ (Hmn41)

(314) petanro sico hitsroka
 p-heta-ni-lo [sico **hitsroka**]_{NP:O}
 2SG-see-ANTIC3SGF [woman **giant.of+FEM**]
 ‘look at the giant/huge woman’ (DP:69)

- (315) wanehimli hahmina hitsrika
 wane-hima-li [hahmina **hitsrika**]_{NP:NVS}
 there/thus-QUOT-3SGM [tree **giant.of+MSC**]
 ‘A huge tree was there.’ (Tra36)

While there is no indication that *hitsrika/hitsroka* is synchronically analysable, its form suggests a possible morphological source consistent with its current meaning, namely *hi-tsri-ka* [3SGMPSSR-big+MSC-ASSRT] ‘a truly big one of’ (similarly for the feminine counterpart).

Concord in [N N] noun phrases As noted in Chapter 5.1.1, a handful of nouns reveal their grammatical gender through the thematic vowels *i* (masculine) and *o* (feminine). When one of these nouns heads an NP, it becomes clear that gender concord is obligatory between the head and modifier nouns:

- (316) walahimaktani sico mhenoklo
 wala-hima-cta-ni [sico **mhenoklo**]_{NP:NVS}
 3SGF-QUOT-GENZ-IMP.DECL [woman **jaguar+FEM**]
 ‘She was a female jaguar.’ (d51)

Number concord, on the other hand, is optional. This can be seen in (317), where two [N N] NPs with plural heads are conjoined: the first conjunct, *çeçine makliçine*, shows number concord and the second, *sico makloçine* does not.

- (317) cani hewi rişpakinitka çeçine makliçine hawa sico makloçine
 cani hewi r-hiřpaka-ini-tka [çeçi-**ne** makliçi-**ne**]_{NP}
 now here 3-exist-TEMP-PFV [man-**PL** adolescent+MSC-**PL**]
 hawa [sico makloçi-**ne**]_{NP}]_{NP:VS}
 and [woman adolescent+FEM-**PL**]]
 ‘Now let the young men and young women leave from here.’ (E90)

6.2.2.2 Nominalizations: relative clause strategy

It is described in §7 how nominalizations can function directly as core arguments in a clause. They can also be used to modify a noun in a way that is comparable to that of relative clauses in many languages. As there is no dedicated relativizing morphology, no gap in the relativization, and no unique relative clause structure in the language, these constructions are analysed here as relativization strategies rather than true relative clauses.

Relativizations can be organized in terms of the role that the modified noun is interpreted as having in the modifying constituent. This role in Yine is determined by the type of nominalization employed, and is limited to nominalizations that correspond to the subject, object, or locative argument of the verb stem. Like other modifiers, nominalizations may either follow the modified noun or precede it; however, the post-nominal position is more common. It may be noted that the use of nominalizations as phrase-heading arguments is much more common in my corpus than their use as nominal modifiers.

Some typical examples of nominalizations as modifiers are provided in the sections below. For further description and illustration of these nominalizers, see Chapter 7.

Subject relativization Subject relativization strategies involve one of the nominalizers whose referent corresponds to the subject of the original verb: the syntactic subject with *-tfri*, or the agent with *-çeri*. The former is illustrated in (318)-(319); the latter in (320)-(321)

- (318) wane hima rica satî hiyolika^{tfri}
wane hima [r-hica]_{PRED}
there/thus QUOT [3-be/do]
[satî hiyolika-^{tfri}]_{NP:VS}
[SPEC+MASC hunt-SUBJ.NOM+MSG]
'This is what a certain hunting man did, reportedly.' (Gua2)

- (319) poktʃi hwaʃfine yine
 [**poktʃi hwa-tʃine** yine]_{NP}
 [**village be(loc)-SUBJ.NOM+PL** people]
 ‘the people living in the village’ (Fie038b)
- (320) ... ʃinhimatli wa wale yineri rawapçeritka
 [Ø-tʃina-hima-ta-li]_{PRED}
 [3-say-QUOT-VCL-3SGM]
 [wa wale yine-li **r-hwapa-çeri-tka**]_{NP:VS}
 [REF 3SGM people-SGM **3-bring-AG.NOM+MASC-PFV**]
 ‘That man who had brought him said to him ...’ (Yam136)
- (321) wa raniri wa rimlalaʃyehitçeri wane hima ʃinri...
 [wa r-hniri **wa r-himlalaʃa-yehi-ta-jeri**]_{NP:VS}
 [REF 3-brother.in.law REF **3-untie-VICIN-VCL-AG.NOM+MASC**]
 wane hima Ø-tʃina-li
 there/thus QUOT 3-say-3SGM
 ‘His brother-in-law, who had untied the rope near him, said to him...’
 (Gav59)

In (322), the modified noun is the O argument in the clause, but corresponds to the notional subject of the nominalization.

- (322) wane netyali nikanataʃfri mrici
 wane [n-heta-ya-li]_{PRED}
 there/thus [1SG-see-APPL-3SGM]
 [**nika-na-ta-ʃfri** mrici]_{NP:O}
 [**eat-DUR-VCL-SUBJ.NOM+MSG** collared.peccary]
 ‘There I saw a collared peccary (who was) eating.’ (Caz17)
- (323) peçnirineko sicone koya kamritatʃfine
 [pejni-li-ne-ko]_{QUANT} [sico-ne]_N
 [every-SGM-PL-EMPH] [woman-PL]
 [koya **kamrita-tʃfine**]_{NP}
 [manioc.beer **make-SUBJ.NOM+PL**]
 ‘all the women (who were) making manioc beer’ (Fie50)

Object relativization Object relativizations are expressed using the product/object nominalizer *-li* (324) or the passive subject nominalizer *-liri* (325).

(324) wane hima t̄fina yineri wa tastakaksiçetanri wa k̄fijyoçri

wane hima [Ø-t̄fina]_{PRED} [yine-li
there/thus QUOT [3-say] [people-SGM

[wa **t-hastaka-ksiçe-ta-na-li**
[REF **3SGF-slice.with.teeth-leg.of-VCL-CMPV-3SGM**

wa k̄fijyoçri]_{MOD:NOM}]_{NP:VS}
REF caiman]]

‘The man whose leg the caiman bit to pieces said...’

more literal: ‘thus said the man, the (one whom) a caiman leg-bit’

(325) wale koca wa kaçpa kamritikaliri waleni kolpeto

[wale koca [wa kaçpa **kamrita-ya-ka-liri**]_{MOD:NOM}]_{NP:NVS}
[3SGM ADD [REF clay **make-APPL-PASS-PSUBJ.NOM+MASC**]]

[wale-ni]_{PRED} [kolpeto]_{NP:NVS}
[3SGM-IMP.DECL] [clay.bowl]

‘That one also, (the one that is) made of clay, *kolpeto* is that one.’

(*kolpeto*: traditional clay bowl) (Fst7)

Location relativization Location relativization is expressed using the manner/location nominalizer *-waka*; (326)-(328) illustrate.

(326) nsatokatka niyakatyawakako hatnihapo

n-satoka-tka [**n-hiyakata-ya-waka-ko**
1SG-return-PFV [**1SG-come.from-APPL-LOC.NOM-EMPH**

hatni-hapo]_{NP:E}
path-trail.of]

‘I returned to the very same path that I had come from’ (Caz36)

- (327) wane himamka ya hiyoklehohnenatnitka yaçenatyawakna hatnihapo
 wane hima-maka Ø-ya hiyolika-hohne-na-ta-ni-tka
 there/thus QUOT-FRUST 3-go hunt-day-DUR-VCL-AFFCT-PFV
 [Ø-ya-çe-na-ta-ya-waka-na hatni-hapo]_{NP:E}
 [3-go-FREQ-DUR-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM-3PL path-trail.of]
 ‘There in vain he went hunting every day, to the trail where they
 always used to go.’ (hetn107)

- (328) hatnihapo riyolikyawaka ramhiyana
 [hatni-hapo r-hiyolika-ya-waka]_{NP:E} r-hamha-ya-na
 [path-trail.of 3-hunt-APPL-LOC.NOM] 3-be.lost-APPL-CMPV
 ‘He got lost on the trail where he was hunting.’ (Hmn33)

6.2.3 Adverbs and location nouns as noun modifiers

A final type of modifier category in the NP consists of adverbs and locational nouns. While they are typically used where the head noun is deverbal, they can be used to modify underived nouns as well:

- (329) wale ninkakletyehitna wa hewi makloçine
 wale n-hinkakleta-yehi-ta-na [wa hewi makloçi-ne]_{NP:O}
 3SGM 1SG-relate--VICIN-VCLPL [REF here adolescent+FEM-PL]
 ‘This I relate in the presence of the young women here.’ (Tra179)
 (*lit.* ‘the here young women’)

Locational adverbs and locational nouns are often difficult to distinguish in Yine, both in their semantics and in their syntactic distribution. The functional overlap is especially clear when comparing examples like those in (330). In (330a), the noun *haçene* is modified by the adverb *wane*; in (330b), by the adverb *hewi* and the noun *Diamante*.

- (330) a. wane yoptotyawina wane haçene
 wane Ø-yoptota-ya-wi-na [wane haçe-ne]_{NP:VS}
 there/thus 3-receive-APPL-1PL-3PL [there/thus dweller-PL]
 ‘In this way the people who there lived received us.’ (HwS41)

- b. wtomsatyatkana wa hewi haçene, Diamante haçene
 w-tomsata-ya-tka-na [wa **hewi** haçe-ne]_{NP:O}
 1PL-call.out-ITER-APPL-PFV-3PL [REF **here** dweller-PL]
 [**Diamante** haçe-ne]_{NP(O)}
 [NAME dweller-PL]

‘We called out repeatedly to the people who live here, who live in Diamante.’ (*lit.* the here dwellers, Diamante dwellers) (HwS49)

Temporal adverbs, which offer aspectual information about the head noun, are most suited to deverbal heads (as in (331), (332)), but are (infrequently) attested with underived nouns as well (e.g. (333)).

- (331) nimnikna wa wimolene wa haçeryako hiçpakatfine
 n-him-nika-na [wa w-himole-ne]_{NP:O}
 1SG-ASSOC-eat-3PL [REF 1PL-kin-PL]
 [wa **haçerya-ko** hiçpaka-çfine]_{NP(O)}
 [REF **recently-EMPH** exit-SUBJ.NOM+PL]

‘I ate with our kinspeople, the recently converted.’ (HwS18)

- (332) hike mahatyana wa miçfikawa hwaçenataçfinni
 hike mahata-ya-na
 nothing lack-APPL-3PL
 [wa **miçfikawa** hwa-çe-na-ta-çfine-ni]_{NP:NVS}
 [REF **long.ago** live-FREQ-DUR-VCL-SUBJ.NOM+PLPL-AFFCT]

‘Nothing was lacking for those who lived long ago.’ (Fie55)

- (333) cani ninkakletanri wa miçfikawa pirana
 cani n-hinkakleta-ni-li [wa **miçfikawa** pirana]_{NP:O}
 now 1SG-relate-ANTIC-3SGM [REF **long.ago** story.of]

‘Now I will tell a story of long ago.’ (Twm1)

Manner adverbs are rare in the NP and only modify deverbal nouns in my corpus. The only one that occurs with any frequency is *wane*, which is polysemous for a manner or location reading. Because of this polysemy, *wane* depends on the semantics of the original verb root (and/or other contextual information) to disambiguate between

its manner and location senses. Compare for example the NPs in (334), each of which is headed by a nominalization of a verb meaning ‘be’. In (334a), *wane* is interpreted as a manner modifier because the original verb is non-locative. In (334b), on the other hand, the verb root is locative, and *wane* can only have its location meaning.

- (334) a. wa wane hicaʈfri (manner)
wa **wane** **hica-ʈfri**
REF **there/thus** **be/do**-SUBJ.NOM+MSG
‘the one who is this way / does this’ (*lit.* ‘the thus be/do-er’)
- b. wa wane hwaʈfri (location)
wa **wane** **hwa-ʈfri**
REF **there/thus** **be(loc)**-SUBJ.NOM+MSG
‘the one who was there’ (*lit.* ‘the there be-er’)

6.3 Headship in the Noun Phrase

While there is some debate in the literature concerning an exact definition of the term ‘head’ (e.g. Zwicky 1985, Hudson 1987, Corbett et al. 1993) the following characteristics can be identified as diagnostic of headship in the Yine NP:

- (335) a. SUFFICIENCY: the head alone can be a well-formed NP
- b. DETERMINANT OF REFERENCE: the head determines the reference of the NP
- c. CONTROL OF AGREEMENT: the head is the constituent with which other elements in the NP and/or clause must agree

As the discussion below will describe, alienable and inalienable nouns exhibit different properties when it comes to NP headship: while alienable nouns always qualify as heads, inalienable nouns share many headship properties with their possessor.

6.3.1 Sufficiency

‘Sufficiency’ is a slight adaptation of Zwicky’s *obligatoriness* criterion. Strictly speaking, there is no one element that is obligatorily present in every Yine NP, not even the noun (cf. §6.4 below). A more useful question is whether a given noun is *sufficient*; that is, can a well-formed NP consist only of that noun? This better captures a crucial difference between alienable and inalienable nouns: the former are ‘sufficient’; the latter are not.

An alienable noun root can, alone, constitute a well-formed NP as illustrated in (336).

- (336) wane hima rica fikene
wane hima r-hica [**fikene**]_{NP:NVS}
there/thus QUOT 3SGM-be/do [**toucan**]
‘This is what the toucan did, reportedly.’ (Tuc3)

An inalienable noun root, on the other hand, is not sufficient: it cannot occur in an NP without its possessor:

- (337) a. sati pantʃi moletatkalina kolha sahi
sati pan-tʃi moleta-tka-li-na
SPEC+MASC house-UNPSSD group-PFV-3SGM-3PL
[**kolha sahi**]_{NP:O}
[**rubber ball.of**]
‘They gathered the balls of rubber into a house’ (137)
b. *sati pantʃi moletatkalina [sahi]

6.3.2 Determinant of reference

It is a property of NP heads that they determine the reference of the phrase as a whole. We encountered this criterion earlier, in §6.2.2.1, where we applied it in order to distinguish *sico* as a classifying modifier (in (307)) from *sico* as the NP head (in (300)). In terms of determining reference, alienable and inalienable nouns essentially behave

the same way: both control the reference of the phrase containing them, and therefore both qualify as heads:

- (338) renekanro riri sawlite
 r-heneka-na-lo [r-hiri **sawli-te**]_{NP:E}
 3-give-CMPV-3SGF [3-father.of **machete**-PSSD]
 ‘He gave her his father’s machete.’

- (339) sana spita rimkiya çema
 [sana **spita**]_{NP:O} r-himka-ya çema
 [swidden **lip.of**] 3-sleep-APPL tapir
 ‘The tapir was sleeping on the edge of the swidden.’ (Shj4)

6.3.3 Agreement

Within the NP, demonstratives, modifiers, and certain quantifiers (see §3) mark gender and (in some cases) number agreement with the head noun. If the NP is a core argument, the head is also indexed on the predicate (under the right distributional conditions: see §3.2.2).³

Alienable nouns always control agreement in the NP:

- (340) a. tye sotli
 tye sotli
 PROX.SGM rock
 ‘this rock’
 b. *twi sotli
 twi sotli
 PROX.SGF rock

³It is always the same element that triggers agreement within the NP and is indexed on the predicate in Yine; the two domains never disagree.

- (341) a. sato kanawa
 sato kanawa
 SPEC+FEM canoe
 ‘a certain canoe’
- b. *sati kanawa
 sati kanawa
 SPEC+MASC canoe

Agreement patterns with inalienable nouns were treated in detail in Chapter 5, where it was shown how the ability of an inalienable root (rather than its possessor) to corefer with pronominal indexing varies depending on its semantic type: kinship terms and owned objects always do, parts of wholes (including body parts) optionally do, and classificatory nouns never do; and where the inalienable root does not control agreement, it is its possessor that does.

Here again, then, we find that while alienable nouns fully qualify as heads, only some inalienable nouns do; the rest either share the property with their possessors (as with part nouns) or hand it over to them completely (classificatory nouns).

6.3.4 Summary

Taken together, the above criteria indicate a continuum of headship among Yine nouns, summarized in Table 6.3. Alienable nouns fully qualify as heads, satisfying all three criteria. Inalienable nouns on the whole fail to satisfy the sufficiency criterion, and are divided with respect to the rest: kinship terms and inalienably possessed objects control both reference and agreement; part nouns control reference but either they or their possessor may control agreement; and classificatory nouns control reference but their possessor controls agreement.

Criterion	Alienable	Inalienable			
		kinship	object	part	classificatory
sufficiency	Y	N	N	N	N
control of reference	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
control of agreement	Y	Y	Y	sometimes	N

Table 6.3: Headship properties of nouns

6.4 NPs with no noun

NPs with no overt noun are very common in Yine discourse. Any of the constituents⁴ in Table 6.1 above can potentially be the sole overt element in a given NP, though the article *wa* can do so only under certain conditions as described below (see §3 for further discussion). Representative examples of nounless NPs are provided in (342)-(346).

- (342) **wa** nikanro wa pitsoti [REF]_{NP}
 [**wa**]_{NP:O} Ø-nika-na-lo [wa pitsoti]_{NP:VS}
 [**REF**] 3-eat-CMPV-3SGF [REF electric.eel]
 ‘This (*lit.* the) the electric eel eats.’ (Pts74)
- (343) tye wyofmakamtanitka [DEM]_{NP}
 [**tye**]_{NP:O} w-yofmaka-m-ta-ni-tka
 [**PROX.SGM**] 1SG-wear-NONDUR-VCL-ANTIC-PFV
 ‘Now we’ll wear this for a while.’ (Gav53)
- (344) hi wa hima hico rawapatka [QUANT]_{NP}
 hi wa hima [**hico**]_{NP:O} r-hwapa-tka
 NEG REF QUOT [**much**] 3-bring-PFV
 ‘He didn’t bring (back) much, reportedly.’ (Tra32)
- (345) hepi hima hinatka [NUM]_{NP}
 [**hepi**]_{NP:VS} hima hina-tka
 [**two**] QUOT come-PFV
 ‘Two came, reportedly.’ (Dil20)

⁴Or any valid combination of these constituents.

- (346) *posiri neta* [ADJ]_{NP}
 [**posi-li**]_{NP:O} n-heta
 [**rotten-3SGM**] 1SG-see
 ‘I see (a) rotten (thing).’ (B100)

6.4.1 Article-only NPs

As described in §3.1, the referential article *wa* can be anaphoric, capable of maintaining the pragmatically active status of a participant in the event. The NP in (342) above, for instance, appears in the following context:

- (347) *wane rica hiylaletlo wa jima. wa nikanro wa pitsoti*
 [*wane* r-hica hiyla-le-ta-lo [*wa jima_i*]_{NP:O}]_{CL}
 [there/thus 3-be/do kill-SUBD-VCL3SGF [REF fish]]
 [[**wa_i**]_{NP:O} Ø-nika-na-lo_i [*wa pitsoti*]_{NP:VS}]_{CL}
 [[REF] 3-eat-CMPV-3SGM [REF electric.eel]]
 ‘Thus it kills the fish. This the electric eel eats.’ (Pts74)

Without the appropriate context, NPs consisting only of *wa* are ungrammatical. This restriction is not found with any other NP constituents.

6.4.2 Elided noun or nominalized head?

With NPs that have no overt lexical nominal, the question arises whether they are headed by an unrealized, elided noun, or whether one of the overt NP constituents is nominalized and functions as the head. This question is particularly relevant here because of the nominalizing properties of gender and number agreement (cf. §7.1). Where the sole member of an NP is an element that does not encode number or gender (e.g. the article or the quantifier *hico* ‘much’), the NP in question must be headed by an elided noun, but where it is a quantifier, demonstrative or modifier that does bear gender/number morphology (e.g. the article *sati* ‘SPEC+MASC’ or the quantifier *peçni* ‘every’), the analysis is not so straightforward. These could either involve an elided noun or a functional NP head. Here, I adopt the latter analysis because it is

simpler. Given the high frequency of NPs consisting only of a gender/number marked constituent, and given that gender/number morphology is productively nominalizing, positing a null head for each such NP introduces a level of complexity that is not independently required. Furthermore, it fails to capture the prominence that nominalization plays in the grammar of Yine.

6.5 Discontinuous NPs

It is not unusual to encounter examples like (348) in Yine discourse, where what is apparently a single NP is split over two clausal positions. Note that the examples presented here consist of a single intonation phrase.

- (348) *mapa nkamrita kafri*
 [**mapa**] n-kamrita [**kafri**]
 [**three**] 1SG-make [**arrow**]
 ‘I make three arrows. (b97)

The example in (349) is another potential candidate for a split NP.

- (349) *satopçe hima hicetatka sico*
 [**sato-pçe**] hima hiceta-tka
 [**SPEC+FEM-RESTR**] QUOT remain-PFV
 [**sico**]
 [**woman**]
 ‘Only one woman remained, reportedly.’ (TsN55)

However, because of two facts about the language it is not entirely clear that examples like these are true discontinuous NPs. First, it is very common for two or more juxtaposed NPs to co-occur within a clause, all coreferential and expressing elaborations or afterthoughts. And second, as we saw in the previous section, nearly all NP constituents can appear in the NP without an overt head. This leaves us with two possible analyses of (348): (350a), a discontinuous NP; or (350b), two juxtaposed NPs with the predicate intervening between them.

- (350) a. [*mapa*]_{NP,O} *nkamrita* [*kaʃri*]_{NP,O}
i.e. ‘three I made arrows’
- b. [*mapa* ∅]_{NP,O} *nkamrita* [*kaʃri*]_{NP,(O)}
i.e. ‘three (things) I made, arrows’

It is quite possible that both of these structures are available options, and I am uncertain how to distinguish between them (if it is even necessary to do so). For the moment, the question of whether true discontinuous NPs are attested in Yine remains an open one.⁵

6.6 Possessive NPs

When a noun is possessed, the possessor can be expressed either via a pronominal prefix or by an independent noun phrase.

- (351) *sawli* ‘machete’
 n-*sawli-te* ‘my machete’
 hita *sawli-te* ‘my machete’
 pimri-*ne sawli-te* [other-PL machete-PSSD] ‘others’ machete

- (352) *meçi* ‘feather of’
 t-*meçi* ‘her feather’
 paktʃa *meçi* ‘hawk’s feather’

The morphology of possession is treated in Chapter 5; here, I will focus on NPs with an independent possessor in order to better illustrate the structure of possessive NPs. This discussion applies to both alienable and inalienable nouns.

Word order in the possessive NP is fixed, with the possessor preceding the possessed noun (353).

⁵In LaPolla and Poa (2008), similar constructions in Chinese are analysed as NPs that have been split for pragmatic reasons, where one part of the NP is in focus and therefore precedes the verb while the other part is topical and follows the verb. A pragmatics-driven analysis like this – which favours the structure in (350b) – is worth pursuing for Yine in light of the evidence that relative prominence is central to the ordering of elements both in the NP and the clause.

- (353) a. wala motorote
 wala motoro-te
 3SGF motorised.boat-PSSD
 ‘her motorised canoe’
 b. *motorote wala

The two elements are also strictly adjacent:

- (354) a. *pica tsri motorote
 pica tsri motoro-te
 2SG big+MASC motorised.boat-PSSD
 (*intended*: your big motorized canoe)
 b. pica motorote tsri; tsri pica motorote ‘your big motorized canoe’

In fact, possessive NPs rarely consist of more than the possessor and possessum, especially when the possessor is an independent word. When there is another constituent, it is usually just the article, as in (355):

- (355) wa wanna hahminate
 wa wanna hahmina-te
 REF 3PL tree-PSSD
 ‘their tree’; ‘the tree of theirs’ (g52)

Constructions like (356), with a numeral and independent possessor, are somewhat marginal,⁶ and are strongly dispreferred to paraphrases, like those in (356b) and (356c), that either code the possessor morphologically or distribute the possessor and other constituents over more than one NP. The extent to which this observation can be generalized to NP constituents other than numerals remains to be determined.

- (356) a. ?mapa hita sawlite nenekyi
mapa hita sawli-te n-heneka-yi
three 1SG machete-PSSD 1SG-give-2SG
 ‘I give/gave you my three machetes’ (g53)

⁶The marginality is intensified to unacceptability if the order of the numeral and pronoun are reversed such that the numeral intervenes between the possessor and possessum. This indicates that the misordering the two elements is not the source of the marginality in (356).

- b. mapa nsawlite nenekyi
mapa n-sawli-te n-heneka-yi
three 1SGPSSR-machete-PSSD 1SG-give-2SG
 ‘I give/gave you my three machetes’ (g53)
- c. mapli hita sawlite. wa nenekyi.
 [**mapa**-li **hita** sawli-te]_{CL} [wa n-heneka-yi]_{CL}
 [**three**-3SGM **1SG** machete-PSSD] [REF 1SG-give-2SG]
 ‘My machetes are three. I give/gave you them’

6.7 Noun Phrase Suffixes

There are a few bound morphemes that are attested only on NP constituents in my corpus, and, within that domain, may occur on more than one word class. The purpose of this section is to describe and exemplify these morphemes.

6.7.1 *-kaka* ‘distributive’

The suffix *-kaka* is employed to express distributivity over space (e.g. (357)), kind (e.g. (358)), or individuated units of a substance (e.g. (359)).

- (357) tiknokhahimatanatkali wa çiwrisahkakni
 t-hiknokha-hima-ta-na-tka-li
 3SGF-throw.out-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3SGM
 wa çiwrisahi-**kaka**-ni
 REF ball.of.yarn-**DISTR**-AFFCT
 ‘She threw out the balls of yarn (and they were scattered).’ (Tra169)
- (358) kli meçkaka panika sosi?
 kli meçi-**kaka** p-hanika sosi
 what+SGM feather.of-**DISTR** 2-carry brother-in-law
 ‘What (kinds of) feathers did you bring, brother-in-law?’ (PkN77)

- (359) rikfikhimatlina wa kolhakaka
 r-hikfika-hima-ta-li-na wa kolha-**kaka**
 3-find-QUOT-VCL-3SGM-3PL REF rubber-**DISTR**
 ‘They discovered the (various units of) rubber.’
 (... and formed them into spheres) (Mshk22)

Though they do not co-occur very frequently, the plural number and distributive suffixes are not mutually exclusive on NP heads. This is consistent with Corbett’s (2000:115) claim that distributivity is not a number distinction, but only implies plurality by its nature.

- (360) mtirinkakhima kafitfna
 mtiri-**ne-kaka**-hima Ø-kafitfa-na
 small+MASC-**PL-DISTR**-QUOT 3-grab-3PL
 ‘They grabbed each of the boys, reportedly.’ (Mshk117)

The distributive suffix is attested on nouns (e.g. *hapha* in (361)), adjectives (e.g. *tsro* in (362)), and quantifiers (e.g. *sato* in (363)). Its position reflects its intended scope.

- (361) tsri haphakaka kospakyalina kolha
 tsri **hapha-kaka** Ø-kospaka-ya-li-na kolha
 big+MASC **river.camp-DISTR** 3-extract-APPL-3SGM-3PL rubber
 ‘They extracted rubber along each [big river].’ (Mshk8)

- (362) **tsrokaka** jima rawapçenatnina
tsro-kaka jima r-hwapa-çe-na-ta-ni-na
big+FEM-DISTR fish 3-bring-FREQ-DUR-VCL-AFFCT-3PL
 ‘They brought (all sorts of) fish, each (of them) big.’ (BfM28)

- (363) satkaka hitanitkali koya masiya
sato-kaka hita-ni-tka-li koya masi-ya
SPEC+FEM-DISTR put-ANTIC-PFV-3SGM manioc.beer gourd.bowl-OBL
 ‘Each one (of the women) would put manioc beer in (the) gourd bowls(s).’
 (Hit8)

6.7.2 Oblique role markers

There are three mutually exclusive nominal suffixes that are obligatorily employed on oblique arguments in the clause: *-yma* ‘comitative, instrumental,’ *-yehi* ‘in the vicinity of’, and the multifunctional *-ya* ‘oblique’, which expresses a range of roles including location, means, source, goal, and reason.

-yma. The suffix *yma* expresses a comitative (364)-(365) or instrumental (366) role.

(364) hitayma pyanitka
hita-**yma** p-ya-ni-tka
1SG-COM 2SG-go-ANTIC-PFV
‘Go with me now.’ (Fst52)

(365) tiwiyma niwlatli
tiwi-**yma** n-hiwlata-li
salt-COM 1SG-cook-3SGM
‘I cook it with salt.’ (g88)

(366) rinkatkalona kafriyma
r-hinka-tka-lo-na kafri-**yma**
3-shoot-PFV-3SGF-3PL arrow-COM
‘They shot it with an arrow.’ (Mch5)

-yehi. The suffix *-yehi* marks a participant in whose immediate vicinity the situation takes place. It usually has a spatial sense (367)-(368), but can also be used with a temporal sense, as in (369).

(367) rinroyehi rinatka
r-hinro-**yehi** r-hina-tka
3-mother.of-VICIN 3-come-PFV
‘He came to where his mother was.’ (i.e. to her house) (Trt15)

(368) kosinhima tçihlokapa tnikanriyehi
 kosina hima t-çihloka-pa t-nikanri-**yehi**
 kitchen QUOT 3SGF-enter-ELV 3SGF-food-**VICIN**
 ‘She went and entered the kitchen where her food was.’ (Tso45)

(369) yokhipi ksiryehi ticinitka
 yokhipi ksiri-**yehi** t-hica-ini-tka
 eight month-**VICIN** 3SGF-be/do-TEMP-PFV
 ‘when it had been around eight months’ (Tso17)

-ya. The suffix *-ya* marks a peripheral clause participant with a range of roles. Instrument (370) and location (371) are the most common, but source (372) and reason (373) are also attested. I have not encountered it with a benefactive or malefactive sense.

(370) a. siwa kowinanimta hinamaya
 siwa kowi-nani-m-ta hi-nama-**ya**
 anteater trumpet-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL 3SGMPSSR-mouth.of-**OBL**
 ‘The anteater trumpeted from time to time with its mouth.’ (Oso10)

b. wyotfpikanri katayhaleroya
 w-yotfpika-na-li katayhalero-**ya**
 1PL-light.up-CMPV-3SGM flashlight-**OBL**
 ‘We lit it up with a flashlight.’ (Oso10)

(371) hofayako
 hofa-**ya**-ko
 forest-**OBL**-EMPH
 ‘right in the forest’ (Hmn75)

(372) çrali hiçpaka tomyoya
 çrali hiçpaka to-my^o-**ya**
 blood exit 3SGFPSSR-hand.of-**OBL**
 ‘Blood was coming out of her hand’ (Jag19)

- (373) reyikanrona wa tƒayneya
 r-heyika-na-lo-na wa t-ƒayne-ya
 3-hate-CMPV-3SGF-3PL REF 3SGF-scabies-OBL
 ‘They hated her because of her scabies.’ (Kch5)

While the oblique suffixes resemble postpositions in their function and semantics, there are two sources of evidence that an oblique-marked noun heads a noun phrase not a postpositional phrase: coordination and negation.

The example in (374) illustrates that an oblique-marked phrase can be conjoined to a non-oblique noun phrase using the coordinating conjunction *hawa*. Since coordination combines syntactically equivalent constituents, the oblique noun must likewise head a noun phrase.

- (374) wane yoptikapiranata wa sati makliçi hawa knoçriyma
 wane Ø-yoptika-pirana-ta [[wa sati makliçi]_{NP}
 there/thus 3-finish-story.of-VCL [[REF SPEC+MASC youth+MASC]
 hawa [knoçriyma]_{NP}]_{NP:VS}
 and [sparrowhawk-COM]]
 ‘Thus finishes the story of a certain young man and (with) the sparrowhawk.’
 (Gvs27)

§12.1 describes how focusing negation on a nominal constituent requires the collocation of the negative particle *hi* with the article *wa*. This same construction is employed with oblique-marked phrases, suggesting they also are nominal:

- (375) hi wa kanawayma risirnatkana sino wa hahminayma
hi wa kanawa-yma r-hisirna-tka-na
 NEG REF canoe-COM 3-go.upstreamtk-3PL
 sino **wa hahmina-yma**
 rather(Sp.) REF tree-COM
 ‘They didn’t go upriver in a canoe, but rather on a raft.’ (Unc58)

The oblique suffixes all have a common function, are mutually exclusive, and appear in the same position in the NP, but morphologically they are a somewhat heterogeneous group. The ‘vicinity’ marker has morphological properties in common with

the adverbial particles (see §3.8), most notably that it can be incorporated into the verb stem (see §8.2.2). The other oblique suffixes cannot do this. The general oblique suffix has obvious formal and functional similarities to the applicative suffix, also *-ya*, which is discussed in §8.2.5. They are treated as distinct, homophonous suffixes here because their semantics are not identical: for example, the applicative *-ya* is frequently used to promote a benefactive or malefactive participant into the predicate core, but such roles are not expressed via the oblique *-ya*. Additionally, the applicative *-ya* may cooccur in a clause with an oblique-marked NP (as was the case in (375) above), but the oblique *-ya* cannot. Finally, the oblique marker does not trigger boundary vowel deletion (see §2.3.1), but the applicative suffix does.

The oblique markers are phrasal suffixes. They usually appear on the noun, but examples like (376)-(377) illustrate that they attach to the final constituent of the NP: an adjective in (376), and the last member of a conjoined NP in (377).

- (376) masi mtiroya
 [masi_N mtiro_{ADJ}-**ya**]_{NP}
 [gourd.bowl small+FEM-**APPL**]
 ‘in a small gourd bowl’ (Grl38)

- (377) rapokatka rinro riri hawa himolenyehi
 r-hapoka-tka [[r-hinro]_N [r-hiri]_N
 3-arrive-PFV [[3-mother.of] [3-father.of]
 hawa [hi-mole-ne]_N -**yehi**]_{NP:OBL}
 and [3SGMPSSR-kin.of-PL]-**VICIN**]
 ‘He arrived where his mother, father, and kinspeople were.’ (Grilla.027n)

6.7.3 *-pçe* ‘restrictive’

The phrasal suffix *-pçe* restricts the sense of its host to only and exactly what is explicitly said. It typically appears on a quantifier (378) or quantified noun (379), but can serve to restrict the sense of non-quantified nouns as well (380)-(381).

- (378) hepiṗçe hisirnatka
 hepi-**ṗçe** hisirna-tka
 two-**RESTR** go.upstream-PFV
 ‘Just two went upstream.’ (Unc38)
- (379) pa kafrepçehimli wa çiciya
 pa kafri-e-**ṗçe**-hima-li wa çiciya
 NONSPEC arrow-PSSD-**RESTR**-QUOT-3SGM REF NAME
 ‘Çiciya was with (i.e. had) only one arrow.’ (Kme68)
- (380) taḵkalewatini kfanapçe kihleylo
 t-haḵka-lewa-ta-ini kfana-**ṗçe** kihle-ya-lo
 3SGF-bite-CHAR-VCL-TEMP herb-**RESTR** good-APPL-3SGF
 ‘When it bites, only herbs are good for it.’ (Jix2)
- (381) walepçe ninkakleta
 wale-**ṗçe** n-hinkakleta
 3SGM-**RESTR** 1SG-relate
 ‘That is all I (will) relate.’ (Het22)

6.7.4 -*mni* ‘in series’

The gloss of the suffix *-mni*, ‘in series’ is a very tentative one pending a better understanding of its semantics. In my corpus, this suffix is found exclusively in the NP, usually on quantifiers or quantified nouns, or on the noun *pni* ‘other/far place’. It is also attested on at least one adjective (*kihle-* ‘good’) and the noun *yine* ‘people’.⁷

The examples in (382)-(386) provide a representative sample of *-mni* in my corpus. A typical translation of this suffix was ‘all kinds of’ (*todos tipos de*) or ‘one after the other’. On an adjective or noun, as for example in (386)-(387), *-mni* seems to identify a particular instantiation of an abstract quality or category.

⁷I have not encountered *-mni* on verbs, but its translation in the *Diccionario Piro*, ‘gradual and transitory action, or objects passing in series’, suggests that this may be a gap in my data rather than a fact about its distribution.

On a quantifier:

- (382) satimni koca reneknona çipali reneknona hawa makna
sati-**mni** koca r-heneka-no-na
SPEC+MASC-**SER** ADD 3-give-1PL-3PL
çipali r-heneka-no-na hawa makna
sweet.potato 3-give-1PL-3PL and yam
‘They gave us all sorts of things; sweet potatoes they gave us, and yams.’
(Hws20)

- (383) satimninanika hitakli hima ritaknina
sati-**mni** nani-ka hitakli hima
SPEC+MASC-**SER** EXTNS-ASSRTcrop QUOT
r-hitaka-ni-na
3-put-AFFCT-3PL
‘They planted all types of crops, reportedly.’ (Yam26)

On *pni*:

- (384) pnimni yatkana
pni-**mni** Ø-ya-tka-na
OTHER-**SER** 3-go-PFV-3PL
‘They went in all directions.’ (Kno76)
- (385) pnimninanika hicaʈfro jima
pni-**mni** nani-ka hica-ʈfro jima
OTHER-**SER** EXTNS-ASSRT be/do-SUBJ.NOM+FSG fish
‘fish of all kinds’ (fish being all kinds) (BfM25)

Example (386), with *-mni* on an adjectival predicate, was a reply I might be given if I successfully produced a well-formed Yine word or sentence:

- (386) kihlemnini
kisle-**mni**-ni
good-**SER**-IMP.DECL
‘It’s good; it’s well-formed.’

The example in (387) comes from a story about a curassow that became human and then returned to her original form – at which point, she wasn't a human (kind/sort/entity) anymore.

- (387) hi wa yinerimnīnatkani
hi wa yine-li-**mni**-na-tka-ni
NEG REF people-SGM-**SER**-CMPV-PFV-IMP.DECL
'She was not a human at all (anymore).' (Hiy20)

7 Nominalization

This chapter presents nominalization in Yine. Nominalizations are defined here as derived forms that can head an NP, as diagnosed minimally by their ability to act as a core argument of a predicate, take the article *wa* and/or a demonstrative, and head a nominal predicate. Other nominal properties, such as coding of gender, ability to take a nominal plural suffix or possessive morphology, or to be modified with an adjective, are present in some nominalizations but not others. They are noted individually below wherever my data permits it. With deverbal nouns, the degree to which verbal properties are retained is also discussed, including the retention of verbal argument structure and taking adverbial modification.

Several of the derived forms described below superficially resemble adjectives more than they do nouns, especially those which morphologically express the gender and number of their referents. However, one diagnostic that clearly distinguishes nominal from adjectival stems is subject marking in the nonverbal predicate. As described in §9.1.2.2, 3rd person subjects are indexed on nominal predicates with the impersonal suffixes *-ni* and *-la*, but on adjectival predicates with the personal suffixes *-li*, *-lo* and *-na*. All of the suffixes described here derive stems that head a nominal, not adjectival, predicate according to this criterion.

Where a nominalizing suffix encodes the gender and number of its referent, for the sake of convenience I will use the masculine singular form as citation form.

7.1 *-li* ‘product, object’

The suffixes that mark gender and number agreement on adjectives, i.e. *-li* ‘SGM’, *-lo* ‘SGF’, *-ne* ‘PL’,¹ also serve to derive a noun from an adjective or verb. On adjectival bases, their privative counterparts *-ti* (masc), *-to* (fem) also nominalize. The derived noun corresponds to the product of the action denoted in a verbal stem, as in (388) and (389), or to an entity described by the attribute denoted in an adjectival stem, as in (390). When combined with the anticipatory suffix *-ni*, *-li* nominalizes a predicate and the derived nominal corresponds to the object of the original predicate; see for example (391) and (393) below.

- (388) a. hamanita ‘be tired’
hamanri ‘fatigue’
- b. yayica ‘be ill’
yayicli ‘illness’
- c. hamha ‘disappear, be late’
hamhali ‘loss, delay’
- d. halna ‘fly’
halnali ‘flight’

- (389) a. halica ‘believe’
halicli ‘belief’
- b. halika ‘want, desire’
halikli ‘need, greeting’
- c. çirha ‘to harvest (tr.)’
çirhali ‘(a) harvest, crop’

- (390) a. kata- ‘luminous’
katalo ‘light, a lamp’
- b. sero- ‘red’
serolo ‘something (fem) red; a ripe plantain’
- c. posi- ‘rotten’
posiri ‘something (masc.) rotten’

¹Plus their phonologically conditioned allmorphs: *-ri* (SGM), *-ro* (SGF); see §2.3.4.

- d. mtseri- ‘narrow’
 mtseriti ‘someone/thing (masc.) thin’

Object nominalizations are obligatorily marked with the anticipatory suffix *-ni*, and thus are often superficially indistinguishable from a verbal predicate. Compare the nominalization in (391a) with the verbal predicate in (391b).

- (391) a. wnikanri
 w-nika-**ni-li**
 1PL-eat-ANTIC-SGM
 ‘our food’
- b. wnikanri
 w-nika-**ni-li**
 1PL-eat-ANTIC-**3SGM**
 ‘we will eat it’

They differ, however, in that clause-level mood/aspect morphology appears after the nominalizing suffix on the derivation, but before the object indexing suffix on the predicate, as illustrated with *-tka* ‘-PFV’ in (392a) vs. (392b).

- (392) a. wnikanritka
 w-nika-ni-li-**tka**
 1PL-eat-ANTIC-SGM-**PFV**
 ‘our food (now)’
- b. wnikanitkali
 w-nika-ni-**tka-li**
 1PL-eat-ANTIC-**PFV**-3SGM
 ‘we will eat it now’

Also unlike verbal predicates, *-li* nominalizations can be pluralized with the nominal plural suffix *-ne* as in (393) and (394) and function as arguments of the predicate (394), (395).

- (393) rinkaçetaninenatka
 wa r-hinka-çe-ta-ni-**ne**-na-tka
 REF 3-shoot-FREQ-VCL-ANTIC-**PL**-CMPV-PFV
 ‘the ones they had kept shooting’ (Mshk67)

- (394) rethimamtkanna posirinenatka
 [r-heta-hima-m-ta-ka-na-na]_{PRED}
 [3-see-QUOT-NONDUR-VCL-PASS-CMPV-3PL]
 [posiri-**ne**-na-tka]_{NP:VS}
 [rotten-**PL**-CMPV-PFV]
 ‘The ones who were rotten (decayed) were seen.’ (Mshk83)

- (395) waneywi wnikanri wa hawapanritka
 [wane-ya-wi]_{PRED} [**w-nika-ni-li**]_{NP:E}
 [there/thus-APPL-1PL] [**1PL-eat-ANTIC-SGM**]
 [**wa hawapa-ni-li-tka**]_{NP(E)}
 [**REF bring-ANTIC-SGM-PFV**]
 ‘we have (*lit.* there is to us) our food, that which was brought.’ (Bfm67)

Product nominalizations may be possessed, in which case they take the *-e* allomorph of the possessed suffix.

- (396) nyayicle ‘my illness’
 namanre ‘my fatigue’
 nalikle ‘my esteem (for someone/thing)’

Object nominalizations, however, retain the transitivity of the source verb. The underlying subject is indexed with a pronominal prefix, and the nominalization itself corresponds to the underlying object.

- (397) nhaniritanri
 n-hnirita-ni-li
 1SG-take.as.husband-ANTIC-SGM
 ‘my husband’

- (398) nikanrina
 Ø-nika-ni-li-na
 3-eat-ANTIC-SGM-3PL
 ‘their food’ (Bfm40)

A *-li* nominalization heads a nominal predicate, as illustrated in (399), where the impersonal declarative suffix *-ni* indexes the subject in 3rd person (399b).²

- (399) a. pʃinanrono ...
 p-tʃina-ni-lo-no
 2SG-say-ANTIC-SGF-1SG
 ‘I am her you said ... to.’ (Wap11)
- b. nnikanronapmakni
 n-nika-ni-lo-na-pa-maka-ni
 1SG-eat-ANTIC-SGF-CMPV-ELV-FRUST-IMP.DECL
 ‘She is one I would go eat (if I could).’ (Tra127)

7.2 *-tʃri* ‘subject’

The suffix *-tʃri* is only deverbal and does not nominalize adjectives, adverbs, or other nouns. It derives a noun whose referent corresponds to the grammatical subject of the original verb. These subject nominalizations formally distinguish gender and number: *-tʃri* ‘masculine singular’, *-tʃro* ‘feminine singular’, *-tʃine* ‘plural’. They cannot take a pronominal prefix nor be possessed, and often function as modifiers in the NP. These properties make *-tʃri* nominalizations very similar to adjectives; however, they pattern as nouns, not adjectives, when they head a predicate.

Digression: Before going on to the description of the subject nominalizer, a note on its form is in order. It bears an obvious resemblance to certain allomorphs of the agreement/product nominalizing suffixes, and there are regular morphophonological rules in the language that can predict their surface forms from an underlying *tʃV-li* concatenation. For reasons of space, I will not provide the details here, but see §2.3 regarding the morphophonological processes active in the language. An important detail, however, is that the V in question must be *i*, so the putative bimorphemic action nominalizer would be *tʃi-li*. The primary reason I have not analysed it this way here

²The closest way to render these nominalizations in English is with a relative clause or cleft, but it is important to note that such a translation does not accurately reflect the Yine construction.

is that to date I lack independent evidence of an appropriate *-tʃi* morpheme. There are two suffixes with this form: the attenuative suffix used to mark politeness (cf. §12.5.4) and the suffix marking unpossessed status on inalienable nouns (cf. §5.2.2.1), but neither of them is an obvious candidate for the subject nominalizer. Analysing *-tʃri* as bimorphemic, then, would essentially amount to inventing a new morpheme solely for the purpose of having a tidy story for the similarity between the action nominalizer and the gender/number agreement / nominalizing suffix *-li*. To avoid doing that, I treat *tʃri* as monomorphemic. I do so tentatively, however, and the question of whether *tʃri* is synchronically complex remains open.³

Now to return to the discussion at hand. Simple examples of *-tʃri* nominalizations are provided in (400)-(402). As these examples illustrate, *-tʃri* nominalizations are not necessarily agentive but always correspond to the grammatical subject of the source verb.

- (400) *hamlita* ‘smell’
 hamlitatʃri ‘one (masc.) who smells, catches scent’
 hamlitatʃro ‘one (fem.) who smells, catches scent’
 hamlitatʃine ‘ones who smell, catch scent’

- (401) *yayica* ‘be ill’
 yayicatʃri ‘one (masc.) who is ill’
 yayicatʃro ‘one (fem.) who is ill’
 yayicatʃine ‘ones who are ill’

- (402) *kamrita* ‘do, make’
 kamritatʃri ‘one (masc.) who is doing, making’
 kamritatʃro ‘one (fem.) who is doing, making’
 kamritatʃine ‘ones who are doing, making’

³As will become apparent throughout this chapter, *-tʃri* is not the only nominalizer that invites a compositional analysis. Others are *-çeri* (cf. *-çe* ‘-FREQ’); *-liri*, and *-inri* (cf. *-ini* ‘-TEMP’). I treat all of these as monomorphemic as well, partly to keep the analysis consistent across all suffixes in question, and partly because their semantics are not always transparent; but the analysis is tentative for them as well.

The examples in (403)-(404) illustrate that *-tfri* nominalizations can head NPs, taking a demonstrative (403) or article (404), and may function as a verbal argument.

- (403) wane tñiyahhimanatatka wala piratañfro
 wane t-ñiyaha-hima-na-ta-tka
 there/thus 3SGF-cry-QUOT-DUR-VCL-PFV
 [wala **pirata-ñfro**]_{NP:VS}
 [3SGF **raise.domestic.animal-SUBJ.NOM+FSG**]
 ‘The one who was raising animals was crying.’ (MyI93)

- (404) rinkaklewhimatatnakna wa kolha kamriçenatañfine
 [r-hinkaklewa-hima-ta-tnaka-na]_{PRED}
 [3-make.announcement-QUOT-VCL-REIT-3PL]
 [wa kolha **kamri-çe-na-ta-ñfine**]_{NP:VS}
 [REF rubber **make-FREQ-DUR-VCL-SUBJ.NOM+PL**]
 ‘The rubber workers made another announcement, reportedly.’ (Mshk29)

Subject nominalizations retain the argument structure of the corresponding verb. The nominalization itself corresponds to the subject; the corresponding O and/or E argument appears in one of the modifier positions (i.e. immediately before or after the nominalization, cf. §6.1).

As (405) illustrates, the nominalizer attaches to the verb stem (rather than the root), which may have its own internal morphology. In this case, the verb *powrata* ‘to clean’ is causativized first and then nominalized.

- (405) pokñfi koca powratçicatñfri
 pokñfi koca powrata-çica-ñfri
 village ADD clean-MAND-SUBJ.NOM+MSG
 ‘He was also one who ordered clean the village.’ (BfM61)

Example (411) below illustrates an adverbial modifier (*teno* ‘high, deep’) of the nominalization *hwatñfro* ‘one (fem) who is, does.’ Another is provided in (406), where the locational noun *hitokha* ‘underwater’ modifies *yapatñfro* ‘one (fem) who travels.’

- (406) hitokha yapaɸfro
 hitoko-ha yapa-ɸfro
 inside-liquid.of travel-SUBJ.NOM+FSG
 ‘one who travels underwater.’ (Yam167)

In (407), the manner adverb *haçeryako* ‘recently’ modifies the subject nominalization *hiɸpakatfine*.

- (407) wa haçeryako hiɸpakatfine
 wa haçerya-ko hiɸpaka-ɸfine
 REF recently-EMPH leave-SUBJ.NOM+PL
 ‘those who had just recently left’ (Hws17)

In (408), the noun *koya* is the notional direct object of the *-ɸfri* nominalization; similarly with *konaçi* in (409).

- (408) koya kamritatfine
 koya kamrita-ɸfine
 masato make-SUBJ.NOM+PL
 ‘those who are making masato’ (Fst50)

- (409) konaçi nikanataɸfro
 kona-çi nika-na-ta-ɸfro
 huicungo.palm-fruit.of eat-DUR-VCL-SUBJ.NOM+FSG
 ‘one (fem) who is eating *huicungo* fruit’ (Caz10)

The examples in (410)-(411) illustrate that a subject nominalization can head a nominal predicate. (411) also illustrates that a 3rd person subject is indexed with an impersonal suffix (411).

- (410) hitakatkani wa ɸikalwanataɸfrino
 [hita-ka-tka-**ni**]_{PRED}
 [1SG-ASSRT-PFV-**IMP.DECL**]
 [wa ɸikalwa-na-ta-ɸfri-**no**]_{PRED}
 [REF sing-DUR-VCL-SUBJ.NOM+MSG-**1SG**]
 ‘I am the one who was singing.’ (Jag10)

- (411) *teno hwaɬfroni wala hetinero*
 [*teno hwa-ɬfro-ni*] *wala hetinero*
 [high be(loc)-SUBJ.NOM+FSG-IMP.DECL] 3SGF tree.frog.woman
 ‘That tree frog woman is one who lives up high.’ (Hetn120)

Subject nominalizations are frequently used to modify other nouns; in this way they often function as subject relativization strategies (see §6.2.2.2 for examples and discussion).

7.3 *-çeri* ‘agent’

The suffix *-çeri* derives a noun corresponding to the agent of the corresponding verb. While *-ɬfri* expresses a grammatical role, *-çeri* expresses a semantic one: a *-çeri* nominal is always agentive and only attaches to transitive verbs. Some examples of agentive nominalizations are provided in (412)-(414) below. These nominalizations distinguish the gender or number of the referent through the form of the suffix.⁴

- (412) *kaspika* ‘let go of’
kaspikçeri ‘releaser (masc)’
kaspikçero ‘releaser (fem)’
kaspikçene ‘releasers’
- (413) *kampika* ‘hold (someone) in one’s arms’
kampikçeri ‘godfather’
kampikçero ‘godmother’
kampikçene ‘godparents’
- (414) *hanika* ‘carry (tr.)’
hanikçeri ‘one (masc.) who carries (someone) off’
hanikçero ‘one (fem.) who carries (someone) off’
hanikçene ‘ones who carry (someone) off’

⁴As with *-ɬfri*, the form of the agent nominalizer is suggestive of a compositional origin. In this case, the internal aspect suffix *çe* ‘frequentative’ plus the gender/number suffix is an obvious candidate. However, this is not a frequentative nominalization; for example, while *kaspikçeri* may be paraphrased as ‘one who frequently releases (someone)’, it could just as easily refer to one who released someone just once. If there is a compositional source, then, the idiosyncratic semantics strongly suggest that it is not synchronic.

Agent nominalizations retain the transitivity of their verbal root, and (unlike *-fri* nominalizations) can morphologically express their notional object through bound pronominal affixes. However, this is done quite differently from how it is on verbs. On verbs, the subject is indexed with a prefix and the object with a suffix. On agent nominalizations, the referent indexed in the pronominal prefix corresponds to the *object* of the underived verb.

- (415) a. tanikli
t-hanika-li
3SGF-carry-3SGM
‘She carries him’
- b. ranikçero
r-hanika-çero
3-carry-AG.NOM+FEM
‘she who carries him (somewhere); his carrier’
- (416) a. tkampikno
t-kampika-no
1SG-hold.in.arms-1SG
‘She holds me in her arms’
- b. nkampikçero
n-kampika-çero
1SG-hold.in.arms-AG.NOM+FEM
‘she who holds me in (her) arms; my godmother’
- (417) rawhaçcihitçerna
r-hawa-haçcihi-ta-çeri-na
3-be(loc)-tracks.of-VCL-AG.NOM+MASC-3PL
‘one (masc.) who is in their footsteps; their pursuer’

Agent nominalizations may head a noun phrase and function as a core argument in the clause, as illustrated in (418) and (419). Their semantic role in the clause is independent of their own semantics; that is, they may but need not fill an agentive role in the event. In (418), for example, the *-çeri* nominalization is the subject of a

transitive verb and is agentive; but in (419) it is not agentive. Rather, it is the subject of a nonverbal equational clause headed by the demonstrative *nyi*.

- (418) wane hima tfinri wa ranikçeritka . . .
 wane hima [Ø-tfina-li]_{PRED}
 there/thus QUOT [3-say-3SGM]
 [wa r-hanika-çeri-tka]_{NP:VS}
 [REF 3-carry-AG.NOM+MASC-PFV]
 ‘The one who took him away said . . .’ (Yam178)

- (419) nyitkani wa wiylatçenpatka
 [nyi-tka-ni]_{PRED}
 [PROX.PL-PFV-IMP.DECL]
 [wa w-hiylata-çene-pa-tka]_{NP:NVS}
 [REF 1PL-kill-AG.NOM+PL-ELV-PFV]
 ‘The ones who will kill us (our coming killers) are these.’ (Mshk51)

7.4 *-liri* ‘passive subject’

The suffix *-liri* attaches to a passivized verb stem to derive a nominal whose referent corresponds to the passive subject, i.e. the erstwhile O, of the original verb. Like other participant nominalizations, it marks gender and number: *-liri* ‘masculine singular’, *-liro* ‘feminine singular’, *-line* ‘plural’. Masculine gender is most common; as the functionally unmarked gender it is used for most object referents (but not all, as (422) below illustrates).

- (420) nika ‘eat’
 nikka ‘eaten’
 nikkaliri ‘food, provisions’

- (421) halika ‘want’
 halikka ‘wanted, desired’
 halikkaliri ‘necessity’

In (422), the nominalized verb has applicative morphology as well as passive. Here, the applicative promotes an instrument role to O; this promoted O, after passivization, is the referent of the *-liri* nominalization.

- (422) a. yanhatya
 yana-ha-ta-ya
 go-liquid.of-VCL-APPL
 ‘go by water using (something)’
- b. yanhatikaliro
 yana-ha-ta-ya-ka-liro
 go-liquid.of-VCL-APPL-PASS-PSUBJ.NOM+FEM
 ‘gasoline’ (something used for water travel)’

Examples (423)-(424) illustrate how a *-liri* nominalization may head a core argument NP. In (423) it is the grammatical subject of the verb *nikawna*.

- (423) hi hima pa hohneko nikawnani nikkaliri
 hi hima pa hohne-ko [Ø-nikawna-ni]_{PRED}
 NEG QUOT NONSPEC day-EMPH [3-finish-ANTIC]
 [**nika-ka-liri**]_{NP:VS}
 [**eat-PASS-PSUBJ.NOM+MASC**]
 ‘The food will never finish.’ (hetn55)

In (424) the patient nominalization functions as the object of the verb *hira* ‘drink’; it happens to be a cognate object here, but this is not a grammatical requirement.

- (424) wiranri wa hirkaliri
 [w-hira-ni-li]_{PRED} [wa **hira-ka-liri**]_{NP:O}
 [1PL-drink-ANTIC-3SGM] [REF **drink-PASS-PSUBJ.NOM+MASC**]
 ‘We will drink the beverage.’ (Bfm63)

The patient nominalization is very frequently used with the verb *fina* ‘say’ when identifying a name or appellation.⁵ This is illustrated in (425)-(426).

⁵With speech act verbs, the addressee, not the reported speech (or name), is the grammatical object.

- (425) wanekli riʃpaka wale yaperi ʃinkaliri
 wane-kli [r-hiʃpaka]_{PREP}
 there/thus-time.of [3-exit]
 [wale [yaperi]_{SP,REP} [ʃina-ka-liri]_{NP:VS}
 [3SGM [manatee] say-PASS-PSUBJ.NOM+MASC]
 ‘At that moment that one called ‘yaperi’ (manatee) came out’ (Svm3)

- (426) haywi ʃinkaliro nika
 [[haywi]_{SP,REP} ʃina-ka-luro]_{NP:O} [Ø-nika]_{PREP}
 [[haywi] say-PASS-PSUBJ.NOM+FEM] [3-nika]
 ‘It eats the (fish) called ‘haywi’.’ (Pts10)

7.5 *-pi* ‘instrument’

The suffix *-pi* derives instrument nominals from verbs; that is, their referent is something used to carry out the action denoted by the verb. Some typical examples of *-pi* nominalizations are provided in (427) below.

- (427) a. nika ‘eat’
 nikapi ‘eating utensil’
 b. ʃitota ‘dig’
 ʃitopi ‘shovel’
 c. kowʃohata ‘fish (with hook and line)’
 kowʃohapi ‘fishing gear’
 d. tiplata ‘sit down’
 tiplapi ‘bench, seat’

The instrumental semantics may be idiosyncratic.

- (428) a. hanihata ‘obscure the eyes/vision’
 hanihapi ‘mirror’
 b. nikloka ‘swallow’
 niklokapi ‘esophagus’

(429) a. nika ‘eat’

b. nikyapi
nika-ya-pi
eat-APPL-INSTR.NOM
‘gum(s)’

The nominalizing suffix does not itself code gender; rather instrument nominalizations have lexically assigned grammatical gender like alienable nouns: e.g. *çitopi* ‘shovel’ (masculine); *hanihapi* ‘mirror’ (feminine).

Nouns derived with *-pi* are possessable (430), (431) and pluralizable with the nominal plural suffix *-ne* (432).

(430) nkowfjohapre
n-kowfjohapi-re
1SG-fishing.gear-PSSD
‘my fishing gear’ (Pts45)

(431) riylalewaprena
r-hiyla-lewa-pi-re-na
3-kill-CHAR-INSTR.NOM-PSSD-3PL
‘their defense weapon’ (WatE37)

(432) feyipine
feyi-pi-ne
sweep-INSTR.NOM-pl
‘brooms’

They also take determiners and can serve as a core argument in the clause as in (433).

- (433) pkosetanitkali wa pkowtfohapre
 [p-koseta-ni-tka-li]_{PRED}
 [2SG-pull-ANTIC-PFV-3SGM]
 [wa p-kowtfoha-pi-re]_{NP:O}
 [REF 2-sg-fish.with.hook-INSTR.NOM-PSSD]
 ‘Pull up your fishing line.’ (Yam93)

7.6 *-ni* ‘property’

The suffix *-ni* derives an abstract noun that names a property, quality, or product related to the root lexeme; it may be used on adverbs (434), adjectives (435) and verbs (436), and is used to derive the possessive pronouns (437). Property nominalizations have masculine gender (the functionally unmarked gender in Yine), and are not pluralizable.

- (434) a. teno ‘high, deep’
 tenni ‘height, depth’
 b. teyaknani ‘agile’
 teyaknanni ‘speed’
- (435) a. sero- ‘red’
 serni ‘color’
 b. poniko ‘flavourful’
 ponikni ‘flavour, taste’
- (436) yotfihata ‘dazzle’
 yotfihni ‘glory’
- (437) hita ‘I’
 hitani ‘mine’

Two of the most frequently used *-ni* derivations have very idiosyncratic semantics:

- (438) tfini ‘say’
 tfinani ‘saying; reason, sake, blame’

- (439) hica ‘be, do’
hicana ‘thing’

Property nominalizations do not take a possessed suffix when possessed, only a prefix, and at least some take the unpossessed suffix *-tʃi* in citation form. That is, they behave like derived inalienable nouns.

- (440) tennitʃi ‘height, depth’
ntenni ‘my height’

- (441) yotʃihnitʃi ‘glory’
nyotʃihni ‘my glory’

7.7 *-waka* ‘location/manner’

The suffix *-waka* derives both location and manner nominals from verbs and adverbs; typical examples are given in (442)-(446). In nearly every example in my corpus, including both location and manner nominalizations, *-waka* is accompanied by the applicative suffix *-ya*. Words like *yopçewaka* ‘port’ (442b) and *tenowaka* ‘high/deep place’ (444b) indicate that *-ya* is not an obligatory component of this nominalization, but I do not understand its role well enough to offer further comment here.

Examples (442)-(444) illustrate location derivations.

- (442) a. yopika ‘descend’
b. yopçewaka
yopi-çe-waka
descend-FREQ-LOC.NOM
‘port’

- (443) a. hiwla ‘cook’
 b. hiwlalewçetikowaka
 hiwla-lewa-çe-ta-ya-ko-waka
 cook-CHAR-FREQ-VCL-APPL-ANTIC.PASS-LOC.NOM
 ‘kitchen’

- (444) teno ‘high, deep’
 tenowaka ‘deep or high place’

Examples (442)-(444) illustrate manner derivations.

- (445) a. hica ‘be, do’
 b. hicçetyawaka
 hica-çe-ta-ya-waka
 be/do-FREQ-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM
 ‘custom’

- (446) a. hamha ‘be lost’
 b. hamhikowaka
 hamha-ya-ko-waka
 be.lost-APPL-ANTIC.PASS-LOC.NOM
 ‘perdition’

In addition to being able to take an article and function as arguments, location/manner nominalizations may be possessed. As noted in §5.2.2.2, they take the *-le* allomorph of the possessed suffix.

- (447) tiwlaçetikowakle
 t-hiwla-çe-ta-ya-ko-waka-le
 3SGF-cook-FREQ-VCL-APPL-ANTIC.PASS-LOC.NOM-PSSD
 ‘her kitchen’

Deverbal *-waka* nominalizations retain the transitivity of the original verb. With transitive nominalizations, the entity indexed in the pronominal prefix corresponds to

the verbal subject, and the pronominal suffix corresponds to the object. The nominalization itself corresponds to a locative argument which is treated as an extension to the core (cf. §10.1.3).

- (448) *retpatkalina wa rawyawaka, wa tpawamtyawakanatkali*
 [r-heta-pa-tka-li-na]_{PRED}
 [3-see-ELV-PFV-3SGM-3PL]
 [wa r-hwa-ya-waka]_{NP:E} [wa
 [REF 3-be(loc)-APPL-LOC.NOM] [REF
t-pawa-m-ta-ya-waka-na-tka-li]_{NP(E)}
3SGF-make.fire-NONDUR-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM-CMPV-PFV-3SGM]
 ‘They went to see the place where he was, the place where he had been making his fire.’ (Tra172)

In (449), the nominalization is derived from a passivized verb. The referent indexed in the pronominal prefix corresponds to the passive subject of the verb base.

- (449) *wane pyani ptfanicikowaka*
 wane p-ya-ni
 there/thus 2SG-go-ANTIC
p-tfanica-ya-ko-waka
2SG-invite-APPL-ANTIC.PASS-LOC.NOM
 ‘Go there where you are invited’ (Reb33)

Given their semantics, it is not surprising that *-waka* nominalizations have adverbial properties and are frequently used as location or manner modifiers. The manner nominalization in (450) is somewhat difficult to paraphrase in English; it is comparable to ‘there exists for us (i.e. we have) our food that is being enough’ or more literally ‘we have our food enoughly’.

- (450) *waneywi poyahotyawaka wnikanri*
 [wane-ya-wi]_{PRED}
 [there/thus-APPL-1PL]
 [**poyahota-ya-waka** w-nika-ni-li]_{NP:E}
 [**be.enough-APPL-LOC.NOM** 1PL-eat-ANTIC-3SGM]
 ‘We have enough food.’ (Yam40)

Like *-liri*, *-waka* is frequently attached to a passivized form of the verb *ʃina* ‘say’; in this case is it used to identify place names along the lines of ‘what is to be called ...’.

- (451) Seyakyato ʃinikwaka napokatka
 [[Seyakyato]_{SP.REP} ʃina-ya-ko-waka]_{NP:E}
 [[NAME] say-APPL-ANTIC.PASS-LOC.NOM]
 [n-hapoka-tka]_{PRED}
 [1SG-arrive-PFV]
 ‘I arrived at the place called Seyakyato.’ (Hws6)

- (452) Wayra ʃinikwaka
 Wayra ʃina-ya-ko-waka
 NAME say-APPL-ANTIC.PASS-LOC.NOM
 ‘the place called Wayra’ (Yam7)

7.8 *-meni* ‘cause’

The suffix *-meni* attaches to verb or adjective stems to derive a nominal that refers to something that causes the action or condition denoted by the root.

- (453) a. haplita ‘vomit’
 haplimeni ‘emetic’
 b. yayica ‘be ill’
 yayicmeni ‘infection’
 c. hamlita ‘smell’
 hamlimeni ‘herb that makes dogs better hunters’

This suffix is often used with attributive and privative adjectival stems.

- (454) a. kapkacle- ‘having good aim’
 kapkaklemeni ‘that which makes one have good aim’
 b. mwa- ‘not living’
 mwameni ‘cause of dying’

In examples (455) and (456), *-meni* nominalizations are juxtaposed with coreferential noun phrases and serve as elaborations of them, providing evidence that they are likewise NP heads.

- (455) mwameni wa nomolenni hiylataṭfro
 [**m-hwa-meni**]_{NP}
 [**PRIV-be(loc)-CAUS.NOM**]
 [wa no-mole-ne-ni hiylata-ṭfro]_{NP}
 [REF 1SGPSSR-kin.of-PL-AFFCT kill-SUBJ.NOM+FSG]
 ‘the cause of not living, my kins’ killer’ (Tra92)

In (456), there is a phrase-final prosodic boundary after *kḡana*, and the cause nominalization itself comprises an independent intonation unit with the same contour. This is indicative of an elaboration NP juxtaposed to the clause, rather than of a single NP with a nominalization modifying the head noun.

- (456) hoyeṭḡnonanhimako riratkalina kḡana kapkaklemeni
 hoyeṭḡno nani hima-ko r-hira-tka-li-na
 morning EXTNS QUOT-EMPH 3-drink-PFV-3SGM-3PL
 [kḡana]_{NP:O} [**kapkake-meni**]_{NP(O)}
 [herb] [**have.good.aim-CAUS.NOM**]
 ‘Very early in the morning they drank herbs, the cause of good aim.
 (i.e. to make them good hunters)’ (Nwd18)

Cause nominalizations occur very rarely in my corpus, and there is not enough data at this point to offer a complete description of their nominal and non-nominal properties. Though it is likely, based on examples like (455) and (456) above, that they may occur alone as verbal arguments, it is not certain whether they may be possessed, and if so what morphology is used to express that, nor what type of modifiers they may take.

7.9 *-inri* ‘action’

The suffix *-inri* derives a nominal that refers to the action expressed by the verb stem to which it attaches. The nominal status of the derivation is evident in that it may head a noun phrase and function as a core argument of a predicate, as illustrated in examples (457)-(458) below. However, they never head nonverbal predicates and cannot be possessed.

In (457), the *inri* nominalization is the object of the verb *çema* ‘hear’, and as such is cross-referenced on the predicate with the object suffix *-li*.

- (457) *nçemli yahotkakinrina*
 [*n-çema-li*]_{PRED} [*Ø-yahota-kaka-inri-na*]_{NP:O}
 [1SG-hear-3SGM **3-fight-RECIP-ACTN.NOM-3PL**]
 ‘I heard their fighting.’ (Kno26)

In (458), there are two *-inri* nominals, *niyolikinri* and *nyinri*, each heading one of the coordinated NPs that together function as the object of the transitive verb *hinkakleta* ‘relate, tell about’ (they are linked by the coordinator *hawa* ‘and’).⁶

- (458) *cani nyiniwaka hinkakletanri niyolikinri pirana hawa hoja nyinri*
cani n-yiniwaka hinkakleta-le-ta-ni-li
 now 1SG-begin relate-SUBD-VCL-ANTIC-3SGM
 [**n-hiyolika-inri** pirana]_{NP:O} hawa
 [**1SG-hunt-ACTN.NOM** story.of] and
 [hoja **n-ya-inri**]_{NP:O}
 [forest **1SG-go-ACTN.NOM**]
 ‘Now I will begin to tell the story of my hunting and my going into the forest’ (Caz1)

In (459), the *-inri* nominalization occurs with the article *wa*, which may only occur once in an NP (cf. §6.1). In this example, the two bracketed NPs are in apposition; the second, containing the nominalization, serves to elaborate on the information in the

⁶*Pirana* ‘story of’ is an inalienable noun; see §6.3 for a discussion of how inalienable nouns lack the properties of NP heads.

first (which is the grammatical object of the predicate, controlling the gender of the object suffix).

- (459) wane nica hikfikletlo wa knoya wa yahotkakinrina
 wane n-hica hikfika-le-ta-lo [wa knoya]_{NP:O}
 there/thus 1SG-be/do find-SUBD-VCL-3SGF [REF tortoise]
 [wa **yahota-kaka-inri-na**]_{NP(O)}
 [REF **fight-RECIP-ACTN.NOM-3PL**]
 ‘This is how I found the tortoise(s), their battle.’ (Kno55)

Though an *-inri* nominalization may head an NP and potentially serve as an argument, it retains many verbal properties: plurality is marked with the 3PL argument suffix *-na*; and it takes adverbial or location modifiers rather than adjectival ones. The argument structure of the corresponding verb is also retained. This is illustrated in example (460). Here, the reference to the anteater (*siwa*) corresponds to the subject of the original verb, and the reference to the (poor/doomed) jaguars (*mhenoklinni*) corresponds to its object. However, *-inri* nominalizations are strictly monovalent, and index only the underlying subject (in the pronominal prefix).

- (460) ralicatkalina wa mhenoklinni riylatinri wa siwa
 [r-halica-tka-li-na]_{PRED}
 [3-believe-PFV-3SGM-3PL]
 [wa mhenokli-ne-ni r-hiylata-inri wa siwa]_{NP:O}
 [REF jaguar-PL-AFFCT 3-kill-ACTN.NOM REF anteater]
 ‘They believed him (that) the anteater killed the jaguars.’ (Oso40)
more literal: ‘They believed him the anteater’s killing the jaguars.’

Action nominalizations play an important role in complementation in Yine. See Chapter 13 for discussion and further examples.

8 Verbs and Verb Morphology

The verb is the most heavily-inflected lexical category in Yine, and the most frequently occurring in my corpus. Most clauses are verbal (headed by a verbal predicate), and many consist only of a verb stem and its concomitant morphology. Nearly all of the verb-stem-internal morphology is not found on any other type of stem. A verbal predicate may be intransitive, (ambi)transitive or ditransitive and may take the full range of aspectual and modal suffixes; contrast this with nonverbal predicates, which are only intransitive and take a subset of the morphology available to verbal predicates.

The verb stem and its morphology are the focus of this chapter. Verbal and other predicates, and their morphology, are discussed in Chapter 9.

8.1 The verb stem

A large number of Yine verbs contain one of several mutually exclusive formative suffixes: the most common of these in my corpus are those given in (461).¹ While a general meaning can often be discerned with each formative, there is also often a great deal of idiosyncrasy and inconsistency as well; the glosses given in (461) and the discussion following remain tentative.

- (461) -*ta* ‘elsewhere stem-closure’
 -*ka* ‘semelfactive, punctual’
 -*wna* ‘inchoative, stative’

¹To this list Matteson (1965:84) adds the following (where ‘V’ indicates that the suffix does not trigger vowel deletion): -*Vta*/-*Vfa* ‘stem formative’, -*ha* ‘cessation’, -*Vwa*- ‘intransitive’, -*ta*- ‘detailed action’ and -*Vha*- ‘to hunt, gather’. I do not have sufficient data on these to be able to include most of them in my discussion; I have, however, re-analysed -*Vwa*- as an internal aspect marker, described in §8.2.3.3.

The formatives *-ta* and *-ka* are the most common and the most difficult to define. They are often interchangeable without any change in meaning, as with the examples in (462).

- (462) *haskaka, haskata* (tr.) ‘bite (something), break (something) with teeth’
hiyahoka, hiyahota (tr.) ‘lower the price (of something)’
hiskaka, hiskata (intr.) ‘break, fall apart’

With other word pairs, however, *-ta* and *-ka* make a distinct contribution to the aktionsart. In (463), the *-ta* forms are reiterative in (463b,c) and the *-ka* forms are semelfactive, though this contrast does not as readily hold in (463a), but these pairs do give evidence that the formatives encode aspectual information to some extent.

- (463) a. *hiylaka* ‘hit (someone/thing)’
hiylata ‘kill’
 b. *hiçnoka* ‘lower the head to look’
hiçnota ‘nod’
 c. *hiçrika* ‘fall, climb down’
hiçrîta ‘fall from high up, fall several times’

Verbs with the formative *-wna* are all intransitive often express the entrance into a new state. The minimal pairs in (464) illustrate the difference between *-wna* and other formatives.

- (464) a. *koçwawna* ‘worry’
 cf. *koçwaka* ‘disturb, bother’
 b. *hahomawna* ‘get a bit warmer’
 cf. *hahomaka* ‘warm (something) up a bit’
 c. *kashriçewna* ‘(be) change(d)’
 cf. *kashriçeta* ‘replace or transform’
 d. *salewna* ‘suffer’
 cf. *saleta* ‘harm, make suffer’

The examples in (465) illustrate the use of the formatives to derive verbs from other word classes.

- (465) a. *hicowna* ‘get fat’
hico ‘much, many’ (quantifier)
- b. *haninrota* ‘marry, take a wife’
hninro ‘wife of’ (kin noun)
- c. *hitfkeka* (intr.) ‘go silent’
potfke- ‘silent’ (adjective)²

The stem formative has become lexicalized as part of the root in some cases but not in others. Whether it has or not becomes apparent when the stem-internal morphology described in §8.2 below is used on the verb: if the stem formative is part of the root, it will remain in the inflected version, as in (466)-(468).³

- (466) a. *towita* ‘command’
- b. *ttowithimananimtli*
t-towita-hima-nani-m-ta-li
 3SGF-command-QUOT-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL-3SGM
 ‘She went along ordering him’ (to kill the monkey they kept seeing)
 (Nwd32)

- (467) a. *hiylaka* ‘hit’
- b. *tiylakhimatli*
t-hiylaka-hima-ta-li
 3SGF-hit-QUOT-VCL-3SGM
 ‘She hit it, reportedly.’ (Pmm27)

- (468) a. *tsalewna* ‘suffer’
- b. *tsalewnapothimatana*
t-salewna-poti-hima-ta-na
 3SGF-suffer-INTNS-QUOT-VCL-CMPV
 ‘She suffered very much, reportedly.’ (Nwd131)

²The *po-* in *potfke* here is an adjective formative (see §4.3.2). Despite appearances, the verb and adjective in this example do share a common base.

³Note the co-occurrence of the stem-formative *-ta* and the stem-closing *-ta* in (466).

If, however, the formative is not part of the root, it will disappear in the inflected form and be replaced (following the inflections) with the functionally unmarked stem closure *-ta* (or one of the other stem closures, §8.2.4). This can be seen in the examples below:⁴

- (469) a. *hiylata* ‘kill’
 b. *tiylahimatanatkali*
t-hiyla-hima-ta-na-tka-li
 3SGF-kill-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3SGM
 ‘She killed him, reportedly.’ (Tra57)

- (470) a. *himcika* ‘go underwater’
 b. *rimcimta*
r-himci-m-ta
 3-go.underwater-NONDUR-VCL
 ‘He went under water for a little while.’

These stem formatives will appear (and disappear, at times) in many examples throughout this grammar. Unless it is relevant to the discussion at hand, I will not draw further attention to them. I will also not attempt to reflect detachable versus non-detachable stem closures in the morphological breakdown, as I do not have the knowledge to do so accurately and consistently. The convention I have adopted is to simply follow the surface form in each instance.

8.1.1 Complement-taking verbs

A small subset of verbs in Yine, listed in (471), can optionally take non-finite predicate complements, which are marked as subordinate with one of the suffixes described in §8.2.3.2 below. The inter-clausal relations expressed with these predicates are discussed in §13.3.1, and numerous examples can be found there.

⁴I have not encountered any clear examples where *-wna* is separable from the root in this way.

- (471) *hica* ‘be, do’
hicpoko ‘do+manner (how to do)’
ya ‘go, walk, run’
heneka ‘give’
heta ‘see’
ʃina ‘say’
himata ‘know, know how’
yiniwaka ‘begin’
yoptika ‘finish, end’
hali ‘be done with’
hama ‘be tired of’
nikawna ‘be finished’
himepe ‘repeat’
kaspika ‘let go of, release’
himkata ‘be able to, can’
halika ‘want’

8.1.2 Transitivity

Transitivity is not a prominent feature of Yine verbs. Very few verb roots are strictly intransitive; somewhat more are strictly transitive; most are ambitransitive. See Chapter 10 for a discussion of transitivity and valency manipulation in the Yine clause.

8.2 Verb stem morphology

The verb stem is far more complex than the noun or adjective stem. In addition to a prefix position and ten suffix positions, it can also contain incorporants representing four different non-verbal lexical categories. Strictly speaking, the root is the only obligatory element of the verbal word; however, the core arguments must also be expressed in the clause and this is usually done with the pronominal affixes (see §9.1 for discussion of pronominal affixes). In practice, the verb stem rarely consists of less than three morphemes and is often much longer.

The morphological structure of the verb stem is summarized in Table 8.1, and described in detail in §8.2.1-§8.2.6 below.

Prefix	Associative	<i>him-</i>	§8.2.1
Root			§8.1
Stem-internal zone 1: Incorporants			§8.2.2
	alienable noun		
	inalienable noun		
	oblique marker	<i>yehi</i>	
	evidentials	<i>hima, hetko</i>	
	adverbials	<i>hapka, poti, yaka</i> <i>fa, nani</i>	
Stem-internal zone 2: Internal aspect and subordination			§8.2.3
	Aspect1	<i>-lewa</i>	
	Subordination	<i>-le, -ko</i>	
	Aspect2	<i>-çe, -sa, -wa</i>	
	Aspect3	<i>-na, -m</i>	
Stem-internal zone 3: Verb stem closure			§8.2.4
	Neutral	<i>-ta</i>	
	Obligative	<i>-ha</i>	
	Causative1	<i>-kaka</i>	
	Causative2	<i>-çica</i>	
Verbal suffix zone 1: applicative	<i>-ya</i>		§8.2.5
Verbal suffix zone 2: voice and mood			§8.2.6
	Voice	<i>-ka, -ko, -(i)na... -wa</i>	
	Mood	<i>-ini, -ni</i>	

Table 8.1: Morphological structure of the verb stem

The relative order of post-root elements generally follows that in the above table, with incorporants appearing closest to the root and aspectual suffixes following. However, there is some variability in the relative order of the incorporants, and between the incorporants and the Aspect1 and Aspect2 suffixes. Suffixes that belong to the same slot (row, in Table 8.1) are mutually exclusive.

Both stem-internal zones 1 and 2 require the obligatory specification of a zone 3 (stem-closing) suffix. That is, if there is an incorporant or any internal aspect or subordination suffix on a verb stem, one of the suffixes in zone 3 is always also used.

Note that the pronominal prefix appears on the predicate immediately preceding the associative prefix. The pronominal prefixes are treated in detail elsewhere in the grammar, as are the morphophonological operations that apply at their boundary with

the stem; see especially §3.2.1.1 and §9.1.1.

8.2.1 Associate prefix *him-*

The associate prefix is an applicative morpheme that introduces an ‘associate’ argument into the verb’s core argument frame: that is, one who is associated with the grammatical subject in carrying out the action denoted by the verb.⁵ There are several examples of this prefix in §10.7.2, where *him-*’s semantics and valency-manipulating effect are discussed. A few additional examples are given here in (474)-(476) below to illustrate what will be the focus of this section: the morphophonology of the associate prefix.

Like the pronominal prefixes (see §3.2.1.1), *him-* triggers a morphophonological change when it attaches to a verb stems of a certain shape. If the stem begins with *h*, the associative prefix replaces it (472)-(473); and if the stem-initial *h* is followed by *i*, vowel mutation is also triggered such that *i* surfaces as *í* (474)-(475). Note that a *him-* derivation is just such a stem, and undergoes its own allomorphic change triggered by the pronominal prefix.

(472) *nimwanmtli*
n-**him-h**wa-m-ta-li
1SG-ASSOC-be(loc)-NONDUR-VCL-3SGM
‘I stayed with him (for a while).’ (HwS10)

(473) *nimerkanro*
n-**him-her**ka-na-lo
1SG-ASSOC-wash-CMPV-3SGF
‘I washed with her.’

⁵In many Arawak languages there is a prefix that strongly resembles *him-* and is probably cognate with it: e.g. Baure *i-limo-*, Ignaciano *imi-lim-*, and *omi(n)-* shared by Machiguenga, Nomatsiguenga, Caquinte, Asháninca, and Ashéninca (Wise 1990); these are described as causative or comitative prefixes. I use the term ‘associate’ here to distinguish *him-* from the comitative oblique marker *-yma* in Yine.

(474) *rimitsolhiwatlo*
r-**him-hitsolhiwata-lo**
3-ASSOC-laugh-3SGF
'He is laughing with her.' (c154)

(475) *wane nimimkamtyatkali*
wane n-**him-himka-m-ta-ya-tka-li**
there/thus 1SG-ASSOC-sleep-VCL-APPL-PFV-3SGM
'I slept there with him.' (HwS9)

Stems beginning with a consonant other than *h* are not affected:

(476) *nimnikna*
n-**him-nika-na**
1SG-ASSOC-eat-3PL
'I ate with them.' (HwS24)

8.2.2 Stem-internal zone 1: Incorporants

The term “incorporation” is used here to refer to the combination of a non-verbal lexeme with a verb to form a new, complex verb stem. In Yine, the set of possible incorporants is somewhat eclectic, consisting of: possessed nouns (addressed shortly); evidential and adverbial particles; and one of the three oblique markers in the language (*-yehi* ‘in the vicinity of’). Morphologically, all of these elements are treated in the same way: the incorporant(s) appear immediately following the verb root, and the presence of an incorporant triggers the obligatory specification of a verb-stem closing suffix, usually the functionally unmarked *-ta*. The resulting stem takes all the normal verbal morphology. The sentences below provide typical examples of noun (477)-(478), oblique marker (479), and particle (480)-(481) incorporation.⁶

⁶The presence of the possessed suffix in (478), and my reasons for including a sense of possession in the free translation, will be apparent shortly.

- (483) nawashakanawateta
 n-hawasha-**kanawa-te**-ta
 1SG-be.burnt-**canoe-PSSD-VCL**
 ‘My canoe is burnt.’ (g45)

The possessor of the incorporated noun is not expressed in the incorporant itself, but its role is obligatorily assigned within in the core argument frame of the predicate: specifically, to the subject if the predicate is intransitive, and to the object if it is transitive.

- (484) a. nkamhoparantateta (intr; VS = pssr)
 n-kamho-**paranta-te**-ta
 1SG-grate-**plantain-PSSD-VCL**
 ‘I’m grating my plantains’ (f134)
- b. nkamhoparantatetli (tr; O = pssr)
 n-kamho-**paranta-te-ta-li**
 1SG-grate-**plantain-PSSD-VCL-3SGM**
 ‘I’m grating his plantains.’ (f134)

Multiple incorporants are possible and quite common, but only one element of a given lexical (sub-)category may be incorporated at a time. For example, there may be one alienable and one inalienable incorporated noun (both referring to the same referent), as in (485); or a noun, oblique marker and evidential as in (486); but more than one evidential, or more than one adverbial particle, for example, cannot be incorporated into one verb stem.

- (485) rapatçeçiwresahhimitanatkalona
 r-hapatçe-**çiwe-re-sahi-hima**-ta-na-tka-lo-na
 3-gather-**thread-PSSD-ball.of-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3SGF-3PL**
 ‘They gathered up her balls of thread, reportedly.’ (D28)

- (486) ristakatsyehhimitanrona
 r-histaka-**tša-yehi-hima**-ta-na-lo-na
 3-cut-**cord.of-VICIN-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-3SGF-3PL**
 ‘They cut the rope near her, reportedly.’ (Mch25)

Regarding the valency-manipulating effect of noun and oblique marker incorporation, see §10.8.

8.2.3 Stem-internal zone 2: Internal aspect and subordination

The stem-internal aspect suffixes quite iconically express aspectual distinctions that concern the internal structure of the event (rather than concerning the endpoint of the whole event, as the clause-level aspect suffixes do; see §9.3). These suffixes are distributed over four distinct slots. All four slots may be represented in one verb, but co-members of the same slot are mutually exclusive; this is reflected in the structure of Table 8.1. Only one aspectual suffix, *-lewa*, precedes the subordination markers (described in §8.2.3.2 below).

8.2.3.1 Aspect1: *-lewa* ‘characteristic action’

The suffix *-lewa* indicates that the action denoted by the verb is a characteristic or occupational one for its subject. Several examples can be found in §10.6.4; another is given here in (487) for illustration.

- (487) a. cani nyimaka
cani n-yimaka
now 1SG-teach
‘Now I am teaching.’ (Jm19)
- b. cani nyimaklewata
cani n-yimaka-**lewa**-ta
now 1SG-teach-**CHAR**-VCL
‘Now I teach/am a teacher.’ (Jm19)

As described in §10.6.4, *-lewa* may also have an antipassive function and remove the O argument of a transitive or ambitransitive verb, but it is not always detransitivizing.

8.2.3.2 Subordination: *-le*, *-ko*

There are two suffixes used to mark the subordinate status of a predicate complement. The suffix *-le*, which marks an active non-finite complement predicate, is illustrated in (488)-(489):

(488) nalika nikatletli
n-halika nikata-**le**-ta-li
1SG-want finish-SUBD-VCL-3SGM
'I want to finish.' (c82)

(489) hi nimkata histakatsletli
hi n-himkata histaka-tsa-**le**-ta-li
NEG 1SG-be.able.to cut-cord.of-SUBD-VCL-3SGM
'I couldn't cut the line.' (Pts41)

The only time *-le* is not used as the subordinating suffix is in the analytic passive construction (described in §10.6.1.2). In this construction, the anticipatory passive suffix *-ko* is used in place of *-le*; this use of *-ko* can be distinguished from its use in a main clause in that here it requires the specification of a stem-closing suffix.

Both *-le* and *-ko* are illustrated in example (490): the former signals the subordination of *hiyolika* 'hunt' to *yimaka* 'teach'; and the latter forms the analytic passive of *hinka* 'shoot' in the second clause.

(490) yimaka hiyolikletwina, hi ricpoko hinkakota niktʃi
Ø-yimaka hiyolika-**le**-ta-wi-na
3-teach hunt-SUBD-VCL-1PL-3PL
hi r-hicpoko hinka-**ko**-ta niktʃi
INTRG 3-do+manner shoot-ANTIC.PASS-VCL game.animal
'They taught us to hunt, how to shoot game animals.' (how game animals are to be shot) (BfM13)

8.2.3.3 Aspect2: *-çe* ‘frequentative’, *-sa* ‘iterative’, *-wa* ‘continuous’

***-çe* ‘frequentative’** The suffix *-çe* indicates that the action denoted by the verb occurs frequently over a period of time. Although it often yields a habitual reading, and is consistent with Dahl’s (1985:97) characterisation of habitual aspect as a “quantification over a set of occasions which is given explicitly or by context,” I use the term ‘frequentative’ rather than ‘habitual’ as a gloss. This choice is based on my sense that frequency, rather than habituality, is more representative of the suffix’s basic meaning.

The precise interpretation of *-çe* is sensitive to the semantic properties of the individual verb on which it is used, and on the length of time involved in the event. The examples below illustrate. In (491) and (492), *-çe* has a frequentative sense; in (493) that of a continual or habitual state; and in (494) and (495) that of a habitual activity:

- (491) nso sahi napatçeta hiçrikatfri
 nso sahi n-hapata-**çe**-ta hiçrika-tfri
 genipa ball.of 1SG-gather-**FREQ-VCL** fall-SUBJ.NOM+MSG
 ‘I am gathering up the fallen genipa seeds.’ (Kme66)

- (492) kafri rinkaçetyatkali thaniri
 kafri r-hinka-**çe**-ta-ya-tka-li t-hniri
 arrow 3-shoot-**FREQ-APPL-PFV-3SGM** 3SGF-husband.of
 ‘Her husband kept shooting arrow(s) at it.’ (Kme20)

- (493) mala hima rawçenatnina
 mala hima r-hwa-**çe**-na-ta-ni-na
 downriver QUOT 3-be(loc)-**FREQ-DUR-VCL-AFFCT-3PL**
 ‘They [the ancestors] used to live downriver.’ (Yam4)

- (494) wane himako rimkaçenatya
 wane hima-ko r-himka-**çe**-na-ta-ya
 there/thus QUOT-EMPH 3-sleep-**FREQ-DUR-VCL-APPL**
 ‘He would always sleep right there, reportedly.’
 (on the trail where he was building his house) (Hetn9)

- (495) wane hima kawçetna wanna
 wane hima Ø-kawa-**çe**-ta-na wanna
 there/thus QUOT 3-bathe-**FREQ**-VCL-3PL 3PL
 ‘They always bathed there, reportedly.’ (d48)

In my texts, *-çe* is frequently collocated with *-na* ‘durative’ (described in §8.2.4 below) to indicate that the action is carried out regularly over a long period of time, but this is not a grammatical requirement. See (507) below for an example of *-çe* with the non-durative suffix *-m*.

A few examples in my data indicate that *-çe* may be reduplicated to intensify its frequentative meaning.⁷ This is far from common in my corpus, and only occurs in negative clauses; the clearest example is given in (496) below. It seems unlikely that it should be barred from positive-polarity clauses, but I do not yet have any direct evidence that it is possible.

- (496) wa tinro hi hima tetçeçenatlo
 wa t-hinro hi hima
 REF 3SGF-mother.of NEG QUOT
 t-heta-**çe-çe**-na-ta-lo
 3SGF-see-**FREQ-FREQ**-DUR-VCL-3SGF
 ‘Her mother never, ever saw her.’ (Tsm7)

-sa ‘iterative’ The suffix *-sa* is used to express iterativity, indicating that the action itself is characterized by repetition. The difference between the iterative and frequentative markings is one of density or degree: *-sa* is used when the action denoted by the verb is done with an unusually or unexpectedly high frequency within a relatively short period of time.

- (497) tomsatlo
 Ø-tomha-**sa**-ta-lo
 3-ask-**ITER**-VCL-3SGF
 ‘He called out to her many times.’ (Yam207n)

⁷Reduplication is not attested with any other suffix, whether verbal, nominal or predicate-level.

- (498) wa nwihehene mkali nenekna . . . hawa hawo koca neneksatna
 wa n-whene-ne mka-li n-heneka-na [...] hawa
 REF 1SG-child.of-PL clothes.of-SGM 1SG-give-3PL [...] and
 hawo koca n-heneka-**sa**-ta-na
 soap ADD 1SG-give-**ITER**-VCL-3PL
 ‘I gave them children’s clothes . . . and I distributed soap to them also.’
 (HwS27)

-wa ‘continuous’ This is the least common of the internal aspect suffixes in my corpus. It is used with events (either states or activities) that are ongoing and span the reference time.⁸ Examples of the continuous marker are given in (499)-(502).

- (499) wane panawata makliçi hatni-hapo
 wane Ø-pana-**wa**-ta makliçi hatni-hapo
 there/thus 3-build.house-**CONTIN**-VCL adolescent+MSC path-trail.of
 ‘The young man was building a house on the trail.’ (Hetn9)

- (500) sati yineri hima makliçi hninrowata
 sati yine-li hima makliçi hninro-**wa**-ta
 SPEC+MASC human-SGM QUOT adolescent+MSC wife.of-**CONTIN**-VCL
 ‘A certain young man had a wife, reportedly.’ (Nwd3)

- (501) rihrhawata
 r-hihraha-**wa**-ta
 3-bleed-**CONTIN**-VCL
 ‘He is bleeding.’ (DP)

- (502) ntfinowatana
 n-tfino-**wa**-ta-na
 1SG-hurt-**CONTIN**-VCL-CMPV
 ‘I was in (a state of) pain.’ (Per8)

⁸However, the event may or may not be ongoing at the time of utterance; as with the other internal aspect markers, *-wa* does not provide information about the endpoint of the event or indicate that the event is incomplete. The sentence in (502) illustrates this with the co-occurrence of the continuous and completive suffixes in the same predicate. To indicate that an event is ongoing at the time of utterance, the homophonous external aspect suffix *-wa* ‘imperfective’ is used (§9.3).

8.2.3.4 Aspect3: *-na* ‘durative’, *-m* ‘non-durative’

***-na* ‘durative’** As its gloss indicates, *-na* is used to express that the action denoted by the verb is durative, lasting over a (usually long) period of time. This suffix neither implies nor excludes an endpoint: *-na* can be used when the action denoted by the verb is currently in progress, as in (503), or explicitly marked as finished, as in (504a) where completive *-na* and perfective *-tka* suffixes together indicate that completion point of the event has been reached (see §9.3).

(503) pkawanata?
p-kawa-**na**-ta
2SG-bathe-**DUR**-VCL
‘Are you (in the process of) bathing?’

(504) a. hinaka pwanatanatka?
hinaka p-hwa-**na**-ta-na-tka
where 2SG-be(loc)-**DUR**-VCL-CMPV-PFV
‘Where were you (for so long)?’
b. tika nyapanata
tika n-yapa-**na**-ta
REM.SGM 1SG-travel-**DUR**-VCL
‘I was travelling far away.’ (Yam214)

***-m* ‘non-durative’** The suffix *-m* is used to indicate that an event is a short-term or temporary one. It can usually be translated as ‘for a while’ in the sense of a time span having a foreseen, relatively close endpoint; but can also be used to contribute a punctual sense to an event (506). The term ‘delimitative’ could also be used to describe *-m*, but I use ‘non-durative’ here to capture the fact it stands in opposition to the durative *-na*: the two occur in the same slot in the verb stem and are mutually exclusive. The examples below illustrate the use and meaning of *-m*.

- (505) a. nyatka
n-ya-tka
1SG-go-PFV
'I'm going now (nothing further implied)'
- b. nyamtatka
n-ya-**m**-ta-tka
1SG-go-**NONDUR**-VCL-PFV
'I'm going now' (i.e. 'for a while'; 'but I'll be back'; 'but not far')

- (506) a. hipteka 'jump, disembark'
b. hiptekamta 'jump, give a start'

Example (507) is one of the few instances in my corpus where *-m* rather than *-na* is used with the frequentative suffix. This example is taken from a story about a mythological hero, who did not need to carve or build a boat. He would cut down a tree, and a canoe (*kanawa* (fem.)) would always come out of it (*tɨʃpakçemtya*) fully formed.

- (507) wane hima tɨʃpakçemtya kanawa
wane hima r-hiʃpaka-çe-**m**-ta-ya kanawa
there/thus QUOT 3-come.out-FREQ-**NONDUR**-VCL-APPL canoe
'A canoe would always emerge from it, reportedly.' (TsN46)

Like its durative counterpart, *-m* does not provide information about the endpoint of the event and is fully compatible with actions that are completed (508) or not (509) at the reference time.

- (508) tɨʃçi hima tapokamtana
tɨʃçi hima t-hapoka-**m**-ta-na
earth QUOT 3SGF-arrive-**NONDUR**-VCL-CMPV
'It (feminine) hit the ground, reportedly.' (Mch26)

- (509) nyamta, nyamta
n-ya-**m**-ta n-ya-**m**-ta
1SG-go-**NONDUR**-VCL 1SG-go-**NONDUR**-VCL
'I walk for a while, I walk for a while' (along the path while hunting)
(Caz37)

8.2.4 Stem zone 3: stem-closure and causation

8.2.4.1 *-ta* ‘verb stem closure’

As noted earlier, stem-closing morphology is obligatory when the stem-internal zones 1 and/or 2 are filled. A verb stem can be closed in two ways. The most common way is with the functionally unmarked, semantically bleached stem closing suffix *-ta*. We have encountered *-ta* many times already as it appears in all of the examples in §8.2.2-8.2.3 above. I will not provide more examples here, but note that regardless of how many stem-internal morphemes are present, *-ta* only appears once (after all of them).

The causative and obligative suffixes presented in the following sections also serve as stem closures (see (513), (514) and (518) for example).

8.2.4.2 Causatives: *-kaka* ‘causative’; *-çica* ‘mandative’

There are two causative suffixes in Yine: *-kaka*, used with direct or forceful causation, and *-çica*, used with commands or indirect causation. The distinction between these is illustrated in (510)-(511); further examples can be found in the description of causatives in §10.7.1.

- (510) wale yonawkakanno
wale yonawa-**kaka**-na-no
3SGM write-CAUS-CMPV-1SG
‘He made me write’ (e.g. by moving my hand for me) (f141)

- (511) wale yonawçicanno
wale yonawa-**çica**-na-no
3SGM write-MAND-CMPV-1SG
‘He ordered me to write.’ (f141)

The example in (512) indicates that *-kaka* and *-çica* are not mutually exclusive but may co-occur in the order given in Table 8.1 above. Such co-occurrence is extremely rare in my corpus and its effects are not well understood.⁹

⁹Presumably, in Yine as in other languages that allow this there are two acts of causation involved.

- (512) nkamriewkakçiclo
 n-kamriewa-**kaka-çica**-lo
 1SG-work-CAUS-MAND-3SGF
 ‘I am making her work.’

Both of the causative suffixes function as stem-closing suffixes. This is illustrated in (513) and (514), where the presence of an incorporated noun (*-myo*) requires a stem closure and the causative (rather than *-ta*) serves this purpose.

- (513) ristakamyokakyi
 r-histaka-**myo-kaka**-yi
 3-cut-**hand.of**-CAUS-2SG
 ‘He (physically) made you cut your hand.’ (h153)

- (514) ristakamyoçicyi
 r-histaka-**myo-çica**-yi
 3-cut-**hand.of**-MAND-2SG
 ‘He ordered you to cut your hand.’ (h151)

8.2.4.3 *-ha* ‘obligative’

The suffix *-ha* encodes deontic modality, expressing an obligation to carry out the action denoted in the verb. The obligation can be externally imposed or internally motivated. As indicated in the translations, it often carries the sense that there will be undesirable consequences if the action is not done.

The obligative can be used to increase the force of a command, whether the latter is imperative (515a,b) or jussive (515c) – both of which are formed using the ‘anticipatory’ suffix *-ni*.

The translation I have for (512) is not precise enough to determine this and the question must be further explored. However, in Matteson’s (1965:81) example, addressed here in (703), each causative suffix is translated as a distinct act of causation.

- (515) a. pkawahapani
 p-kawa-**ha**-pa-ni
 2SG-bathe-**OBLG**-ELV-ANTIC
 ‘Go bathe!’ (e.g. to someone who is really dirty)
- b. pçihlokahani
 p-çihloka-**ha**-ni
 2SG-enter-**OBLG**-ANTIC
 ‘Go to school! (or else).’ (g117)
- c. tye kayno wa wiylahanutkana
 tye kayno wa w-hiyla-**ha**-ni-tka-na
 PROX.SGM afternoon REF 1PL-kill-**OBLG**-ANTIC-PFV-3PL
 ‘This afternoon we *will* kill them.’ (Mshk101)

-*Ha* can express internally-motivated obligation as well; e.g. a sense of duty or strong desire (516); or of strong resistance to doing something (517).

- (516) nçihlokahani
 n-çihloka-**ha**-ni
 1SG-enter-**OBLG**-ANTIC
 ‘I *have* to go to school.’
- (517) hi wa nalikahanitkali nhanirtapanri
 hi wa n-halika-**ha**-ni-tka-li
 NEG REF 1SG-want-**OBLG**-ANTIC-PFV-3SGM
 n-hnirita-pa-ni-li
 1SG-take.as.husband-ELV-ANTIC-SGM
 ‘I do *not* want him as my husband.’ (Nwd125)

In (518), the obligative marker’s stem-closing function is evident; *fa* is an incorporated adverbial particle and thus requires stem closure.

- (518) petafahanitkali phaniri!
 p-heta-**fa**-**ha**-ni-tka-li p-hniri
 2SG-see-LIM-**OBLG**-ANTIC-PFV-3SGM 2SG-husband.of
 ‘Just look at your husband!’ (Nwd59)

8.2.5 Verbal suffix zone 1: *-ya* ‘applicative’

The suffix *-ya* is a multifunctional applicative, serving to bring a wide range of roles into the core argument frame of the predicate, including locations, sources, instruments, beneficiaries, maleficiaries, and reasons. See §10.7.3 for a more detailed discussion of the valency manipulating effect of *-ya*.

- (519) a. *nerka*
n-herka
1SG-wash
‘I’m washing/doing washing.’
- b. *nerkiya*
n-herka-ya
1SG-wash-APPL
‘I’m washing somewhere/with something/for someone.’ (c146)

The association of locations with *-ya* is most widely represented in my corpus, and often goes beyond what is traditionally viewed as valency manipulation, as it extends to adverbial locations as well as those expressed by noun phrases.

The examples in (520) and (521) illustrate how the use of *-ya* with adverbs parallels that of nominal locations.

- (520) a. *himka* ‘sleep’
- b. *sanaspita rimkiya çema*
[*sana-spita*]_{NP:E:LOC} r-himka-ya çema
[*swidden-edge.of*] 3-sleep-APPL tapir
‘The tapir was sleeping at the edge of the swidden.’ (Shj4)
- c. *wane wimkiyatka*
[*wane*]_{ADV:LOC} w-himka-ya-tka
[*there/thus*] 1PL-sleep-APPL-PFV
‘We slept there.’ (Hws37)

- (521) a. *heta* ‘see’
- b. pa kata rapha netyali
 pa kata [rapha]_{NP:E:LOC} n-heta-**ya**-li
 NONSPEC instance.of [stream] 1SG-see-**APPL**-3SGM
 ‘Once, I saw it at the stream.’ (Kch6)
- c. hawla netyali
 [hawla]_{ADV:LOC} n-heta-**ya**-li
 [there] 1SG-see-**APPL**-3SGM
 ‘I saw it over there.’ (Kok11)

When used with the ambiguous location/manner adverb *wane* ‘there, thus’, *-ya* disambiguates its sense in favour of the location.

Among nonverbal predicates, *-ya* occurs only on adverbial predicates headed by the location/manner adverb *wane*, and the combination forms a possessive predicate. This is also described in §11.5.4; further examples are provided in (522)-(524).

- (522) waneyno tʃitʃiksi
 wane-**ya**-no tʃitʃi-ksi
 there/thus-**APPL**-1SG fire-tube.of
 ‘I have a gun.’ (Kno30)
- (523) waneyhimli sato platowhene
 wane-**ya**-hima-li sato plato-whene
 there/thus-**APPL**-QUOT-3SGM SPEC+FEM plate-child.of
 ‘He had a small plate, reportedly.’ (Paj12)
- (524) wa nikoçiri waneyananri pekepeke
 wa n-hikoçiri wane-**ya**-nani-li pekepeke
 REF 1SG-uncle.of there/thus-**APPL**-EXTNS-3SGM motorized.canoe
 ‘My maternal uncle used to have a motorized canoe.’ (Unc34)

This suffix never appears on nominal or adjectival predicates, but see §6.7.2 for description of the functionally similar and homophonous oblique suffix *-ya*.

8.2.6 Verbal suffix zone 2: voice and mood

8.2.6.1 Voice

Yine distinguishes actual versus anticipated status in its voice morphology, both for passives and reflexives. All voice morphology is mutually exclusive and appears only on verbal predicates. In this section I briefly illustrate this morphology; passivization and reflexivization are treated in §10.6, and further examples and discussion can be found there.

Passive: *-ka* and *-ko* The suffix used for real/actual and for unmarked passives is *-ka*, illustrated in (525)-(527).

- (525) a. riçhalo
r-hiçha-lo
3-search.for-3SGF
'He is searching for her.'
- b. tiçhaka
t-hiçha-**ka**
3SGF-search.for-**PASS**
'She is being searched for.' (c133)

- (526) hawla nŋanicika
hawla n-ŋanica-ya-**ka**
there 1SG-invite-APPL-**PASS**
'I was invited over there.' (Reb17)

- (527) riylatkanatkana wimolenni
r-hiylata-**ka**-na-tka-na w-himole-ne-ni
3-kill-**PASS**-CMPV-PFV-3PL 1PL-kin.of-PL-AFFCT
'Our kinspeople were all killed.' (Mshk73)

Outside its use in the analytic passive construction (see §10.6.1.2), *-ko* is almost unattested on verbs in my corpus. The examples in (528)-(529) were presented to my

consultants in an elicitation setting and confirmed to be acceptable and meaningful, but I have no textual examples to present.

(528) t-*hi*cha-**ko**
3SGF-search.for-**ANTIC.PASS**
'She will be searched for.' (c133)

(529) niylatko
n-hiylata-**ko**
1SG-kill-**ANTIC.PASS**
'I will be killed.' (c133)

Reflexive: -na...wa; -ina...wa The reflexive, whether actual or anticipated, is composed with discontinuous suffixes. The first part of the suffix appears here in zone 4 of the verb template, and distinguishes actual (*-na*) versus anticipated (*-ina*) reflexives. The second part for both *-na* and *-ina* is the suffix *-wa*, which appears in the position of the pronominal suffix. This is evident from a comparison of examples like (531), where *-wa* follows the perfective aspect suffix; with (532), where it precedes the 3PL suffix (see Table 9.1 regarding the positioning of affixes on the predicate).

(530) pkaftokanitnawa
p-kafi-tokani-ta-**na-wa**
2SG-grab-language.of- VCL-**REFL-REFL**
'You're recording yourself' (g25)

(531) nimatnatkawa
n-himata-**na-tka-wa**
1SG-know-**REFL-PFV-REFL**
'I know myself.' (c43)

(532) retnawana
r-heta-**na-wa-na**
3-see-**REFL-REFL-3PL**
'They're looking at themselves.' (g34)

- (533) tsripotinani ristaknanatkawa
 tsri poti nani r-histaka-**na**-na-tka-**wa**
 big+MASC INTNS EXTNS 3-cut-**REFL**-CMPV-PFV-**REFL**
 ‘He had taken a big slice out of himself.’ (Tra137)

The anticipatory reflexive is illustrated in (534)-(536).

- (534) netapinawa
 n-heta-pa-**ina**-**wa**
 1SG-see-ELV-**ANTIC**.**REFL**-**REFL**
 ‘I’ll go look at myself.’ (g125)

- (535) pkaftokanitinwa
 p-kaji-tokani-ta-**ina**-**wa**
 2SG-grab-language.of- VCL-**ANTIC**.**REFL**-**REFL**
 ‘You will record yourself.’; ‘Record yourself.’ (g25)

- (536) terkinatkawa
 t-herka-**ina**-tka-**wa**
 3SGF-wash-**ANTIC**.**REFL**-PFV-**REFL**
 ‘She was about to wash herself.’ (Per40)

8.2.6.2 Mood

There are two mood suffixes, *-ini* ‘temporal’ and *-ni* ‘anticipatory’, that only occur on verbal predicates. These are described here.

-ini ‘temporal (/conditional)’ The suffix *-ini* is used with temporal and conditional subordinate clauses and marks the event on which another – the one expressed in the main clause – is contingent. Typical examples are provided in (537) and (538) below; see §13.2.2 for further discussion. It is also used in main clauses for non-assertive commands and predictions, as in (539); see also §12.5.2.

(537) natʃpotili rapokini
 natʃi-poti-li r-hapoka-**ini**
 hungry-INTNS-3SGM 3-arrive-**TEMP**
 ‘He was very hungry when he arrived’

(538) womkahitnipatkali nikataninwi
 w-homkahita-**ini**-pa-tka-li Ø-nikata-ni-na-wi
 1PL-follow-**TEMP**-ELV-PFV-3SGM 3-consume-ANTIC-CMPV-1PL
 ‘If we follow it, it will consume us.’ (Twm14)

(539) hewikla wimkinitka
 hewi-ko-la w-himka-**ini**-tka
 here-EMPH-IMP.NONDECL 1PL-sleep-**TEMP**-PFV
 ‘Let’s sleep right here.’ (Via29)
 (Let it be right here (that) we sleep)

-ni ‘anticipatory’ Yine employs the suffix *-ni* for anticipated events, those that are expected to occur, or did occur, at some time after the established reference time (determined in context). It is also used to express commands, and with a second person subject *-ni*-marked events are ambiguous over future time and imperative senses.

(540) hita hiyolikani yetʃikawa
 hita hiyolika-**ni** yetʃikawa
 1SG hunt-**ANTIC** tomorrow
 ‘I will go hunting tomorrow.’ (Tra15)

(541) hewiko nkaspika wa hetletanitkalo nhaninro
 hewi-ko n-kaspika
 now-EMPH 1SG-let.go.of
 wa heta-le-ta-**ni**-tka-lo n-hninro
 REF see-SUBD-VCL-**ANTIC**-3SGF 1-wife.of
 ‘Right here I will let go of seeing my wife.’ (Kme98)

(542) teno patskotani
teno p-hatskota-**ni**
high 2SG-climb.up-**ANTIC**
'Climb up high.' (TsN9)

(543) hi wa hyoprihaninno
hi wa h-yopriha-**ni**-na-no
NEG REF 2PL-cut.fringe-**ANTIC**-CMPV-1SG
'Don't cut me a fringe.' (Hetn74)

The anticipatory suffix is obligatory with deverbal object nominalizations; see §7.1.

8.3 On the status of the “verb stem”

As many of the examples in this chapter can attest, there does not seem to be any obvious break between what I have called the verb stem and what I will treat as the predicate in the next chapter. The line that I have drawn between ‘verbal’ and ‘predicate’ morphology is motivated not by any obvious boundary in the predicate structure, but rather according to the distribution of the morphology on each side of the line. What has been addressed here is morphology that is either unique to verbal predicates, or – in the case of the incorporants – has a unique morphosyntactic treatment on verbal predicates. The large set of morphology shared between verbal and nonverbal predicate types is the focus of the predicate chapter. The extent to which the distinction between the two represents a real grammatical unit remains an open question.

9 The Predicate

Setting aside zero-predicate clauses, which have a very restricted function (see §11.5.1), the predicate is the core of the Yine clause. It determines the number of core arguments that may be expressed (see §11.5.1) and, with subject indexing, is capable of standing as a complete, independent sentence. The definition of ‘predicate’ adopted here includes the predicate head and its concomitant morphology, and does not include an independent object or any other independent words. The purpose of this chapter is to describe and exemplify the morphology of the Yine predicates.

Morphologically, predicates in Yine may be broadly categorized as verbal (headed by a verb root) or non-verbal (headed by a noun, adjective, pronoun, quantifier, or adverb root). In my corpus, the majority of predicates are verbal, and verbal predicates are also typically more morphologically complex; but the most notable difference between verbal and nonverbal predicates is in how the core arguments are indexed. This is described in §9.1. §9.2-9.3 describe the morphological structure of verbal, nominal, and adverbial predicates.

The morphological structure of the Yine predicate is summarized in Table 9.1.

Prefix	pronominal Class 1, 2	VS	§9.1.1
Stem			
Suffix zone 1	applicative, motion, mood	<i>may cooccur</i>	§9.2
Suffix zone 2	external aspect	<i>mutually exclusive</i>	§9.3
Suffix zone 3	pronominal suffix	O, NVS plural argument	§9.1.2

Table 9.1: Morphological structure of the predicate

9.1 Argument indexing on the predicate

9.1.1 Pronominal prefixes: verbal clause subject (VS)

Unlike possessor marking on nouns, subject marking on verbs only utilizes a subset of the pronominal prefix classes (see §3.2.1.1): Class 1 and Class 2. These are repeated here in Table 9.2 for convenience.¹

Class	1sg	2sg	3sgm	3sgf	1pl	2pl	3pl
1	n-	p-	r-	t-	w-	h-	r- ... -na
2	n-	p-	∅-	t-	w-	h-	∅- ... -na

Table 9.2: Pronominal verbal subject prefixes

The choice between prefix classes on verbal predicates is predictable based on the phonological shape of the verb stem, as outlined below.

CLASS 1. Class 1 is used with verbs beginning with *h*, which the pronominal prefix replaces. If the stem-initial *h* is followed by *i*, the *i* mutates to *ī* with all prefixes except 2PL (regarding which see §2.3.5).² Representative examples are given in (544)-(545):

- (544) *himka* ‘to sleep’
nimka ‘I sleep’
pimka ‘you (sg.) sleep’
rimka ‘he sleeps’
timka ‘she sleeps’
- wimka* ‘we sleep’
himka ‘you (pl.) sleep’
rimkana ‘they sleep’

- (545) *hiyolika* ‘to hunt’
nīyolika ‘I hunt’
pīyolika ‘you (sg.) hunt’
rīyolika ‘he hunts’
tīyolika ‘she hunts’
- wiyolika* ‘we hunt’
hiyolika ‘you (pl.) hunt’
rīyolikna ‘they hunt’

¹As with the possessor prefixes on nouns, 3PL argument marking requires the suffix *-na* to co-occur with the 3sgm (“3-”) prefix. With verbs, plural *-na* appears as the last of the predicate suffixes, following the O marker (see §9.1.2).

²The replacement of a stem-initial consonant, and the vowel mutation, are unique to prefixes; they are not general phonological processes in the language.

If the verb stem begins with *h* followed by a vowel other than *i*, no vowel mutation occurs, as illustrated in (546)-(547).

- (546) *hansata* ‘to dance’
nansata ‘I dance’ *wansata* ‘we dance’
pansata ‘you (sg.) dance’ *hansata* ‘you (pl.) dance’
ransata ‘he dances’ *ransatna* ‘they dance’
tansata ‘she dances’

- (547) *heta* ‘to see’
neta ‘I see’ *weta* ‘we see’
peta ‘you (sg.) see’ *heta* ‘you (pl.) see’
reta ‘he sees’ *retna* ‘they see’
teta ‘she sees’

CLASS 2. The Class 2 series, with the null allomorph in 3 singular masculine / plural, is used with verb stems beginning with a consonant other than *h*;³ this is exemplified in (548) and (549).

- (548) *salwata* ‘I walk around’
nsalwata ‘I walk around’ *wsalwata* ‘we walk around’
psalwata ‘you (sg.) walk around’ *hsalwata* ‘you (pl.) walk around’
salwata ‘he walks around’ *salwatna* ‘they walk around’
tsalwata ‘she walks around’

- (549) *koywika* ‘to make manioc beer’
nkoywika ‘I make manioc beer’ *wkoywika* ‘we ...’
pkoywika ‘you (sg.) make manioc beer’ *hkoywika* ‘you (pl.) ...’
koywika ‘he makes manioc beer’ *koywikna* ‘they ...’
tkoywika ‘she makes manioc beer’

³This is true even where the stem begins with a consonant that forms a licit cluster with the *r* of the pronominal prefix as with *koywuka* in (549): *rk* is a permissible cluster (e.g. *herka* ‘wash’). However, there are no word-initial *rC* clusters in Yine, so it is possible that the difference between prefix classes 1 and 2 is phonologically predictable and the two could be collapsed into one series.

9.1.2 Pronominal suffixes

The pronominal suffixes are used to index the object of a transitive verb (O) or the subject of a nonverbal predicate (NVS).

The O paradigm is presented in Table 9.3. Note that the suffix marking 3PL for objects is the same as it is for subjects, i.e. *-na*, but only subjects have the prefix. The 3rd singular suffixes show some phonologically conditioned allomorphy; this is described in §2.3.4 but may be quickly summarized here: the *r* forms are used following stems that end in *n*, *i*, *e*, or *i* underlyingly, and the *l* forms are used elsewhere.

	SG	PL
1st person	-no	-wi
2nd person	-yi	-hi
3rd masc	-li/-ri	-na
3rd fem	-lo/-ro	

Table 9.3: Pronominal suffixes: O

The suffixes that index the subject of a nonverbal predicate (NVS) are presented in Table 9.4. They are identical to the O suffixes except that there are two additional suffixes, *-ni* and *-la*. These suffixes are impersonal and fused with mood, contrasting declarative (*-ni*) with non-declarative (*-la*), and are never used on verbal predicates. On nonverbal predicates, their use depends on the word class of the predicate head. This is described in detail in §9.1.2.2 below.

	SG	PL
1st person	-no	-wi
2nd person	-yi	-hi
3rd masc	-li/-ri	-na
3rd fem	-lo/-ro	
impers.decl	-ni	
impers.nondecl	-la/-ra	

Table 9.4: Pronominal suffixes: NVS

Despite the large overlap between the O and NVS series – the only difference being

the availability of the impersonal forms – I treat them as distinct suffix paradigms in this grammar. This is done primarily for descriptive purposes, in order to more efficiently gloss the suffix in a way that reflects its grammatical function.

9.1.2.1 Verbal clause object (O)

The examples in (550)-(551) below illustrate the O suffix paradigm. In (551), the anticipatory suffix *-ni* is added to show the allomorphy in the 3SG forms.

- (550) *heta* ‘to see’; *reta* ‘he sees’
retno ‘He sees me’ *retwi* ‘He sees us’
retyi ‘He sees you (sg.)’ *rethi* ‘He sees you (pl.)’
retli ‘He sees him/it’ *retna* ‘He sees them’
retlo ‘He sees her/it’

- (551) *heta* ‘to see’; *retani* ‘he will see’
retanno ‘He will see me’ *retanwi* ‘He will see us’
retanyi ‘He will see you (sg.)’ *retanhi* ‘He will see you (pl.)’
retanri ‘He will see him/it’ *retanna* ‘He will see them’
retanro ‘He will see her/it’

9.1.2.2 Nonverbal clause subject (NVS)

Nonverbal predicates can be divided into four types based on the pronominal suffix(es) used to index their subjects: predicates headed by nouns or nominalizations take the 1st and 2nd person suffixes, but all 3rd person referents are indexed with an impersonal suffix; those headed by pronouns use the impersonal suffixes for all persons and numbers; those headed by adjectives take 1st and 2nd person and use the gender/numbered suffixes for 3rd person, but do not take the impersonal suffixes; and those headed by adverbs use all of the NVS suffixes, with the gender/numbered forms used for 3rd person subjects but not for impersonal subjects.

The distribution of NVS suffixes over nonverbal predicate types is summarized in Table 9.5, and examples are provided in the discussion below.⁴

⁴The classification of *-ni* and *-la* as ‘impersonal’ is based on their usage in adverbial predicates; this

- b. hitakatvani wa peyikçenatanrono
 hita-ka-tka-**ni**
 1SG-ASSRT-PFV-IMP.DECL
 wa p-heyika-çe-na-ta-ni-lo-no
 REF 2SG-hate-FREQ-DUR-VCL-ANTIC-SGF-1SG
 ‘I am the one you used to hate.’ (Kcha12)
 (*It is I (who) am the one you used to hate*)
- c. wannahimni wa kapkaklerine
 wanna-hima-**ni** wa kapkakleri-ne
 3PL-QUOT-IMP.DECL REF good.hunter-PL
 ‘The good hunters were those ones.’ (Nwd12)

On adjectival predicates The subject markers on adjectival predicates are identical to the O markers on verbal predicates: in 3rd person, the gender/number suffixes are used, and *-ni* is not.

(559) kihleno hita
 kihle-**no** hita
 good-1SG 1SG
 ‘I am well.’ (Jml2)

(560) kihlepothimlo mtiro
 kihle-poti-hima-**lo** mtiro
 good-INTNS-QUOT-3SGF small+FEM
 ‘The girl was very beautiful.’ (Tso6)

(561) teyakpotkocli
 teyaka-poti-koca-**li**
 fast-INTNS-ADD-3SGM
 ‘It is also very fast.’ (Kch12)

If, however, the predicate is headed by a nominalized adjective – an adjective root marked for gender or number agreement – the subject marking follows that of nominal predicates and in the 3rd person only *-ni* is used. Compare (562) with (561) above; see also (553) above.

- (562) teyakalpotni
teyaka-li-poti-**ni**
fast-SGM-INTNS-IMP.DECL
'It (a snake, masc.) is (one who is) very fast.' (Srp3)

On adverbial predicates Adverbial predicates take the full set of NVS suffixes. 1st and 2nd person are illustrated in (563) and (564), respectively.

- (563) waneno
wane-**no**
there/thus-1SG
'I exist.'

- (564) waneyi?
wane-**yi**
there/thus-2SG
'Do you exist?'

3rd person subjects are indexed with the gender/numbered suffixes:

- (565) waneri nopçi
wane-**li** no-pçi
there/thus-3SGM 1SGPSSR-house.of
'My house is there.' 'My house exists / I have a house.' (hetn34)

- (566) maleflo wanna motorote
malef-**lo** wanna motoro-te
not.there-3SGF 3PL motor-PSSD
'Their motorised canoes were not there.' (Unc81)

- (567) wanena nwihenene
wane-**na** n-whene-ne
there/thus-3PL 1SG-child.of-PL
'My children exist.' (Gav34)

Impersonal subjects – those that do not have a referent – are indexed with *-ni*. It is because *-ni* contrasts with *-li/-lo/-na* on adverbial predicates that it is analysed as an impersonal subject marker, in spite of its use to index personal referents on nominal and pronominal predicates.

(568) malefni
 malefa-**ni**
 not.there-IMP.DECL
 ‘There’s nothing.’

(569) hi waneni
 hi wane-**ni**
 NEG there/thus-IMP.DECL
 ‘There wasn’t (any).’ ‘It wasn’t there.’ (WtE180)

9.2 Suffix zone 1: motion and mood

9.2.1 *-pa* ‘elative’

The suffix *-pa* expresses movement from one location, state, or temporal setting to another. On verbal predicates, its primary senses are elative (movement away from the deictic centre) and purposive; but it may also be used to mark a particular event as belonging to a way of life that does not hold at the reference time – for example, in telling about how things used to be done in the ancestors’ time.

The elative sense is the most common in my corpus and is used as the gloss. This sense is illustrated in (570)-(572).

(570) a. haninro kƒana hiçhatka
 Ø-hninro kƒana hiçha-tka
 3-wife.of herb search.for-PFV
 ‘His wife searched for herbs.’

- b. haninro kfana hiçapatka
 Ø-hninro hima kfana hiça-**pa**-tka
 3-wife.of QUOT herb search.for-**ELV**-PFV
 ‘His wife went to search for herbs.’ (Jix10)

- (571) a. hewi witakat kayi
 hewi w-hitaka-tka-yi
 here 1PL-put-PFV-2SG
 ‘We put you here now.’
- b. xani hewiko witkapat kayi
 xani hewi-ko w-hitaka-**pa**-tka-yi
 now here-EMPH 1PL-put-**ELV**-PFV-2SG
 ‘Now we put you right here (and we leave).’ (E49)

- (572) a. petannatkana wihenene
 p-heta-ni-na-tka-na w-whene-ne
 2SG-see-ANTIC-CMPV-PFV-3PL 1PL-child.of-PL
 ‘Look at our children.’
- b. petapannatkana wihenene
 p-heta-**pa**-ni-na-tka-na w-whene-ne
 2SG-see-**ELV**-ANTIC-CMPV-PFV-3PL 1PL-child.of-PL
 ‘Go look at our children.’ (Hetn99)

As is common cross-linguistically, the relative marker often has a purposive sense, indicating that the action is carried out with a particular goal in mind. This is especially common in dependent clauses, as in (573)-(574) (see also §13.2.1):

- (573) netinripnawa
 n-heta-inri-**pa**-na-wa
 1SG-see-ACTN.NOM-**ELV**-REFL-REFL
 ‘in order to see myself.’ (d126)

- (574) hita halikli potfkeri hawa hita yanjinikanitiripa
 hita halika-li potfke-li
 1SG want-3SGM silent-SGM
 hawa hita yanjinikanita-inri-**pa**
 and 1SG study-ACTN.NOM-**ELV**
 ‘I want silence so I can study.’ (d126)

But the purposive sense is also found in independent clauses, as in (575)-(576). Note that in each of these examples, the *-pa* marked predicate has a close semantic relationship to the one preceding it, which has also been provided in the example. This relationship is not grammatically expressed; there is nothing about either clause that prevents it from standing as a complete, independent sentence. However, there is a prosodic link between them: a non-final intonation contour (see §2.5), suggesting that the purposive sense of *-pa* is favored only in events that are in some way contingent on another (whether or not that contingency is grammatically specified).

- (575) hoja yatnaka riyolkapa
 hoja Ø-ya-tnaka r-hiyolika-**pa**
 forest 3-go-REIT 3-hunt-**ELV**
 ‘He went back to the forest to hunt.’ (Tra30)

- (576) hi wimkata kosletli wa wkojpakyapli wa naylotsa
 hi w-himkata kosleta-li
 NEG 1PL-be.able.to guide-3SGM
 wa w-kojpaka-ya-**pa-li** wa naylo-tsa
 REF 1PL-get.loose-APPL-**ELV**-3SGM REF plastic-cord.of
 ‘We can’t guide it to get it loose from the line.’ (Pts51)

On verbal predicates, *-pa* is almost always used with a spatial or purposive sense in my corpus. However, there are examples where a temporal meaning is clearly intended, like those in (577)-(578). These could be viewed as involving a metaphorical movement from a past situation to the current one.

- (577) hi hima rimata çiwetapnina
 hi hima r-himata çiweta-**pa**-ni-na
 NEG QUOT 3-know spin-**ELV**-**AFFCT**-3PL
 ‘They (our ancestors) didn’t know how to spin.’ (Wap3)
- (578) miţjikawhima hi wa “pani” hima tfinapna . . . wane hima tfinakapnina “sosi”
 miţjikawa hima hi wa “pani” hima Ø-tfina-**pa**-na . . .
 long.ago QUOT NEG REF “pani” QUOT 3-say-**ELV**-3PL . . .
 wane hima Ø-tfina-kaka-**pa**-ni-na “sosi”
 there/thus QUOT 3-say-**RECIP**-**ELV**-**AFFCT**-3PL “sosi”
 ‘Before, reportedly, our ancestors didn’t say “pani”⁵, they said “sosi” to each other.’ (Kme100)

On nonverbal predicates, however, the temporal sense is well-attested; in fact, the most common function of *-pa* on nonverbal predicates is to express change of state, condition, quality, location, etc.

- (579) hi çinaninapno
 hi çinani-na-**pa**-no
 NEG full-CMPV-**ELV**-1SG
 ‘I will not be completely full.’ (hetn60)
- (580) kapţolenapyi
 kapţole-na-**pa**-yi
 dirty-CMPV-**ELV**-2SG
 ‘You will get all dirty.’ (Per14)
- (581) hitaprapni wala
 hita-pra-**pa**-ni wala
 1SG-domestic.animal.of-**ELV**-**IMP**.**DECL** 3SGF
 ‘That one will be my pet.’ (MyI118)

⁵*pani* ‘brother-in-law of male’

- (582) wanepni wa ransatinna wa çeçine siconeyma
 wane-**pa-ni** wa r-hansata-ya-**ni-na**
 there/thus-ELV-IMP.DECL REF 3-dance-APPL-ANTIC-3PL
 wa çeçi-ne sico-ne-yma
 REF man-PL woman-PL-COM
 ‘It would be there that the men would dance with the women.’ (Fst52)

9.2.2 *-ni* ‘affected’

The suffix *-ni* indicates that an argument of the verb is or will be affected in a negative way within the course of events in the discourse. Typical examples are provided in (583)-(585). The affected argument may be any core argument: it is the intransitive subject in (583), the transitive subject in (584), and the object in (585).

In (583) the doomed participant is the subject, who is alive at this stage in the narrative, but later on will help bring about his own death.

- (583) wanekli hima rapnanitnitka
 wane-kli hima r-hapnanita-**ni-tka**
 there/thus-time.of QUOT 3-sleep-AFFCT-PFV
 ‘At that time he went to sleep, reportedly.’ (Tra22)
- (584) katmeroli pickalithima tetapnitka walani sieni
 katmeroli picka-li-ti-hima t-heta-pa-**ni-tka**
 flame SIM-SGM-PRIV+MASC-QUOT 3SGF-see-ELV-AFFCT-PFV
 wala-ni sico-ni
 3SGF-AFFCT woman-AFFCT
 ‘That unfortunate woman went to look at the flame-like thing.’ (Kme7)
- (585) himka pimlakatsyehitannino
 hi-maka p-himlaka-tsa-yehi-ta-**ni-no**
 NEG-FRUST 2SG-tie-cord.of-VICIN-VCL-ANTIC-AFFCT-1SG
 ‘Don’t tie the rope near (poor) me.’ (Pkn30)

This suffix is also used if one of the arguments is no longer alive at the reference time, as is the case in (586)-(588).

(586) hiyahni nirni wane t̥jinnitka ...
 hiyaho-ni n-hiri-ni t̥jina-**ni**-tka
 then-IMP.DECL 1SG-father-AFFCT say-AFFCT-PFV
 ‘Then my (late) father said ...’ (BfM62)

(587) wale yimakçenatniwini wa wirni
 wale yimaka-çe-na-ta-**ni**-wi-ni
 3SGM teach-FREQ-DUR-VCL-AFFCT-1PL-IMP.DECL
 wa w-hiri-ni
 REF 1PL-father.of-AFFCT
 ‘He used to be our teacher, our late father.’ (BfM12)

(588) hi wa riylatniwalo
 hi wa r-hiylata-**ni**-wa-lo
 NEG REF 3-kill-AFFCT-IMPV-3SGF
 ‘He had not yet killed her.’ (WatE59)

Examples (589)-(591) illustrate *-ni* on nonverbal predicates. The sense is the same as with verbal predicates.

(589) kompathimnitkani
 Ø-kompa-te-hima-**ni**-tka-ni
 3-godfather-PSSD-QUOT-AFFCT-PFV-IMP.DECL
 ‘He was (her, the poor thing’s) godfather, reportedly.’ (TcG6)

(590) witsrikatenni powralinnitkani
 w-hitsrikate-ne-ni powra-li-ne-**ni**-tka-ni
 1PL-ancestor-PL-AFFCT clean-SGM-PL-AFFCT-PFV-IMP.DECL
 ‘Our ancestors (now dead) were very clean.’ (Fst20)

- (591) powrali pantfi waneynina
 powra-li pantfi wane-ya-**ni**-na
 clean-SGM house there/thus-APPL-AFFCT-3PL
 ‘They (now dead) had clean houses.’ (Fst22)

Regarding the use of this suffix outside the predicate, particularly in the noun phrase where it is more frequently placed, see §9.5.

9.2.3 *-na* ‘completive’

Bybee et al. (1994:54) define completive aspect as expressing that an action was done ‘thoroughly and to completion.’ This sense is encoded in Yine with the suffix *-na*. It indicates that the action or situation denoted by the verb is already finished at the reference time, or was begun with the intention of bringing it to completion, or has been carried to a natural conclusion. This suffix also carries some information about the speaker’s perspective of the event, often indicating that a task was large or that a lot of effort was needed to bring the event to completion.

- (592) rinkaçhimatanrona
 r-hinka-çe-hima-ta-**na**-lo-na
 3-shoot-FREQ-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-3SGF-3PL
 ‘They shot her to death, reportedly.’ (Mshk114)

- (593) nerkapana
 n-herka-pa-**na**
 1SG-wash-ELV-CMPV
 ‘I went to do laundry (finally/that had been piling up/which I’ve been putting off doing).’ (c150)

Although it is often used to express that an event occurred prior to the reference time, *-na* is not restricted to past time. In (594), for example, completive marking co-occurs with the anticipatory suffix in a command; here, it expresses how the speaker wants the addressee to look at her closely and carefully.

- (594) petannatkano!
 p-heta-ni-**na**-tka-no
 2SG-see-ANTIC-CMPV-PFV-1SG
 ‘Take a good look at me now!’ (Nwd57)

In (595), the speaker has not finished swinging in her hammock; rather, the completive contributes the sense that she has gotten settled and intends to stay.

- (595) canipotiko nalpitana
 cani poti-ko n-halpita-**na**
 now INTNS-EMPH 1SG-swing-CMPV
 ‘I have only just gotten in my hammock.’ (g38)

On nonverbal predicates, *-na* expresses completion in terms of how much the condition or quality denoted in the predicate characterizes the subject.

- (596) natfifafronatkani
 natfifa-tfro-**na**-tka-ni
 hunger-SUBJ.NOM+FSG-CMPV-PFV-IMP.DECL
 ‘She was starving.’ (Nwd68)

- (597) hi wa tsonenni
 hi wa tsro-ne-**na**-ni
 NEG REF big+FEM-PL-CMPV-IMP.DECL
 ‘They were not completely grown up.’ (Tgn22)

- (598) hi kihlenatkano
 hi kihle-**na**-tka-no
 NEG good-CMPV-PFV-1SG
 ‘I am not all well.’ (Kme50)

9.2.4 *-ka* ‘assertive’, *-ko* ‘emphatic’

The suffixes *-ka* and *-ko* are epistemic markers, asserting (*-ka*) and emphasizing (*-ko*) the reality of the proposition expressed in the clause from the speaker’s perspective. Matteson (1965)⁶ lists these as suffixes that occur, rarely, on verbs. I have not found clear examples of either of them being used on verbal predicates in my corpus, but they are both common on nonverbal predicates (see examples (600)-(604) below) and on nonpredicate elements (see §9.5).

Matteson’s examples of *-ka* (599a) and *-ko* (599b, c) on verbal predicates, adapted to the glossing conventions in this grammar but with her translations, are provided in (599); I have not yet brought these to my consultants for discussion, so cannot offer any further comment on them at this point.

- (599) a. nyatkaka
n-ya-tka-ka
1SG-go-PFV-ASSRT
‘I’m going now.’
- b. piyolikiniko
p-hiyolika-ini-ko
2SG-hunt-TEMP-EMPH
‘Just when you go hunting.’
- c. papkapinikli
p-hapkapa-ini-ko-li
2SG-catch.up.to-TEMP-EMPH-3SGM
‘Just when you catch him.’ (EM:74)

Note that in (599a) the epistemic suffix follows the external aspect suffix. On p.71 Matteson notes that the relative order of these elements “varies freely”, but more commonly occur in the opposite order (i.e. *-ka/-ko* before *-tka*). My data shows only the order that Matteson identifies as more common; I do not find any variation. This is the order I have represented in the predicate morphology template in Table 9.1. However, as all of my examples of these suffixes co-occurring involve nonverbal predicates, and

⁶Matteson glosses *-ka* as ‘affirmative’.

Matteson’s examples all involve verbal predicates, there is the possibility that the order is affected by the word class of the predicate head.’

Examples from my own corpus of *-ka* are provided in (600)-(602), and of *-ko* in (603)-(604).

- (600) hitakatkani wa piçhaçenatanrono
 hita-**ka**-tka-ni
 1SG-ASSRT-PFV-IMP.DECL
 wa p-hiçha-çe-na-ta-ni-lo-no
 REF 2SG-search.for-FREQ-DUR-VCL-PROP.NOM-SGF-1SG
 ‘It’s me, I am the one you were searching for.’ (Gr116)

- (601) hi hima tsrokakakni
 hi hima tsro-kaka-**ka**-ni
 NEG QUOT big+FEM-DISTR-ASSRT-IMP.DECL
 ‘Each of them was not big.’ ‘None of them was big.’ (hetn45)

- (602) tfinanrokatkani hita
 tfinani-lo-**ka**-tka-ni hita
 say-PROP.NOM-SGF-ASSRT-PFV-IMP.DECL 1SG
 ‘I am the one you were talking to.’ (Hetu8)

Examples of the emphatic *-ko* on nonverbal predicates are provided in (603)-(604).

- (603) wanekni
 wane-**ko**-ni
 there/thus-EMPH-IMP.DECL
 ‘It’s exactly thus.’ ‘That’s exactly right.’

- (604) hi tsrokotkani wa twi kaçpapaho
 hi tsro-**ko**-tka-ni wa twi kaçpapaho
 NEG big+FEM-EMPH-PFV-IMP.DECL REF PROX.SGF clay.bowl
 ‘This clay bowl is not very big.’ (hetn60)

In my corpus, however, it is more common for *-ko* to be suffixed to a non-predicate constituent, as in (605), than to the predicate.

- (605) hojako kapnatanatkalina
 hoja-**ko** Ø-kapnata-na-tka-li-na
 forest-**EMPH** 3-bury-CMPV-PFV-3SGM-3PL
 ‘They buried him right in the forest.’ (Hmn77)

9.2.5 *-maka* ‘frustrative’

Frustrative modality, the expression of expectancy reversal (cf. Longacre 2007:385-6), is encoded in Yine with the suffix *-maka*. Its marking in a clause typically indicates that the event denoted in the predicate failed to achieve its intended or hoped for result, or is desired but unlikely to occur, but in some cases (see for example (613) below) it acts to express a participant’s unwillingness to take part in the event.

- (606) tinkaninmakatkano
 t-hinka-ni-na-**maka**-tka-no
 3SGF-shoot-ANTIC-CMPV-**FRUST**-PFV-1SG
 ‘She was going to kill me.’ [But she failed to] (Kme98)

- (607) womkahitmakli hi wimkata kajretli
 w-homkahita-**maka**-li
 1PL-follow-**FRUST**-3SGM
 hi w-himkata kaji-le-ta-li
 NEG 1PL-be.able.to grab-SUBD-VCL-3SGM
 ‘We followed it (in vain); we couldn’t catch it.’ (Kch19)

- (608) çiro pkawapanmaka
 çiro p-kawa-pa-ni-**maka**
 grandmother 2SG-bathe-ELV-ANTIC-**FRUST**
 ‘Grandmother, go to bathe.’ [But she didn’t] (TsN57)

In (609), the speaker expresses his (seemingly impossible) wish that the tree frog he is listening to were a human woman so he could marry her. Note that in this narrative, the tree frog does in fact transform into a woman, and she does marry him; frustrative marking does not indicate that the desired thing does not happen, but rather that it is viewed by the speaker as unlikely or impossible.

- (609) yineromkapatkayi, picamka nhaninrotanitka
 yine-lo-**maka**-pa-tka-yi
 people-SGF-**FRUST**-ELV-PFV-2SG
 pica-maka n-hninrota-ni-tka
 2SG-FRUST 1SG-take.as.wife-ANTIC-PFV
 ‘If only you were a woman, I would marry you.’ (hetn14)

9.2.6 *-kta* ‘generalized’

The suffix *-kta* contributes a generalizing sense to the event, expressing that the action was done randomly, in a general, indefinite, aimless or wandering manner, or with an undefined or indefinite object. It may also be used if the manner in which something was done is unknown or unimportant.

- (610) tinhimataktatka wa sani
 t-hina-hima-ta-**kta**-tka wa sani
 3SGF-come-QUOT-VCL-**GENZ**-PFV REF wasp
 ‘The wasp came along (approaching in a random way).’ (Paj24)

- (611) yahimamtaktatka wale
 Ø-ya-hima-m-ta-**kta**-tka wale
 3-go-QUOT-NONDUR-VCL-**GENZ**-PFV 3SGM
 ‘He was going (winding along). (Tgn7)

- (612) niklokhimatanaktatkali
 Ø-nikloka-hima-ta-na-**kta**-tka-li
 3-swallow-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-**GENZ**-PFV-3SGM
 ‘(The huge snake) swallowed him up somehow, reportedly.’ (Hmn38)

In (613), the bird who is subject of the verb *halna* ‘fly’ has been pressed to stay at a friend’s much longer than she wanted to. As the day wore on, she finally just tried to fly off in whatever direction (and then go home).⁷

- (613) hiyahni kayitkani talnahimatnimkakta
 hiyaho-ni kayi-tka-ni
 then-IMP.DECL afternoon-PFV-IMP.DECL
 t-halna-hima-ta-ni-maka-**кта**
 3SGF-fly-QUOT-VCL-AFFCT-FRUST-GENZ
 ‘Then when it was afternoon she flew off.’ (Tuc15)

The use of *-кта* with an indefinite object is illustrated in (614). Here, the speaker is introducing an addition to a previously told story, from which something had been left out and would now be told.

- (614) nmahanataktali pa pirana wa riccenatyawaknina witsrikatenni
 n-maha-na-ta-**кта**-li pa pirana
 1SG-lack-DUR-VCL-GENZ-3SGM NONSPEC story.of
 wa r-hica-çe-na-ta-ya-waka-ni-na
 REF 3-be/do-FREQ-DUR-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM-AFFCT-3PL
 w-hitsrikate-ne-ni
 1PL-ancestor-PL-AFFCT
 ‘I missed out a story of how our ancestors used to live.’ (Fst33)

Of nonverbal predicates, the generalized suffix is attested in my corpus of all predicate types except adverbial ones: for example, (615) illustrates it on an adjective-headed predicate; (616) on one headed by a quantifier; there are further examples in (617)-(619) below. However, *-кта* is very frequently suffixed to non-predicate adverbs, and there is certainly no obvious semantic restriction against a generalized adverb, so it is very likely that its absence from adverbial predicates is due to a gap in my data that will be readily filled upon further research.

⁷The frustrative suffix in this example does not indicate an unsuccessful attempt, but has been used throughout the narrative to underscore the participant’s general unwillingness to be in the situation.

(615) “ponikpotiktali” t̪inhimata
 “poniko-poti-**hta**-li” Ø-t̪ina-hima-ta
 richINTNS-GENZ-3SGM 3-say-QUOT-VCL
 ‘“It is something delicious” he said, reportedly.’ (MyI144)

(616) hichimaktana wa maʃkonni
 hico-hima-**hta**-na wa maʃko-ne-ni
 much-QUOT-GENZ-3PL REF maʃko-PL-AFFCT
 ‘There were however-many Mashcos.’⁸(Mshk106)

On nonverbal predicates expressing identity relationships, *-hta* is often used when something previously unknown is (tentatively) identified. This is illustrated in (617)-(619).

(617) hawa kliçtahimaktani wa çiçiya
 hawa kliçta-hima-**hta**-ni wa çiçiya
 and something+MASC-QUOT-GENZ-IMP.DECL REF NAME
 ‘And that something was Çiçiya.’ (Kme12)

(618) hi nimatli kli haphaktatani
 hi n-himata-li kli hapha-**hta**-tka-ni
 NEG 1SG-know-3SGM what+SGM stream-GENZ-PFV-IMP.DECL
 ‘I don’t know what stream it was.’ (Hws37)

(619) fiçiktani wa wikʃikanri
 fiçi-**hta**-ni wa w-hikʃika-na-li
 corn-GENZ-IMP.DECL REF 1PL-find-CMPV-3SGM
 ‘It is/must be corn we have discovered.’ (Shj17)

⁸“Mashco” is a (derogatory) name that has been applied, by the Yine and by others, to several different ethnic groups in the area. In this context the speaker is referring to members of the Amaraeri ethnic group.

9.3 Suffix zone 2: External aspect

Yine has three aspectual suffixes that appear immediately before the pronominal suffixes in the predicate. They do not provide any information about the internal structure of the event; this is done through the internal aspect markers described in §8.2.3. Nor do they encode any information about the time at which the event occurred. They are used to indicate whether the event should be viewed as a whole unit (perfective *-tka*), as ongoing (imperfective *-wa*), or as a repetition of another action (reiterative *-maka*). These three suffixes are all mutually exclusive. Because of their position near the right edge of the predicate, I call these the “external” aspect markers.

9.3.1 *-tka* ‘perfective’

The suffix *-tka* is the most common of all the predicate suffixes in my corpus, and the least amenable to illustration with reasonably concise examples. A complete treatment of *-tka* deserves a dedicated study of its own, particularly regarding its role in discourse. Although it is optional (like all aspect and mood suffixes), its use in discourse is extremely frequent. In my own research, I have found that its use is consistent with the discussions of “perfective” provided in Payne (1997:239) and Timberlake (2007:292): a *-tka* marked event is viewed in its entirety, independently of whatever internal structure may be expressed by verbal aspect markers or implied by mood morphology. It often functions to provide a reference point for other events in the narrative, establishing the sequence of events in the absence of tense morphology, or to express that a particular event has reached its end point, at least insofar as it is relevant in the discourse.

The scene in (620) describes a sequence of events within a narrative, with *-tka* signalling the close of each before the next.

- (620) a. Seyakyato tfinikwaka napokatka
 Seyakyato tfinaya-ka-waka n-hapoka-**tka**
 NAME say-APPL-PASS-LOC.NOM 1sg-arrive-**PFV**
 ‘I arrived at the place called Seyakyato.’ (Hws6)
- b. wane netyatkali notiri Hawye
 wane n-heta-ya-**tka-li** no-tiri Hawye
 there/thus 1SG-see-APPL-**PFV**-3SGM 1SGPSSR-son.of NAME
 ‘There I saw my son Javier.’ (Hws7)
- c. wane wimkamtyatka
 wane w-himka-m-ta-ya-**tka**
 there/thus 1PL-sleep-APPL-**PFV**
 ‘We slept there.’ (Hws8)

Example (621) is taken from a point in a narrative shortly before something happens that leads a woman (actually, a cricket disguised as a woman) to leave her (human) husband.

- (621) wane rimwaçenataatkalò hico ksiri wa poktji
 wane r-him-hwa-çe-na-ta-**tka-lo**
 there/thus 3-ASSOC-be(loc)-FREQ-DUR-VCL-**PFV**-3SGM
 hico ksiri wa poktji
 much month REF community
 ‘He lived there in the community with her for many months.’ (Gr128)

In (622), the action marked with *-tka* (swinging in a hammock) continues and overlaps with the action in the next sentence (a speech act, with the speech elided here because it is not relevant to this example), but its continuation is not important to the scene.

- (622) a. *jetfi hima talpinatatka*
jetfi hima t-halpi-na-ta-tka
 hammock QUOT 3SGF-swing-CMPV-VCL-PFV
 ‘She was swinging in her hammock.’ (Gr115)
- b. *hiyahhimni wa yatalinero wane tfinri ...*
hiyaho-hima-ni wa yatalinero
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL REF cricket.woman

wane t-fina-li
 there/thus 3SGF-say-3SGM
 ‘Then the cricket woman said to him ...’ (Gr116)

A common narrative device in my corpus is the collation of two (or more) grammatically complete clauses within a single intonation unit, with rising pitch at the end of each clause and the predicate in each clause marked perfective. The effect is to imply a close link between the events, similar to that of addition coordination or temporal succession, but it is independent of these and may be used along with them in a string of text, as is the case in (623). In this example, I have divided the stretch of clauses into two groups on phonological grounds: each of (623a) and (623b) constitutes a prosodic phrase. Both phrases encompass multiple clauses, and there is a non-final prosodic boundary, marked by a high pitch that coincides with the end of each clause. This intermediate boundary is reflected in the Yine sentences and in the translation with a comma, while a full stop indicates the coincidence of a clausal and prosodic boundary. The specification of *-tka* in this excerpt helps to divide the scene into successive actions, and it interacts with, but is independent of, other morphological and phonological devices with a similar function.

- (623) a. hiyahhimni retinitkalina mhenokli, rinkaçhimlewatnimkatkana, nikawna
 kařrehimatanna.
 hiyaho-hima-ni r-heta-ini-**tka**-li-na mhenokli
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL 3-see-TEMP-**PFV**-3SGM-3PL jaguar
 r-hinka-çe-hima-lewa-ta-ni-maka-**tka**-na
 3-shoot-FREQ-QUOT-CHAR-VCL-AFFCT-FRUST-**PFV**-3PL
 Ø-nikawna kařri-e-hima-ta-na-na
 3-finish arrow-PSSD-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-3PL
 ‘Then when they saw the jaguar, they kept trying to shoot it,
 they finished their arrows.’ (Twm16)
- b. hawa wane hima riyakatyatkana, satokatkana hipçina.
 hawa wane hima r-hiyakata-ya-**tka**-na
 and there/thus QUOT 3-come.from-APPL-**PFV**-3PL
 Ø-satoka-**tka**-na hi-pçi-na
 3-return-**PFV**-3PL 3PSSR-house.of-3PL
 ‘And they came from there, they returned to their house.’ (Twm17)

When combined with the anticipatory mood suffix *-ni*, *-tka* contributes a sense of imminency.

- (624) a. nyani
 n-ya-ni
 1SG-go-ANTIC
 ‘I will go.’
- b. nyanitka
 n-ya-ni-**tka**
 1SG-go-ANTIC-**PFV**
 ‘I will go now.’ ‘I’m going to go now.’
- (625) hita hanikanitkayi
 hita hanika-ni-**tka**-yi
 1SG take-ANTIC-**PFV**-2SG
 ‘I will take you now.’ (Yami103)

Examples (626)-(629) illustrate *-tka* marked on nonverbal predicates.

(626) cani hewitkano
 cani hewi-**tk**a-no
 now here-**PFV**-1SG
 ‘Now I am here.’ (Wap12)

(627) tiçrapatkani papa
 tiçra-pa-**tk**a-ni papa
 DIST.SGM-ELV-**PFV**-IMP.DECL papa
 ‘The one coming is papa.’ (PkN68)

(628) and (629) provide nonverbal counterparts to the prosodically linked series of *-tka*-marked clauses in (623) above. In (628), a series of three clauses headed by nominal predicates are linked; in (629) it is an adjectival clause head linked with a verbal clause head.

(628) hitakatkani, wane pɸinanatanrotkano kapethohne, walakatkani hita.
 [hita-ka-**tk**a-ni]_{CL}
 [1SG-ASSRT-**PFV**-IMP.DECL]
 [wane p-ɸina-na-ta-ni-lo-tka-no
 [there/thus 2SG-say-DUR-VCL-ANTIC-3SGF-**PFV**-1SG
 kapethohne]_{CL}
 yesterday]
 [wala-ka-**tk**a-ni hita]_{CL}
 [3SGF-ASSRT-**PFV**-IMP.DECL 1SG]
 ‘It is really me, I am the one you were talking to yesterday, I am her.’
 (hetn25)

(629) hi kihletkalo, tunkaninmakatkano
 [hi kihle-**tk**a-lo]_{CL} [t-hinka-ni-maka-**tk**a-no]_{CL}
 [NEG good-**PFV**-SGF] [3SGF-shoot-ANTIC-FRUST-**PFV**-1SG]
 ‘She is not good now, she tried to shoot me.’ (Kme98)

9.3.2 *-wa* ‘imperfective’

Imperfective aspect is expressed in Yine with the suffix *-wa*, which indicates that the event denoted by the predicate is ongoing and/or has not come to an end.

- (630) ralnawa
r-halna-**wa**
3-fly-**IMPFV**
‘He is still flying.’ ‘He continues flying.’ (c119)

- (631) hi hima rinawa mhenokli
hi hima r-hina-**wa** mhenokli
NEG QUOT 3-come-**IMPFV** jaguar
‘The jaguar has not come yet, reportedly.’ (Twm19)

The use of *-wa* on a transitive predicate is illustrated in (632) and (633). With (632b and c), my consultant offered two ways to express the imperfectivity: first with *-wa* only marked on the predicate, then with both the predicate and the direct object marked with *-wa*. The latter strategy focuses the scope of the imperfective marking on the object, but does not change the propositional content of the utterance.

- (632) a. netawali
n-heta-**wa-li**
1SG-see-**IMPFV**-3SGM
‘I’m still looking at it.’ (c124)
- b. koya nirawa
koya n-hira-**wa**
manioc.beer 1SG-drink-**IMPFV**
‘I’m still drinking manioc beer.’ (c121A)
- c. koyawa nirawa
koya-**wa** n-hira-**wa**
manioc.beer-**IMPFV** 1SG-drink-**IMPFV**
‘I’m still drinking manioc beer.’ (c121A)

- (633) hi wa nnikata yimakletniwayi
 hi wa n-nikata yimaka-le-ta-ni-**wa**-yi
 NEG REF 1SG-finish teach-SUBD-VCL-AFFCT-**IMPFV**-2SG
 ‘I have not yet finished teaching you.’ (Wap48)

On nonverbal predicates, *-wa* expresses an ongoing state or condition. This is rare in my corpus, but does occur in spontaneous utterances like those in (634) (both taken from a narrative).

- (634) a. hi wa tsrinenaniwawi
 hi wa tsri-ne-nani-**wa**-wi
 NEG REF big+MASC-PL-EXTNS-**IMPFV**-1PL
 ‘We were not yet big/grown up.’
- b. mtirinewawi
 mtiri-ne-**wa**-wi
 small+MASC-PL-**IMPFV**-1PL
 ‘We were still small/young.’ (BfM72)

The imperfective suffix is compatible with the completive suffix *-na*. When used together, they indicate that the event denoted in the predicate has not yet reached some externally imposed point of completion. For example, (635) may be used when the addressee is in the process of washing a load of laundry; and (636) may be used when the speaker is full but needs to keep drinking out of politeness, or when they are being pressed to do something but want to finish drinking their manioc beer first.

- (635) perkanawa
 p-herka-na-wa
 1SG-wash-CMPV-**IMPFV**
 ‘You are still washing (your load of clothes).’ (c147)

- (636) niranawa
 n-hira-na-**wa**
 1SG-drink-CMPV-**IMPFV**
 ‘I’m still drinking (up).’ (C121A)

Imperfective marking is often used in negated clauses as a strategy for expressing a temporal relationship between two events; see §13.2.2.

9.3.3 *-tnaka* ‘reiterative’

The suffix *-tnaka* is used when the event described by the verb has occurred previously, usually recently, in some salient context. The subject is usually the same in both occurrences, and sometimes the object referent (if the verb is transitive) is the same, but there is no grammatical requirement for any shared participants.

The excerpts in (637)-(639) provide a typical illustration of the use of *-tnaka* within a narrative context, and in particular serve to illustrate how this suffix expresses only that the action itself had been done before, possibly but not necessarily with the same participants. These excerpts are taken from a narrative in which the speaker describes a day of hunting in the forest. He establishes, in (637a), that he has gone into the forest, then recounts how he encounters various animals as he goes along. In (637b), he has just seen a tinamou, and decides to carry on again (*nyatnaka*) and go further.

- (637) a. nyatka hoja
n-ya-tka hoja
1SG-go-PFV forest
‘I went into the forest.’ (Caz4)
- b. tika nyatnaka
tika n-ya-**tnaka**
REM.SGM 1SG-go-**REIT**
‘I went on again further.’ (Caz8)

A few sentences later, he finds some collared peccaries and shoots one of them (638a). The others run off; he follows them and shoots another, this time using *-tnaka* on *hinka* ‘shoot’ (638b). In this case, the real-world object referent is clearly different from the first one he shot, but they belong to the same category, so this is not a strong illustration of how the object may be excluded from a *-tnaka* reiteration (for a clearer example, see (641) below).

- (638) a. wane ninkyanri satni
 wane n-hinka-ya-na-li sati-ni
 there/thus 1SG-shoot-APPL-CMPV-3SGM SPEC+MASC-AFFCT
 ‘There I shot one.’ (Caz19)
- b. ninkanatnakli satni
 n-hinka-na-**tnaka**-li sati-ni
 1SG-shoot-CMPV-**REIT**-3SGM SPEC+MASC-AFFCT
 ‘I shot one again.’ (Caz23)

The examples in (639) illustrate how *-tnaka* may be used on a predicate with no participants in common with the previous occurrence of the action. (639a) provides the first mention of the action in question (*hasika* ‘run’); in this case the subject is the group of collared peccaries featured in (638) above. In (639b), *-tnaka* is used but here, the subject is now the agoutis that the narrator has since come across.

- (639) a. rasikna pimrine
 r-hasika-na pimri-ne
 3-run-3PL other-PL
 ‘The others ran off.’ (Caz20)
- b. rasikatnakna peçrine penitpoti
 r-asika-**tnaka**-na peçri-ne peni-te poti
 3-run-**REIT**-3PL agouti-3PL in.front.of-PSSD INTNS
 ‘Agoutis ran right in front.’ (Caz25)
 (*i.e. Running happened again, agoutis ran right in front.*)

The previous occurrence of the *-tnaka*-marked action need not have been explicitly stated; it may be simply implied within the discourse. For example, the sentence in (640) is taken from a story about the narrator’s recent trip back from the Urubamba area. In this case, she is describing the third day of river travel, and uses *-tnaka* on the verb *hitspeha* ‘set out’. She hasn’t used this verb before in the narrative, but it is obvious that she must have set out on two previous mornings as well.

- (640) wanepnite nitspehatnaka
 wanepnite n-hitspeha-**tnaka**
 next 1SG-set.out-**REIT**
 ‘Next we set out again.’ (Hws5)

The example in (641) represents a typical use of *-tnaka* where the salient context is non-linguistic. It is the opening sentence of a traditional narrative told to me by a consultant who had previously (a week earlier) told me a different traditional narrative. The reiterative suffix expresses that the act of storytelling had been done in the same general context, but note that in this case the object is clearly different. Here, the narrator explicitly states the name of the story and uses *-tnaka* on the predicate, but she had not told this particular story to me before.

- (641) Watahwero pirana ninkakletanitnaka
 Watahwero pirana n-hinkakleta-ni-**tnaka**
 NAME story.of 1SG-relate-ANTIC-**REIT**
 ‘I will tell (*lit.* tell again) the story of Watahwero.’ (WatE1)

Examples of *-tnaka* on nonverbal predicates, with the same sense of a repeated event, are provided in (642)-(643).

The example in (642) is taken from a narrative about a woodpecker that kept dying and coming back to life.

- (642) tʃowretetpatnakni cani
 tʃowretete-pa-**tnaka**-ni cani
 woodpecker-ELV-**REIT**-IMP.DECL now
 ‘It will be(come) a woodpecker again now.’ (MyI59)

- (643) waneko peçnihohnehimatnakni
 wane-ko peçni-hohne-hima-**tnaka**-ni
 there/thus-EMPH every-day-QUOT-**REIT**-IMP.DECL
 ‘It was just like that again every day, reportedly.’ (Tra53)

9.4 Suffix zone 3: Pronominal suffixes

The pronominal suffixes that index O and NVS are described in §9.1.2 above; see that section for discussion.

9.5 Addendum: “predicate” morphology outside the predicate

The primary focus of this chapter has been to present and illustrate the morphology that appears on the Yine predicate. This has involved a rather long list of morphemes, addressed as faithfully to their observed order of occurrence as possible. However, an important characteristic they all share, which has not yet been directly addressed, is that this morphology may also appear outside the predicate without changing the propositional value of the clause. This was seen in (632) above with the imperfective suffix *-wa*; (644)-(646) below provide further illustration with, respectively, the motion suffix *-pa*, two modal suffixes *-maka* and *-ni*, and another aspectual suffix *-tnaka*.

- (644) hewiko nwahohnenata hitapa
 hewi-ko n-hwa-hohne-na-ta [hita-**pa**]_{NP:VS}
 here-EMPH 1SG-be(loc)-time-DUR-VCL [1SG-ELV]
 ‘I will always live right here.’ (Jml36)

- (645) canimka hitako picka picanatanina
 [cani-**maka**]_{ADV} hita-ko picka p-hica-na-ta-ni-na
 [now-**FRUST**] 1SG-EMPH SIM 2SG-be/do-DUR-VCL-ANTIC-CMPV
 ‘Now you should be completely like me.’ (Per26)

- (646) wala himnikotnaka kayonalni
 [wala hima-ni-ko-**tnaka**]_{NP:NVS} kayonalo-ni
 [3SGF QUOT-AFFCT-EMPH-**REIT**] doncella-IMP.DECL
 ‘That one itself was a *doncella* (catfish sp.) again.’ (Yam67)

The ability of this morphology to “float” within the clause while retaining scope over the entire event suggests that they have the status of clitics rather than affixes. However, a further property that they share, and one which is not typical of clitics, is that they may redundantly co-occur in the same clause, as in (647)-(648). This cooccurrence does not contribute any new meaning to the clause and it does not serve

as a diagnostic of a separate nonverbal clause (as the pronominal suffixes do). Rather, it reflects the fact that the element on which it appears is under focus.

(647) wa walemka pickamka nixanitka
 wa wale-**maka** picka-**maka** n-hica-ni-tka
 REF 3SGM-**FRUST** SIM-**FRUST** 1SG-be/do-ANTIC-PFV
 ‘I wish I could be like that one.’ (Gvs5)

(648) çemhimatatkaliina wa ripjekinritka wa tʃitʃiksitka
 [Ø-çema-hima-ta-**tka**-li-na [wa r-hipjeka-inri-**tka**
 [3-hear-QUOT-VCL-**PFV**-3SGM-3PL [REF 3-burst-ACTN.NOM-**PFV**
 wa tʃitʃiksi-**tka**]]
 REF shotgun-PFV]]
 ‘They heard the shotgun going off.’ (Unc.041)

The expected behavior for floating clitics is that they appear once and only once in a construction. Redundant marking of clause-level morphology within a single clause, then, is strikingly non-clitic like (cf. Dixon 2009:222). In fact, it bears a closer (but still very loose) resemblance to agreement than to floating clitics – in this case reinforcing a participant’s importance in the event rather than a constituent’s syntactic relationship to another.

It is clear that not all bound morphology in Yine is alike. Some is selective for the word class of the host (and is described in the relevant chapters); some is not but is usually located on the predicate (and is described in this chapter), or may be attached to a focused constituent in the clause (as treated in this section). What is not clear, however, is whether the “clitic” vs. ‘affix’ distinction is the best way to characterize the difference. In order to avoid encoding an unmotivated distinction into the analysis, then, I have opted to represent all predicate morphology as affixal.

10 Transitivity and Valency Manipulation

The purpose of this chapter is to present and illustrate the Yine system for expressing grammatical relations and its mechanisms for changing the valency of the clause.

10.1 Grammatical Relations

Before entering into the discussion of grammatical relations in Yine, it is useful to set out the terminology I am using in this grammar. This terminology largely follows Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000), but has been adapted with the intention of more closely capturing the Yine system, as described in the sections below.

In Yine, four types of non-oblique argument may be identified. Three of these – verbal subject (VS), nonverbal subject (NVS), object (O) – are considered core arguments because they are indexed on the predicate; the fourth is the extended object (E), analysed as an extension to the core. A fifth type of argument is the oblique argument, which requires a suffix marking its oblique status. The motivations for distinguishing these types are presented in the following discussion, and summarized in Table 10.1 on page 256 below.

10.1.1 Core arguments

Core arguments are those that are cross-referenced on the predicate and express syntactically defined roles (subject, object); regarding the criterion of obligatoriness for core arguments, see §10.1.4 below. Among the core arguments, it is necessary to distinguish two types of subject: those of verbal predicates and those of non-verbal predicates. With verbal predicates the subject is indexed with a pronominal prefix: this is true with all verbs, whether active or stative, transitive or intransitive, agentive or

non-agentive. With non-verbal predicates, the subject is indexed with a pronominal suffix.¹ The Yine subject split is briefly illustrated by comparing the verbal predicates in (649) with the nonverbal predicates in (650).²

- | | | | |
|-------|----|---|----------|
| (649) | a. | pyayica
p-yayica
2SG-be.ill

'You are ill' | VS-... |
| | b. | pasika
p-hasika
2SG-run

'You run' | VS-... |
| | c. | pkatno
p-kata-no
2SG-bathe-1SG

'You bathe me' | VS-...-O |
| | | | |
| (650) | a. | ponikno
poniko-no
delicious-1SG

'I am delicious' | ...-NVS |
| | b. | hewno
hewi-no
here-1SG

'I am here' | ...-NVS |

¹The non-verbal subject paradigm is almost, but not entirely, identical to the paradigm used to index the object of a transitive verb. For a full discussion of the forms, paradigms, and distribution of the pronominal affixes, see §3.2.1 and §9.1.

²It is common in Arawak languages to have a system of split intransitivity; typically, the subject of an active intransitive verb is indexed in one way, e.g. with a prefix, but the subject of a stative verb is indexed differently, e.g. with a suffix (cf. Aikhenvald 1999). Baure (South Arawak, Bolivia), like Yine, bases the split on the word class of the predicate head (Danielsen 2007), and a similar phenomenon is mentioned in Aikhenvald and Green (1998:469-70). Other patterns of split-S cross-reference marking in Arawak languages are discussed in Aikhenvald (1999:97-100).

10.1.2 Oblique arguments

Oblique arguments (or oblique participants) are those which are optional, express oblique semantic roles (instrumental, comitative, benefactive, etc.), are not indexed on the predicate, and must have an oblique marker suffixed to them. Yine’s oblique markers are described in §6.7.2; several examples can be found there. Example (651) below serves to illustrate that oblique arguments are not indexed on the predicate. If they were, the 3SGM pronominal suffix should be obligatory here with the comitative noun *nhaniriyma* ‘with my husband’, since the latter follows the predicate (see §10.1.4 below), but in fact it is impossible.

- (651) a. napokatka nhaniriyma
n-hapoka-tka nhaniri-yma
1SG-arrive-PFV 1SG-husband.of-COM
‘I arrived with my husband.’
- b. *napokatkali nhaniriyma
n-hapoka-tka-li n-hniri-yma
1SG-arrive-PFV-3SGM 1SG-husband.of-COM

10.1.3 Extended arguments

Somewhere between core and oblique status lie the “extended” (E) arguments. These are non-subject arguments that express semantic rather than syntactic roles, are neither cross-referenced on the verb nor require an oblique marker, and are not available for passivization. The role expressed by the extended (E) argument depends on the nature of the predicate head. Verbs whose semantics inherently involve a location, such as *hwa* ‘be in a place,’ *ya* ‘go’, *tinwata* ‘stand’, and *hapoka* ‘arrive’, may take a location expression as E, as in (652). With ditransitive verbs like *heneka* ‘give’ and *yimaka* ‘teach’, the assignment of roles to O and E is sensitive to animacy and discourse prominence, with the more animate/prominent of the two functioning as O, as in (653); see also §10.4 below.

- (652) a. nyatka hoja (location)
 n-ya-tka hoja
 1SG-go-PFV forest
 ‘I went into the forest.’
- b. rapokatka pantfi
 r-hapoka-tka pantfi
 3-arrive-PFV house
 ‘He arrived at his house.’
- (653) a. reneknona cipali (recipient)
 r-heneka-no-na cipali
 3-give-1SG-3PL sweet.potato
 ‘They gave me sweet potato.’
- b. wale yimakwina
 wale Ø-yimaka-wi-na
 3SGM 3-teach-1PL-3PL
 ‘They taught us that.’

The five types of arguments in the Yine clause and their diagnostic properties are summarized in Table 10.1.

Role	Abbreviation	Index on predicate	oblique marker
subject of verbal clause	VS	prefix (class 1,2)	no
subject of nonverbal clause	NVS	suffix (class 2)	no
object in transitive clause	O	suffix (class 1)	no
extended object	E	no	no
oblique	–	no	yes

Table 10.1: Grammatical roles in the Yine clause

10.1.4 Expression and obligatoriness of core arguments

Core (VS, NVS, and O) arguments may be expressed in the Yine clause via pronominal affixes on the predicate and/or via independent phrases. On verbal predicates, these two expressions are in semi-complementary distribution: that is, they must co-occur

in some situations and do not typically co-occur in others. Their co-occurrence is tied in with both predicate type and constituent order in the clause. As described in §11.3, the relative order of the predicate and its independent arguments (if any) is very fluid in Yine, driven by pragmatic rather than syntactic motivations. If, in a given verbal clause, there is an independent NP argument *and* it precedes the predicate, pronominal indexing is optional (and pragmatically marked); in all other situations it is obligatory. On nonverbal predicates, pronominal indexing is always obligatory.

Independent NPs are never obligatory in Yine. It is very common for pronominal affixes to be the only overt expression of a core argument, as in (654):

- (654) nistakyi
n-histaka-yi
1SG-cut-2SG
'I cut you.'

However, it is not the case that every core argument must always have some overt expression in the clause.

While subjects are always obligatorily expressed, the obligatoriness of non-subject arguments is more difficult to establish and less reliable as a criterion for core argument status. Most Yine verbs may occur either with or without an overt object, even those verbs that have been established as strictly transitive (e.g. *kata* 'bathe someone'). As long as the object's referent is pragmatically accessible, or if its referent is unknown or irrelevant (e.g. a verb uttered in citation), it may have no overt expression in the clause without compromising the grammaticality of the utterance.

Because of this optional expression of non-subjects, I will rely on semantic information for determining whether an argument is present in the clause: if, in context, a participant is understood to be present in the event, whether or not it has any overt expression, I consider it to be part of the predicate's valency structure. However, for purposes of exposition, in this chapter I will use examples with overt argument expression to illustrate transitivity and valency manipulation in Yine.

The remainder of this section provides illustrations of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses.

10.2 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive predicates have a single core argument and may be verbal or nonverbal. As noted above, the subjects of each are indexed differently on the predicate.

- (655) teknokhimatatka tinro
t-hiknoka-hima-ta-tka [t-hinro]_{NP:VS}
3SGF-look.back-QUOT-VCL-PFV [3SGF-mother.of]
 ‘Her mother looked back, reportedly.’ (Hetn47)

- (656) kihlepothimlo mtiro
 kihle-poti-hima-**lo** [mtiro]_{NP:NVS}
 good-INTNS-QUOT-**3SGF** [small+FEM]
 ‘The girl was very beautiful, reportedly.’ (Tso6)

For nearly all intransitive predicates, the single argument is nominal, but for at least one nonverbal predicate head, *hiphita* ‘apparently’, it is clausal.

- (657) hiphitli yinerni ranikatkallo
 hiphita-**li** [yine-li-ni r-hanika-tka-lo]_{CL:NVS}
 apparently-**3SGM** [people-SGM-AFFCT 3-bring-PFV-3SGF]
 ‘It seemed a man carried her off.’ (Kme76)

A derivationally related verb, *hiphiçewna* ‘appear, become present’ (-*wna* is an inchoative stem formative, see §8.1) is used when the subject is an NP.

- (658) rhiphiçewna sati yineri
r-hiphiçewna [sati yine-li]_{NP:VS}
3-appear [SPEC+MASC people-3SGM]
 ‘A certain man appeared.’ (Yam75)

10.2.1 Intransitive with extended argument

As noted above, some intransitive verbs may take a locational E argument; this argument may be a locational noun (659) or adverb (660).

- (659) hoʃa hima yaʒenatnina
hoʃa hima Ø-ya-çe-na-ta-ni-na
forest QUOT 3-go-FREQ-DUR-VCL-AFFCT-3PL
‘They kept going into the forest.’ (Hmn4)

- (660) hewi napokatka
hewi n-hapoka-tka
here 1SG-arrive-PFV
‘I arrived here.’ (Via38)

Intransitive clauses with a non-location E argument are not attested in my corpus.

10.3 Transitive clauses

Only a verb may head a transitive predicate (though it is not the case that all transitive clauses are verbal - see §11.5.4). Transitive verbs take a VS and an O argument. The VS argument can be agentive (as in (661)-(663)), but need not be (as in (664) and (665)).

- (661) tanikli ʃiʃi
t-hanika-li ʃiʃi
3SGF-bring-3SGM firewood
‘She brought firewood.’ (MyI147)

- (662) wane hima ʒiʒrikyalina wa ʃiʒi
wane hima Ø-ʒiʒrika-ya-li-na wa ʃiʒi
there/thus REF 3-take-APPL-3SGM-3PL REF corn
‘There they picked the corn, it is said.’ (Shj8)

(663) romkahitanno pitsoti
 r-homkahita-na-no pitsoti
 3-follow-CMPV-1SG electric.eel
 ‘The electric eel was following me.’ (Pts22)

(664) hike hiknohna wa sicone
 hike Ø-hiknoka-na wa sico-ne
 nothing 3-happen-3PL REF woman-PL
 ‘Nothing happened to the women.’ (Unc91)

(665) retimhahimatlina
 r-hetimha-hima-ta-li-na
 3-taste-QUOT-VCL-3SGM-3PL
 ‘They tasted it, reportedly.’ (Shj9)

Semantically, the O argument of a transitive verb can be a patient or theme (examples (666)-(668), also (661) and (664) above³), a goal (669) or a location (as in (670)).⁴ Location objects are rarely cross-referenced on the predicate⁵ and usually have the status of extended objects (see §10.4 below).

(666) rawapatkalona kanawatna
 r-hwa-pa-tka-lo-na Ø-kanawa-te-na
 3-be(loc)-ELV-PFV-3SGF-3PL 3-canoe-PSSD-3PL
 ‘They brought their canoe.’ (Unc87)

(667) katslipçi kamritna
 katsli-pçi Ø-kamrita-na
 wild.cane-house.of 3-make-3PL
 ‘They made a shelter.’ (Unc13)

³The O in (664) may alternatively be analysed as a recipient, another role that can be cross-referenced with the pronominal suffix without the need for applicative morphology or an oblique suffix.

⁴The O arguments in (667) and (668) are not indexed on the predicate because they precede it in the clause; they would be indexed if the order were reversed. See §3.2.2 regarding the effect of word order on argument indexing.

⁵regardless of their position relative to the predicate

(668) pitsoti kopaçi nika
 pitsoti kopaçi nika
 electric.eel sardine eat
 ‘The electric eel eats sardines.’ (Pts5)

(669) hiyahhimni sico tomhali wa tye katmeroli
 hiyaho-hima-ni sico t-homha-li wa tye katmeroli
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL woman 3SGF-call.to-3SGM REF PROX.SGM flame
 ‘Then the woman called out to that flame, reportedly.’ (Kme9)

(670) rapokatkali wa Miyariya poktji
 r-hapoka-tka-li wa Miyariya poktji
 3-arrive-PFV-3SGM REF NAME community
 ‘He arrived at the community of Miaria.’ (Unc63)

10.4 Ditransitive clauses

In terms of pronominal indexing, there are no ditransitive predicates in Yine since there is only one object marking position on the predicate. There are, however, ditransitive clauses with three arguments (VS and two objects) which are either explicitly mentioned or recoverable from context.

With two objects in the clause and only one O position on the predicate, a choice must be made as to which of them will be indexed as O and which will have E status. Based on the (relatively rare) examples of ditransitive clauses in my text corpus, the selection in Yine seems to follow the nominal saliency hierarchy as given in (671) (cf. Silverstein 1976), with higher animates having priority over lower animates.

(671) 1st, 2nd person > 3rd person human > 3rd person animate > inanimate

Thus, recipients and animate patients typically have O status, while inanimate patients, themes and locations have E status.

(672) wale yimakwina (O_{recip}, E_{theme})
 [wale]_{NP:E} Ø-yimaka-wi-na
 [3SGM] 3-teach-1PL-3PL
 ‘They taught us that (fishing with a line).’ (BfM14)

(673) çipali reneknona (O_{recip}, E_{patient})
 [çipali]_{NP:E} r-heneka-no-na
 [sweet.potato] 3-give-1SG-3PL
 ‘They gave me sweet potatoes.’ (HwS21)

(674) hi wa hipçi ranikanatkalina (O_{patient}, E_{loc})
 hi wa [hi-pçi]_{NP:E} r-hanika-na-tka-li-na
 NEG REF [3SGMPSSR-house.of] 3-bring-CMPV-PFV-3SGM-3PL
 ‘They did not bring him to his house.’ (Hmn76)

The priority of 1st person over 3rd person is evident in (675), where the 1st person patient has O status and the 3rd person recipient is the (understood) E argument.⁶

(675) penekhohnenatanwi!
 p-heneka-hohne-na-ta-na-wi
 2SG-give-day-DUR-VCL-CMPV-1PL
 ‘You’re always giving us [to him]!’ (h26)

The E status of the animate patient in (676) is particularly evident from the fact that it follows the verb and thus qualifies for obligatory cross-referencing, yet it is the animate (3PL) recipient that is indexed as O.

(676) hi hima ralika henekletapanna wa çimeka
 hi hima r-halika heneka-le-ta-pa-na-na
 NEG QUOT 3-want give-SUBD-VCL-ELV-CMPV-3PL
 [wa çimeka]_{NP:E}
 [REF manioc]
 ‘He (the tapir) did not want to give them the manioc, reportedly.’ (Shj32)

⁶In this example the 3rd person referent is left unmentioned, but it is easily accessible from context: this example is taken from a story about a woman who gives her daughters, one by one, to a man who then kills and eats them.

Given the general relevance of discourse prominence in grammatical relations in the language, it is likely that high animacy is just one type of prominence involved, and that given the right context a lower animate may have O status, but I have not encountered clear examples where this is the case.

10.5 Ambitransitivity

Ambitransitivity is very common in Yine: the majority of intransitive verbs are able to take an object (patient, recipient, theme, location) without requiring any valency-increasing morphology. Most of the ambitransitives are S=A, where the subject of the intransitive version corresponds to the subject of the transitive version (677).

(677) a. patskotani
 p-hatskota-ni
 2SG-climb-ANTIC
 ‘Climb up!’ (V107)

b. patskotanri
 p-hatskota-ni-li
 2SG-climb-ANTIC-3SGM
 ‘Climb it!’ (V107)

(678) a. tyomhata
 t-yomhata
 3SGF-provide.food
 ‘She is providing food.’ (DP)

b. tyomhatli (transitive)
 t-yomhata-li
 3SGF-provide.food-3SGM
 ‘She is providing food for him/providing him with food.’ (DP)

- (679) a. wane rica wa pitsoti
 wane r-hica wa pitsoti
 there/thus 3-be/do REF electric.eel
 ‘This is how the electric eel is/what the electric eel does.’
 (‘Thus is/does the electric eel.’) (Pts3)
- b. waneko picka ricanro wa kopaçni
 wane-ko picka r-hica-na-lo wa kopaçi-ni
 there/thus-EMPH SIM 3-be/do-CMPV-3SGF REF sardine-AFFCT
 ‘It [the eel] does the same thing to sardines
 (i.e. electrocutes rather than bites).’ (Pts61)

Less common, but still well-represented, are S=O ambitransitives, where the intransitive subject corresponds to the transitive object:

- (680) a. rîpatha
 r-hipatha
 3-shed
 ‘It sheds (e.g. its skin)’ (DP)
- b. rîpathali
 r-hipatha-li
 3-shed-3SGM
 ‘He peels/skins it’ (DP)
- (681) a. rîphota
 r-hiphota
 3-break.crack
 ‘It breaks with a cracking sound. (DP)
- b. rîphotli
 r-hiphota-li
 3-break.crack-3SGM
 ‘He breaks it with a cracking sound.’ (DP)

Unsurprisingly, the intransitive and transitive versions of the same verb root may have idiosyncratic sense differences and show evidence of being independent lexemes: e.g. *çema* ‘hear’ vs. *çem(a)-li* ‘hear someone/thing, obey’; *hapoka* ‘arrive’ vs. *hapok(a)-li* ‘arrive at, bother, have sex with’; *yahota* ‘try’ vs. *yahot(a)-li* ‘fight with someone’.

10.6 Valency decreasing constructions

Yine has three types of valency decreasing construction: two passivizing suffixes; two reflexives (both discontinuous morphemes); and one reciprocal (which is homophonous with a causative suffix). All of the detransitivizers occur only on transitive verbs. The morphology employed in these constructions is described in §8.2.6.

One of the passive suffixes (the ‘anticipatory’ passive) has an additional use in an analytic passive construction, as described in §10.6.1.2 below.

10.6.1 Passive

10.6.1.1 Morphological passive

Passivization removes the A argument and places the erstwhile O in subject position.

I have no spontaneous examples where the underlying A of a passive verb appears in the clause as an oblique participant. My own composed sentences containing a passive verb and an oblique-marked NP were not accepted as well-formed, but were noted as something that second-language learners of Yine might say.

Some simple examples of the unmarked/real passive (682b) and the anticipated passive (682c) are given below, and a textual example is provided in (683). Further examples can be found in §8.2.6.1.

- (682) a. niylatli
n-hiylata-li
1SG-kill-3SGM
‘I kill(ed) him.’
- b. riylatka
r-hiylata-ka
3-kill-PASS
‘He was killed.’
- c. riylatko
r-hiylata-ko
3-kill-ANTIC.PASS
‘He will be killed.’

- (683) a. pa kata netli hita pitsoti
 pa kata n-heta-li hita pitsoti
 one time 1SG-see-3SGM 1SG electric.eel
 ‘Once, I saw an electric eel.’ (Pts13)
- b. polha ricini wa honi retpotitka wa pitsoti
 pole-ha r-hica-ini wa honu r-heta-poti-ta-ka
 blue-liquid.of 3-be/do-TEMP REF water 3-see-INTNS-VCL-PASS
 wa pitsoti
 REF electric.eel
 ‘When the water is clear, the/an electric eel is easily seen.’ (Pts8)

With a passivized ditransitive verb, the O of the transitive appears as the VS of the intransitive passive clause. I have not encountered any spontaneous examples of E promotion, and attempts to elicit such constructions were not successful.

- (684) hico kamrirtji hima renekçenatkanna
 hico kamriri-tji hima r-heneka-çe-na-ta-ka-na-na
 much work-UNPSSD QUOT 3-give-FREQ-DUR-VCL-PASS-CMPV-3PL
 ‘They were always given a lot of work, reportedly.’ (Yami10)

10.6.1.2 Analytic passive construction

Yine has a special analytic passive construction, using the anticipatory passive suffix *-ko*, which is employed to describe how something is done, or what is to be done.

In this construction, a complement-taking verb such as *hica* ‘be do’, as in (685) below, or *himkata* ‘be able to’ as in (686) takes a subordinate verb whose stem is marked with *-ko* rather than the usual subordinator *-le*.⁷

- (685) wane rica kamritkota
 wane r-hica kamrita-ko-ta
 there/thus 3-be/do do-ANTIC.PASS-VCL
 ‘This is how it (manioc beer) is made.’ (Mas38)

⁷The form and position of *-le* in the verb stem is discussed in §8.2.3; its use as a subordinator is discussed in §13.3.1.

- (686) hi wa rimkata pinitkotana
 hi wa r-himkata pinita-ko-ta-na
 NEG REF 3-be.able.to cure-ANTIC.PASS-VCL-CMPV
 ‘It cannot be cured.’ (Chr4)

In addition to having the same position as the unmarked complementizer *-le*, *-ko* in this construction also triggers the obligatory closure of the verb stem with *-ta* – unlike the regular anticipatory passive in e.g. (682) above.

This analytic passive construction is unique to *-ko*. The regular passive *-ka* is not used in this construction.

10.6.2 Reflexive

As with passives, the reflexive morphology in Yine distinguishes realized versus anticipated events. Reflexive morphology is discontinuous: the first part is the suffix *-na* ‘reflexive’ (e.g. (687)) / *-ina* ‘anticipatory reflexive’ (e.g. (688)); the second part, *-wa* is the same for both reflexives and appears in the position of the pronominal suffixes on the predicate stem. The fact that the reflexive morphemes are discontinuous can be seen here in ((687)), where the ‘perfective’ aspect marker *-tka* intervenes between them.

- (687) tipatewatnatkawa
 tu-hipatewata-na-tka-wa
 3SGF-be.embarrassed-REFL-PFV-REFL
 ‘She embarrassed herself.’ (Kme53)

Example ((688)) also illustrates that only transitive verbs can take the reflexive: the verb root here, *kata* ‘bathe, give bath to’ is strictly transitive and its intransitive counterpart *kawa* ‘bathe’ cannot be made reflexive. Reflexivization is always detransitivizing.

- (688) a. p_katinwa
 p-kata-ina-wa
 2SG-bathe(tr)-ANTIC.REFL-REFL
 ‘Bathe yourself.’
- b. *p_kawinwa
 p-kawa-ina-wa
 2SG-bathe(intr)-ANTIC.REFL-REFL

In certain very limited situations, a reflexive predicate can have an object (but cannot cross-reference it). Example (689) shows a reflexive with a resultative object (in bold):

- (689) yinero hima ticanatkawa wa yalatinero
yine-lo hima t-hica-na-tka-wa wa yalatinero
person-3SGF QUOT 3SGF-be/do-REFL-PFV-REFL REF cricket.woman
 ‘The cricket woman made herself into a human.’ (Gri18)

In ((690)), the object is a nominalization whose possessor is coreferential with the subject of the reflexive verb:

- (690) wala tetnatkawa tsalewninri
 wala t-heta-na-tka-wa t-salewna-inri
 3SGF 3SGF-see-REFL-PFV-REFL 3SGF-suffer-ACTN.NOM
 ‘She saw her own suffering; She saw herself (to be) suffering.’ (Nwd60)

10.6.3 Reciprocal

Reciprocals are a special case of detransitivizer in Yine: it is not clear that they have their own unique morphology. The reciprocal marker, *-kaka*, is homophonous with a causative marker (see §10.7.1 below), with which it shares the same position on the verb stem, and their co-occurrence is not attested.

The question of whether reciprocals and causatives are formed with the same morpheme, or whether they use homophonous but distinct suffixes, is one that requires further research. Here, I adopt the homophony view, for two reasons – neither of which is

particularly strong. First, the two have opposite effects on valency, with the reciprocal being a detransitivizer and the causative transitivity the predicate. The second reason is because of examples like (691), where the reciprocal meaning is clear. Additional reciprocal examples are given below in (692) and (693).

(691) riylakkakanna siwayma hawa mhenoklineyma
 r-hiylaka-kaka-na-na siwa-yma hawa mhenokli-ne-yma
 3-fight-RECIP-CMPV-3PL anteater-COM and jaguar-PL-COM
 ‘They fought each other, the anteater and the jaguars.’ (147)

(692) ripcakkakna
 r-hipcaka-kaka-na
 3-help-RECIP-3PL
 ‘They’re helping each other.’

(693) wane chinkakatkana, ‘wasikanitka halikaka’
 wane tʃina-kaka-tka-na “w-hasika-ni-tka halikaka”
 there/thus say-RECIP-PFV-3PL 1PL-run-ANTIC-PFV indeed
 ‘They said to each other, “Let’s escape now, indeed.’ (Mshk60)

10.6.4 *-lewa* ‘characteristic action’

The suffix *-lewa*, which derives a verb meaning ‘to Verb permanently, characteristically or as an occupation’, has an antipassive-like function. It removes the O argument of a transitive verb, as in (694b), or demotes it to E, as in (695), but does not affect the argument structure of intransitive verbs (as in (696)). This suffix is also discussed in §8.2.3.

(694) a. raʃkatli
 r-haʃkata-li
 3-bite-3SGM
 ‘He’s biting it.’ (DP)

b. hi wa rafkalewata wa pitsoti
 hi wa r-hafka-**lewa**-ta wa pitsoti
 NEG REF 3-bite-**CHAR**-VCL REF electric.eel
 ‘The electric eel doesn’t bite.’ (puts17)

(695) riknoklewatana wa naylotsate
 r-hiknoka-**lewa**-ta-na wa Ø-naylo-tsa-te
 3-throw.out-**CHAR**-VCL-CMPV REF 3-line-cord.of-PSSD
 ‘He threw out his fishing line in his usual way.’ (Pts48)

(696) hi wa tislahlewatyana wa kaprato
 hi wa t-hislaha-**lewa**-ta-ya-na
 NEG REF 3SGF-notice-**CHAR**-VCL-APPL-3PL
 wa ka-pra-to
 REF ATTRIB-pet.of-PRIV+FEM
 ‘The animals’ owner was paying no attention to them, as usual.’ (My19)

10.7 Valency increasing constructions

There are six constructions which introduce an extra argument into the predicate core in Yine: two causative suffixes, an associate prefix, a multifunctional applicative suffix, and two types of incorporation (noun, oblique marker). Each of these is discussed in turn in this section.

10.7.1 Causatives

Causative morphology introduces a new VS argument and reassigns the original VS to O position. Yine distinguishes between two types of causation: direct or forceful causation via the suffix *-kaka* and indirect, nonforceful or mandative (ordering) causation with the suffix *-cica*. Both intransitive ((697)-(698), also (700)) and transitive ((699); also (701)) verbs can be causativized.

- (697) a. nalna
n-halna
1SG-fly
'I'm flying.' (c141)
- b. palnakakno (Causative)
p-halna-**kaka**-no
2SG-fly-CAUS-1SG
'You're making me fly.' (c141)
- (698) a. rimata
r-himata
3-know
'He knows.' (c141)
- b. timatkakanri (Causative)
t-himata-**kaka**-na-li
3SGF-know-CAUS-CMPV-3SGM
'She made him know/understand.' (c141)
- (699) a. ntfowhitanro
n-**tfowhita**-na-lo
1SG-steal-CMPV-3SGF
'I stole from her.' (g36)
- b. pica tfowhikakanno ninroni (Causative)
pica **tfowhi-kaka**-na-no n-hinro-ni
2SG steal-CAUS-CMPV1-SG 1SG-mother.of-PROP.NOM
'You made me steal my mother's things.' (g36)

The nonforceful/mandative causative is illustrated in the following examples.

- (700) wa kfoteri hima homkamtaçiclo wa knoya (Mandative)
wa kfoteri hima homkamta-**çica**-lo wa knoya
REF deer QUOT chase-MAND-3SGF REF tortoise
'The deer ordered the tortoise to chase (play chase).' (d30)

- (701) wale powratçicanro wala piti (Mandative)
 wale powra-çica-na-lo wala piti
 3SGM clean-MAND-CMPV-3SGF 3SGF patio
 ‘He ordered her to clean her patio.’ (f141)

Elicited data indicates that these suffixes are not mutually exclusive. As shown in (702), they may occur together (*-kaka* always preceding *çica*):

- (702) nkamrirewkakçiclo
 n-kamrirewa-kaka-çica-lo
 1SG-work-CAUS-MAND-3SGF
 ‘I am making her work.’

I have not encountered spontaneous examples containing both causatives, and in my elicited data it is not clear what effect combining them has on the semantics of the clause. The following example from Matteson (1965) suggests that each causative is in fact its own event but that all arguments are shared between them.⁸

- (703) riminkakyeçiciko
 r-him-hina-kaka-yehi-çica-ya-ko
 3-ASSOC-come-CAUS-VICIN-MAND-APPL-ANTIC.PASS
 ‘He is to be commanded to be caused to come to someone with someone concerning something.’ (Matteson 1965:81)

10.7.2 Associate applicative *him-*

Yine has a single valency-manipulating prefix, *him-* (see also §8.2.1), which introduces an object argument whose role is that of an ‘associate’: a participant who co-operates with the grammatical subject in carrying out the action denoted by the verb, and is indexed as O.

⁸The example as quoted in (703) is broken down and glossed according to the conventions in this grammar. Matteson’s gloss (adapted to my version of the orthography) is as follows:

r-hi-min-kaka-yehi-çica-i-ko
 he-accompanitive-come-causative-postposition“to”-mandatory-“concerning”-anticipatory passive
 ‘He is to be commanded to be caused to come to someone with someone concerning something.’

The associate prefix can be used on stems of any transitivity. It transitivizes intransitive verbs:

- (704) a. nitsolhiwatani
 n-hitsolhiwata-ni
 1SG-laugh-ANTIC
 ‘I will laugh.’ (c154)
- b. nimitsolhiwatanro
 n-**him**-hitsolhiwata-ni-lo
 1SG-ASSOC-laugh-ANTIC-3SGF
 ‘I will laugh with her’; ‘She and I will laugh together.’ (c154)

With (ambi)transitive verbs, the associate object is treated as O. If the original verb was transitive, the erstwhile O becomes an extended argument, as example (706) illustrates.

- (705) a. terkanri
 t-herka-na-li
 3SGF-wash-CMPV-3SGM
 ‘She washed it.’ (c152)
- b. timerkanro
 t-**him**-herka-na-lo
 3SGF-ASSOC-wash-CMPV-3SGF
 ‘She washed (something, e.g. clothes) with her.’ (c152)
- (706) a. wala nnika
 wala n-nika
 3SGF 1SG-eat
 ‘I eat this one.’
- b. wala nimnikna
 wala n-**him**-nika-na
 3SGF 1PL-ASSOC-eat-3PL
 ‘I eat this one with them.’ (Hws22)

In the associate construction, the referents expressed as VS and O have essentially the same semantic role in the same event (but see below for discussion of an asymmetry between them). Spatio-temporal overlap between the actions of the subject and

associate is obligatory, and if there is a patient or theme, they act in concert on it. Thus, in (707), both participants arrive together, and in (708) both get drunk together. In (706b) above, they eat communally, sharing the same meal, and in (705b) above they are washing the same load of clothing.

(707) wa hewi nimapokli
 wa hewi n-him-hapoka-li
 REF here 1SG-ASSOC-arrive-3SGM
 ‘I arrived there with him.’ (Jrn15)

(708) timimetanno
 t-him-himeta-ni-no
 3SGF-ASSOC-be.drunk-ANTIC-1SG
 ‘I’m going to get drunk with her.’ (c152)

The example in (709) illustrates how closely the subject and associate cooperate in the event. This sentence is part of a woman’s story about visiting another Yine village, where she spent a few days with her son. When she tells about sleeping there, she at first uses the associate applicative, *nimimkamtyatkali*. Upon her daughter’s protest, she changed to the normal 1st plural inflection, *wimkamtyatka*. The reason for the protest, I was told, was that in using *him-* the woman was implying that she and her son slept ‘together’, for example immediately next to each other or in contact with each other.

(709) wane [nimimkamtyatkali –] wimkamtyatka
 wane [n-him-himka-m-ta-ya-tka-li –]
 there/thus [1SG-ASSOC-sleep-NONDUR-VCL-APPL-PFV-3SGM –]
 w-himka-m-ta-ya-tka
 1PL-sleep-NONDUR-VCL-APPL-PFV
 ‘There [I slept with him –] we slept.’ (Hws9)

Additionally, I found that in the absence of biasing factors like animacy inequality, context, pragmatics or cultural practices (e.g. in an elicitation setting) it was possible to interpret either the VS or the O as the associate (less direct controller) in the event.

The three translations given in (710), for example, were each offered by at least one consultant, and all were confirmed as acceptable translations.

- (710) timiçhanno
 t-him-hiçha-ni-no
 3SGF-ASSOC-search-ANTIC-1SG
 ‘I will search with her’; ‘She will help me search’; ‘I will help her search.’

Nevertheless, although the subject and associate participants carry out the action together and display a near-equivalence in translation, there is evidence of an asymmetry between them in terms of their degree of control over the event, and this asymmetry can be exploited for pragmatic effect.

The sentence in (711), for example, is taken from a story about a woman who is kidnapped by a giant called Çiçiya. The giant takes her against her will and carries her off to live with him. In (711), the derived verb *rimwanatkalo* itself simply means ‘he and she lived (there) together’ or ‘he lived (there) with her’; but it is clear from the storyline that she did not have the same control over that as the giant did.

- (711) hipowha spiwnaha rimwanatkalo wa Çiçiya
 hipowha spiwnaha r-him-hwa-na-tka-lo wa Çiçiya
 swamp edge.of 3-ASSOC-be(loc)-CMPV-PFV-3SGF REF NAME
 ‘Çiçiya was living with her at the edge of a swamp.’ (Kme32)

The subject and associate need not be equally animate. Example (712) illustrates the construction with an inanimate associate (their robes), as do (714) and (715) below (the game meat and the knife, respectively).

- (712) wanna halpokotatkali . . . hikanopna rimansatanripna
 wanna halpokota-tka-li . . . hi-kanopi-na
 3PL prepare-PFV . . . 3SGMPSSR-robe-3PL
 r-him-hansata-ni-li-pa-na
 3-ASSOC-dance-ANTIC-SGM-ELV-3PL
 ‘They prepared . . . their robes in order to dance with them.’ (C23)

Although inanimate associates are permissible, it is not possible for them to have an instrumental role in the event:⁹

- (713) **fɪjyapi nimerkanro*
shishapi_{ASSOC} n-him-herka-ni-lo
scrub.brush 1SG-ASSOC-wash-ANTIC-3SGF
'I will wash/do washing with a scrub brush.'

As (714)-(716) illustrate, associate constructions in Yine may have causative overtones, particularly – but not exclusively – when the associate is not capable of carrying out the action alone (as in (714) and (715)).

- (714) *hico niktfinni rimapoka*
hico niktji-ne-ni r-him-hapoka
much game.animal-PL-AFFCT 3-ASSOC-arrive
'He arrived with/brought a lot of meat.' (Gvs10)

- (715) *timsatokhimatatkalo*
t-him-satoka-hima-ta-tka-lo
3SGF-ASSOC-return-ASSOC-VCL-PFV-3SGF
'She returned with it (his bamboo knife - fem.), reportedly.' (Per31)

- (716) *nimapokanyi*
n-him-hapoka-ni-yi
1SG-ASSOC-arrive-ANTIC-2SG
'You will arrive with me; I will make you arrive with me.'

Typologically, as discussed in Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), associate derivations represent an intermediate point between causatives and applicatives: like applicatives, they introduce a new object (cf. Valenzuela (2003)'s 'associative applicative', Peterson (2007)'s 'comitative applicative'); like causatives, that object has a subject-like role in the event (like causatives, cf. Dixon (2000)'s 'causative of involvement', Shibatani and

⁹The semantically near-equivalent oblique marker *-yma* does, however, allow both comitative and instrumental readings, e.g. *fɪjyapi-yma nimerkanro* 'I will wash with her using a scrub brush.'

Pardeshi (2002)’s ‘sociative causative’). Morphology with a similar function to *him-* has been reported in many Amazonian languages and is argued to be an areal feature in Guillaume and Rose (2010).

10.7.3 *-ya* ‘locative/applicative’

Yine employs a multifunctional applicative suffix *-ya* to promote a wide range of oblique roles into non-oblique status, that is, into O or E position in the predicate’s argument frame. It is always valency increasing on intransitive verbs, and may either increase or rearrange the valency of a transitive verb. The roles typically promoted by *-ya* include location (717)-(718),¹⁰ source (719)-(720), instrument (721), beneficiary (722), maleficiary (723), and reason (724). As (718) and (720) illustrate, a location adverbial may satisfy the role of introduced location or source.

- (717) a. rikjikna (location)
 r-hikjika-na
 3-find-3PL
 ‘He found them.’
- b. wa sati rapha rikjikyana
 wa sati rapha r-hikjika-ya-na
 REF SPEC+MASC stream 3-find-APPL-3PL
 ‘He found them at a certain stream.’ (Oso7)
- (718) a. nalikka (location - adv)
 n-halika-ka
 1SG-want-PASS
 ‘I am wanted.’
- b. hawla nalikika
 hawla n-halika-ya-ka
 there 1SG-want-APPL-PASS
 ‘I am wanted there.’ (E79)

¹⁰In (718), there are valency-increasing and valency-decreasing mechanisms – *-ya* ‘applicative’ and *-ka* ‘passive’, respectively – in the same clause. The co-occurrence of more than one valency manipulating suffix on the same predicate is not at all unusual in Yine and is touched on again in the discussion of noun incorporation in §10.8.2.

- (719) a. riɣpaka (source)
 r-hiɣpaka
 3-go.out
 ‘He/it goes out.’
- b. tsri hihraha hiɣpakyanri
 tsri hi-hraha hiɣpaka-ya-na-li
 big+MASC 3SGMPSSR-blood.of go.out-APPL-CMPV-3SGM
 ‘A lot of blood came out of him.’ (Unc92)
- (720) a. riɣrika (source - adv)
 r-hiɣrika
 3-descend
 ‘He fell.’
- b. teno riɣrikyatka
 teno r-hiɣrika-ya-tka
 high 3-descend-APPL-PFV
 ‘He fell from high up.’ (Kok23)
- (721) a. nniklo (instrument)
 n-nika-lo
 1SG-eat-3SGF
 ‘I eat it.’
- b. nnikyali wa kotɣiro
 n-nika-ya-li wa kotɣiro
 1SG-eat-APPL-3SGM REF knife
 ‘I eat (it) with a knife.’ (c46)
- (722) a. nerkanro (beneficiary)
 n-herka-na-lo
 1SG-wash-CMPV-3SGF
 ‘I washed it (fem.).’
- b. nerkiyanro
 n-herka-ya-na-lo
 1SG-wash-APPL-CMPV-3SGF
 ‘I washed (e.g. clothes) for her.’

- (723) a. nnikli wa niktji (maleficiary)
 n-nika-li wa niktji
 1SG-eat-3SGM REF game.meat
 ‘I eat meat.’
- b. nnikyayi wa nikchi
 n-nika-ya-yi wa niktji
 1SG-eat-APPL-2SG REF game.meat
 ‘I eat your meat (I eat meat to your detriment).’
- (724) a. wane tjiyahatna (reason)
 wane Ø-tjiyahata-na
 there/thus 3-cry-3PL
 ‘Thus the children were crying.’
- b. wale pikpotitanna mtironni; wane tjiyahatyana mtirone
 wale Ø-pika-poti-ta-na-na mtiro-ne-ni
 3SGM 3-be.afraid-INTNS-VCL-CMPV-3SGM small+FEM-PL-AFFCT
 [wane Ø-tjiyahata-ya-na mtiro-ne]
 [there/thus 3-cry-APPL-3PL small+FEM-PL]
 ‘The poor girls were very scared of him, thus because of that the girls were crying.’ (Tgn22)

The applicative suffix can also be used to promote the secondary possessor¹¹ of an incorporated noun into object position. Example (725a) is ungrammatical because the incorporated noun, *-çe* ‘stick shaped object of’ must have its possessor expressed as a core argument in the predicate (see §10.8.2 below and §8.2.2); but as it is not a body part and does not serve to classify a human, it cannot have a 1st person primary possessor (725b).

- (725) a. *noçe
 no-çe
 1SGPSSR-stick.shaped.object.of
- b. *pistakaçetno
 p-histaka-çe-ta-no
 2SG-cut-stick.shaped.object.of-VCL-1SG

¹¹i.e. the non-inherent possessor of an inalienably possessed noun; see §5.2.4 regarding primary and secondary possessors.

It can, however, have a 1st person secondary possessor (726a), and this can be expressed in an incorporation construction if the applicative *-ya* is employed.

- (726) a. noçete
no-çe-te
1SG-stick.shaped.object.of-PSSD
'my stick-shaped thing (e.g. pencil)'
- b. pistakaçetyano
p-histaka-çe-ta-**ya**-no
2SG-break-stick.shaped.object.of-VCL-**APPL**-1SG
'You broke my pencil.' (g26)

10.8 Incorporation and valency manipulation

10.8.1 *-yehi* 'vicinity' oblique marker

As described in §6.7.2 and §8.2.2, *-yehi* 'in the vicinity/house of, near' is an oblique role-marking suffix that can be incorporated into the verb stem. When incorporated, it has an applicative effect with its notional object indexed as O on the predicate. The original verb can be intransitive (as in (727)-(729)) or transitive (as in (730)).

- (727) a. yatkana
Ø-ya-tka-na
3-go-PFV-3PL
'They went'
- b. yayehitakalina
Ø-ya-**yehi**-ta-tka-**li**-na
3-go-**VICIN**-VCL-PFV-**3SGM**-3PL
'They approached him'; 'They went to where he was.' (Hiy13)
- (728) a. tsalwaçeta
t-salwa-çe-ta
3SGF-visit-FREQ-VCL
'She always goes visiting.'

- b. tsalwayehçetli
 t-salwa-**yehi**-çe-ta-**li**
 3SGF-visit-**VICIN**-FREQ-VCL-**3SGM**
 ‘She kept visiting him’; ‘She would always come to his house.’ (Tuc5)

- (729) rasikyehitakalina wa tsrinetka
 r-hasika-**yehi**-ta-tka-**li**-na wa tsri-ne-tka
 3-hurry-**VICIN**-VCL-PFV-**3SGM**-3PL REF big+MASC-PL-PFV
 ‘The old/grown men hurried to where he was.’ (Paj32)

- (730) tniklokhimatli; kojpakayehhimatlina
 t-nikloka-hima-ta-**li** Ø-kojpaka-**yehi**-hima-ta-**li**-na
 3SGF-swallow-QUOT-VCL-**3SGM** 3-take.out-**VICIN**-QUOT-VCL-**3SGM**-3PL
 ‘It swallowed him; they pulled him out (from inside it).’ (TsN83)

10.8.2 Noun incorporation

In Yine, noun incorporation always involves a possessed noun (whether alienable or inalienable). When the noun is incorporated, its possessor is obligatorily expressed in the core argument frame of the predicate. However, this does not necessarily mean that a new argument is introduced; very often, the valency of the clause remains the same, but the roles expressed by the arguments are changed to accommodate the possessor. Specifically, the possessor becomes the S argument of an intransitive clause, as in (731) and (732); and it becomes the O argument of a transitive clause, as in (733) and (734). Thus, noun incorporation in Yine is not valency reducing as it is in many languages.

- (731) a. rapoka
 r-hapoka
 3-arrive
 ‘He arrives’ (D40n)
- b. hi rapokkafretana hispiwnaha
 hi hima r-hapoka-kafri-e-ta-na hispiwnaha
 NEG QUOT 3-arrive-arrow-PSSD-VCL-CMPV shore
 ‘His arrow did not make it to the shore.’
 (*lit.* ‘He did not arrow-of-arrive at the shore.’) (D40)

- (732) niʃpakahrahata
 n-hiʃpaka-hraha-ta
 1SG-go.out-blood.of-VCL
 ‘I’m bleeding.’ (f1)

- (733) a. ristakannona
 r-histaka-na-no-na
 3-cut-CMPV-1SG-3PL
 ‘They cut me.’
- b. ristakaksiçetannona
 r-histaka-ksiçe-ta-na-no-na
 3-cut-leg.of-VCL-CMPV-1SG-3PL
 ‘They cut my leg.’ (they leg-cut me). (f24)

- (734) a. nkafitʃyi
 n-kafitʃa-yi
 1SG-grab-2SG
 ‘I grab you.’
- b. nkafitokanyi
 n-kafi-tokani-yi
 1SG-grab-speech.of-2SG
 ‘I record your speech.’ (I speech-grab you.) (g25)

10.8.2.1 Incorporation and passives/reflexives

Passivization and reflexivization are fully compatible with noun incorporation, as the examples in (735) and (736)-(738), respectively, illustrate.

The passive subject refers to the possessor of the incorporated noun.

- (735) a. nistakyi
n-histaka-yi
1SG-cut-2SG
'I cut you.' (g25)
- b. pistakkanotka (passive)
p-histaka-kano-ta-ka
2SG-cut-arm.of-VCL-PASS
'Your arm has been cut.' (you've been arm-cut) (g25)
- c. pistakkanawatetko (passive)
p-histaka-kanawa-te-ta-ko
2SG-cut-canoe-of-VCL-ANTIC.PASS
'Your canoe will be cut.' (you'll be canoe-cut) (g25)

With a reflexive, the possessor is associated with the joint agent/patient roles of the reflexive subject.

- (736) pkaftokanitnawa (reflexive)
p-kafi-tokani-ta-na-wa
2SG-grab-speech.of-VCL-REFL-REFL
'You're recording your own speech.' (g25)
- (737) nistakaksiçetnawa noksiçni (reflexive)
n-histaka-ksiçe-ta-na-wa no-ksiçe-ni
1SG-cut-leg.of-VCL-REFL-REFL 1SGPSSR-leg.of-AFFCT
'I cut my own leg.' (f24)
- (738) pkaftokanitinwa (reflexive)
p-kafi-tokani-ta-ina-wa
2SG-grab-speech.of-VCL-ANTIC.REFL-REFL
'(You'll) record your own speech.' (g25)

10.8.3 Grammatical relations with multiple incorporants

Both of the argument-manipulating incorporants – *-yehi* and a possessed noun – can be incorporated into the same verb. The result proves to be somewhat difficult to translate into English, but the following examples provide some insight into what happens to the grammatical relations in the clause when this is done.

Example (739) presents the basic transitive verb:

- (739) nhirkotlo
n-hirkota-lo
1SG-care.for-3SGF
'I'm taking care of it (e.g. a lizard).' (g66)

Consider first the example in (740), in which only a noun has been incorporated:¹²

- (740) nhirkotaçpirotetyi
n-hirkota-çpiro-te-ta-yi
1SG-care.for-lizard-PSSD-VCL-2SG
'I'm taking care of your lizard.' (g66)

When *-yehi* is incorporated as well, bringing with it the need to express its object, the following translation was given:

- (741) nhirkotaçpirotyehityi
n-hirkota-çpiro-te-yehi-ta-yi
1SG-care.for-lizard-PSSD-VICIN-VCL-2SG
'I'm taking care of your (house/corral of) lizards.' (g66)

On discussing the example further, my consultant offered a more explanatory translation: "I am taking care of your lizards, and they are in an enclosed space of their own, for example a little corral." These translations suggest that the 'applied object' of *-yehi* is in fact the incorporated noun, the possessor of which is cross-referenced in O as required by Yine's noun incorporation system. The O argument is not the one introduced

¹²This example, while perfectly grammatical, was quite amusing to my consultant, because 'We don't take lizards as pets'.

by *-yehi*: (741) does not mean ‘I am taking care of (*someone’s*, or *your*) lizards in your vicinity’. Nor is the sentence interpreted as having an unexpressed object of *-yehi*: for example, it does not translate as ‘I am taking care of your lizards in (someone else’s) vicinity’. Additionally, it was clearly the animals that were being cared for – not their (implied) quarters.

A similar example, confirmed on a different occasion with a different speaker, is given in (742). It was given the same sort of interpretation as (741), with both incorporated elements again having their required grammatical roles satisfied within the same predicate.

- (742) nhirikotatsinriçityehityi
n-hirkota-tsinriçi-te-yehi-ta-yi
1SG-care.for-parrot-PSSD-VICIN-VCL-2SG
‘I’m taking care of your (cage of) parrots (g90)

11 The Clause

The purpose of this chapter is to present the basic structure of the Yine clause. I first present the clause constituents and their relative ordering, which applies to both verbal and nonverbal clauses. The special functions carried out by nonverbal clauses are discussed in §11.5.

11.1 Clause structure

For all verbal and most nonverbal clauses, only the predicate is strictly obligatory, as long as it bears pronominal markers indexing its core argument(s).¹

Table 11.1 outlines the structure of the Yine clause.

<i>Pre-core</i>
Sentence connective
NP/adverb: time, manner, location
Topicalized argument
<i>Core</i>
Core or peripheral argument(s) (focused)
Predicate
Core or peripheral argument(s) (non-focused)
<i>Post-core</i>
NP/adverb

Table 11.1: Clause structure

§11.2 presents the pre-core constituents; their relative positioning is fixed in the order given in Table 11.1; §11.3 addresses the clause core and describes the (highly variable) ordering of the predicate and its arguments; in §11.4 the option to place a clause-level modifier after the core is addressed.

¹Regarding the optionality of non-subject core arguments, see §10.1.4.

11.2 Pre-core constituents

Discourse connectives and topicalized arguments always occur in the pre-core periphery of the clause; clause-level modifiers typically do but are also attested in the post-core periphery.

11.2.1 Connective

The first position in the clause is occupied by discourse connectives, sentence-linking words that provide cohesion at the discourse level. One of these, *hiyaho*, behaves morphologically like a nonverbal predicate head: in addition to optionally having clause-level aspect and/or mood suffixes, it obligatorily takes the impersonal pronominal suffix *-ni*. It cannot have a referential subject or any kind of modifier, is quite limited in its morphological complexity, and cannot stand as a complete sentence. Thus, it may be considered a defective predicate whose function is cohesive rather than structural, moving the narrative forward in a manner similar to, but less marked than, the English phrase ‘Then/so it was (that)...’.

- (743) **hiyahni** mapa whenhimatkalo
hiyaho-ni mapa whene-hima-tka-lo
then-IMP.DECL three young.of-QUOT-PFV-3SGF
‘So she had three children, reportedly.’ (hetn69)

- (744) hiyahotnakni ...
hiyaho-tnaka-ni
then-REIT-IMP.DECL
‘Then once again ...’ (DP)

- (745) **hiyahhimatkani** pantfi rapokatka
hiyaho-hima-tka-ni pantfi r-hapoka-tka
then-QUOT-PFV-IMP.DECL house 3-arrive-PFV
‘Then they arrived at the house.’ (Twm22)

The contrast coordinator *seyo* (see also §13.1.2) has the same defective-predicate structure when used as a discourse connective: *seyini* [seyo-ni] [but-IMP.DECL], and most naturally translates as ‘but, however’, as in (746).²

- (746) *seyini* hima wale hi hima rɪnkaklewata-na
seyini hima wale hi hima r-hinkaklewata-na
but QUOT 3SGM NEG QUOT 3-relate-CMPV
 ‘But he would not tell.’ (Nwd33)

The other connectives, *wanepnite* ‘next’ and *maka* ‘contrary to expectation’, frequently bear the clause-level aspect and/or modality suffixes (cf. §9.5) but are not predicates. Examples of these are provided below.

- (747) *wanepnithima* wane yatnaka
wanepnite hima wane Ø-ya-tnaka
next QUOT there 3-go-REIT
 ‘Next, they went there again.’ (Gua8)

- (748) *makakta* pitsoti nkosetanatka
maka-kta pitsoti n-koseta-na-tka
CNTREXP-GENZ electric.eel 1SG-catch-CMPV-PFV
 ‘But instead, I had caught an electric eel.’ (Pts33)

The co-ordinating conjunction *hawa* can also function as a discourse connective, as it does in (751) in §11.2.2. The difference between *hawa* and the connectives described above is that *hawa* can co-ordinate subclausal constituents, but the others cannot.

11.2.2 Topicalized NP

Topicalization in Yine involves moving the topicalized constituent to a clause-initial position, following only any discourse-level connectives in the sentence. The topicalized NP is set off from the remainder of the clause by a prosodic boundary (high pitch

²The same root with different inflections has the sense of ‘all, no more’: e.g. *seyotkani* [seyo-tka-ni] [but-PFV-IMP.DECL] ‘that is all now’; *seyoka* [seyo-ka] [but-ASSRT] ‘no more; the end’.

on the final syllable, often followed by a pause). Examples of various topicalized arguments are provided below: the subject in (749), the object in (750), and a locative extended argument in (751).

(749) wa hektiti, hi wa hiknohyapwi
 wa hekti-ti
 REF bad-PRIV+MASC
 hi wa hiknoha-ya-pa-wi
 NEG REF happen-APPL-ELV-1PL
 ‘Bad things, (they) won’t happen to us.’ (Via32)

(750) wale, hi nimkata hiylaletli
 wale hi n-himkata hiyla-le-ta-li
 3SGM NEG 1SG-be.able kill-SUBD-VCL-3SGM
 ‘That one, I can’t kill it.’ (Hmn53)

(751) hawa tye sreta, hi wa rawpotita
 hawa tye sreta
 and PROX.SGM area
 hi wa r-hwa-poti-ta
 NEG REF 3-be(loc)-INTNS-VCL
 ‘And in this area it doesn’t really live.’ (Kch61)

11.2.3 Clause-level modifier

Clause-level modifiers provide information about the time, manner, or location of the event denoted in the predicate. More than one may co-occur in a single clause. The most common of these is the adverb *wane*, which is obligatory with the speech verb *ʃina* (752) and otherwise functions as a manner (753) or location (754) modifier.

(752) hiyahni wane ʃinri wa yineri ...
 hiyaho-ni **wane** Ø-ʃina-li wa yine-li
 then-IMP.DECL **there/thus** 3-say-3SGM REF people-SGM
 ‘Then he said to the man ...’ (Gvs3)

(753) hiyahni wane rica wa pitsoti
 hiyaho-ni **wane** r-hica wa pitsoti
 then-IMP.DECL **there/thus** 3-be/do REF electric.eel
 ‘So thus is the electric eel.’ (Pts64)

(754) hiyahni wane hima rapokatka
 hiyaho-ni **wane** hima r-hapoka-tka
 then-IMP.DECL **there/thus** QUOT 3-arrive-PFV
 ‘Then he arrived there.’ (hetn40)

Examples (755)-(757) further illustrate clause-level modifiers, bracketed out in the morpheme lines.

(755) wanepnite wa hepi hohne wane nimwamtli
 wanepnite [wa hepi hohne]_{NP}
 next [REF two day]
 wane ni-him-hwa-m-ta-li
 there/thus 1SG-ASSOC-be(loc)-NONDUR-VCL-3SGM
 ‘Next, I stayed with him for those (*lit.* the) two days.’ (HwS10)

(756) hiyahni wane hatni-hapo ritakamtniro
 hiyaho-ni [wane]_{ADV} [hatni-hapo]_{NP:LOC}
 then-IMP.DECL [there] [path-trail.of]
 r-hitaka-m-ta-ni-lo
 3-put-NONDUR-VCL-AFFECT-3SGF
 ‘Then he left her there on the path.’ (Kme6)

(757) waneko picka hima riylahimatanro jifri
 [wane-ko picka]_{ADV} hima
 [thus-EMPH SIM] QUOT
 r-hiyla-hima-ta-na-lo jifri-ni
 3-kill-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-3SGF fly-AFFECT
 ‘In the same way he killed the fly, reportedly.’ (Paj17)

11.3 Clause core

The clause core consists of the predicate and its arguments. The relative order of predicate and arguments varies considerably under pragmatic and stylistic motivations, the details of which are not well understood; the following discussion attempts to describe the most common patterns.

It is also worth noting that two NPs do not occur in a single clause very frequently, and even less frequently do two core argument NPs occur together. There is a general tendency in Yine to introduce only one participant into the discourse at a time,³ and subsequent reference is typically carried out primarily by means of the pronominal affixes on the predicate.

Both core and oblique arguments may either precede or follow the predicate, regardless of whether the clause is verbal or nonverbal. Thus, in intransitive clauses the subject may precede the predicate (758), (760), or follow it (759), (761). Placing an argument before the predicate has a slight focussing effect. The predicate-first order is somewhat more common than argument-first in verbal clauses; in nonverbal clauses it is very strongly preferred but not obligatory, as example (760) illustrates.

- (758) hiyahni himni çematka
hiyaho-ni [himni]_{NP:VS} [çema-tka]_{PRED}
then-IMP.DECL [snake] [hear-PFV]
'Then the snake heard.' (Kok22)

- (759) rasikamtatka wa kokopineri
[r-hasika-m-ta-tka]_{PRED} [wa kokopineri]_{NP:VS}
[3-run-NONDUR-VCL-PFV] [REF snake.man]
'The snake-man ran (for a while).' (Kok25)

³This tendency is found in many other languages as well and has been discussed in the literature; eg. Chafe (1987) proposes a constraint limiting the introduction of new concepts into the discourse to one per intonation unit, and Du Bois (1987), based on Sacapultec Maya data, proposes a constraint limiting the introduction of new arguments to one per clause.

(760) miŋjikawa kokopineri yinerni
 miŋjikawa [kokopineri]_{NP:NVS} [yine-li-ni]_{PRED}
 long.ago [snake.man] [human-SGM-IMP.DECL]
 ‘Long ago, the snake-man was human.’ (Kok2)

(761) cani hewno hita
 cani [hewi-no]_{PRED} [hita]_{NP:NVS}
 now [here-1SG] [1SG]
 ‘Now I am here.’ (Jrn25)

Oblique arguments may likewise appear either before (762) or after (763) the predicate.

(762) wanepnithima thimaçiryehi twa wa yatalinero
 wanepnite-hima [t-himaçiro-yehi]_{NP:OBL} t-hwa
 next-QUOT [3SGF-grandmother-VICIN] 3SGF-be(loc)
 [wa yatalinero]_{NP:VS}
 [REF cricket.woman]
 ‘Next, the cricket-woman was at her grandmother’s (house)’ (Hetu45)

(763) nyanitka paktfanyehi
 n-ya-ni-tka [paktfa-ne-yehi]_{NP:OBL}
 1SG-go-ANTIC-PFV [hawk-PL-VICIN]
 ‘I will go to the hawks’ (place) (PkN82)

With transitive verbs, considering examples where both the subject and object are expressed with independent NPs, all possible constituent orders are attested.

Examples (764) and (765) are SVO:

(764) pamyo çeçine homkahitlo wa knoya
 [pamyo çeçi-ne]_{NP:VS} [homkahita-lo]_{PRED} [wa knoya]_{NP:O}
 [five man-PL] [follow-3SGF] [REF tortoise]
 ‘Five males follow the tortoise.’ (Kno12)

- (765) mhenokli hiylatanatkalo nhaninroni
 [mhenokli]_{NP:VS} [hiylata-na-tka-lo]_{PRED}
 [jaguar] [kill-CMPV-PFV-3SGF]
 [n-hninro-ni]_{NP:O}
 [1SG-wife.of-AFFCT]
 ‘A jaguar has killed my poor wife.’ (Nwd95)

(766) and (767) are OVS:

- (766) wanepnite sati kwali hima kamritna himolene
 wanepnite [sati kwali]_{NP:O} hima
 next [SPEC+MASC platform] QUOT
 [Ø-kamrita-na]_{PRED} [himole-ne]_{NP:VS}
 [3-make-3PL] [kin.of-PL]
 ‘Next his kinsmen made a platform, reportedly.’ (Srp16)

- (767) twi pnikanitka pica
 [twi]_{NP:O} [p-nika-ni-tka]_{PRED} [pica]_{NP:VS}
 [PROX.SGF] [2SG-eat-ANTIC-PFV] [2SG]
 ‘You will eat that one now.’ (WatE26)

VSO order is illustrated in (768) and is also found in (773) below.

- (768) pa kata netli hita pitsoti
 pa kata [n-heta-li]_{PRED} [hita]_{NP:VS} [pitsoti]_{NP:O}
 one time [1SG-see-3SGM] [1SG] [electric.eel]
 ‘Once I saw an electric eel.’ (Pts13)

Examples (769) and (770) are VOS:

- (769) çimeka reneknona hita wa wanna sicone
 [çimeka]_{NP:E} [r-heneka-no-na]_{PRED} [hita]_{NP:O}
 [manioc] [3-give-1SG-3PL] [1SG]
 [wa wanna sico-ne]_{NP:S}
 [REF 3PL woman-PL]
 ‘Those women gave me manioc.’ (nHwS)

In (770), the relevant clause is subordinate (the main clause is omitted here). Constituent order is not significantly different in subordinate versus main clauses, except that it is more common for core arguments to follow the predicate in subordinate clauses. This would follow if the pre-predicate position is focal, as subordinate clauses do not usually contain focal information.

(770) ...hi ticpoko hikjikletlo wa fwamkalo nhaninro
 hi t-hicpoko [hikjika-le-ta-lo]_{PRED}
 INTRG 3SGF-do(manner) [find-SUBD-VCL-3SGF]
 [wa fwamkalo]_{NP:O} [n-hninro]_{NP:VS}
 [REF spider] [1SG-wife.of]
 ‘...how my wife found the spider.’ (wap43)

There are rare situations where the argument indexing system is unable to assist in identifying the grammatical roles of two independently expressed core arguments: if both arguments precede the predicate; or if both arguments are 3rd person plural. These are situations where we might expect to find the constituent order to be more constrained, and this does in fact seem to be the case to some extent.

When an argument precedes the predicate, it is not (normally) indexed through pronominal affixes. If both the subject and object appear before the predicate and neither one is indexed, this effectively removes argument indexing as a means of identifying their roles. This situation rarely arises in my corpus: (771) is the only unelicited example I have encountered. Here, the order is SOV.

(771) pitsoti kopaçi nika
 [pitsoti]_{NP:VS} [kopaçi]_{NP:O} [nika]_{PRED}
 [electric.eel] [sardine] [eat]
 ‘The electric eel eats sardines.’ (Pts5)

With (771) both the textual context and real world knowledge make it clear what role each of the arguments is playing in the event. The example in (772) below, on the other hand, is representative of several examples I presented to my consultants in isolation. Here, there is no biasing context and the arguments have equal animacy. It

was generally agreed that sentences like (772) could be interpreted as either SOV or OSV, as indicated in the translation, but that SOV order was preferred.

- (772) wala wale hiçhanata
 [wala]_{NP:S/O} [wale]_{NP:O/S} [hiçha-na-ta]_{PRED}
 [3SGF] [3SGM] [search.for-DUR-VCL]
 ‘She is looking for him’ (*preferred*)
 or ‘He is looking for her.’

The second situation where pronominal indexing fails to disambiguate the arguments’ roles is when the pronominal indexing itself is ambiguous: that is, when both arguments are 3rd person plural as in example (773). Here again, both VSO and VOS interpretations are acceptable, but in this case there was not as strong a preference for one order over the other. (In context, the intended reading is the one given in the first translation – the anteaters killed the jaguars).

- (773) riylatanna siwane mhenokline
 [r-hiyla-ta-na-na]_{PRED} [siwa-ne]_{NP:S/O} [mhenokli-ne]_{NP:O/S}
 [3-kill-VCL-DUR-3PL] [anteater-PL] [jaguar-PL]
 ‘The anteaters killed the jaguars’
 or ‘The jaguars killed the anteaters.’

Overall, constituent order in the clause core is best described as pragmatically, rather than syntactically, motivated. New and/or prominent participants appear first, while established or topical constituents follow the predicate.

11.4 Post-core modifier

In very few examples in my corpus, a clause-level modifier follows the predicate, as in (774) and (775).

(774) wickoca hiylatli wnikanri hiyampoti
 wica koca hiylata-li w-nika-ni-ri
 1PL ADD kill-3SGM 1-PL-eat-ANTIC-SGM

hiyampoti
quickly

‘We also kill our food very quickly.’ (Oso18)

(775) tiylamtanatkali cani
 t-hiyla-m-ta-na-tka-li **cani**
 3SGF-kill-NONDUR-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3SGM **now**

‘She killed him now.’ (Tra158)

(776) wane hima rawçenatnina miṭṭikawa
 wane hima r-hwa-çe-na-ta-ni-na **miṭṭikawa**
 there/thus QUOT 3-be(loc)-FREQ-DUR-VCL-AFFECT-3PL **long.ago**

‘They used to live there before.’ (Yam5)

Further research is needed to determine whether the post-core adverb position is open to the same range of phrase types as the pre-core modifier position, and what effect the relative placement has on the meaning of the clause.

11.5 Nonverbal clauses

Yine does not have a copula verb. The relational function of such a verb in other languages is carried out instead by verbless clauses of two sorts: those with a zero predicate, consisting of two arguments in apposition; and those containing a non-verbal predicate, headed by an NP constituent or an adverb. In this section, I describe how Yine expresses copula-type relationships, organizing the discussion around the relational clause typology proposed in Dixon (2002).

11.5.1 Identity, Equation and Naming clauses

Identity clauses express a relationship in which the subject belongs to the class of items denoted by the predicate (cf. Payne 1997's 'proper inclusion' clauses). In equation clauses, the subject and the predicate refer to the same entity. The predicate in a naming clause expresses the name of the subject. Each of these construction types are typically formed in Yine using predicates headed by an NP or any element that can be the sole member of an NP (cf. §6.4). Zero-predicate clauses may also be used to express an identity relationship between two NPs; see example (780) below. Aside from this, Yine does not exhibit any formal distinction between identity and equation clauses.

Typical examples of identity clauses are given in (777)-(780). In (777), the gender marking in the predicate head – i.e. *-lo* – agrees with the natural gender of the (2nd person) subject. The gender marking is hidden in (778) due to vowel elision, but in context this example has a female referent as well.

(777) yineropmakatkayi
yine-lo-pa-maka-tka-yi
human-SGF-ELV-FRUST-PFV-2SG
'If (only) you would become a human woman.' (hetn5)

(778) hi wa yinerni
hi wa yine-lo-ni
NEG REF human-SGF-IMP.DECL
'She is not a human.' (hetn78)

In (779), the subject is expressed only in the pronominal suffix *-ni*. Although its referent is personal and animate, the impersonal subject marker is used because the predicate is headed by a noun; see §9.1.2.2.

(779) mtfiratvani
mtfira-tka-ni
spider.monkey-PFV-IMP.DECL
'It was a spider monkey.' (Mch30)

In (780), the same identity relationship is expressed twice in two consecutive clauses, first with a zero-predicate clause (780a), then paraphrased with a nominal clause in (780b).

- (780) a. wale kamtʃi
 wale kamtʃi
 3SGM demon
 ‘That (one) is a demon.’
- b. kamtʃitkani
 kamtʃitkani
 demon-PFV-IMP.DECL
 ‘It’s a demon.’ (hetn21-2)

Examples (781)-(783) illustrate equation clauses.

In (781), the speaker is explaining that what appears to be her hair is in fact part of her face. There are two equation clauses in this example: the first one stating that her hair (the topicalized subject) is her face (the predicate), and the second one explaining that it is not her hair.

- (781) wale noçiwî nohoçni. hi wa noçiwni
 [[wale no-çiwî]_{NP:NVS} [no-hoçi-ni]_{PRED}]_{CL}
 [[3SGM 1SGPSSR-hair.of] [1SGPSSR-face.of-IMP.DECL]]
 [hi wa no-çiwî-ni]_{CL}
 [NEG REF 1SGPSSR-hair.of-IMP.DECL]
 ‘This my hair, it’s my face. It’s not my hair.’ (Hetn52)

The first clause in (782) illustrates an equation clause headed by a pronoun. The second clause – also an equation clause – is headed by a nominalized predicate, as is example (783); this represents one of Yine’s relativization strategies (see §6.2.2.2).

- (782) hitakatani, wane pʃinanatanrotkano kapethohne
 [hita-ka-tka-ni]_{CL} [wane
 [1SG-ASSRT-PFV-IMP.DECL] [there/thus
 p-ʃina-na-ta-ni-lo-tka-no kapethohne]_{CL}
 2SG-say-DUR-VCL-ANTIC-SGF-PFV-1SG yesterday]
 ‘It was me, I am the one you were speaking to yesterday.’ (Hetu16)

- (783) piçhaçenatanrono
 p-hiçha-çe-na-ta-ni-lo-no
 2SG-search.for-FREQ-DUR-VCL-ANTIC-SGF-1SG
 ‘I am the one you kept looking for.’ (Hetu16)

Naming constructions also employ a nominal predicate head and are structurally like identity and equation clauses.

- (784) nhiwakni Hwa
 n-hiwaka-ni Hwa
 1SGPSSR-name.of-IMP.DECL NAME
 ‘My name is Juan.’

Example (785) also serves to illustrate the use of the non-declarative subject marker, here expressing a sense of uncertainty on the part of the speaker as to what the translation of *solî* (sunbittern) might be.

- (785) klo hiwakla solî?
 klo hiwaka-la solî
 what+SGF name.of-IMP.NONDECL *solî*
 ‘What might the sunbittern be called?’ (h151)

11.5.2 Attribution clauses

In attribution clauses, the predicate expresses an attribute of the subject. This relationship is expressed in Yine with a clause headed by an adjective or nominalized adjective predicate. Examples of adjectival attribution clauses are given in (786) and (787).

- (786) kihleno hita hewiya
 [kihle-no]_{PREP} [hita]_{NP:NVS} [hewi-ya]_{NP:OBL}
 [good-1SG] [1SG] [hewi-OBL]
 ‘I am well here.’ (Jml2)

- (787) çinanipyi
 çinani-pa-yi
 full-ELV-2SG
 ‘You will be full.’ (het15)

On adjectival predicates, 3rd person singular subject marking is homophonous with the gender agreement suffixes: i.e. *-li* (masc), *-lo* (feminine). Thus, examples like (788) raise the question of whether the *-li* is an agreement marker – making this a zero-predicate clause – or a pronominal subject marker – making this an adjectival clause. The question can be resolved and the suffix identified as pronominal by comparing (788) with (786) and (787) above: the latter do not have any agreement morphology, and the subject markers *-no* and *-yi* stand in opposition to the *-li* in (788).

- (788) kihlepothimlo mtiro
 kihle-poti-hima-lo mtiro
 good-INTNS-QUOT-SGF small+FEM
 ‘The girl/child was very beautiful.’ (Tso6)

Further examples of adjectival attribution clauses are given in (789) and (790).

- (789) hi wa kayhiri wa pitsoti
 hi wa ka-yhi-ri wa pitsoti
 NEG REF ATTRIB-tooth.of-SGM REF electric.eel
 ‘The electric eel does not have teeth.’
 (‘The electric eel is not tooth-having.’) (Pts69)

- (790) ksaçpotli nopra kewi
 ksaçi-poti-li no-pra kewe
 black-INTNS-3SGM 1SGPSSR-pet.of dog
 ‘My dog is very black.’ (b97)

Nominal predicates, including those headed by a nominalized adjective, take the impersonal subject marker *-ni/-la* in 3rd person. 1st and 2nd person take the regular NVS subject markers (e.g. (791)). Unlike the bare adjective roots in the above examples, adjectives bearing a gender/number suffix are treated as nouns when they head a

predicate (see §7.1 for discussion of the nominalizing properties of gender and number agreement). An example illustrating the use of *-ni* as the 3rd person subject marker on nominalized adjectives is given in (792).

(791) hickolno
 hicko-li-no
 strong-SGM-1SG
 ‘I am (a) strong (one).’ (suw31)

(792) wale kyowikolni wa yaperi
 wale kyowiko-li-ni wa yaperi
 3SGM dangerous-3SGM-IMP.DECL REF manatee
 ‘That one is (a) dangerous (one), the manatee.’ (svm6)

11.5.3 Existence clauses

Existence clauses consist of a subject and a predicate headed by the location/manner adverb *wane*. These constructions are frequently used with a presentational sense, to introduce participants into the discourse, as is the case in (793) and (794).

(793) waneri sati çeçi
 wane-li sati çeçi
 there-3SGM SPEC+MASC man
 ‘There was a certain man.’ (Bfm60n)

(794) hawa wanehimananro kotfi
 hawa wane-hima-nani-lo kotfi
 and there-QUOT-EXTNS-3SGF rat
 ‘And there was a rat.’ (Per2)

(795) wanena nwhenene
 wane-na n-whene-ne
 there-3PL 1SG-child.of-PL
 ‘My children exist’; ‘I have children.’ (Gav34)

Existence clauses do not often have 1st or 2nd person subjects, but the widely used conventional greeting in (796) below illustrates that it is grammatically possible:

- (796) waneyi?
 wane-yi
 there/thus-2SG
 ‘Are you there?’ (‘Do you exist?’)

The negative existential in Yine is formed using a distinct adverbial root, *malefa* ‘not there’, which expresses absence or non-existence and, like its positive counterpart, is ambiguous for location versus existence.

- (797) malefna mtirine
 malefa-na mtiri-ne
 not.there-3PL small.ones+masc-PL
 ‘There aren’t any children.’ / ‘The children are gone.’ (B117)

- (798) malefatkana nomolene. pica hiylatanatkana
 malefa-tka-na no-himole-ne
 not.there-PFV-3PL 1SGPSSR-kin.of-PL
 pica hiylata-na-tka-na
 2SG kill-CMPV-PFV-3PL
 ‘I have no kinspeople. You have killed them all.’ (B117)

- (799) malefatkalo kanawatna
 malefa-tka-lo Ø-kanawa-te-na
 not.there-PFV-3SGF 3-canoe-PSSD-3PL
 ‘Their canoe wasn’t there.’

- (800) malefkocatkali wa wnikanri
 malefa-koca-tka-li wa w-nika-ni-li
 not.there-ADD-PFV-3SGM REF 1PL-eat-ANTIC-3SGM
 ‘We also had no food (our food was not there.)’

11.5.4 Possession clauses

In possession clauses, the predicate mediates a relationship of possession between two entities. Yine employs four constructions to express this: an applicative derivation of the existence predicate; the existential predicate itself; a predicate headed by an attributive derivation; and a predicate headed by a possessive pronoun.

The first of these, and the most common in my corpus, is formed by adding the applicative suffix *-ya* to the existential predicate head which, as with existentials, is the adverb *wane*. In this construction, the possessor is treated as the core argument, indexed on the predicate with the NVS suffix, and the possessum is treated as an extended (E) argument, neither indexed on the predicate nor marked as oblique.

- (801) waneyno satipçe sana
[wane-ya-no]_{PRED} [sati-pçe sana]_{NP:E}
[there-APPL-1SG] [SPEC+MASC-RESTR swidden]
'I have only one swidden.' (d97)

- (802) wa nikoçiri waneyananri pekepeke
[wa n-hikoçiri]_{NP:NVS} [wane-ya-nani-li]_{PRED}
[REF 1SG-uncle.of] [there-APPL-EXTNS-3SGM]
[pekepeke]_{NP:E}
[motorized.canoe]
'My uncle had a motorized canoe (for a long time).' (Unc34)

- (803) waneyhimna nikanrina
[wane-ya-hima-na]_{PRED} [Ø-nika-ni-li-na]_{NP:E}
[there-APPL-QUOT-3PL] [3-food-ANTIC-SGM-3PL]
'They had their food.' (Yami32)

- (804) mtirpothima waneylo masi
 [mtiri poti hima]_{NP:NVS:MOD} [wane-ya-lo]_{PRED}
 [small+MASC INTNS QUOT] [there/thus-APPL-3SGF]
 [masi]_{NP:NVS:HEAD}
 [gourd.bowl]
 ‘She had a very small gourd bowl, reportedly.’ (Gri36)

A non-applicative existential predicate may also be used to express possession, as in (805). Here, the existence of a possessed thing is asserted, and its possessor is encoded through regular possessive morphology on the possessum. The possessum is the subject in this construction.

- (805) waneri nopçi
 [wane-li]_{PRED} [no-pçi]_{NP:NVS}
 [there/thus-3SGM] [1SGPSSR-house.of]
 ‘I have a house.’ (‘My house exists.’) (Hetn22)

Another possession clause strategy employs an attributive derivation (see §4.3.1) as the predicate head. The subject is thus identified as one who possesses a certain attribute. Such clauses could be considered a special subtype of attribution clause.

- (806) kapçino
 ka-pçi-no
 ATTRIB-house.of-1SG
 ‘I have a house.’ (‘I am house-having.’) (Hetn22)

- (807) hi wa kayhiri wa pitsoti
 hi wa [ka-yhi-li]_{PRED} [wa pitsoti]_{NP:NVS}
 NEG REF [ATTRIB-tooth.of-3SGM] [REF electric.eel]
 ‘The electric eel does not have teeth.’ (Pts69)

Finally, possession-type meanings can be expressed using a clause headed by a possessive pronoun.⁴ Such clauses, exemplified in ((808)), could be considered a special type of identity clause, in which the subject is identified as belonging to the set of

⁴Regarding the derivation of possessive pronouns, see §3.2.3.

things possessed by the referent of the pronoun.

- (808) hitanni wale kahli
[hita-ni-ni]_{PREP} [wale kahli]_{NP:NVS}
[1SG-PROP.NOM-IMP.DECL] [3SGM clay]
'That clay is mine.' (b79)

11.5.5 Location clauses

While adverb-based possession and existence clauses could both arguably be subsumed under location clauses (see especially (794) and (799) for suggestive examples), in this section I will briefly address predicates headed by location words, as the latter have not been addressed in the preceding sections. First, demonstrative adverbs such as *hewi* frequently head nonverbal predicates that express the location of their subject:

- (809) cani hewno hita
cani hewi-no hita
now here-1SG 1SG
'Now I am here.' (Jrn25)

- (810) hewni nopçi
hewi-ni no-pçi
here-IMP.DECL 1SGPSSR-house.of
'Here is my house.' (Hetn25)

Additionally, the interrogative *hinaka* 'where' can head a predicate questioning the location of the subject:

- (811) Kmentsa, hinakatkayi?
Kmentsa hinaka-tka-yi
NAME where-PFV-2SG
'Kmentsa, where are you now?' (Kme62)

12 Sentence Types

The structure of the basic (declarative) clause was treated in Chapter 11. This chapter presents how other clause types are constructed in Yine. It begins with a discussion of negation, followed by a look at politeness in declarative clauses (§12.2), then moves on to discuss the various types of interrogative clause in §12.3. Exclamative clauses are addressed in §12.4, and the chapter closes with a look at how Yine, in the absence of dedicated imperative morphology, forms commands (§12.5).

12.1 Negation

The negation of basic declarative verbal main clauses (called ‘standard negation’ in Payne 1985) is expressed in Yine using the particle *hi*.¹ This particle is homophonous with the particle used for interrogative and exclamative utterances; cf. §12.3 and §12.4 below.

Typical examples of clausal negation are provided in (812) and (813), with an intransitive and transitive verbal predicate, respectively. As these examples illustrate, the negative particle always precedes the predicate, and in some cases also the arguments of the predicate. In a negated clause negation, the predicate, and subject marking are the only obligatory grammatical elements. Aside from the presence of the negative particle, there is no difference between positive and negative polarity clauses.

- (812) a. riyoka
r-hiyoka
3SGM-be.awake
‘He is awake.’

¹Much of the description in this section is a slightly modified form of the sections in Hanson (to appear) that discuss the Yine negative particle.

- b. hi riyoka
 hi r-hiyoka
 NEG 3SGM-be.awake
 ‘He is not awake.’

- (813) a. rikfiklona
 r-hikfika-lo-na
 3SGM-find-3SGF-3PL
 ‘They found her.’
- b. hi rikfiklona
 hi r-hikfika-lo-na
 NEG 3SGM-find-3SGF-3PL
 ‘They did not find her.’

Formally, clauses negated with *hi* are identical to their positive counterparts, and do not exhibit any restrictions in their aspectual specifications. The sentences below illustrate negated clauses with perfective (814) and imperfective (815) aspect, and anticipatory mood (816) (also used for imperatives, see §12.5 below).

- (814) hi hima rapokanatka hipçi *Perfective*
 hi hima r-hapoka-na-tka hi-pçi
 NEG QUOT 3SGM-arrive-CMPV-PFV 3SGMPSSR-house.of
 ‘He had not returned to his house, reportedly.’ (hmn14)

- (815) hi hima rinawa mhenokli *Imperfective*
 hi hima r-hina-wa mhenokli
 NEG QUOT 3SGM-come-IMPFV jaguar
 ‘The jaguar had not yet come, reportedly.’ (TwM19)

- (816) hi nnikatani *Anticipatory*
 hi n-nikata-ni
 NEG 1SG-finish-ANTIC
 ‘I will not finish.’ (Jm15)

12.1.1 Negation of nonverbal clauses

Most types of nonverbal clauses are negated in the same way as verbal clauses. Examples (817) and (818) illustrate the negation of a clause headed by an adjective and an adverb, respectively.

(817) hi tsrikni
hi tsri-ka-ni
NEG big+MASC-ASSRT-IMP.DECL
'It is not big.' (Kch18)

(818) hi howikatcano
hi howika-tka-no
NEG far-PFV-1SG
'I was not far now.' (Kno42)

As with verbal predicates, nonverbal predicates retain their normal range of inflectional possibilities, a typical sampling of which can be seen in examples (819)-(821) with various mood and aspect markers.

(819) hi kihlenapyi
hi kihle-na-pa-yi
NEG good-CMPV-ELV-2SG
'You will not be well.' (Per9)

(820) hi tsrokakakni
hi tsro-kaka-ka-ni
NEG big+FEM-DISTR-ASSRT-IMP.DECL
'Each of them was not big; none of them was big.' (Hetn53)

(821) hi howikatkani
hi howika-tka-ni
NEG far-PFV-IMP.DECL
'It wasn't far now.' (Caz42)

Predicates which are headed by a nominal (noun, pronoun, or nominalization) are exceptional, being negated with both the negative particle and the article *wa*, as described in the next section.

12.1.2 Collocation of *hi* with article: *hi wa*

To some extent, negation in Yine is sensitive to the word class being negated. Specifically, the distinction between referential (nominal) versus non-referential (non-nominal) elements is important. Predicates headed by non-referential word classes - verbs, adverbs, adjectives - are negated with the negative particle alone. With predicates headed by nouns, pronouns, or nominalizations, however, the negative particle is obligatorily accompanied by the article *wa* (described in §3.1.3).² The two elements form a single, inseparable phonological word, but this is not necessarily evidence that they also form a single grammatical word. Any element that is not bimoraic (in Yine, this is equivalent to bisyllabic due to the lack of close syllables, contrastive vowel length, or diphthongs) is parsed into the preceding phonological word in connected speech.

As with other predicates in negated clauses, nominal predicates do not have restricted or modified morphological possibilities compared to their positive counterparts, though they in general are not typically very morphologically complex. Typical examples are provided in (822)-(824).

(822) *hi wa noçiwni*
hi wa no-çiwî-ni
NEG REF 1SGPSSR-hair.of-IMP.DECL
'It is not my hair.' (Hetn73)

(823) *hi wa yinerni*
hi wa yine-lo-ni
NEG REF people-SGF-IMP.DECL
'She is not (a) human (woman).' (Hetn105)

²*Wa* is a referential article marking discourse activation. Its use in collocation with the negative particle is consistent with its general usage in the language.

- (824) hi wa wale hwapatfrini
 hi wa wale hwapa-ʈfri-ni
 NEG REF 3SGM bring-SUBJ.NOM+MSG-IMP.DECL
 ‘He didn’t bring him.’ (He is not the him bringer.) (MyI84)

Though obligatory with nominal predicates, *hi wa* is also very frequently used in non-nominal clauses, in a manner that is grammatically (but not pragmatically) indistinguishable from the use of *hi* alone. However, its use has a particular semantic/pragmatic effect, the details of which are not well understood and deserve a dedicated study of their own. It seems to have the same function as it does with nominal clauses, associating negation with a referential element in the clause. In the case of verbal clauses, this means an argument of the verb. This function of *hi wa* overlaps with Yine’s general strategy for associating negation with a particular clausal constituent (serving to manipulate negative scope), as described in §12.1.3 below.

The pair of sentences in (825) provide a sense of the difference between *hi* alone and *hi wa* in a clause: in the latter case, the O argument, indexed in the pronominal suffix, is necessarily referential; in the former, not necessarily. One consultant explained the difference in the following way: in (825a), there is not necessarily anyone to see or look at; in (825b) there is someone, but the speaker hasn’t seen him – the inclusion of *wa* forces a referential interpretation of O.

- (825) a. hi netli
 hi n-heta-li
 NEG 1SG-see-3SGM
 ‘I didn’t see it/him; I didn’t see anyone; I didn’t look.’
- b. hi wa netli
 hi wa n-heta-li
 NEG REF 1SG-see-3SGM
 ‘I didn’t see it/him (a particular person).’

The particular grammatical role associated with negation through the use of *hi wa* is not restricted: as the examples below in this section and the next will illustrate, it may be the subject of an intransitive or transitive clause, the object of a transitive

clause, or an extended argument like a location. In each case, either context or explicit topicalization makes it clear which argument is under *hi wa*'s scope, but this clarity is not always evident. In the following examples, I use square brackets in the translation to indicate which element appears to be associated with negation in each case based on the discourse context.

In an intransitive clause like (826) (adjectival predicate) or (827) (verbal predicate), it is obvious that *hi wa* must be associating with the subject as this is the only nominal in the clause.

- (826) hi wa kayhiri wa pitsoti
 hi wa ka-yhi-li wa pitsoti
 NEG REF ATTRIB-tooth.of-SGM REF electric.eel
 'The electric eel does not have teeth (is not one having teeth).' (Pts69)

- (827) cani halikaka hi wa wpikanitka
 cani halikaka hi wa w-pika-ni-tka
 now indeed NEG REF 1PL-be.afraid-ANTIC-PFV
 'Now, indeed, [we] will not be afraid.' (Mshk121)

The scope of *hi wa* in (828) and (829) relies entirely on context to determine. The sentence in (828) is taken from a scene in a narrative where the speaker is urging her sisters-in-law not to cut her hair into a fringe. The reason, she explains, is that what appears to be her hair is in fact part of her face. Her objection, then, is not against having a fringe cut in general, nor against her sisters-in-law cutting one, but rather against having one cut on herself. Thus, *hi wa* here associates negation with the object, expressed in the 1SG pronominal suffix *-no*.

- (828) hi wa hyoprihanno
 hi wa h-yopriha-ni-no
 NEG REF 2PL-cut.fringe-ANTIC-1SG
 'Do not cut [me] a fringe.' (Hetn74)

The example in (829) is taken from a narrative in which the heroes are trying to kill a certain female jaguar; she hides away in a cave and they cannot reach her, so they do not kill her (though they have successfully killed other jaguars earlier in the story). Using *hi wa* here provides focus on the object argument.

- (829) hi wa hima riylatlona
 hi wa hima r-hiylata-lo-na
 NEG REF QUOT 3SGM-kill-3SGF-3PL
 ‘They didn’t kill [her].’ (TsN64)

The surface form of the clause can be manipulated to clarify which argument is intended to be associated with the negation, whether through constituent order or through the choice to express an argument with an independent NP; it is in this way that the function of *hi wa* overlaps most with the general strategies in the language for combining negation and focus, described in the next section.

12.1.3 Negation and focus

Yine does not employ exclusively phonological means like stress or intonation to explicitly associate negation with a particular clausal element. Rather, this is done either by manipulating the constituent order in the sentence, or through topicalization. The strategies are the same whether *hi* is used alone or with the article as *hi wa*.

One strategy is to place the focussed element between the negative particle and the predicate, as with the quantified (elided) subject in (830), the direct object in (831) and (832), and the location object in (833). The negation, fronted argument, and predicate form a single intonation unit. As the continuing context indicates, given in parentheses following the translations of each sentence, this construction expresses contrastive focus.

(830) hi wa hepipçe homkahitlo *Subject*
 hi wa hepi-pçe homkahita-lo
 NEG REF two-RESTR follow-3SGF
 ‘Not [just two] follow her.’ (Five of them do.) (Kno11)

(831) wanekli hima hi wa çrali wnikçenatatka *Object*
 wane-klî hima
 there/thus-time.of QUOT
 hi wa çra-lî w-nika-çe-na-ta-tka
 NEG REF blood.of-SGM 1PL-eat-FREQ-DUR-VCL-PFV
 ‘From that time, reportedly, we did not eat [raw (meat)].’
 (We ate cooked meat.) (MyI170)

(832) hi hima satiko kamriçenatnina *Object*
 hi hima sati-ko
 NEG QUOT SPEC+MASC-EMPH
 Ø-kamri-çe-na-ta-ni-na
 3-work-FREQ-DUR-VCL-AFFCT-3PL
 ‘They did no [other] work.’ (Only collecting rubber.) (Mshk15)

(833) hi wa hoja rawa *Location*
 hi wa hoja r-hwa
 NEG REF forest 3-be(loc)
 ‘It does not live [(in the) forest].’ (It lives in the water.) (Kch7)

Quantified phrases are often found in this position.

(834) hi himakta hicpoti rawapatka
 hi hima-akta hico poti r-hwapa-tka
 NEG QUOT-GENZ much INTNS 3-bring-PFV
 ‘He didn’t bring [very much] back.’ (WatE176)

(835) hi pa hohneko nsatokaniitka
 hi pa hohne-ko n-satoka-ni-tka
 NEG NONSPEC day-PSSD-EMPH 1SG-return-ANTIC-PFV
 ‘I will [never (not any day)] return.’ (Hetn88)

- (836) hi wa peçnikakloni wa misayma tiplapiçe
 hi wa peçni-kaka-lo-ni
 NEG REF every-DISTR-SGF-IMP.DECL
 wa misa-yma tiplapiçe
 REF table-COM bench
 ‘Not [every] table has a bench.’ (the bench(es) are not equal with the tables.)
 (Matteson et al. 1971p67)

Temporal, location, and manner adverbials often appear here as well.

- (837) hi wanepniteko satoknitka
 hi wanepnite-ko Ø-satoka-ni-tka
 NEG next-EMPH 3-return-AFFCT-PFV
 ‘He didn’t return [right then].’ (Unc98)
- (838) hi wane timkata yaletana
 hi wane t-himkata ya-le-ta-na
 NEG there/thus 3SGF-be.able go-SUBD-VCL-CMPV
 ‘She didn’t want to go [there].’ (Tra58)
- (839) hi hima hiyampoti tikfiklewatana
 hi hima hiyampoti t-hikfika-lewa-ta-na
 NEG QUOT quickly 3SGF-find-CHAR-VCL-CMPV
 ‘She hadn’t found it [quickly], reportedly.’ (Per5)

Topicalization in Yine involves moving the topicalized element to clause-initial position, following only the sentence connectives (see §11.1), and it represents another strategy for negative focus. In this construction, the topicalised element appears at the beginning of the clause, before the negative particle, and is set off from the remainder of the clause by a prosodic boundary (high pitch on final syllable, often followed by a pause). Examples of various topicalized arguments are provided in (840)-(845) below.

- (840) wa hektiti hi wa hiknohyapwi *Subject*
 wa hektiti hi wa hiknoha-ya-pa-wi
 REF bad-PRIV+MASC NEG REF happen-APPL-ELV-1PL
 ‘[Bad things], (they) wouldn’t happen to us there.’ (Via32)

- (841) wala himamka hi halikli *Subject*
wala hima-maka hi halika-li
3SGF QUOT-FRUST NEG want-3SGM
‘[She], in vain, didn’t want him, reportedly.’ (Nwd86)
- (842) hitni hi wa nimata çiwetana *Subject*
hita-ni hi wa n-himata çiweta-na
1SG-AFFCT NEG REF 1SG-know sew-CMPV
‘(Poor) [me], I didn’t know how to sew.’ (Wap7)
- (843) wale hi nimkata hiylaletli *Object*
wale hi n-himkata hiyla-le-ta-li
3SGM NEG 1SG-be.able kill-SUBD-VCL-3SGM
‘[That (one)], I can’t kill it.’ (Hmn53)
- (844) tye sreta hi wa rawpotita *Location*
tye sreta hi wa r-hwa-poti-ta
PROX.SGM area NEG REF 3-be(loc)INTNS-VCL
‘[This area], it doesn’t live right around (here).’ (Kch61)
- (845) hewi hi nalika satokletatka *Location*
hewi hi n-halika satoka-le-ta-tka
here NEG 1SG-want return-SUBD-VCL-PFV
‘[Here], I don’t want to return.’ (Via42)

12.1.4 Repetition of *hi* in a sentence

The negative particle may be repeated within a single sentence, serving to express negative disjunction. As the following sentences exemplify, *hi* (or *hi wa*) precedes each element that it negates. While these examples appear to involve the disjunction of constituents rather than clauses, the fact that the reported evidential marker *hima* may be repeated along with the negative particle (as in (847)) provides evidence that the

disjunction is in fact at the clause level, with elided predicates. While *hima* may appear more than once in a clause in Yine, it always either precedes the predicate or is incorporated into it; it does not appear following the predicate.³

- (846) hi hima pa hohneko nikawnani nikkaliri hi koyako
hi hima pa hohne-ko nikawna-ni
 NEG QUOT NONSPEC day-EMPH finish-ANTIC
 nikkaliri **hi** koya-ko
 food NEG manioc.beer-EMPH
 ‘The food would never finish, nor the manioc beer.’ (Hetn55)

- (847) wale hi hima riʃinikatkana wihenene hi hima haninroko hi hima ririko hi wa
 rinroko
 wale **hi** hima r-hiʃinika-tka-na
 3SGM NEG QUOT 3-remember-PFV-3PL
 Ø-whene-ne **hi** hima Ø-hninro-ko
 3-child.of-pl NEG QUOT 3SGM-wife.of-EMPH
hi hima r-hiri-ko
 NEG QUOT 3-father.of-EMPH
hi wa r-hinro-ko
 NEG REF 3-mother.of-EMPH
 ‘He reportedly didn’t remember his children, nor reportedly even his wife, nor reportedly even his father, nor even his mother.’ (Yam154)

12.2 Politeness in declarative clauses

The force of a statement can be softened, or a statement made more polite, by adding the ‘attenuative’ suffix *-ʃi* to the end of the predicate. This construction seems to be limited to 1st person subjects, but whether this is a grammatical or pragmatic restriction is not certain. The following examples illustrate regular versus attenuated declarative clauses, where (848b) is what I was taught to say as a more polite version of (848a):

³For a very restricted exception, see §12.5.5.

- (848) a. nethapani (Declarative)
 n-heta-ha-pa-ni
 1SG-see-liquid.of-ELV-ANTIC
 ‘I’m going to look at the water.’
- b. nethapanifji (Polite declarative)
 n-heta-ha-pa-ni-fji
 1SG-see-liquid.of-ELV-ANTIC-ATTEN
 ‘I’m just going to look at the water.’
 (‘I’ll be looking at the water; I’m going to be looking at the water.’)

12.3 Interrogative clauses

Although intonation is frequently an indicator of interrogative clauses across languages, in Yine a distinct intonation contour is consistently found only in basic polar questions, which lack interrogative morphology; see §12.3.1.1 below. With all other question types, the intonation usually matches that of a declarative clause. Rising intonation is optional, but not required. With the exception of the basic polar question, the interrogative clause is most reliably identified by the presence of a question word or particle at the beginning of the clause.

The methods of forming interrogatives described here are not sensitive to the type of predicate head: both verbal and non-verbal clauses are treated the same way.

12.3.1 Polar questions

There are two types of polar question in Yine: the basic polar question, which is marked only by intonation, and the confirmation-type or ‘expected affirmative’ polar question, which is introduced by the negative particle *hi* with the mirative enclitic =*he*, and has optional rising intonation. There are no shifts in constituent order involved in either type.

12.3.1.1 Basic polar questions

In the absence of one of the overt interrogative markers described below, intonation alone can signal a polar question. For example, when uttered with rising intonation the declarative clause *t-apoka-tka* (3SGF-arrive-PFV) ‘She has arrived’ becomes the question ‘Has she arrived?’. As noted above, this is the only situation where a distinct intonation contour is consistently found in Yine questions. Polar questions formed via intonation alone do not express or imply any expectations regarding the answer.

12.3.1.2 ‘Expected affirmative’ polar questions

Polar questions that imply the expectation of an affirmative answer are formed from negated clauses in Yine. In such questions, the mirative enclitic attaches to the negative particle itself rather than to the predicate (as it does in exclamative clauses, see §12.4 below). These questions tend to have a declarative contour, but rising intonation is optional. Example (849) illustrates an expected affirmative question (along with its answer in (849b)) with a verbal clause; (850) illustrates that these questions can also be formed in nonverbal clauses.

- (849) a. hihe piʃiniklo phaninro?
hi=he p-hiʃinika-lo p-hninro
NEG=MIR 2SG-remember-3SGF 2SG-wife.of
‘Don’t you remember your wife?’
- b. hihi niʃiniklo
hihi n-hiʃinika-lo
yes 1SG-remember-3SGF
‘Yes, I remember her.’ (Yami142)

- (850) a. hihe kwihenenyi?
 hi=he k-whene-ne-yi
 NEG=MIR ATTRIB-child.of-PL-2SG
 ‘Don’t you have children?’
- b. wanena nwihenene
 wane-na n-whene-ne
 there-3PL 1SG-child.of-PL
 ‘I have children.’ (*lit.* ‘My children exist.’) (Gav34)

12.3.2 ‘Alternative’ questions

Alternative questions are formed by adding the ‘alternative’ particle *waka* and the negative noun *hike* ‘no’ to the clause expressing the affirmative alternative.

- (851) hihi waka hike?
 hihi waka hike
 yes or nothing
 ‘Yes or no?’

- (852) hi nimata rinannehe waka hike
 hi n-himata r-hina-ni-na=e=he waka hike
 NEG 1SG-know 3-come-ANTIC-3PL=INTRST=MIR or nothing
 ‘I don’t know if they’re going to come or not.’ (DP)

With expected-affirmative type questions, the negative tag cancels out the implied expectation of an affirmative answer.

- (853) hihe waneyyi waka hike?
 hi=he wane-ya-yi waka hike
 NEG=MIR there/thus-APPL-2SG or nothing
 ‘Do you have (it) or not?’

12.3.3 Content questions

There are six single-word question terms in Yine. They are listed in Table 12.1 below along with the part of speech to which each one corresponds; each will be discussed in turn below.

Ques. term	Forms	Translation	Word class	Examples
<i>kli</i>	<i>kli</i> (m) <i>klo</i> (f) <i>kna</i> (pl)	‘what, which’	adjective, pronoun	(854)-(857)
<i>klineri</i>	<i>klineri</i> (m) <i>klinero</i> (f) <i>klinerna</i> (pl)	‘what, which’	adjective, pronoun	(858),(859)
<i>kati</i>	<i>kati</i> (m) <i>kato</i> (f) <i>knane</i> (pl)	‘who’	pronoun	(861),(862)
<i>hi</i>	<i>hi</i>	‘how, what’	particle	(863),(864)
<i>hiri</i>	<i>hiri</i> (m) <i>hiro</i> (f) <i>hinna</i> (pl)	‘which (one)’	adjective, pronoun	(865),(866)
<i>hinaka</i>	<i>hinaka</i>	‘where’	adverb	(867)-(869)

Table 12.1: Simple question terms in Yine

As their forms suggest, there are three basic question roots or themes involved: *kli*, with pronominal and adjectival functions and which forms the base for *klineri*; *kati*, a pronominal question word reserved for human referents; and *hi*, the particle that serves polysemously as an interrogative and exclamative marker, and as an adverbial question term, as well as forming the base for both *hiri* and *hinaka*.

12.3.3.1 *kli* ‘what, which’

Kli is an adjectival question word that inflects for gender and number in agreement with the noun it questions (see §4.3.3 for discussion on adjective agreement). Its paradigm consists of the forms *kli* (masc.sg), *klo* (fem.sg) and *kna* (plural). Like all adjectives,

kli can modify a noun (854) or itself stand in for the questioned noun phrase (855)-(857).

(854) *kli meçkaka panika sosi?*
kli meçi-kaka p-hanika sosi
what+SGM feather.of-DISTR 2SG-bring uncle
'What feathers did you bring, uncle?' (PakN77)

(855) *kli wkamritani?*
kli w-kamrita-ni
what+SGM 1PL-do/make-ANTIC
'What shall we do?' (f17)

(856) *klo hiwakyi?*
klo hiwaka-yi
what+SGF name.of-2SG
'What is your name?' (addressing a woman)

(857) *kna hiwakni?*
kna hiwaka-ni
what+PL name-IMP.DECL
'What are their names?' (DP)

The unusual gender agreement in (856) is worth noting. The feminine form of the question word is used here in agreement with the natural gender of the addressee; grammatical gender is not distinguished in 2nd person forms in the language. In this particular example, it is not possible for the question word to agree with the questioned noun, because *hiwaka* 'name of' belongs to the set of genderless inalienable nouns (cf. §5.1.2). Like all such nouns, *hiwaka* takes on the gender of its possessor; it is with this inherited gender that *klo* agrees in (856). The same is also true of *-meçi* in (854), which is also an inalienable noun with no inherent gender. In (854), however, the possessor of the feathers is not known, so a different strategy is needed for deciding on the form

of the interrogative. In this case, the form is masculine because this is the functionally unmarked gender in the language.

12.3.3.2 *klineri* ‘which, what’

Klineri, a derived form of *kli*, is a pronominal or adjectival question word with a more formal or emphatic sense than *kli*.⁴ It is derived from *kli* using the ‘being/entity’ formative *-neri* (masc)/ *-nero* (fem).

(858) *klineri pyopikhata?*
kli-neri *p-yopikhata*
 what+SGM-entity 2SG-stare.at
 ‘What are you staring at?’ (e12)

(859) *klineri panikatka?*
kli-neri *p-hanika-tka*
 what+SGM-entity 2SG-bring-PFV
 ‘What have you brought?’ (Gav60)

(860) *hiyahni klinerikokta niktji piynimata rihityi*
hiyaho-ni *kli-neri-ko-kta* *niktji*
 then-IMP.DECL what+SGM-entity-EMPH-GENZ game.meat

p-hiynimata r-ihitya-yi
 2SG-call.to 3-consent-2SG
 ‘And whatever animal you call to, answers you.’ (Hetn8)

12.3.3.3 *kati* ‘who’

Kati functions as an interrogative pronoun and questions a (usually) human referent. The final vowel is thematic, expressing gender in the singular: *kati* ‘masc.sg’; *kato* ‘fem.sg’, and probably derives historically from an inflectional marker (see §5.1.1 for similar examples in nouns). The plural form, *knane*, is irregular and appears to have

⁴That *kli*, the masculine form, is used here is a further indication that masculine is the functionally unmarked gender in Yine.

double plural marking (the plural agreement marker *-na* and the nominal pluralizer *-ne*). Its close resemblance to *kna*, the plural of *kli* described above, suggests that there is a historical relationship between these two forms (with *knane* perhaps arising as a pluralization of *kna*), but further research would be needed to determine whether this is the case.

(861) katni wa tsri?
 kati-ni wa tsri
 who+SGM-IMP.DECL REF big+MASC
 ‘Who is older?’ (lit. ‘the big one is who?’)

(862) knane hapoka?
 knane hapoka
 who+PL arrive
 ‘Who all arrived?’

12.3.3.4 *hi* ‘how’

The interrogative particle *hi* corresponds to ‘how’ or ‘what’ and operates on the clause level. As (864) illustrates, *hi* is also used to question direct speech.

(863) hi pickayi?
 hi picka-yi
 INTRG like-2SG
 ‘How are you?’ (‘How are you like?’)

(864) hi pʃinno?
 hi p-ʃina-no
 INTRG 2SG-say-1SG
 ‘What (*lit.* how) did you say to me?’ (Hetu33)

Five of the complex question terms in Yine are based on *hi*; see Table 12.2 below.

12.3.3.5 *hiri* ‘which (one)’

Hiri can function as an adjective or a pronoun; it inflects for number and gender with the forms *hiri* (SGM), *hiro* (SGF) and *hinna* (plural). By their morphology, the singular forms appear to be *-li* object/property nominalizations of the question particle; this is consistent also with their meaning. The plural form is irregular, but bears a strong resemblance to the (also irregular) 3PL pronoun *wanna*; it is possible that both *hinna* and *wanna* have double plural marking (though not synchronically) similar to that hypothesized for *knane* above⁵.

- (865) *hiro kirika palika?*
hiro kirika p-halika
which+SGF book 2SG-want
‘Which book do you want?’ (DP)

- (866) *hinna mahata?*
hinna mahata
which+PL lack
‘Which ones are missing?’ (DP)

12.3.3.6 *hinaka* ‘where’

Hinaka is an adverbial interrogative that questions a location:

- (867) *hinaka petyali wa paktfa?*
hinaka p-heta-ya-li wa paktfa
where 2SG-see-APPL-3SGM REF sparrowhawk
‘Where did you see the sparrowhawk?’ (PakN11)

- (868) *hinaka pyapa?*
hinaka p-ya-pa
where 2SG-go-ELV
‘Where are you coming from?’

⁵If this is the case, the order of the plural markers would be reversed here – e.g. *hi-ne-na* vs. *k-na-ne*. Deletion of the *e* in *-ne* is consistent with the regular apocope rules in the language; cf. §2.3.1.

- (869) hinaka riʃpakiyi?
 hinaka r-hiʃpaka-yi
 where 3-exit-2SG
 ‘From where do you give birth?’ (Per20)

12.3.4 Complex question terms

The remaining question terms in Yine are complex forms based on either *kli* or *hi* and are listed with their glosses in Table 12.2.

Question term	Translation	Gloss	Examples
kli ʃinani	‘why’	kli what+SGM	ʃina-ni say-PROP.NOM ‘reason’ (870)
kli hohne	‘when’	kli what+SGM	hohne day (871)
kli hora	‘what time’	kli what+SGM	hora hour (Sp. <i>hora</i>) (872)
hikli	‘when (general)’	hi INTRG	-kli time.of (873)
hi peçni	‘how many’	hi INTRG	peçni every (874)
hi pso	‘how much’	hi INTRG	pso size.of (875)
hi hicpoko	‘how’	hi INTRG	hicpoko do+manner (876),(877)

Table 12.2: Complex question terms in Yine

Questioning reason (870) and specific time (871), (872) are done using *kli*:

- (870) kli ʃinani hewi pwanatatka? (Reason)
 kli ʃinani hewi p-hwanata-tka
 what+SGM say-PROP.NOM here 2SG-live-PFV
 ‘Why do you live here now?’ (Gav.030)

(871) *kli hohne psatokani?* (Time: day)
kli hohne p-satoka-ni
 what+SGM day 2SG-return-ANTIC
 ‘What day will you come back?’

(872) *kli hora pinani?* (Time: hour)
kli hora p-hina-ni
 what+SGM hour 2SG-come-ANTIC
 ‘What time will you come?’

Hikli, which questions the general time when something occurred or will occur, is formed by the particle *hi* plus the inalienable noun *-kli* ‘time.of’.⁶

(873) *hikli rakhoçita phaniri?*
hi-kli r-hakhoçita p-hniri
 INTRG-time.of 3-fix.return 2SG-husband.of
 ‘When/what date did your husband set to return?’ (DP)

There are two ways to question quantities. Individuated nouns are questioned with *hi peçni* ‘how many’ (874), while non-individuated nouns are questioned with *hi pso* ‘how much’ (875).

(874) *hi peçni hapoka?*
hi peçni hapoka
 INTRG every arrive
 ‘How many have arrived?’

(875) *hi pso hasikari pahi palika?*
hi pso hasikari pahi p-halika
 INTRG size.of sugar powder.of 2SG-want
 ‘How much sugar do you want?’

Finally, there a question phrase *hi hicpoko* ‘how; in what manner’ – built on the verb *hicpoko* ‘do in a certain way’ – which marks the subject of the interrogative clause

⁶This *-kli* is quite distinct from the interrogative word.

in its pronominal prefix. *Hicpoko* is a complement-taking verb, requiring the lexical verb of the clause to be marked subordinate with either *-le* ‘subordinate’, as in (876) and (877), or with the anticipatory passive *-ko*, as in the indirect question in (878).

(876) hi picpoko hiylaletli pica wa pnikanri?
 hi p-hicpoko hiyla-le-ta-li pica wa p-nikanri
 INTRG 2SG-do+manner kill-SUBD-VCL-3SGM 2SG REF 2SG-food
 ‘How do you kill your food?’ (Oso15)

(877) Hi ricpoko kowchohaletna?
 hi r-hicpoko kowchoha-le-ta-na
 INTRG 3-do+manner fish-SUBD-VCL-3PL
 ‘How does he fish?’ (cf. BfM13)

(878) cani ninankletanri fiçi hikfikikoli hi ricpoko hikfikota mitfikawa
 cani n-hinkakleta-ni-li fiçi hikfik-iko-li
 now 1SG-relate-ANTIC-3SGM corn find-APPL-ANTIC.PASS-SGM
 hi r-hicpoko hikfi-ko-ta mitfikawa
 INTRG 3-do+manner find-ANTIC.PASS-VCL before
 ‘Now I will tell about the discovery of corn, how it was discovered long ago.’ (Shj1)

Hicpoko does not occur as a complement-taking verb outside of questions.⁷

12.3.5 Indefinite pronouns

All of the basic interrogative words listed in Table 12.1 above, with the exception of *kli*, are made indefinite using the ‘generalizing’ suffix *-kta*; e.g. *hinakakta* ‘wherever’, *hikta* ‘however/in whatever manner’. For nominal question words, the indefinite form also takes the emphatic marker *-ko*; e.g. *katikokta* ‘whoever (SGM)’, *hinnakokta* ‘whichever ones’, *klinerikokta* ‘whatever (thing)’. Indefinite interrogatives are especially common in indirect questions.

⁷It functions as a main verb in the derived form *hicpokota* ‘do in a certain manner’, which is an S=A ambitransitive verb.

With *kli* the indefinite form is slightly different: *kliçta* (SGM), *kloçta* (SGF), *knaçta* (PL); its meaning corresponds roughly to ‘what’s-it-called’ or ‘thing’. *Kliçta* is a noun and can take the article *wa*, which interrogative words cannot do. It often functions as a filler, occupying the NP head position while the speaker searches for the appropriate noun (as in (879) below), but can also be used when an indefinite noun is desired (as in (880) where it heads a nominal predicate). Unlike the indefinite interrogatives, *kliçta* is not used as a subordinator.

- (879) hiyahni kasolina wa kloçta rahçitatkana wa yanhatikaliro
 hiyaho-ni kasolina wa klojta r-hahçita-tka-na
 then-IMP.DECL gasoline(*Sp.*) REF something+FEM 3-buy-PFV-3PL
 wa yana-ha-ta-ya-ka-liro
 REF travel-liquid.of-VCL-APPL-PASS-PSUBJ.NOM+FEM
 ‘Then, they bought [Spanish loan]– the what’s-it-called, the gasoline
 (that which is used for travelling on water).’ (Unc66)

- (880) hawa kliçtahimaktani wa Çiçiya
 hawa kliçta-hima-hta-ni wa Çiçiya
 CONJ something+MASC-QUOT-GENZ-IMP.DECL REF NAME
 ‘And the thing [i.e. the thing she was calling out to] was Jijiya.’ (Kme12)

12.3.6 Mirativity in questions

To express surprise, disbelief or dismay in all but one type of question (expected affirmatives), the mirative enclitic =*he* is marked on the predicate or on the question word. The ‘interest’ enclitic =*e* is commonly used in this construction, but it is not obligatory. The mirative enclitic appears in examples (881) and (882) below.

- (881) nhaninro, hinakatkayihe?
 n-hninro hinaka-tka-yi=he
 1SG-wife.of where-PFV-2SG=MIR
 ‘My wife, where have you gone?!’ (Tra54)

(882) pasikatkehe?
 p-hasika-tka=e=he
 2SG-run-PFV=INTEREST=MIR
 ‘Have you run away?’ (Tra55)

(883) hinakhe pwahohnenatatka sosi?
 hinaka=he p-hwa-hohne-na-ta-tka sosi
 where=MIR 2SG-be(loc)-day-PSSD-DUR-VCL-PFV brother-in-law
 ‘Where (on earth) have you been all this time, brother-in law?’ (PKN75)

12.4 Exclamative Clauses

The exclamative clause is introduced by the interrogative particle *hi*, and is typically marked with the mirative enclitic =*he* on the predicate. The latter is not obligatory, but when it is used in exclamative clauses (as opposed to interrogatives), it is pronounced with a high pitch (as in (884)) and optional vowel lengthening.⁸ If the mirative enclitic is not employed, the prosodic markers – high pitch and lengthening – are absent.

(884) hi pa hapkaklenanyihe
 hi pa hapkake-nani-yi=hé
 INTRG NONSPEC good.aim-EXTNS-2SG=MIR
 ‘What a good shot you are (consistently)!’ (Gvs14)

(885) hi kihlepothimlo, hi p̄f̄in̄çiwinanhimlo wala hetinero!
 hi kihle-poti-hima-lo
 INTRG good-INTNS-QUOT-3SGF
 hi p̄f̄ini-çiwi-nani-hima-lo wala hetinero
 INTRG length.of-hair.of-EXTNS-QUOT-3SGF 3SGF treefrog.woman
 ‘How very beautiful, how long-haired that tree-frog woman was!’
 (Hetn21)

⁸See also §2.5.3 regarding the exclamative intonation contour; and §4.3.4 regarding its use in the exclamative adjective construction.

In terms of their morphology, exclamative clauses look very much like interrogatives or negations. The exclamatives can be readily distinguished from the others by their prosody, however. Negations match, and interrogatives tend to match, the declarative contour; but exclamatives are distinct, as described in §2.5.

12.5 Commands

Yine has no dedicated imperative morphology or sentence structure, but makes use of aspect and mood morphology to create commands. Basic commands are formed using the ‘anticipatory’ suffix *-ni*, which can be used with any person and number combination; these are discussed in §12.5.1. Indirect and desiderative commands utilize the temporal suffix *-ini* and are discussed in §12.5.2. The negation of commands is addressed in §12.5.2, and §12.5.4 describes how the force of a command is reduced.

These imperative strategies cannot be used on non-verbal clauses, since the relevant morphology occurs only on verbal predicate heads (cf. §8.2.6.2). With verbal clauses, however, both the constituent order and the availability of inflectional categories (aspect, voice, modality) in these commands are the same as in the corresponding declaratives, though command clauses are typically much less morphologically complex. None of the constructions discussed in this section is unique to command clauses; one possible exception, the use of the evidential adverbial *hima* ‘reportedly’ in reported commands, is addressed in §12.5.5.

12.5.1 Basic commands

Basic commands are formally identical to future-event constructions; both are formed with the anticipatory suffix *-ni*. This marker is fully compatible with all persons and numbers, so it is technically possible to direct a command at any person/number combination. Subjects are not dropped in imperative clauses, and their marking is identical to that found in declaratives. The command construction is therefore always ambiguous

between a future and imperative reading, and context is needed to supply the intended reading. Commands typically involve the exaggeration of the regular stress and intonation patterns in the clause (with greater exaggeration serving to increase the force of the command) but they do not have a distinct intonation pattern of their own.

The examples in (886)-(888) below, uttered sequentially within a narrative, provide illustration for commands directed at various person/number combinations: 1st person plural (886), 2nd singular (887) and 3rd singular (888).⁹ Although the translations provided here reflect the intended imperative reading, each of these could also be read as anticipatory declaratives. In all of these, the use of the perfective suffix *-tka* expresses that the action is to be done right away.

(886) hayanitka!
 ha-ya-ni-tka
 1PL-go-ANTIC-PFV
 ‘Let’s go now!’ (E126.1)

(887) hi wa piʃinikahanitkali phaniri
 hi wa p-hiʃinika-ha-ni-tka-li p-hniri
 NEG REF 2SG-remember-OBLG-ANTIC-PFV-3SGM 2SG-husband.of
 ‘Forget about your husband.’ (E126.2)

(888) wane yahanitka wale
 wane Ø-ya-ha-ni-tka wale
 there 3-go-OBLG-ANTIC-PFV 3SGM
 ‘Let him go away now.’ (E126.3)

The standard invitations to enter a house (889) and take a seat (890) further illustrate the imperative use of *-ni*:

⁹I do not have any clear examples of a 1st person singular command in my corpus, presumably because there are strong pragmatic pressures against addressing commands to oneself.

(889) patskotani
p-hatskota-ni
2SG-climb-ANTIC
'Come up.'

(890) ptiplatani
p-tiplata-ni
2SG-sit-ANTIC
'Sit down.'

12.5.2 Indirect commands

Indirect, desiderative, and non-assertive commands are formed via the desubordination of a temporal/conditional clause: they involve the suffixation of *-ini* to the predicate of an independent clause rather than a dependent one (see §13.2.2 and §8.2.6.2 for further discussion of *-ini*). This type of command construction is mostly used with non-second person in my corpus, but the example in (893) below illustrates how it may be used with a 2nd person referent.

(891) cani halikaka hewi riʃpakinitkana makliçine
cani halikaka hewi r-hiʃpaka-ini-tka-na makliçi-ne
now indeed here 3-exit-TEMP-PFV-3PL youth+SGM-PL
'Now, indeed, let/have the boys leave from here.' (E91)

(892) wiylahinri
w-hiyla-ha-ini-li
1PL-kill-OBLG-TEMP-3SGM
'Let's kill him!' (e64)

In (893), the *-ini*-marked predicate represents the continuation of instructions given by a shaman to the protagonist of the narrative. The anticipatory marker is used for the direct command in (893a), followed by the (non-subordinate) *-ini* clause in (893b), indicating the part of the instructions that is based on a prediction.

- (893) a. tye potiko pyani
 tye poti-ko p-ya-ni
 PROX.SGM INTNS-EMPH 2SG-go-ANTIC
 ‘Go to that exact [path].’ (Hmn44)
- b. wane pikshikapyinikali tsri himni
 wane p-hikʃika-pa-ya-ini-tka-li tsri himni
 there/thus 2-SG-find-ELV-TEMP-PFV-3SGM big+MASC snake
 ‘Going there you may find the big snake.’ (Hmn45)

12.5.3 Negative commands / Prohibitives

There is no dedicated marker for prohibitives in the language. Commands are negated in the same way as statements, with the negative particle *hi* at the beginning of the clause. Example (887) above illustrates a prohibitive; additional ones are given below. (894) and (895) illustrate the negation of a command clause, and (896) and (897) show how, as with declarative clauses (see §12.1 above), in commands *hi* may be used with the article *wa* to associate negation with a particular referent (indicated with square brackets in the translation).

- (894) hi waneko pyani
 hi wane-ko p-ya-ni
 NEG there/thus-EMPH 2SG-go-ANTIC
 ‘Don’t go there!’ (Trg54)

- (895) hi wane hayani
 hi wane ha-ya-ni
 NEG there/thus 1PL-go-ANTIC
 ‘Let’s not go there.’ (Twm9)

- (896) hi wa ppikaninno
 hi wa p-pika-ni-no
 NEG REF 2SG-fear-ANTIC-1SG
 ‘Don’t be afraid of [me].’ (Hetn15)

- (897) hi wa hyoprihaninno
 hi wa h-yopriha-ni-na-no
 NEG REF 2PL-cut.fringe-ANTIC-CMPV-1SG
 ‘Don’t cut [me] a fringe!’ (Hetn53)

Like their positive counterparts, these examples all also admit a future reading in addition to the command one focused on here. This ambiguity arises because, as noted earlier, the ‘anticipatory’ suffix *-ni* is used for both future time and command constructions (see §8.2.6.2).

12.5.4 Polite commands / suggestions

As with statements (see §12.2 above), the force of a command can be reduced using the ‘attenuative’ suffix *-tji* within the clause (i.e. either on the predicate or on any other phrase-heading constituent, as in (900), depending on the intended scope or focus). Examples of *-tji* in different types of command constructions are provided below. As the translations reflect, each of these sentences has the force more of a suggestion than a command.¹⁰

- (898) hitatji piylatani
 hita-tji p-hiylata-ni
 1SG-ATTEN 2SG-kill-ANTIC
 ‘(You should) kill me!’ (Srp18)

- (899) wontapanritji
 w-honta-pa-ni-li-tji
 1PL-look-ELV-ANTIC-3SGM-ATTEN
 ‘Let’s go watch (TV).’

¹⁰Some background is perhaps in order for the sentence in (898). This sentence is taken from a story in which a man, wanting to kill a giant snake, is trying to lure it towards a trap. (898) is uttered to draw the snake towards him – without making it too angry.

- (900) hewitʃi wiramtinina
 hewi-tʃi w-hira-m-ta-ini-na
 here-ATTEN 1PL-drink-NONDUR-VCL-TEMP-CMPV
 ‘Let’s drink (it) up right here.’ (E125)

12.5.5 Reported commands

Reported commands, like reported statements, contain the evidential adverbial *hima*. I have very few examples of these in my corpus, the sentence given in (901) below being the clearest one. In this example, *hima* follows the command predicate. This construction is unusual for two reasons. First, it is the only situation where *hima* follows the predicate in a clause, rather than preceding it or being incorporated into it. Second, *hima* has the same emphatic stress and intonation that the command predicate has; this is worth noting because it is highly unusual for the evidential particle to be given phonological prominence in the clause. The main translation provided in (901) is intended to reflect the meaning the sentence clearly had in its context, but note that there is no inflection of any sort on *hima*; the alternative translation more closely reflects the typical sense of the evidential and the way it is normally translated in this grammar. The sentence was uttered after my invitation for a child to eat with me went unheard; the child’s sister then said more loudly:

- (901) pnikani hima!
 p-nika-ni **hima**
 2SG-eat-ANTIC QUOT
 ‘Eat, (she) said!’ (‘Eat, reportedly!’)

A proper discussion cannot be offered based on only one example; nonetheless, this example is suggestive that there are structural differences between reported statements and reported commands. In particular, I would like to point out that while (901) is a perfectly natural command, and represents a typologically common meaning for a reported evidential in a command (Aikhenvald 2004:250), it does not represent the

normal structure of a reported statement in Yine. Rather, the comparable declarative construction would place *hima* in the left periphery of the clause and/or as an incorporated element within the verb stem, as for example in (902):

- (902) pnikhimatani
p-nika-**hima**-ta-ni
2SG-eat-**QUOT**-VCL-ANTIC
'You will eat, reportedly.'

13 Clause Combining

This chapter describes the means by which clauses are linked into complex sentences in Yine, and the semantic relationships thus expressed.

13.1 Coordination

Coordination involves the linking of two clauses of equal syntactic status. Each clause could itself form a complete sentence on its own. The semantic relationships expressed via coordination in Yine are Addition, Contrast, Counterexpectation, Disjunction, Reason, and Result; each of these is described in the following subsections.

Any combination of verbal and/or nonverbal clauses may be linked through coordination, and there is no grammatical distinction made between same-subject and different-subject linked clauses.

13.1.1 Addition

The coordinating conjunction *hawa* can be used to link two or more clauses with an Addition relationship. It may or may not imply a temporal ordering between the two clauses; this is determined by context. Where a temporal sequence is expressed it is iconic, with the first clause action preceding the second in time.

In (903), *hawa* is used to express related but temporally unordered events:

- (903) *sicone kamritli wa koya hawa çeçine niktji riçhana*
[*sico-ne kamrita-li wa koya*] **hawa**
[*woman-PL make-3SGM REF manioc.beer*] **and**
[*çeçi-ne niktji r-hiçha-na*]
[*man-PL game.meat 3-search.for-3PL*]

‘The women made manioc beer and the men hunted game.’ (Fst44)

In (904) and (905), it links two clauses which together describe the same event:

(904) knoya wa sico koseka hawa kaptotna çeçine

[knoya wa sico koseka] **hawa**

[tortoise REF female lead] **and**

[Ø-kaptota-na çeçi-ne]

[3-follow-3PL man-PL]

‘The female tortoise leads and the males follow after.’ (Kno4)

(905) pimrine mala ya hawa pimrine hawaka ya

[pimri-ne mala ya] **hawa** [pimri-ne hawaka ya]

[other-3PL downstream go] **and** [other-3PL upstream go]

‘Some went downriver and others went upriver.’ (Kch29)

The addition conjunction is compatible with a temporal sequence interpretation, with the clauses ordered iconically:

(906) hiyahhimni wale riratkalò kamalampi hawa yiniwaka himrehimatatka hawa rethimatli wa wale yineri

[hiyaho-hima-ni wale r-hira-tka-lo kamalampi]

[then-QUOT-IMP.DECL 3SGM 3-drink-PFV-3SGF piri.piri]

hawa [Ø-yiniwaka hime-le-hima-ta-tka]

and [3SGM-begin be.intoxicated-SUBD-QUOT-VCL-PFV]

hawa [r-heta-hima-ta-li wa wale yine-ri]

and [3SGM-see-QUOT-VCL-3SGM REF 3SGM people-3SGM]

‘Then he drank piri piri¹ and began to be intoxicated, and he saw that man.’

(Hmn37)

In (907) there is an adversative relationship between the two *hawa*-linked clauses, and in (908) there is a contrast relationship. However, these interpretations arise from other clausal elements – here, frustrative modality and negative polarity, respectively.

¹a marsh grass prepared as a tea for medicinal and ceremonial purposes

- (907) “hi hiylataninno hita” ṭjinhimatnimka hawa riylahimatatanakalona
 [hi hiyla-ta-ni-na-no hita
 [NEG kill-VCL-ANTIC-CMPV-1SG 1SG
 t-ṭjina-hima-ta-ni-maka]
 3SGF-say-QUOT-VCL-AFFCT-FRUST]
hawa [r-hiyla-hima-ta-na-tka-lo-na]
and [3SGM-kill-QUOT-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3SGF-3PL]
 ‘ “Don’t kill me,” she said in vain, and (yet) they killed her’ (d69)

- (908) hiyahni wale prika riḡhatkalona kanawmina hawa hi riḳf̣iklona
 [hiyaho-ni wale prika r-hiḡha-tka-lo-na
 [then-IMP.DECL 3SGM morning 3-search.for-PFV-3SGF-3PL
 kanawa-mina] **hawa**
 cedar-tree.of] **and**
 [hi r-hiḳf̣ika-lo-na]
 [NEG 3-find-3SGF-3PL]
 ‘So the next morning they looked for cedar trees, and didn’t find any.’
 (Unc14)

There is a distinct coordinator used for contrast linking, as described in the next section.

13.1.2 Contrast

The Contrast coordinator, *seyni*, itself has the structure of a nonverbal clause, with a connective root *seyo* and the impersonal subject marker *-ni*; i.e. ‘but it is’. However, it does not behave like a distinct clause in any obvious way: it is part of the same intonation unit as the clause it introduces, and does not occur as an independent or isolated clause anywhere in my corpus. It frequently appears sentence-initially to express contrast cohesion at the discourse level rather than the clause level, but unlike *hawa*, *seyni* does not link sub-clausal units.

Seyni may be used with an adversative sense, as in (909) and (910):

- (909) himatpotitlo hi wa yinerni seyni histaçiwiñanro
 [h-himata-poti-ta-lo
 [2PL-know-INTNS-VCL-3SGF
 hi wa yine-lo-ni]
 NEG REF people-SGF-IMP.DECL]
seyo-ni [h-hista-çiwi-ta-na-lo]
but-IMP.DECL [2PL-cut-hair.of-VCL-CMPV-3SGF]
 ‘You (pl) know her well, she is not human, but you cut her hair.’
 (Hetn105)

- (910) wale klatçiwiñni seyni wale hitokha hwañfrini
 [wale klata-çiwi-li-ni] **seyo-ni**
 [3SGM white-head.of-SGM-IMP.DECL] **but-IMP.DECL**
 [wale hitoko-ha hwa-ñfri-ni]
 [3SGM inside-water live-SUBJ.NOM+MSG-IMP.DECL]
 ‘It is white-headed but (unlike the tapir which it resembles) it lives
 in the water.’ (Svm4)

or a concessive sense, as in (911):

- (911) hi wa tsrinenaniwawi seyni wimatatkali wa wale kamritani
 [hi wa tsri-ne-nani-wa-wi]
 [NEG REF big+MASC-PLEXTNS-IMPFV-1PL]
seyo-ni [w-himata-tka-li
but-IMP.DECL [1PL-know-PFV-3SGM
 wa wale kamrita-ni]
 REF 3SGM make-PROP.NOM]
 ‘We weren’t yet big then, but we knew (how to do) that work.’ (BfM72)

The *Diccionario Piro* has a subentry for *seyñi* with a correlative concessive marker *yahli*, as in (912):

- (912) *seyñi ... yahli ...* ‘although ... nevertheless ...’²

but provides no textual example. I have not encountered this construction in my corpus, so can offer no further comment on it at this time.

²‘aunque...sin embargo’ (Wise 2008:279)

13.1.3 Counterexpectation

The discourse linker *maka* is used in combination with the generalizing suffix *-kta* (see §9.2.6) to express a relationship between two clauses, such that the second clause reveals that an explicit or implicit expectation in the first clause was mistaken.

- (913) hita kahwakli wa kayonalo nkoseta makakta pitsoti nkosetanatka
 [hita kahwaka-li wa kayonalo n-kojeta]
 [1SG expect-3SGM REF doncella 1SG-catch]
maka-kta [pitsoti n-kojeta-na-tka]
CNTREXP-GENZ [electric.eel 1SG-catch-CMPV-PFV]
 ‘I thought I caught a *doncella* (catfish sp.), but in fact I had caught an electric eel.’ (Pts32)

- (914) “ninkatkalo wa cani mtjira” tfinhimata makhimakta raylokleni
 [n-hinka-tka-lo wa cani mtjira]
 [1sg-shoot-PFV-3SGF REF now spider.monkey]
 Ø-tjina-hima-ta]
 3-say-QUOT-VCL]
maka hima-kta [r-haylokli-e-ni]
CNTREXP QUOT-GENZ [3-lie-PSSD-IMP.DECL]
 ‘I’ve killed a spider monkey just now’ he said, but (in fact) it was a lie.’
 (Nwd44-5)

In (915), *makakta* introduces a clause revealing that what occurred in a dream was in fact true:

- (915) “jetji cako pifrikanatinitkano” tfinhimata tipnawleya makhimakta halikakni
 [jetji cako p-hifrika-na-ta-ya-ni-tka-no]
 [hammock careful 2SG-tie.up-DUR-VCL-APPL-AFFCT-PFV-1SG]
 Ø-tjina-hima-ta t-hipnawa-le-ya]
 3SG-sayQUOT-VCL 3SGF-dream-PSSD-OBL]
maka hima-kta [halikaka-ni]
CNTREXP QUOT-GENZ [true-IMP.DECL]
 ‘Be sure to tie up a hammock for me’ he said in her dream, but it was actually real.’ (Pkn63-4)

13.1.4 Disjunction

There are a few examples, all provided below, of a disjunctive coordinator *waka* ‘or’ linking clauses in my corpus. In each example, *waka* links two clauses with opposite polarity values, and in each case the second clause is pro-clausal:

- (916) hihe waneyyi waka hike?
[hi=he wane-ya-yi] **waka** [hike]
[NEG=MIR there/thus-APPL-2SG] **or** [no]
‘Do you have it or not?’

- (917) hihi waka hike?
[hihi] **waka** [hike]
[yes] **or** [no]
‘yes or no?’

- (918) kihleri waka hike?
[kihle-li] **waka** [hike]
[good-3SGM] **or** [no]
‘is it good or not?’ (f188)

All of these examples were obtained through direct elicitation and may in fact simply be calques of the Spanish *¿X o no?* construction.

13.1.5 Reason

The morphologically complex linker *hi ricani*³ ‘because’, introduces a clause that provides the reason, explanation, cause or motivation of the preceding clause. The Reason clause always follows the clause it modifies. Although semantically dependent, Reason clauses are fully inflected clauses which, without *hi ricani*, could occur alone as a well-formed sentence.

³*hi r-hica-ni* [INTRG 3-be-PROP.NOM] ‘how being (of it)’

(919) hi cako hinkakletanno hi ricani npatewpotitani hita
 [hi cako h-hinkakleta-ni-no]
 [NEG careful 2PL-relate-ANTIC-1SG]

hi r-hica-ni
INTRG 3-be/do-PROP.NOM

[n-patewa-poti-ta-ni hita]
 [1-be.embarrassed-INTNS-VCL-ANTIC 1SG]

‘Take care not to tell about me, because I will be embarrassed.’ (Wap44)

In (920), the Reason offers an explanation for the implicit warning in the preceding clause.

(920) hi wa nkamritanitkali hi ricani riweka
 [hi wa n-kamrita-ni-tka-li]
 [NEG REF 1SG-do-ANTIC-PFV-3SGM]

hi r-hica-ni [r-hiweka]
INTRG 3-be/do-PROP.NOM [3-be.alive]

‘I wouldn’t (*lit.* won’t) do (that) to it, because it’s alive.’ (Pmm16)

There is no restriction against nonverbal predicates heading a Reason clause. For example, in (921), the Reason clause is headed by an attributive derivation of the adjective root *yowiko*- ‘strong’.

(921) wale hi nimkata hiylaletli hi ricani kyowikolni
 [wale hi n-himkata hiyla-le-ta-li]
 [3SGM NEG 1SG-be.able kill-SUBD-VCL-3SGM]

hi r-hica-ni [k-yowiko-li-ni]
INTRG 3-be/do-PROP.NOM [ATTRIB-strong-3SGM-IMP.DECL]

‘Him I cannot kill, because he is strong.’ (Hmn53)

In (922), the Reason clause is headed by the possessive derivation of the pronoun *hita* ‘I’.

- (922) hi wa pkoçwakanro wa fima hi ricani hitanni wa fima
 [hi wa p-koçwaka-ni-lo wa fima]
 [NEG REF 2SG-bother-ANTIC-3SGF REF fish]
- hi r-hica-ni** [hita-ni-ni wa fima]
INTRG 3-be/do-ANTIC [1SG-PROP.NOM-IMP.DECL REF fish]
- ‘Do not disturb the fish, because the fish are mine.’ (Yam84)

13.1.6 Result

As with Reason clauses, Result clauses are introduced with a complex connective, in this case *wale ffinani*⁴ ‘for that reason, therefore’;⁵ in this situation the pronoun *wale* is anaphoric referring back to the preceding clause, in which the Result clause finds its own reason, cause or motivation.

- (923) yohloklina wale ffinani ritikatka
 [Ø-yohloka-li-na]
 [3-pierce-3SGM-3PL]
- wale ffinani** [r-hitaka-tka]
3SGM say-PROP.NOM [3-recover-PFV]
- ‘They gave him an injection; for this reason he got better.’ (Unc96)
- (924) tsri hihraha hispakyarri wale ffinani psotsotaaçimka ripnanina
 [tsri hihraha hispaka-ya-na-li]
 [big+MASC blood hispaka-APPL-CMPV-3SGM]
- wale ffinani** [psotsotaaçi-maka r-hipna-ni-na]
3SGM say-PROP.NOM [a.little.bit-FRUST 3-die-ANTIC-CMPV]
- ‘A lot of blood came out of him; for this reason he almost died.’
 (Unc92-3)

⁴*wale ffinani* [3SGM say-PROP.NOM] ‘saying of that’

⁵This is a specific use of the regular ‘because of’ phrase; e.g. *pica ffinani* 2SG reason ‘because of you, for your sake’

- (925) “nomole kihlerinni” tfinhimata wale tfinanhima tomkahimtakali thaniri wa yatalinero
 [no-mole kihle-li-ne-ni Ø-tfina-hima-ta]
 [1SG-kin.of good-3SGM-PL-IMP.DECL 3-say-QUOT-VCL]
wale tfinani-hima [t-homkahita-tka-li
3SGM say-PROP.NOM-QUOT [3SGF-follow-PFV-3SGM
 t-haniri wa yatalinero]
 3SGF-husband.of REF tree.frog.woman]
 ‘ “My people are good,” he said; for this reason the tree frog woman followed her husband.’ (Grl25-6)

Nonverbal predicates may head Result clauses, as in (926) with the quantifier root *hico* ‘much.’

- (926) wale nikatanatanatkana wale tfinani hi wa hiconaninatkana
 [wale nikata-na-ta-na-tka-na]
 [3SGM finish.off-DUR-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3PL]
wale tfinani [hi wa
3SGM say-PROP.NOM [NEG REF
 hico-nani-na-tka-na]
 much-EXTNS-CMPV-PFV-3PL]
 ‘It killed them for a long time; for this reason they were not very many.’ (Fiestas27-8)

13.2 Subordination

With subordination constructions, the linked clauses do not have equal syntactic status. They consist of a main (supporting) clause and one or more subordinate (dependent) clauses functioning to modify it. In Yine, subordination is used for Purpose, Temporal, Conditional, Location, and Manner relationships between clauses. These clauses cannot stand alone as independent sentences.

13.2.1 Purpose clauses

In a main clause, the predicate suffix *-pa* (see § 9.2.1) expresses motion from the deictic centre, can have a temporal sense corresponding to past or future time, and often has purposive or intentional overtones. The same morpheme is used on action-nominalized subordinate predicates to express the purpose for which the action expressed in the main clause is done; this construction could be paraphrased in English as ‘towards being ...’, or ‘towards Verbing ...’.

Purpose clauses may have the same subject as the main clause (as in (927), (928)), or a different subject (as in (929)).

- (927) niynimsata nkafricetinripnawa
[n-hiynimsata] [**n-kafriçeta-inri-pa-na-wa**]
[1SG-study] [**1SG-change-ACTN.NOM-ELV-REFL-REFL**]
‘I study in order to change (myself)’ (g126)
- (928) pa tsapçe hima kosetatkana wa riçrikinripna wale prika
[pa tsa-pçe hima Ø-koseta-tka-na]
[one rope.of-RESTR QUOT 3-pull.up-PFV-3PL]
[wa **r-hiçrika-inri-pa-na** wale prika]
[REF **3-go.down-ACTN.NOM-ELV-3PL** 3SGM morning]
‘They pulled up just one rope in order to get down the next morning.’
(f52)
- (929) himkalhima ranikatka wa wanna koca paktfatinripatka
[himkali-hima r-hanika-tka]
[clothing-QUOT 3-bring-PFV]
[wa wanna koca **paktfa-ta-inri-pa-tka**]
[REF 3PL ADD **hawk-VCL-ACTN.NOM-ELV-PFV**]
‘And he brought clothes so that they too could transform into hawks.’
(Gav39)

The verb *hica* may be employed to form a periphrastic Purpose construction as in (930). This is only used with existence predicates in my corpus, headed by the adverb *wane*.

- (930) hiyahni wa sicone wanna koca raliklina hico niktji wanya ricinripna
 [hiyaho-ni wa sico-ne wanna koca
 [then-IMP.DECL REF woman-PL 3PL ADD
 r-halika-li-na] [hico niktji
 3-want-3SGM-3PL] [much game.meat
 wane-ya **r-hica-inri-pa-na**]
 there-APPL **3-be/do-ACTN.NOM-ELV-3PL**]
 ‘Then the women, they also wanted there to be a lot of meat.’ (BfM17)

While Purpose clauses typically follow the matrix clause, it is possible for them to be centre-embedded:

- (931) wale henekno wa napkakinripa wa knoçri
 [wale heneka-no [wa **n-hapkaka-inri-pa**]
 [3SGM give-1SG [REF **1SG-be.good.hunter-ACTN.NOM-ELV**]
 wa knoçri]
 REF hawk]
 ‘He, the hawk, gave me to be a good hunter.’ (Gav25)

13.2.1.1 Negative purpose clauses

For negative purpose clauses, where the subordinate clause expresses something to be avoided, Yine employs a privative-derived predicate head (see §4.1.3) with the elative suffix marked on it. The subordinate clause thus marked is linked to the purpose clause with the coordinating conjunction *hawa*.

- (932) wica whirikotpotitnawa wkawçetini hawa maçihlokyanipwi wa çwepi
 [wica w-hirikota-poti-ta-na-wa
 [1PL 1PL-take.care.of-INTNS-VCL-REFL-REFL
 w-kawa-çe-ta-ini] hawa
 1PL-bathe-FREQ-VCL-TEMP] and
 [**ma-çihloka-ya-ni-pa-wi** wa çwepi]
 [**PRIV-enter-APPL-ANTIC-ELV-1PL** REF candiru]
 ‘We take very good care of ourselves when we bathe, lest the candiru⁶
 enter us.’

⁶*Vandellia cirrhosa*, a small, parasitic, freshwater catfish

13.2.2 Temporal and Conditional clauses

Yine employs the same subordinating suffix *-ini* for both Temporal and Conditional clauses. The distinction between them is related to the likelihood of their occurring, with higher likelihood associated with a temporal sense and lower likelihood associated with a conditional sense. Thus events that are completed or begun at the reference time, or form part of the established context, are interpreted temporally unless additional clausal elements indicate a lesser certainty. Events that have not yet occurred are vague for the temporal and conditional senses, but are likewise often accompanied by additional clausal elements that indicate their degree of expectedness. In a similar way, the distinction between a Temporal clause expressing a point in time versus a time span at/during which the main clause action occurs relies on additional morphology and context.

In the absence of any aspectual or modality marking, *-ini* alone has a general temporal or generic conditional sense, representing a time at or during which, or a condition under which, a certain action (expressed in the main clause) naturally occurs. In this situation, the Temporal/Conditional clause typically precedes the main clause.

- (933) hiyahni wale wa kotfi hitokha yapatfri wihenewatini hi wa hoja whenewatya
[hiyaho-ni wale wa kotfi hitoko-ha yapa-ʈfri]
[then-IMP.DECL 3SGM REF water.rat inside-water go-SUBJ.NOM+MSG]

[**wihenewata-ini**]

[**have.child-TEMP**]

[hi wa hoja Ø-wihenewata-ya]

[NEG REF forest 3-have.child-APPL]

‘So when it, the water rat (that) travels in the water, is ready to have young, it does not have young in the forest.’ (Kch51)

- (934) çihloklewatini çwepi, waneri pinri waleni nso
 [Ø-**çihloka-lewa-ta-ini** çwepi]
 [**3-enter-CHAR-VCL-TEMP** canero]
 [wane-li pinri] [wale-ni nso]
 [there/thus-3SGM cure] [3SGM-IMP.DECL genipa]
 ‘If a candiru enters (in its customary way), there is a cure, which is genipa⁷.’ (g162)

- (935) wa tafkalewatini kfanapçe kihleylo
 [wa **t-hafka-lewa-ta-ini**]
 [REF **3SGF-bite-CHAR-VCL-TEMP**]
 [kfana-pçe kihle-ya-lo]
 [herb-RESTR good-APPL-3SGF]
 ‘When it bites, only herbs are good for it.’ (Jix2)

It is not possible to directly suffix *-ini* to a nonverbal predicate, so the verb *hica* ‘be/do’ is used with a copular function (as in (936)) and carries not only the Temporal morphology but also the subject cross-referencing and any other predicate morphology. As with the verbal Temporal/Conditional clauses above, these counterparts to a nonverbal main clause are vague between the generic condition or general time interpretations.

- (936) polha ricini wa honha, retpotitka wa pitsoti
 [pole-ha **r-hica-ini** wa honi-ha]
 [blue-liquid **3-be/do-TEMP** REF water-liquid]
 [r-heta-poti-ta-ka wa pitsoti]
 [3-see-INTNS-VCL-PASS REF electric.eel]
 ‘When/if the water is clear, the electric eel can be easily seen.’ (Pts8)

Multiple Temporal clauses may occur with a single supporting clause, as in (937). In this example the temporal adverbial *wanekli* ‘at that time’⁸ serves to reinforce the temporal linkage across the clauses.

⁷*Genipa americana*, an edible and medicinal fruit whose juice is used as a dye

⁸*wane-klî* there/thus-time.of

(937) hiyahhimni waneklinanitka wa tiknokamtininatkali satiko makliçi
hanikinitkalo; wanekli halikakhima hi tnatfiṭatka

[hiyaho-hima-ni wane-kli nani-tka
[then-QUOT-IMP.DECL there/thus-time/of EXTNS-PFV

wa **t-hiknoka-m-ta-ini-na-tka-li**]
REF **3SGF-leave-NONDUR-VCL-TEMP-CMPV-PFV-3SGM**]

[sati-ko makliçi **hanika-ini-tka-lo**]
[SPEC+MASC-EMPH young.man **carry-TEMP-PFV-3SGF**]

[wane-kli halikaka-hima hi t-natfiṭa-tka]
[there/thus-time.of truly-QUOT NEG 3SGF-be.hungry-PFV]

‘So during that time, when she had left him behind, when another
young man took her, at that time she truly was no longer hungry.’
(Nwd120)

By combining *-ini* with regular aspect, mood and directional morphology, more fine-grained distinctions can be made concerning the relative timing of the temporal and main clause. These constructions show greater flexibility in the relative order of the controlling and Temporal clauses, with the latter preceding, following, or being embedded in the main.

Prior action Morphology commonly used to express prior action on Temporal clauses includes the completive aspect suffix *-na*, the perfective aspective suffix *-tka*, and the relative/purposive suffix *-pa*. Note that these morphemes do not provide tense distinctions; the temporal relationship is inferred from the information provided by aspectual morphology. They are not obligatory.

The completive suffix *-na* indicates that the action expressed in the temporal clause was over before the one in the main clause occurred:

(938) hiyahni wa ritnetininno psotsotaaçimka nahyekanina
[hiyaho-ni wa **r-hitneta-ini-na-no**]

[then-IMP.DECL REF **3-shock-TEMP-CMPV-1SG**]

[psotsotaaçi-maka n-hahyeka-ni-na]
[a.little.bit-FRUST 1SG-drown-ANTIC-CMPV]

‘Then when it had shocked me, I nearly drowned.’ (Pts.019)

Perfective aspect (with *-tka*) is used to indicate that the Temporal action began before the action in the main clause, but does not specify whether it finished (i.e. point in time) or continues in overlap with the main clause (i.e. time span).

In example (939), *-tka* on the Temporal clause expresses a point in time prior to the main clause (with the result of its action extending into the time of the main clause):

- (939) ruphiçewnayehitinitkali wane tfinri wa knoçri ...
 [**r-hi**phiçewna-yehi-ta-**ini-tka-li**]
 [**3-appear-VICIN-VCL-TEMP-PFV-3SGM**]
 [wane hima Ø-tfina-li wa knoçri]
 [there/thus QUOT 3-say-3SGM REF sparrowhawk]
 ‘When it appeared to him, the sparrowhawk said to him ...’ (Gavs7)

Example (940) similarly indicates a time span begun before the main clause action:

- (940) wane nçemyana wa yahotkakinitkana
 [wane n-çema-ya-na]
 [there/thus 1SG-hear-APPL-3PL]
 [wa Ø-yahotakaka-**ini-tka-na**]
 [REF **3-fight-TEMP-PFV-3PL**]
 ‘There, I heard them while they fought.’ (Kno23)

In example (941), the temporal clause, marked with *-tka*, expresses a point in time that precedes the main clause action:

- (941) wa hico ticinitka wa fima halikta wane tfinnitka nirni ...
 [wa hico **t-hica-**ini-tka**** wa fima]
 [REF much **3SGF-be/do-TEMP-PFV** REF fish]
 [halikta wane Ø-tfina-ni-tka n-hiri-ni]
 [probably there/thus 3-say-AFFCT-PFV 1SG-father.of-AFFCT]
 ‘Then when the fish were abundant, (around then)
 my father said ...’ (BfM36)

Where the Temporal clause action precedes that of the main clause, but neither have occurred at the reference time, the relative suffix *-pa* is used on the subordinate clause. Since the temporal clause by default precedes the main clause, the action in

the main clause is by inference also placed in future time, or after a change of state. Morphological marking of this is not obligatory.

In (942), the temporal clause is marked with *-pa*, but the main clause is not marked with *-ni* (the modal suffix used to mark anticipated events). In context, this sentence describes two events that (will) overlap temporally.

- (942) tyiniwaka hitakletinpatka kapayali tuçhatka knoya
 [t-yiniwaka **hitaka-le-ta-ini-pa-tka**]
 [3SGF-begin **put-SUBD-VCL-TEMP-ELV-PFV**]
 [kapayali t-hiçha-tka knoya]
 [dead.wood 3SGF-search.for-PFV tortoise]
 ‘When it should begin to lay its eggs, the tortoise searches for dead wood.’ (Kno58)

In (943), the main clause is marked with *-ni*. In context, this describes a scene in which the temporal clause will precede the main clause.

- (943) cani wa wapokinipa ninroyehi hita yohimatanitkayi
 [xani wa **w-hapoka-ini-pa** n-hinro-yehi]
 [now REF **1PL-arrive-TEMP-ELV** 1SG-mother.of-VICIN]
 [hita yohimata-ni-tka-yi]
 [1SG hide-ANTIC-PFV-2PL]
 ‘Now when we arrive at my mother’s, I will hide you.’ (Nwd83)

This is the same construction used for hypothetical conditional clauses (unreal conditionals that could possibly occur); see § 13.2.3 below.

Successive action To indicate that the action of the temporal clause follows that of the main clause, the imperfective aspect suffix *-wa* is used on the temporal clause along with negative polarity to indicate that the subordinate action has not yet occurred at the reference time.

- (944) hi hima wane yiniwana, kafri hima kamriñatkana
 [hi hima wane Ø-ya-**ini-wa-na**]
 [NEG QUOT there/thus **3-go-TEMP-IMPFV-3PL**]
 [kafri hima Ø-kamri-na-ta-tka-na]
 [arrow QUOT 3-make-DUR-VCL-PFV-3PL]
 ‘Before they went there, they made a lot of arrows.’
lit. ‘While they were still not going there, they were making
 arrows for a long time. (Mshk76)

The equivalent semantic relationship can be expressed without Temporal marking by using an incompletive-marked privative verb construction, with the negative auxiliary *ma* ‘not do’

- (945) ma mapokaniwa wale tkamriçenatatka
 [Ø-**ma m-hapoka-ni-wa**]
 [**3-not.do PRIV-arrive-ANTIC-IMPFV**]
 [wale t-kamri-çe-na-ta-tka]
 [3SGM 3SGF-make-FREQ-DUR-VCL-PFV]
 ‘Before it came, she made them.’ (B112)

Speakers confirmed that *ma mapokaniwa* is equivalent in meaning to *hi rapokiniwa* ‘when he/it has not yet arrived’, the latter being the same construction as was illustrated in example (944) above.

13.2.3 Hypothetical conditionals

Hypothetical conditionals, which express a condition which has not occurred (is unreal) but could do so (is possible), bear the same morphology as future time temporal clauses, i.e. *-ini* plus *-pa*. As expected, interpretation of these constructions relies on context and inference to distinguish the intended sense.

- (946) netinipli nimçikani
 [**n-heta-*ini-pa-li***] [n-himçika-ni]
 [**1SG-see-TEMP-ELV-3SGM**] [1SG-cheer.up-ANTIC]
 ‘If/when I see it, I will be happy.’ (g38)

- (947) pinkakletinpatkano hi pa hohneko wa hita pickaloto petannatka
 [**p-hinkakleta-ini-pa-tka-no**]
 [**2SG-tell.about-TEMP-ELV-PFV-1SG**]
 [hi pa hohne-ko wa hita picka-lo-to
 [NEG one day-EMPH REF 1SG SIM-SGF-3-PRIV+FEM
 p-heta-ni-na-tka]
 2SG-see-ANTIC-CMPV-PFV]
 ‘If you tell (anyone) about me now, you will never see anything like me
 again.’ (Wap45)

13.2.4 Negative and Imaginary conditionals

Unreal conditionals that either have not occurred (negative conditionals) or are highly unlikely to occur (imaginary conditionals) are not expressed through subordination in Yine. For these types of conditionals, two clauses are juxtaposed and one or both clauses is/are marked with frustrative morphology.

13.2.4.1 Negative conditional

Example (948) illustrates a negative conditional. The conditional clause is headed by the negative auxiliary verb *ma* ‘not do; lack doing’, and often both it and the controlling clause have frustrative morphology in them (on the predicate or on a focused element). There is no overt linker between them, but phonologically the two clauses belong to a single intonation phrase.

- (948) pma manikanimkalo phanironi himka wane tica hamhaletanni
 [**p-ma m-hanika-ni-maka-lo** p-hninro-ni]
 [**2SG-not.do PRIV-carry-AFFCT-FRUST-3SGF** 2SG-wife.of-AFFCT]
 [hi-maka wane t-hica
 [NEG-FRUST there/thus 3SGF-be/do
 hamha-le-ta-na-ni]
 be.lost-SUBD-VCL-CMPV-AFFCT]
 ‘If you hadn’t brought your poor wife, she wouldn’t have been lost.’
 (Nwd98)

- (949) tma masikani nnikanronapmakni
 [**t-ma** **m-hasika-ni**]
 [**3SGF-not.do PRIV-run-ANTIC**]
 [n-nika-na-lo-na-pa-**maka-ni**]
 [1SG-eat-CMPV-3SGF-CMPV-ELV-**FRUST-AFFCT**]
 ‘If she hadn’t escaped, I would have eaten her.’ (Tra127)

13.2.4.2 Imaginary conditional

The sentence in (950) illustrates an imaginary conditional, with two apposed clauses united within a single intonation phrase. The (presumably) impossible nature of the condition expressed in the first clause is expressed through the frustrative modality suffix, *-maka*. The frustrative marker in the second clause, hosted by the focused object pronoun *pica*, expresses the speaker’s (seemingly) impossible desire to marry that particular referent – in this case, a tree frog he hears singing in his dream.

- (950) yineromkapatkayi picamka nhaninrotanitka
 [yine-lo-**maka**-pa-tka-yi]
 [people-3SGF-**FRUST**-ELV-PFV-2SG]
 [*pica*-**maka** n-hninrota-ni-tka]
 [2SG-**FRUST** 1SG-take.as.wife-ANTIC-PFV]
 ‘If you would become a woman, I would marry you then.’ (Hetn14)

- (951) yinepmakatkani kt fayonalene wannamka pinitannino
 [yine-pa-**maka**-tka-ni kt fayonale-ne]
 [people-ELV-**FRUST**-PFV-IMP.DECL river.otterPL]
 [wanna-**maka** pinita-ni-ni-no]
 [3PL-**FRUST** cure-ANTIC-AFFCT-1PL]
 ‘If the river otters would become human, they might cure me.’ (E137)

13.2.5 Location/Manner clauses

Both Location and Manner subordinate clauses are formed with the adverbializing suffix *-waka*. The applicative *-ya* appears to be obligatory with these, but its function in this construction is not clear.

Examples (952)-(954) illustrate the use of *-(ya)-waka* to create a Manner adverbial clause:

- (952) wanera pwanata pica seprolo hicyawaka
[wane-la p-hwanata pica]
[there/thus-IMP.NONDECL 2SG-live 2SG]
[sepro-lo **hica-ya-waka**]
[crazy-3SGF **be/do-APPL-LOC.NOM**]
‘There you are, acting like a crazy person!’ (Sen15)

- (953) wala talikyawaka ticatka
[wala [**t-halika-ya-waka**] t-hica-tka]
[3SGF [**3SGF-want-APPL-LOC.NOM**] 3SGF-be/do-PFV]
‘She was as she wanted to be.’ (Nwd115)

- (954) nikna ralikyawakna
[Ø-nika-na [**r-halika-ya-waka-na**]]
[3SGM-eat-3PL [**3-want-APPL-LOC.NOM-3PL**]]
‘They ate as/whatever they wanted’

The Location sense is far more common than the Manner sense in my corpus. Examples (955)-(957) provide typical illustrations; note that the same morphology is used as with the Manner clauses above.

(955) hiyahni wane hima çemçenatyana hetinerone rimkaçenatyawaka
 [hiyaho-ni wane hima
 [then-IMP.DECL there/thus QUOT

Ø-çema-çe-na-ta-ya-na hetinero-ne
 3-hear-FREQ-DUR-VCL-APPL-3PL tree.frog.woman-PL

[**r-himka-çe-na-ta-ya-waka**]]
 [**3-sleep-FREQ-DUR-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM**]]

‘Then there, he kept hearing the tree frog women where he was sleeping.’ (Hetn13)

(956) tihlepotimtakali tonaçi hwiyawaka
 [t-hihle-poti-m-ta-tka-li
 [3SGF-prepare-INTNS-NONDUR-VCL-PFV-3SGM

[to-naçi **hwa-ya-waka**]]
 [3SGPSSR-egg.of **be(loc)-APPL-LOC.NOM**]]

‘She carefully prepares where her eggs are.’ (Kno64)

(957) miŋjikawa mala hima rawanatna niktŋi riçhanatyawakna hawa rolotewçenatyawaka
 [muŋjikawa mala hima r-hwanata-na]
 [long.ago downriver QUOT 3-live-3PL]

[niktŋi **r-hiçha-na-ta-ya-waka-na**]
 [game.meat-UNPSSD **3-search.for-DUR-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM-3PL**]

hawa [**r-holotewa-çe-na-ta-ya-waka**]
 and [**3-smoke.meat-FREQ-DUR-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM**]

‘Before, they lived downriver, where they searched for game meat and where they smoked the meat.’ (Gr13)

13.3 Complementation

Yine employs three types of complementation, based on the morphological structure of the predicate heading the complement clause: non-finite complements, which are morphologically marked as subordinate and cannot take a subject marker (§13.3.1); paratactic complements, in which two potentially independent clauses occur in apposition, one of which is a semantic argument of the other (§13.3.2); and nominalized

complements (§13.3.3).

The terminology in this section is largely drawn from Noonan (2007).

13.3.1 Non-finite complements

As presented in §8.1.1, there is a subset of verbs in Yine that express aspectual and modal notions, as well as want-type desiderative senses. These verbs can take a non-finite complement clause as their notional object. The predicate heading this complement type must be verbal, takes a complementizing suffix *-le* or the anticipatory passive *-ko*, and cannot take a pronominal prefix. This construction is typically used with same-subject complements, but different-subject complements may also be constructed this way with certain types of complement-taking predicate. With same-subject complements, the subject of both the controlling and the complement clause is marked only once, as a pronominal prefix on the controlling verb; all suffixal morphology, including aspect, mood, and object and plural argument indexing, appears only on the complement predicate. The object marking may either express the object of the complement clause (with same-subject constructions), or the subject of the complement clause (with different-subject constructions).

This construction could also be analysed as a complex predicate in an auxiliatio construction, rather than complementation. The fact that the pronominal prefixes and suffixes frame the construction, and in fact a suffixal 3PL marker on the second predicate could be used to index the subject of the main predicate, is evidence in favor of the complex predicate analysis against which I have no strong argument. However, at least one clause-level modifier, the adverb *wane*, can intervene between them, as can the article *wa*, suggesting that there is a syntactic boundary between them. Additionally, there is some indication that this construction can be used with different-subject complementation, which is more expected of complementation than auxiliatio. It is primarily because the two predicates are separable that I analyse these as complementation constructions, but further research is needed to determine whether this is the

analysis best suited to the structure.

13.3.1.1 Aspectual predicates

Aspectual predicates express phasal properties of an event, such as the beginning, repetition, or end of the action denoted by the complement predicate. They are exclusively same-subject. Examples (958)-(961) illustrate a range of aspectual notions expressed by this construction in Yine.

- (958) hiyahni wale yiniwaka hisirnaletatka
[hiyaho-ni wale **yiniwaka**]
[then-IMP.DECL 3SGM **begin**]
[**hisirna-le-ta-tka**]
[**go.upstream-SUBD-VCL-PFV**]
‘So he began to go upstream’ (Unc36)

- (959) rimepe wane yaletatnakna
r-himepe [wane **ya-le-ta-tnaka-na**]
3-repeat [there/thus **go-SUBD-VCL-REIT-3PL**]
‘They went there again.’ (Unc15)

- (960) hi wa nnikata yimakletniwayi
hi wa **n-nikata**
NEG REF **1SG-complete**
[**yimaka-le-ta-ni-wa-yi**]
[**teach-SUBD-VCL-AFFECT-IMPFV-2SG**]
‘I have not yet finished teaching you’ (Wap48)

- (961) cani halikaka hewiko nkaspika wa hetletanitkalo nhaminro
cani halikaka hewi-ko **n-kaspika**
now indeed here-EMPH **1SG-release**
[wa **heta-le-ta-ni-tka-lo** **n-hninro**]
[REF **see-SUBD-VCL-ANTIC-PFV-3SGF 1SG-wife.of**]
‘Now, indeed, right here I will stop looking for my wife.’ (Kme98)

13.3.1.2 Ability/Permission

The verb *himkata* ‘be able to’ is a modal predicate expressing permission or ability. It takes a non-finite complement clause which is obligatorily same-subject.

(962) and (963) illustrate the permission sense of *himkata*.

- (962) waleko pimkata hnirikleta
wale-ko **p-himkata** [**hniri-ka-le-ta**]
3SGM-EMPH **2SG-be.able.to** [**husband.of-ASSRT-SUBD-VCL**]
‘That very man, you can marry.’ (Jag12)

- (963) hi pimkata hanikletna
hi **p-himkata** [**hanika-le-ta-na**]
NEG **2SG-be.able.to** [**carry-SUBD-VCL-3PL**]
‘You cannot take them.’ (Gav32)

Examples (964) and (965) illustrate its expression of ability.

- (964) hi nimkata hasikletatka
hi **n-himkata** [**hasika-le-ta-tka**]
NEG **1SG-be.able.to** [**run-SUBD-VCL-PFV**]
‘I cannot escape.’ (Kme50)

- (965) rimkata hipnaleta wa yineri
r-himkata [**hipna-le-ta**] wa yine-li
3-be.able.to [**die-SUBD-VCL**] REF people-3SGM
‘The man could die.’ (Pts61)

13.3.1.3 Immediate perception - general/non-current

Predicates of immediate perception may take a non-finite complement, when they describe a perception that is not currently happening (cf. the participial constructions that express current perception, described in § 13.3.3.3 below).

- (966) hi pa hohne nçema yahotkakletli wa knoya
 hi pa hohne **n-çema**
 NEG one day **1SG-hear**
 [**yahota-kaka-le-ta-li** wa knoya]
 [**fight-RECIP-SUBD-VCL-3SGM** REF tortoise]
 ‘I have never heard tortoises fight each other.’ (Kno24)
- (967) reta yahotkakletyawakna siwa hawa mhenoklineyma
r-heta [**yahotkaka-le-ta-ya-waka-na**
3-see [**fight-SUBD-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM-3PL**
 siwa hawa mhenokli-ne-yma]
 anteater and jaguar-PL-COM]
 ‘He saw how the anteater fought with the jaguars.’ (Oso26)
- (968) wane hima yanfinikani hitakletyatkalina wa ... nikanritkana
 wane hima **Ø-yanfinikani**
 there/thus QUOT **3-think**
 [**hitaka-le-ta-ya-tka-li-na**
 [**plant-SUBD-VCL-APPL-PFV-3SGM-3PL**
 wa Ø-nika-ni-li-tka-na]
 REF 3-eat-ANTIC-3SGM-PFV-3PL]
 ‘Thus they thought to plant (crops) for food’ (Shj29)

13.3.1.4 Manner of being or doing

Yine employs the non-finite complementation construction to express the manner in which something is done. There are two controlling predicates used for this purpose: the (optionally) complement-taking verb *hica* ‘be, do’, and the manner predicate *hicpoko* in conjunction with the interrogative particle *hi*.

With *hica*, the complex sentence has the sense of summarizing how something happened, and is often used to close off a section of narrative describing a particular situation that has come to a close.

(969) hiyahni wane rica hitikleta wa wale naniri
 hiyaho-ni wane **r-hica hitika-le-ta**
 then-IMP.DECL there/thus **3-be/do recover-SUBD-VCL**

wa wale n-haniri
 REF 3SGM 1SG-brother.in.law

‘So that is how my brother-in-law recovered.’ (Unc97)
 (Thus my brother did recover/(his) recovering.)

(970) wane rica kamriretlina mitjikawa witsrikatenni wa tsri hohne
 wane **r-hica kamri-le-ta-li-na**
 there/thus **3-be/do make-SUBD-VCL-3SGM-3PL**

mitjikawa w-hitsrikate-ne-ni wa tsri hohne
 long.ago 1PL-ancestor-3PL-AFFCT REF big+MASC day

‘That is how our ancestors made a feast day long ago.’ (Fst58)
 (Thus our ancestors did make/(the) making (of) a feast day long ago.)

(971) hiyahni wane rica whenewleta wa tye wa kotfi
 hiyaho-ni wane **r-hica whenewa-le-ta**
 then-IMP.DECL there/thus **3-be.do have.child-SUBD-VCL**

wa tye wa kotfi
 REF PROX.SGM REF water.rat

‘So that is how that one, the water rat, has young.’ (Kch57)

The *hicpoko* predicate expresses an instructive or descriptive sense, describing the manner in which something is (to be) done (972). In conjunction with the interrogative particle, *hicpoko* plus the non-finite complement is used to express direct or indirect questions (973).

(972) hiyahni wale nimatyali hita hi ricpoko hiylaletlo wa jima
 hiyaho-ni wale n-himata-ya-li hita
 then-IMP.DECL 3SGM 1SG-know-APPL-3SGM 1SG

[**hi r-hicpoko hiyla-le-ta-lo** wa jima]
 [INTRG **3-do(manner) kill-SUBD-VCL-3SGF** REF fish]

‘So I knew about it how it kills fish.’ (Pts65)

- (973) hi nicpoko kosletaniṭkali?
 hi n-hicpoko kose-le-ta-ni-tka-li
 INTRG 1SG-do(manner) catch-SUBD-VCL-ANTIC-PFV-3SGM
 ‘How do I catch it?’ (Pts36)

13.3.1.5 Non-finite desiderative predicates

The verb *halika* ‘want’ may take a non-finite complement expressing the desired event. These constructions are most frequently same-subject in my corpus, but a few examples indicate that a different subject may be expressed through the pronominal suffix on the complement. *Halika* may also take a same-subject participial (see § 13.3.3.4 below); the difference between non-finite and participial complements is not clear, but may lie in the degree of perceived control the subject has over the realization of the desired event, or the perceived likelihood of it coming to be.

- (974) mhenokline hima halika hiylaletli siwa
 mhenokli-ne hima **halika hiyla-le-ta-li** siwa
 jaguar-PL QUOT **want kill-SUBD-VCL-3SGM** anteater
 ‘The jaguars wanted to kill the anteater.’ (Oso9)

- (975) hi hima ralika henekleçenatanna
 hi hima **r-halika heneka-le-çe-na-ta-ni-na**
 NEG QUOT **3-want give-SUBD-FREQ-DUR-VCL-ANTIC-3PL**
 ‘He didn’t use to want to give (it) to them.’ (Shj34)

Example (976) illustrates a different-subject complement, with the subject of the complement clause indexed with the pronominal suffix.

- (976) ralika hisanatetletno
 r-halika hisanateta-le-ta-no
 3-want make.swidden-SUBD-VCL-1SG
 ‘He wants me to make a swidden.’ (c93)

Frustrative morphology may accompany the non-finite complement to express deference of control over the desired event, as in (977).

- (977) pwihenenemka nalika piratleta
 p-whene-ne-**maka** n-halika pirata-le-ta
 2SG-child.of-PL-**FRUST** 1SG-want raise-SUBD-VCL
 ‘I would like to raise your young (as pets).’ (Gav31)

13.3.2 Paratactic complementation

Paratactic complementation involves the juxtaposition of two finite, potentially independent clauses, with no marker of complementation between them, but they nevertheless form a semantic unit: the second clause functions as a semantic (though not syntactic) argument of the first. Each clause has its own subject, whether or not they are coreferential.

Yine employs paratactic complementation with predicates of utterance, propositional attitude, and knowledge, as well as with desiderative predicates that are presented as statements with no implication made of their likelihood.

Speech reports can be considered a special type of paratactic complement, and are treated in § 13.3.2.2 below.

13.3.2.1 Propositional attitude and Knowledge predicates

In (978) the second clause is a semantic argument of the predicate *halica* ‘believe’. The object suffix on the latter cross-references the believed participant, not the clause expressing the believed proposition.

- (978) hi hima raliclina wa siwa riylatyanna wa hepi mhenoklinni
 hi hima r-halica-li-na [wa siwa
 NEG QUOT 3-believe-3SGM-3PL [REF anteater
 r-hiylata-ya-na-na wa hepi mhenokli-ne-ni]
 3-kill-APPL-CMPV-3PL REF two jaguar-PL-AFFCT]
 ‘They did not believe him (that) the anteater killed two jaguars’ (Oso28)

In (979), however, it is not as clear what the object suffix marks. It may indicate a dummy object, with the second clause in apposition – i.e. ‘I expected it, I caught a

catfish’ – or it may cross-reference the second clause itself. Since object marking is not strictly obligatory in Yine, it is not necessary to postulate a dummy object here, and the simpler analysis is that the suffix indexes the second clause. Under this analysis, these attitude and knowledge predicates may take either direct objects (O), which are indexed in the pronominal suffix as in (979), or extended arguments (E), which are not indexed, as in (978) above.

- (979) hita kahwakli kayonalo nkoseta
 hita kahwaka-li_i [kayonalo n-koseta]_i
 1SG expect-3SGM [*doncella* 1PL-catch]
 ‘I expected (that) I had caught a *doncella* (catfish sp.).’ (Pts32)

What is clear, however, is that the object suffix does not cross-reference the subject of the second clause; that is, this is not an example of raising the dependent subject to object of the matrix clause. Consider example (980). The subject of the second clause is feminine, and if it were raised to object of *kahwaka* the object suffix on the latter should be *-lo*. However, only masculine, not feminine, agreement is possible:

- (980) a. wale kahwakli kihlero wa himole
 wale kahwaka-li kihle-lo wa himole
 3SGM expect-3SGM good-3SGF REF kin
 ‘He is waiting/hoping for his sister to be well.’ (e28)
- b. *wale kahwaklo_i kihlero wa himole_i
 wale kahwaka-lo kihle-lo wa himole
 3SGM expect-3SGF good-3SGF REF kin
 (cf. *wale kahwaklo* ‘he expected her’)

13.3.2.2 Speech reports

Verbs of saying, reporting, asking, etc. in Yine are ambitransitive. When transitive, they take the addressee, not the speech act, as their object. The speech act is simply adjoined to the clause containing the utterance, and is never indexed on the predicate. By far the most common speech report verb in my corpus is *tfina* ‘say’, which may be

used with various types of reported speech, including statements (981)-(982), exclamations (983), and questions (984), also (986) and (987) below. Questions may also be introduced with another speech report verb, *hepomha* ‘ask’, either in apposition to *tfina* as in (984) or alone as in (985).

(981) wala hima wane tfina “çinanipyi”
 wala hima wane tfina çinani-pa-yi
 3SGF QUOT there/thus say full-ELV-2SG
 ‘She said, “You will be full,” reportedly.’ (Hetu15)

(982) wane hima tfinro thaniri “hi wa çinaninapno”
 wane hima Ø-tfina-lo t-hniri
 there/thus QUOT 3-say-3SGF 3SGF-husband.of
 hi wa çinani-na-pa-no
 NEG REF full-CMPV-ELV-1SG
 ‘Her husband said to her, “I will not be filled up,” reportedly.’ (Grl37)

(983) wane tfinhimata “wale kamtji!”
 wane Ø-tfina-hima-ta wale kamtji
 there/thus 3-say-QUOT-VCL 3SGM demon
 ‘He said, “It’s a demon!” reportedly.’ (Hetn21)

(984) “hinakhe pyani?” chinnona wanna, repomhanona
 hinaka=he p-ya-ni Ø-china-no-na wanna r-hepomha-no-na
 where=MIR 2SG-go-ANTIC 3-say-1SG-3PL 3PL 3-ask-1SG-3PL
 ‘“Where are you going?” they said to me, they asked me.’ (Via14)

(985) tepomhahimatli rinro “hihe pikjikanro wa phaninroni?”
 t-hepomha-hima-ta-li r-hinro
 3SGF-ask-QUOT-VCL-3SGM 3-mother.of
 hi=he p-hikjika-na-lo wa p-hninro-ni
 NEG=MIR 2SG-find-CMPV-3SGF REF 2SG-wife.of
 ‘His mother reportedly asked him, “Did you find your poor wife?” ’
 (Nwd108)

Speech reports are questioned with the interrogative / exclamative particle *hi* ‘how’; questioning with other speech report verbs is not attested in my corpus.

(986) wala hima wane tʃina “hi pʃina?”
 wala hima wane tʃina hi p-ʃina
 3SGF QUOT there/thus say INTRG 2SG-say
 ‘She said, “What did you say?” reportedly.’ (Hetu12)

(987) wane hima tchinri “hi pʃinno?”
 wane hima t-ʃina-li hi p-china-no
 there/thus QUOT 3SGF-say-3SGM INTRG 2SG-say-1SG
 ‘She said to him, “What did you say to me?” reportedly.’ (Grl33)

The adverbial modifier *wane* ‘there, thus’ is obligatory with *tʃina* ‘say’, but not with other speech report verbs.

13.3.3 Nominalized complements

Yine frequently makes use of the action nominalizer *-inri* as a complementation strategy. Since the nominalized clause is not itself a well-formed independent clause, these constructions may be analysed as true complements rather than juxtaposed clauses. The fact that they are sometimes, but not always, cross-referenced on the supporting predicate suggests that they may have either O or E status in the matrix clause.

Action nominalizations express relationships of knowledge, attitude, immediate perception, and desirability between clauses.

13.3.3.1 Knowledge predicates

Predicates of knowledge and the acquisition of knowledge may take either paratactic or nominalized complements. The semantic difference between the two is not clear, but it can be noted that action nominalizations are often used where the complement is the notional equivalent of a nonverbal clause (i.e. expresses identity, equation, etc – see §11.5). Since nonverbal predicates cannot be action nominalized, the verb *hica*

‘be/do’ is used, with a copular function, to host the relevant morphology. Examples (988)-(989) illustrate this use of nominalization with predicates of (the acquisition of) knowledge. The nominalization is treated as O and indexed in the predicate in (988), but not in (989), where it is treated as E.

- (988) hi wa rimatlina wa kotfi hitokha yapatfiri ricinri
 [hi wa r-himata-li-na
 [NEG REF 3-know-3SGM-3PL
 [wa kotfi hitoko-ha yapa-tfiri
 [REF water.rat inside-liquid.of travel-SUBJ.NOM+MSG
 r-hica-inri]]
 3-be/do-ACTN.NOM]]
 ‘They don’t know that the water rat exists.’ (Kch62)
 (They don’t know (of) the water rat existing’)

- (989) nomole himata tye hohne katfikleha ricinri wa honi
 [no-mole himata [tye hohne
 [1SGPSSR-kin.of know [PROX.SGM day
 katfikle-ha r-hica-inri wa honi]]
 cold-liquid.of 3-be/do-ACTN.NOM REF water]]
 ‘My brother knows that the water is cold today.’
 (My brother knows (of) the water being cold today’)

13.3.3.2 Propositional attitude

A similar observation can be made about the propositional attitude constructions illustrated in (990) and (991), with the nominalization of *hica* expressing the notional equivalent of a nonverbal predicate. In both of these examples, the controlling verb, *kahwaka*, bears object marking indexing the nominalized complement.

- (990) hi hima tkahwakli wa thaniri ricinritka
 [hi hima t-kahwaka-li
 [NEG QUOT 3SGF-expect-3SGM
 [wa t-hniri r-hica-inri-tka]]
 [REF 3SGF-husband.of 3-be/do-ACTN.NOM-PFV]]
 ‘She did not expect that it was her husband.’ (Yam196)
 (She did not expect it(s) being her husband)
- (991) hi hima kahwaklina himni ricinri
 [hi hima Ø-kahwaka-li-na [himni r-hica-inri]]
 [NEG QUOT 3-expect-3SGM-3PL [snake 3-be/do-ACTN.NOM]]
 ‘They did not think it was a snake.’ (Hmn5)
 (They did not expect it(s) being a snake)

13.3.3.3 Immediate perception - current

Where an immediate perception construction refers to an event that is ongoing at the reference time, it is common for the complementation to be expressed through the action nominalization (cf. non-current perception expressed with a non-finite complement, §13.3.1.3 above).

- (992) çemhimatatkalina wa ripfekinritka wa tfitfiksitka
 [Ø-çema-hima-ta-tka-li-na [wa r-hipfeka-inri-tka
 [3-hear-QUOT-VCL-PFV-3SGM-3PL [REF 3-burst-ACTN.NOM-PFV
 wa tfitfiksi-tka]]
 REF shotgun-PFV]]
 ‘They heard the shotgun going off.’ (Unc.041)
- (993) wa tye çeçi witsrikatni hetanata wa riylakakinri wa siwa hawa mhenoklineyma
 [wa tye çeçi w-hitsrikate-ni heta-na-ta
 [REF PROX.SGM man 1PL-ancestor-AFFCT see-DUR-VCL
 [wa r-hiylakaka-inri wa siwa hawa mhenokli-ne-yma]]
 [REF 3-fight-ACTN.NOM REF anteater and jaguar-PL-COM]]
 ‘That man, our ancestor, saw the anteater fighting with the jaguars.’
 (Oso024)

- (994) wala tetnatkawa tsalewninri
 [wala t-heta-na-tka-wa [t-salewna-inri]]
 [3SGF 3SGF-see-REFL-PFV-REFL [3SGF-suffer-ACTN.NOM]]
 ‘She saw herself suffering.’ (Nwd63)

13.3.3.4 Action-nominalized desiderative predicates

Action-nominalized complements are employed with a desiderative predicate where the complementation is the notional equivalent of a nonverbal clause, as in (995)-(996), or in same-subject constructions where the desired event is viewed as unlikely or relies heavily on another for its realization (997)-(998). These constructions may be same-subject or different-subject.

- (995) wale halikli wa himole kihle ticinri
 [wale halika-li
 [3SGM want-3SGM
 [wa hi-mole kihle t-hica-inri]]
 [REF 3SGMPSSR-kin.of good 3SGF-be/do-ACTN.NOM]]
 ‘He wants his sister to get better.’

- (996) wanna koca raliklina hico niktji waneya ricinripna
 [wanna koca r-halika-li-na [hico niktji
 [3PL ADD 3-want-3SGM-3PL [much game.meat
 wane-ya r-hica-inri-pa-na]]
 there/thus-APPL 3-be/do-ACTN.NOM-ELV-3SGM]]
 ‘They also wanted there to be a lot of meat’ (BfM17)

In (997), the subject of the desiderative predicate wants to fly, but in context, in order to do so he requires a gift of magical clothing from a hawk.

- (997) hitkoca halikatkali wa nalninri
 [hita koca halika-tka-li [wa n-halna-inri]]
 [1SG ADD want-PFV-3SGM [REF 1SG-fly-ACTN.NOM]]
 ‘I also want it, my flying.’ (Gav63)

Example (998) illustrates the use of the action nominalization with the negation of the desiderative predicate.

- (998) sey_{ni} hima walatka hi wa halikatkali wale thaniritinripatka
[sey_o-ni hima wala-tka hi wa halika-tka-li
[but-IMP.DECL QUOT 3SGF-PFV NEG REF want-PFV-3SGM
[wale t-hanirita-inri-pa-tka]]
[3SGM 3SGF-take.as.husband-ACTN.NOM-ELV-PFV]]
'But she did not want him to be her husband.' (Nwd128)

A Text 1: A hunting trip

Recorded in: Diamante

Date: 29 January 2004

Speaker age: 31

Gender: female

Dialect: Urubamba (Miaria: moved to Diamante at age 17)

The following is an informal personal narrative about a hunting trip taken by the narrator's husband.

(999) canı ninkakletanrı wa mala yapınrı wa nhanırı.
canı n-hinkakleta-ni-li
now 1SG-relate-ANTIC-3SGM
wa mala Ø-yapa-inrı wa n-hanırı
REF downriver 3-travel-ACTN.NOM REF 1SG-husband.of
'Now I will tell about my husband going downriver.'

(1000) hawa sawalo hohne risırna.
hawa sawalo hohne r-hisırna
and Saturday day 3-go.upstream
'And he went downriver on Saturday.'

(1001) hawa riçhapanro knoya.
hawa r-riçha-pa-ni-lo knoya
and 3-search.for-ELV-ANTIC-3SGF tortoise
'And he went to look for tortoises.'

(1002) hawa wane rapokatka.
hawa wane r-hapoka-tka
and there/thus 3-arrive-PFV
'And he arrived there.'

- (1003) hawa riri koca salwayehitani.
 hawa r-hiri koca Ø-salwa-yehi-ta-ni
 and 3-father.of ADD 3-visit-VICIN-VCL-ANTIC
 ‘And he was also going to visit his father(’s house).’
- (1004) retamtanri, wane rawanatinri.
 r-heta-m-ta-ni-li
 3-see-NONDUR-VCL-ANTIC-3SGM
 wane r-hwa-na-ta-inri
 there/thus 3-be(loc)-DUR-VCL-ACTN.NOM
 ‘He was going to see him, living there.’
- (1005) mala yani.
 mala Ø-ya-ni
 downriver 3-go-ANTIC
 ‘He was going to go downstream.’
- (1006) mala potiko satkapyā.
 mala poti-ko Ø-satoka-pa-ya
 downriver INTNS-EMPH 3-return-ELV-APPL
 ‘They went further back downstream.’
- (1007) wane riçiylo knoya.
 wane r-hiçha-ya-lo knoya
 there/thus 3-search.for-APPL-3SGF tortoise
 ‘There he looked for tortoises.’
- (1008) patsriçirnikta rikfika.
 patsriçire-ni-hta r-hikfika
 six-AFFCT-GENZ 3-find
 ‘He found about six.’
- (1009) hiyahni wane riçakatyatka, satokatka.
 hiyaho-ni wane r-hiyakatyatka Ø-satoka-tka
 then-IMP.DECL there/thus 3-proceed-PFV 3-return-PFV
 ‘Then he came back from there, he returned.’

- (1010) rinroyehi rapoka.
 r-hinro-yehi r-hapoka
 3-mother.of-VICIN r-arrive
 ‘He came to where his mother was.’
- (1011) wane rapokamta.
 wane r-hapoka-m-ta
 there/thus 3-arrive-NONDUR-VCL
 ‘He arrived there (and stayed for a short while).’
- (1012) siprini rinka.
 sipri-ni r-hinka
 water.turtle-AFFCT 3-shoot
 ‘He shot a water turtle.’
- (1013) hawa wane rali hwaletatka rinroyehi, rinatka.
 hawa wane r-hali hwa-le-ta-tka r-hinro-yehi
 and there/thus 3-finish be(loc)-SUBD-VCL-PFV 3-mother.of-VICIN
 r-hina-tka
 3-come-PFV
 ‘And after he was at his mother’s, he came (here).’
 (*lit.* And having finished being where his mother was . . .)
- (1014) myerkoles hohne rapokatka.
 myerkoles hohne r-hapoka-tka
 Wednesday day 3-arrive-PFV
 ‘He arrived on Wednesday.’
- (1015) hawa hita sipri ranikanro.
 hawa hita sipri r-hanika-na-lo
 and 1SG water.turtle 3-bring-CMPV-3SGF
 ‘And I brought the water turtle.’
- (1016) wala niwlatatka.
 wala n-hiwla-tka
 3SGF 1SG-cook-PFV
 ‘I cooked it.’

(1017) wala wnika.
wala w-nika
3SGF 1PL-eat
'We ate it.'

(1018) wale ninkakletpiranata.
wale n-hinkakleta-pirana-ta
3SGM 1SG-relate-story.of-VCL
'That is my story. (*lit.* That I storytell)'

(1019) seyoka.
seyoka
end
'(The) end.'

B Text 2: The anteater and the jaguars

Recorded in: Diamante

Date: 27 April 2004

Speaker age: 62

Gender: male

Dialect: Urubamba (Miaria: moved to Diamante at age 59)

The following is a traditional story about a man who witnesses an anteater killing two jaguars, but no one believes him until they see the evidence for themselves. The quotative marker hima is only translated the first time it occurs.

(1020) cani ninkakletanri tsrinni pirana.

cani n-hinkakleta-ni-li tsri-ne-ni pirana
now 1SG-relate-ANTIC-3SGM big+MASC-PL-AFFCT story.of

‘Now I will relate a story of the old ones.’

(1021) sati yineri howika hima yatka.

sati yine-li howika hima Ø-ya-tka
SPEC+MASC people-SGM far QUOT 3-go-PFV

‘A certain man went far, reportedly.’

(1022) rapha hima yatka wale çeçi.

rapha hima Ø-ya-tka wale çeçi
stream QUOT 3-go-PFV 3SGM man

‘That man went to a stream.’

(1023) wane hima rikjikyana mhenokline hawa siwa.

wane hima r-hikshika-ya-na mhenokli-ne hawa siwa
there/thus QUOT 3-find-APPL-3PL jaguar-PL and anteater

‘There he found jaguars and an anteater.’

(1024) riyolikyawakhima wa sati rapha rikjikyana.

r-hiyolika-ya-waka hima wa sati rapha r-hikshika-ya-na
3-hunt-APPL-LOC.NOM QUOT REF SPEC+MASC stream 3-find-APPL-3PL

‘He found them at a certain stream where he went to hunt.’

- (1025) wane hima retyana hepi mhenokline hawa satipçe siwa.
 wane hima r-heta-ya-na hepi mhenokli-ne
 there/thus QUOT 3-see-APPL-3PL two jaguar-PL
 hawa sati-pçe siwa
 and SPEC+MASC-RESTR anteater
 ‘There he saw two jaguars and one anteater.’
- (1026) mhenokline hima halika hiylaletli siwa.
 mhenokli-ne hima halika hiylaleta-li siwa
 jaguar-PL QUOT want kill-3SGM anteater
 ‘The jaguars wanted to kill the anteater.’
- (1027) hiyahhimni siwa kowinanimta hinamaya.
 hiyaho-hima-ni siwa kowi-nani-m-ta
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL anteater trumpet-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL
 hi-nama-ya
 3SGMPSSR-mouth.of-OBL
 ‘Then the anteater was trumpeting from its mouth.’
- (1028) hawa mhenoklinhima koca saplewçeta.
 hawa mhenokli-ne hima koca saplewa-çe-ta
 and jaguar-PL QUOT also shout-FREQ-VCL
 ‘And the jaguars were also roaring.’
- (1029) tsri saplewçeri-hima ricna wa mhenokline, hi ricani riylakakanna siwayma
 hawa mhenoklineyma
 tsri saplewa-çeri hima r-hica-na wa mhenokli-ne
 big+MASC shout-AG.NOM+MASC QUOT 3-be/do-PL REF jaguar-PL
 hi r-hica-ni r-hiylakaka-ni-na
 INTRG 3-be/do-PROP.NOM 3-fight-ANTIC-3PL
 siwa-yma hawa mhenokli-ne-yma
 anteater-COM and jaguar-PL-COM
 ‘The jaguars made great roars, because they were going to fight, the anteater
 with the jaguars.’

- (1030) hiyahhimni rapyehitinitkana wa siwa mhenokline, ritfrokarka wa siwa.
 hiyaho-hima-ni r-hapo-yehi-ta-ini-tka-na
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL 3-arrive-VICIN-VCL-TEMP-PFV-3PL
 wa siwa mhenokli-ne
 REF anteater jaguar-PL
 r-hitfroka-tka wa siwa
 3-go.silent-PFV REF anteater
 ‘Then when the jaguars approached the anteater, the anteater went silent.’
- (1031) hi wa kowitatka, hawa mhenoklinkoca hi wa saplewçetatka.
 hi wa kowita-tka hawa mhenokli-ne koca
 NEG REF trumpet and jaguar-PL also
 hi wa saplewa-çe-ta-tka
 NEG REF shout-FREQ-VCL-PFV
 ‘It didn’t trumpet, and the jaguars also didn’t roar.’
- (1032) wanepnite yiniwaka hiylakakletna.
 wanepnite Ø-yiniwaka hiylakaka-le-ta-na
 next 3-begin fight-SUBD-VCL-3PL
 ‘Next they began to fight.’
- (1033) wane hima tfinrina siwa ...
 wane hima Ø-tfina-li-na siwa
 there/thus QUOT 3-say-3SGM anteater
 ‘They said to the anteater ...’
- (1034) “hi picpoko hiylaletli pica wa pnikanri?” tfinhimatlina mhenokline wa siwa.
 hi p-hipoko hiyla-le-ta-li pica
 INTRG 2SG-do(manner) kill-SUBD-VCL-3SGM 2SG
 wa p-nika-ni-li Ø-tfina-hima-ta-li-na
 REF 2SG-eat-ANTIC-3SGM 3-say-QUOT-VCL-3SGM-3PL
 mhenokli-ne wa siwa
 jaguar-PL REF anteater
 ‘“How do you kill your food?” the jaguars said to the anteater.’

- (1035) wale hima wane t̄ina wa siwa ...
 wale hima wane Ø-t̄ina wa siwa
 3SGM QUOT there/thus 3-say REF anteater REF
 ‘He, the anteater, said ...’
- (1036) “hita hiylatli wa nnikanri, hiyampoti nsiskatli.”
 hita hiylata-li wa n-nika-ni-li
 1SG kill-3SGM REF 1SG-eat-ANTIC-3SGM
 hiyampoti n-siskata-li
 quickly 1SG-shred-3SGM
 ‘“I kill my food, very fast I shred it.”’
- (1037) “hawa wane ninkokamtanatkali, hawa pni nyatka.”
 hawa wane n-hiknoka-m-ta-na-tka-li
 and there/thus 1SG-leave-NONDUR-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3SGM
 hawa pni n-ya-tka
 and other 1SG-go-PFV
 ‘“And I leave it all behind thus, and I go somewhere else.”’
- (1038) waneko picka hima t̄inna mhenokline ...
 wane-ko picka hima Ø-t̄ina-na mhenokli-ne
 there/thus-EMPH SIM QUOT 3-say-3PL jaguar-PL
 ‘Likewise the jaguars said ...’
- (1039) “wickoca hiylatli wnikanri hiyampoti, hawa wnikanatkali.”
 wica koca hiylata-li w-nika-ni-li hiyahmpoti
 1PL ADD kill-3SGM 1pl-eat-ANTIC-3SGM quickly
 hawa w-nika-na-tka-li
 and 1PL-eat-CMPV-PFV-3SGM
 ‘“We also kill our food quickly, and we eat it up.”’
- (1040) “wanepnite sati wiçhatka wnikanripa.”
 wanepnite sati w-hiçha-tka w-nika-ni-li-pa
 next SPEC+MASC 1PL-search.for-PFV 1PL-eat-ANTIC-3SGM-ELV
 ‘“Next we go search for another (thing) to be our food.”’

- (1041) hiyahhimni siwa yiniwaka himtiwnaleta.
 hiyaho-hima-ni siwa yiniwaka himtiwna-le-ta
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL anteater begin get.angry-SUBD-VCL
 ‘Then the anteater began to get angry.’
- (1042) hepi mhenoklinni riylamtatka.
 hepi mhenokli-ne-ni r-hiyla-m-ta-tka
 two jaguar-PL-AFFCT 3-kill-NONDUR-VCL-PFV
 ‘He killed the two jaguars (quickly/in little time).’
- (1043) pni hima yatka.
 pni hima Ø-ya-tka
 other QUOT 3-go-PFV
 ‘He went further on.’
- (1044) yiniwaka koylehimananimtatka, hi ricani wale hakahlokamtanatkana wa siwa,
 hi ricani wale hickopoti.
 Ø-yiniwaka koyi-le-hima-nani-m-ta-tka
 3-begin trumpet-SUBD-QUOT-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL-PFV
 hi r-hica-ni wale
 INTRG 3-be/do-PROP.NOM 3SGM
 hakahloka-m-ta-na-tka-na wa siwa
 vanquish-NONDUR-VCL-CMPV-PFV-3PL REF anteater
 hi r-hica-ni wale hicko poti
 INTRG 3-be/do-PROP.NOM 3SGM strong INTNS
 ‘The anteater began to trumpet as he went along, because he had utterly
 vanquished them, because he was very strong.’
- (1045) riylatanna hepi mhenoklinni.
 r-hiylata-na-na hepi mhenokli-ne-ni
 3-kill-CMPV-3PL two jaguar-PL-AFFCT
 ‘He had killed the two jaguars.’

- (1046) hiyahhimni wa tye çeçi witsrikatni hetanata, wa riylakakinri wa siwa hawa mhenoklineyma.
 hiyaho-hima-ni wa tye çeçi w-hitsrika-te-ni
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL REF PROX.SGM man 1PL-ancestor-PSSD-AFFCT
 heta-na-ta wa r-hiylakaka-inri
 see-DUR-VCL REF 3-fight-ACTN.NOM
 wa siwa hawa mhenokli-ne-yma
 REF anteater and jaguar-PL-COM
 ‘So that man, our ancestor, was watching the anteater fighting with the jaguars.’
- (1047) tye çeçi witsrikatni, wale hima rinkakatkana himolene rapokinitka hipçi wa reta yahotkakletyawakna siwa hawa mhenoklineyma.
 tye çeçi w-hitsrika-te-ni
 PROX.SGM man 1PL-ancestor-PSSD-AFFCT
 wale hima r-hinkaka-tka-na hi-mole-ne
 3SGM QUOT 3-tell-PFV-3PL 3PSSR-kin.of-PL
 r-hapoka-ini-tka hi-pçi wa r-heta
 3-arrive-TEMP-PFV 3PSSR-house.of REF 3-see
 yahotkaka-le-ta-ya-waka-na siwa hawa mhenokli-ne-yma
 battle-SUBD-VCL-APPL-LOC.NOM-3PL anteater and jaguar-PL-COM
 ‘That man our ancestor, he told his kinspeople when he arrived home that he saw the way the anteater fought with the jaguars.’
- (1048) rinkakhimatna himolene.
 r-hinkaka-hima-ta-na hi-mole-ne
 3-tell-QUOT-VCL-3PL 3-kin.of-PL
 ‘He told his kinspeople.’
- (1049) hi hima raliclina, wa siwa riylatyanna wa hepi mhenoklinni.
 hi hima r-halica-li-na wa siwa
 NEG QUOT 3-believe-3SGM-3PL REF anteater
 r-hiylata-ya-na-na wa hepi mhenokli-ne-ni
 3-kill-APPL-CMPV-3PL REF two jaguar-PL-AFFCT
 ‘They didn’t believe him (him) that the anteater killed the two jaguars.’
- (1050) hiyahhimni wa siwa pniko hima yatka.
 hiyaho-hima-ni wa siwa pni-ko hima ya-tka
 then-QUOT-IMP.DECL REF anteater other-EMPH QUOT go-PFV
 ‘Then the anteater went somewhere else entirely.’

- (1051) yiniwaka kowlehimananımtatka hiçriya.
 Ø-yiniwaka kowi-le-hima-nani-m-ta-tka
 3-begin trumpet-SUBD-QUOT-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL-PFV
 hi-çri-ya
 3PSSR-nose.of-OBL
 ‘It began to trumpet along the way with its snout.’
- (1052) wane hima tfinananımtatka ...
 wane hima Ø-tfina-nani-m-ta-tka
 there/then QUOT 3-say-EXTNS-NONDUR-VCL-PFV
 ‘Then it went along saying ...’
- (1053) “hike himkatno hita, hi ricani hickolno.”
 hike himkata-no hita hi r-hica-ni hicko-li-no
 nothing be.able-1SG 1SG INTRG 3-be/do-PROP.NOM strong-3SGM-sg
 ‘“Nothing can beat me, because I am strong.”’
- (1054) rali yahotkakahimatinitkana wa siwa hawa mhenoklineyma, satokatka wa yineri.
 r-hali yahotkaka-le-hima-ta-ini-tka-na wa siwa hawa
 3-finish fight-SUBD-QUOT-VCL-TEMP-PFV-3PL REF anteater and
 mhenokli-ne-yma Ø-satoka-tka wa yine-li
 jaguar-PL-COM 3-return-PFV REF people-SGM
 ‘When the anteater and the jaguars finished fighting, the man returned.’
- (1055) wale hima rinkakatkana himolenyehi.
 wale hima r-hinkaka-tka-na hi-mole-ne-yehi
 3SGM QUOT 3-tell-PFV-3PL 3PSSR-kin.of-PL-VICIN
 ‘That (is what) he told in the presence of his kinspeople.’
- (1056) kayi hima rinkaklewyehitna peçniřineko řimwastsitanine.
 kayi hima r-hinkaklewa-yehi-ta-na peçni-ri-ne-ko
 afternoon QUOT 3-relate-VICIN-VCL-3PL every-SGM-PL-EMPH
 r-himwastsitani-ne
 3-neighbor-PL
 ‘In the afternoon he was relating it in the presence of all of his neighbors.’

- (1057) wanepnithima hi hima ralicna wa yine.
 wanepnite hima hi hima r-halica-na wa yine
 next QUOT NEG QUOT 3-believe-3PL REF people
 ‘Next the people didn’t believe him.’
- (1058) wale çeçi hima hanikna wa yahotkakyawakna, rekakhihimtapna.
 wale çeçi hima hanika-na wa yahotkaka-ya-waka-na
 3SGM man QUOT carry-3PL REF fight-APPL-LOC.NOM-3PL
 r-hekakhi-hima-ta-pa-na
 3-show-QUOT-VCL-ELV-3PL
 ‘The man brought them to where they had been fighting, so that he could show them.’
- (1059) wane hima yatkana, rethimtapanrina mhenokline.
 wane hima Ø-ya-tka-na r-heta-hima-ta-pa-ni-li-na
 there/thus QUOT 3-go-PFV-3PL 3-see-QUOT-VCL-ELV-ANTIC-3SGM-3PL
 mhenokli-ne
 jaguar-PL
 ‘They went there, (they went) to see the jaguars.’
- (1060) wa retinimatkalina wa yine, wanekli hima ralicatkalina, wa mhenoklinni
 riylatinri wa siwa.
 wa r-heta-ini-hima-tka-li-na wa yine
 REF 3-see-TEMP-QUOT-PFV-3SGM-3PL REF people
 wane-kli hima r-halica-tka-li-na
 there/thus-time.of QUOT 3-believe-PFV-3SGM-3PL
 wa mhenokli-ne-ni r-hiylata-inri wa siwa
 REF jaguar-PL-AFFCT 3-kill-ACTN.NOM REF anteater
 ‘When the people saw it, at that moment they believed about the anteater killing the jaguars.’
- (1061) walepçe ninkakleta wa tsrinni pirana.
 walepçe n-hinkakleta wa tsri-ne-ni pirana
 3SGM-RESTR 1SG-relate REF big+MASC-PL-AFFCT story.of
 ‘That is all I relate of the ancient ones’ story.’

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