

## A Grammar of Trio



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A Grammar of Trio  
a Cariban language of Suriname



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# Abbreviations and symbols

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| *           | ungrammatical                                   |
| ↔           | reflexive                                       |
| →           | acting (on)                                     |
| ⊃           | middle  |
| ∅           | zero  |
| √           | clitic  |
| √           | root  |
| 1TR         | one-argument transitive verb                    |
| 3COREF      | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person possessive coreferential |
| A           | agent   |
| A.NOM       | agent nominalizer                               |
| A.RESPONS   | agent responsibility                            |
| ACQ.POSS    | 'acquired' possession                           |
| ADV         | adverbializer                                   |
| ANA         | anaphoric                                       |
| ANIM        | animate   |
| ANT         | anterior  |
| ASSERT      | assertive                                       |
| AUD         | audible   |
| AUG         | augmentative                                    |
| BEN         | benefactive                                     |
| C           | consonant                                       |
| C.EXP       | counter-expectational                           |
| C.NOM       | candidate nominalizer                           |
| CAUS        | causative                                       |
| CERT        | certainty                                       |
| CESS        | cessative                                       |
| COLL        | collective                                      |
| COM         | comitative                                      |
| COMP        | comparative                                     |
| CONCES      | concessive                                      |
| CONT.DIR    | container directional                           |
| CONT.LOC    | container locative                              |
| CONTACT.LOC | contact locative                                |
| COREF       | coreferential                                   |
| CYC         | cyclic  |
| DEFECT      | defective                                       |

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| DES         | desirous                                  |
| DESID       | desiderative                              |
| DIM         | diminutive                                |
| DIR         | directional                               |
| DISC        | discourse marker                          |
| DISLOC.IMP  | dislocative imperative                    |
| DIST        | distal                                    |
| DIST.PST    | distal past                               |
| DP          | demonstrative pronoun                     |
| DP.AUD.NVIS | demonstrative pronoun audible non-visible |
| DUR         | durative                                  |
| EU          | euphonic                                  |
| FACS        | facsimile                                 |
| FRUST       | frustrative                               |
| FUT         | future                                    |
| FUT.PERF    | future perfective                         |
| G.NOM       | gerundive nominalizer                     |
| GOAL        | goal                                      |
| HAB         | habitual                                  |
| HAVE.PART   | have partially                            |
| HORT        | hortative                                 |
| HYP         | hypothetical                              |
| I.PST       | immediate past                            |
| IDEO        | ideophone                                 |
| IMP         | imperative                                |
| IMP.PL      | imperative plural                         |
| INAN        | inanimate                                 |
| INAN.AUD    | inanimate audible                         |
| INCH.STAT   | inchoative stative                        |
| INDEF.SPEC  | indefinite specific                       |
| INF.LOC     | inferior locative                         |
| INFEST      | infested with                             |
| INT.LOC     | interior                                  |
| INTENS      | intensifier                               |
| IRR         | irrealis                                  |
| ITER        | iterative                                 |
| k.o.        | kind of                                   |
| LIQ.LOC     | liquid locative                           |
| lit.        | literally                                 |
| LOC         | locative                                  |
| MED         | medial                                    |
| MID         | middle                                    |
| MOD         | modal                                     |

|              |                                |
|--------------|--------------------------------|
| NCERT        | non-certainty                  |
| N            | noun                           |
| NEG          | negative                       |
| NEG.DES      | negative desirous              |
| NEG.EXP      | negative experience            |
| NEG.P        | negative particle              |
| NEG.POT.NOM  | negative potential nominalizer |
| NF           | non-finite                     |
| NF.HAB       | non-finite habitual            |
| NF.PURP      | non-finite purposive           |
| NOM          | nominalizer                    |
| NR.PST       | non-recent past                |
| O            | object                         |
| PERL         | perlative                      |
| PERSIST      | persistive                     |
| PL           | plural                         |
| POS.EXP      | positive experience            |
| POSS         | possessive                     |
| PRES         | present                        |
| PRIV         | privative                      |
| PRIV.NOM     | privative nominalizer          |
| PRO          | pronoun                        |
| PROX         | proximal                       |
| PSR          | possessor                      |
| PSR.PL.DESID | possessor plural desiderative  |
| PST          | past                           |
| Q            | question (-formative)          |
| QUANT        | quantifier                     |
| REAS         | reason                         |
| RECIP        | reciprocal                     |
| REDUPL       | reduplication                  |
| REFL         | reflexive                      |
| REFL.PART    | reflexive particle             |
| RESPONS      | responsibility                 |
| REVERS       | reversative                    |
| S            | subject                        |
| S.NOM        | subject nominalizer            |
| SAP          | speech act participant         |
| SENS         | sensory                        |
| SENS.STAT    | sensory stative                |
| SG           | singular                       |
| SK.NOM       | 'skilled in' nominalizer       |
| s/one, s/o   | someone                        |

|                 |                                 |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| s/thing         | something                       |
| SOU             | source                          |
| sp.             | species                         |
| SS              | sound symbolic                  |
| SUP.CONTACT.LOC | superior contact locative       |
| SURPR           | surprise                        |
| TEMP.LOC        | temporal locative               |
| TMP             | time, manner, place             |
| TMP.NOM         | time, manner, place nominalizer |
| TR              | transitive                      |
| TR.IZER         | transitivizer                   |
| URGE.MOD        | urging modal                    |
| V               | vowel, verb                     |
| VBLZER          | verbalizer                      |
| VEN.IMP         | ventive imperative              |

# Inventory of grammatical morphemes

In the following a list of grammatical morphemes is given, in alphabetical order, with the gloss that is used throughout the grammar; the numbers following the entry refer to the main section of the grammar in which the relevant morpheme is discussed, although the element in question may be mentioned at several places in the grammar. Clitics are given with a preposed underscore, for example, *\_pa* “cyclic marker”, prefixes and suffixes are followed or preceded respectively by a hyphen. For a differentiated description of the personal prefixes the reader is referred to Chapters 3, 4, and 8. If an entry does not include a gloss (indicated by --), such as *-arĕ* below, that particular morpheme is either considered to be a formative or no appropriate gloss could be found, thus it is not glossed separately in this work but is taken as a unit with its host.

| Morpheme | Gloss          | Meaning  | Section       |
|----------|----------------|--|---------------|
| a-       | Q              | question formative   | 7.3           |
| -arĕ     | --             | adverb formative: temporal, locational                                       | 10.2.2        |
| -awĕ     | INT.LOC        | inside container/human<br>'in/inside'  | 6.2.9         |
| -awĕ-e   | hang.OVER-PERL | perlative 'hanging over'   | 6.2.26        |
| -e       | CERT           | certainty evidential marker (used with SAPs)                                 | 8.9           |
| -e       | NF             | non-finite   | 8.14ff        |
| -e       | DEVELOP        | having well-developed, highly-functional (in combination with <i>tī-N-</i> ) | 11.4          |
| -e-      | MID            | middle (diathesis)   | 8.6.1         |
| ĕ-       | 2POSS          | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person possessive  | 3.4.2; 4.3.5  |
| ĕ-       | 2→             | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person acting (intransitive subject)                         | 3.4.2         |
| ĕ-       | 3→2            | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person subject acting on 2 <sup>nd</sup> person object       | 3.4.2; 8.6.11 |
| -ĕ-      | REFL           | reflexive (diathesis)  | 8.5.3ff.      |
| -ĕĕs-    | REFL           | reflexive (diathesis)  | 8.5.3ff.      |
| -ĕis-    | REFL           | reflexive (diathesis)  | 8.5.3ff.      |
| -eire    | dangerous      | dangerous to, angry at   | 6.4.4         |
| -ekatao  | beside.LOC     | 'beside/near beside'   | 6.2.21        |

| Morpheme              | Gloss      | Meaning  | Section      |
|-----------------------|------------|--|--------------|
| -ekun-ë               | hip-LOC    | hip ‘beside/near’  | 6.2.21       |
| -ekun-me              | hip-FACS   | hip ‘beside/near/past’   | 6.2.21       |
| -emiü                 | VENT       | ventive imperative   | 8.10.3       |
| -enpata-e             | face-LOC   | specific: land elevation ‘on slope of’                                 | 6.2.25       |
| -epinë                | INF.LOC    | inferior non-contact locative ‘under’                                  | 6.2.20       |
| -epo                  | fitting    | fitting, enough  | 6.4.5        |
| -epoe                 | SUP.LOC    | non-contact superior locative ‘over/ above’                            | 6.2.19       |
| -epona                | believing  | believe  | 6.4.6        |
| -et-                  | MID        | middle (diathesis)   | 8.5.3ff.     |
| -ët-                  | REFL       | reflexive (diathesis)  | 8.5.3ff.     |
| -eta-e                | bank-PERL  | perlative ‘along river bank’   | 6.2.26       |
| _hkanarë/<br>_hkanara | C.EXP      | counter expectational  | 10.17.2      |
| -hkao                 | LIQ.LOC    | location in liquid ‘in’  | 6.2.7        |
| _hkarë                | C.EXP      | counter expectational  | 10.17.2      |
| _hkasán               | instead    | corrective, ‘instead’  | 10.17.1      |
| _hkatë                | RESPONS    | responsibility   | 10.18.1      |
| _hkatëti              | A.RESPONS  | agent responsibility   | 10.18.2      |
| -hki                  | PL         | SAP plural (future)  | 8.7.1        |
| -hpe                  | INDEF.SPEC | indefinite specific  | 7.9          |
| -hpë                  | PST        | nominal past   | 4.5.3        |
| -hpije                | INFEST     | ‘infested with’, ‘covered in’  | 4.8.4        |
| -hpiti-nao            | anus-LOC   | ‘at rear of’   | 6.2.17       |
| -(h)tao               | CONT.LOC   | contained, demarcated area ‘in/inside’                                 | 6.2.4        |
| -htarë                | QUANT      | quantifier   | 7.8          |
| -htë                  | BEN        | benefactive vrbler   | 8.13.3       |
| -hti                  | PL         | plural (restricted use)  | 4.7.2        |
| -i                    | IRR        | irrealis   | 8.8.1        |
| i-                    | 3POSS      | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person possessive                                      | 3.4.4        |
| -i-                   | TR         | transitive (diathesis)   | 8.5.3; 8.6.1 |
| _ihtha                | for sure   | ‘for sure’   | 10.14.3      |
| -imë                  | AUG        | augmentative   | 4.8.2        |
| j(i)-                 | 3→1        | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person subject acting on 1 <sup>st</sup> person object | 3.4ff.       |
| -ja                   | PRES       | present tense (imperfective)   | 8.7.5        |
| -ja                   | GOAL       | goal ‘to’  | 6.3.7        |
| -(ja)kë(mī)           | FUT.PERF   | future perfective  | 8.7.11       |
| -(ja)kën(e)           | DIST.PST   | distal past (imperfective)   | 8.7.11       |

| Morpheme              | Gloss           | Meaning   | Section          |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---|------------------|
| -jamo, -jan           | PL              | plural (restricted use)   | 4.7.2            |
| -jana                 | COLL            | collective 'group'  | 4.7.2            |
| -je                   | NF              | non-finite  | 8.14             |
| -je                   | HYP             | hypothetical  | 8.8ff.           |
| -je                   | LOC             | locative  | 6.1.1            |
| -je                   | DESID           | desiderative  | 6.3.6            |
| -je                   | ACQ.POSS        | acquired possession (in combination with <i>i-N-</i> )                    | 11.4             |
| j(i)-                 | 1→              | 1 <sup>st</sup> person acting (intransitive subject)                      | 3.4ff.           |
| j(i)-                 | 1POSS           | 1 <sup>st</sup> person possessive; 1 <sup>st</sup> object of postposition | 3.4ff.; 4.3.2ff. |
| -ju-wē                | SUP.CONTACT-LOC | superior contact locative 'on top of'                                     | 6.2.18           |
| -ka                   | REVERVS         | reversative vrbler  | 8.13.2           |
| -ka                   | TR.IZER         | transitivizer   | 8.12.1           |
| -kahta                | URGE.MOD        | urging modal marker   | 8.10.9           |
| -ke                   | INST            | instrumental  | 6.3.2            |
| -kē                   | IMP             | imperative  | 8.10.1           |
| _ken(e)               | DUR             | durative  | 10.13.4          |
| -ke(pī)               | CESS            | cessative   | 8.13.9           |
| -ke(fī)               | S.NOM           | person-focussed nominalizer (subject), (in combination with <i>i-</i> )   | 9.2.7            |
| k(i)                  | 1+2POSS         | person 1+2 possessive   | 3.4.3; 4.3.6     |
| -ki                   | ANIM            | animate marker on question formative <i>a-</i> and (some) pronouns        | 7.3ff.           |
| k(i)-                 | 1+2→            | person 1+2 acting (intransitive subject)                                  | 3.4.3            |
| k(i)-                 | 3→1+2           | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person acting on 1+2                                      | 3.4.3; 8.6.7     |
| -kiinje               | small.POSS      | having small (in combination with <i>i-</i> )                             | 11.4             |
| kīn-                  | 3→3.PST         | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person acting on third person prefix, past tense          | 8.7.88.7.8ff.    |
| k(iit)-               | 1+2→3           | 1+2 acting on 3 <sup>rd</sup> person                                      | 8.6.7            |
| -koe                  | PSR.PL.DESID    | possessor plural desiderative   | 6.3.6            |
| -komo, -kon           | PSR.PL          | possessor plural  | 4.4              |
| -kontokomo, -kontokon | PSR.PL.PL       | fusional plural noun and plural possessor                                 | 3.6; 4.7.3       |
| m(i)-                 | 2→3             | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person subject acting on 3 <sup>rd</sup> person object    | 8.6.2ff.         |
| m-                    | 2↔2             | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person subject acting on itself (refl.)                   | 8.6.2ff.         |

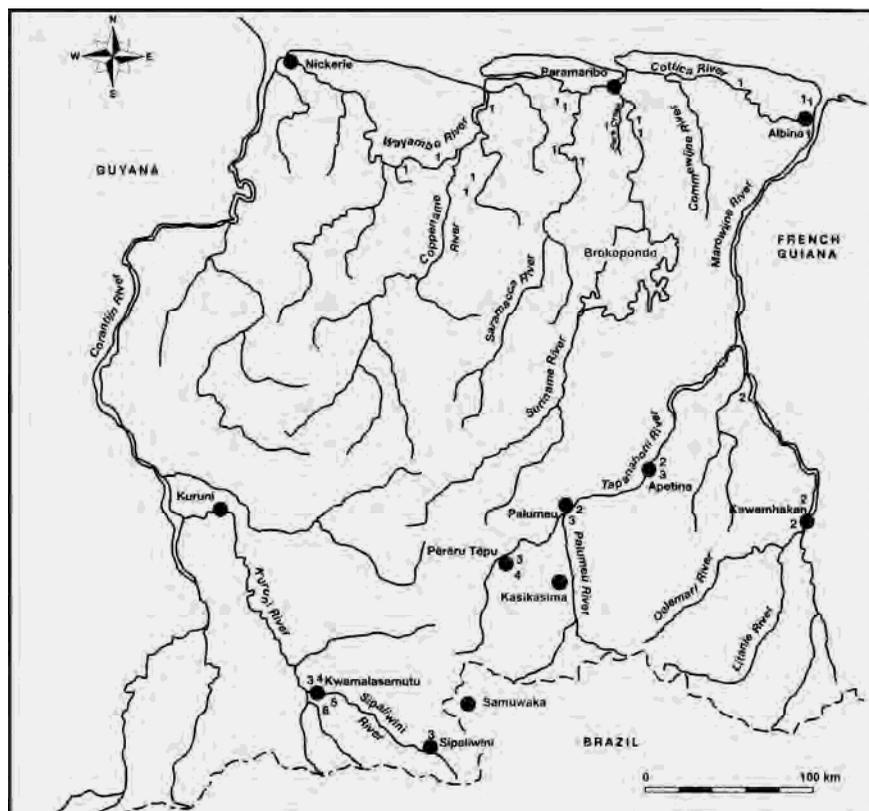
| Morpheme | Gloss     | Meaning   | Section     |
|----------|-----------|---|-------------|
| m-       | 2▷        | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person subject acting on itself (mid.)  | 8.6.2ff.    |
| -ma      | INCH.STAT | inchoative stative vblzr  | 8.13.5      |
| -ma(ka)  | --        | adverb formative: state   | 10.2.2      |
| -ma(mī)  | --        | vblzr (restricted to verb ( <i>i</i> ) <i>komami</i> )  | 8.13.8      |
| -mao     | TEMP.LOC  | location in time 'in/on'  | 6.2.11      |
| -me      | FACS      | facsimile 'as'  | 4.8.5ff.    |
| -mē-     | DP.MED    | demonstrative pronoun formative   | 5.3         |
| -mī (-n) | C.NOM     | candidate nominalizer   | 9.2.9       |
| -mīn(i)  | PRIV.NOM  | privative nominalizer 's/one, s/thing without X' (in combination with <i>i</i> -)               | 9.5; 11.4.3 |
| _mo      | MOD       | modal (irrealis)  | 10.14.4     |
| n(i)-    | 3→        | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person acting (intransitive subject)  | 8.6.1ff.    |
| n(i)-    | 3→3       | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person subject acting on 3 <sup>rd</sup> person object                          | 8.6.1ff.    |
| n-       | 3↔3       | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person acting on itself (refl.)   | 8.6.1ff.    |
| n-       | 3▷        | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person acting on itself (mid)   | 8.6.1ff.    |
| -(i)n-   | 3O        | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person object   | 8.6.11      |
| -na      | PRODUCE   | 'producing' vblzr   | 8.13.8      |
| -na(kīi) | DIR       | directional 'to' (follows locational postposition)  | 6.1.1       |
| -nao     | LOC       | locative (restricted use)   | 6.1.1       |
| -.ne     | PL        | plural of person marked on postposition   | 6.1.2       |
| -ne      | NR.PST    | non-recent past   | 8.7.8       |
| -ne      | HORT      | hortative   | 8.10.4      |
| -ne      | A.NOM     | agent nominalizer   | 9.2.6       |
| -ne      | EMANATE   | having, producing from within   | 11.4        |
| -n(ē)    | NCERT     | non-certainty evidential (used with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person and with SAPs in interrogative mode) | 8.9         |
| -nē      | G.NOM     | gerundive nominalizer   | 9.2.3       |
| -nen     | WARN      | warning (irrealis)  | 8.8.1       |
| -nē(pī)  | TR.IZER   | transitivizer   | 8.12.1      |
| -nī(pī)  | TR.IZER   | transitivizer   | 8.12.1      |
| -(n)je   | --        | adverb formative: location in time and space  | 10.2.2      |
| -nka-e   | back-LOC  | 'behind'  | 6.2.17      |
| _nkērē   | PERSIST   | persistent 'still', 'yet'   | 10.17.4     |

| Morpheme  | Gloss       | Meaning   | Section        |
|-----------|-------------|---|----------------|
| -nna      | -LESS       | 'without' (in combination with <i>i-N-</i> )  | 4.5.4; 11.4.2  |
| -n(o)     | NOM         | nominalizer on postpositions or adverbs, 's/one', s/thing'                          | 9.4            |
| -.no      | shiver      | unpleasant sensation of fear or cold  | 6.4.2          |
| -npë      | PST         | nominal past  | 4.5.3          |
| -npo      | on.back     | on s/o's back   | 6.2.22         |
| -ntë      | BEN         | benefactive vblzer  | 8.13.3         |
| _pa       | CYC         | cyclic, 'again', 'back'   | 10.13.2        |
| -pa       | PROVID      | providative vblzer  | 8.13.4         |
| -pa(mī)   | SENS.STAT   | sensory state   | 8.13.6         |
| -pato     | align.LOC   | 'in alignment with, in way of'  | 6.2.16         |
| -pëe      | SOU         | source (perlative) 'from'   | 6.2.27         |
| -pe(ke)   | NEG.DES     | negative desirous 'not desirable'   | 4.8.8          |
| -pë(kë)   | CONTACT.LOC | contact locative 'on', 'at'   | 6.2.13ff.      |
| -pīnë     | love        | 'love'  | 6.4.3          |
| -pīn(ī)   | NEG.POT.NOM | negative potential nominalizer 's/one who can't X' (in combination with <i>i-</i> ) | 9.5            |
| -pisi(kë) | DIM         | nominal diminutive  | 4.8.3          |
| -po       | CAUS        | causativizer  | 8.12.2         |
| -po       | LOC         | general location 'in/at'  | 6.2.1          |
| -poh-të   | tip-LOC     | (bird's) beak 'at tip/edge of'  | 6.2.23         |
| -pona     | DIR         | directional 'to', 'until'   | 6.2.2          |
| -popīn    | NEG.EXP.NOM | having ugly, damaged (in combination with <i>i-</i> )                               | 11.4.3         |
| -pora     | NEG.EXP     | negative experience (in combination with <i>i-</i> )                                | 9.2.1; 11.4.2  |
| -pore     | POS.EXP     | positive experience (in combination with <i>ī-</i> )                                | 9.2.1; 11.4    |
| -.ra      | NEG.POT     | negative potential (in combination with <i>i-</i> )                                 | 10.2.2; 11.4.2 |
| -ra(to)   | IN.LINE     | opposite, in (parallel) line with   | 6.2.17         |
| -ra-wë    | middle-LOC  | 'middle of' s/thing unidimensional  | 6.2.24         |
| -re       | HAVE.PART   | having partially (in combination with <i>ī-</i> )                                   | 11.4           |
| _rë       | ASSERT      | assertive, emphatic   | 10.14.1        |
| -reh-të   | horn-LOC    | at horns of 'at top of/on'  | 6.2.23         |
| _rëken(e) | only        | exclusion, 'only'   | 10.15          |
| _rën(ne)  | forever     | forever, truly, really  | 10.14.2        |

| Morpheme              | Gloss              | Meaning  | Section      |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--|--------------|
| _re(pe)               | FRUST              | 'in vain'  | 10.16        |
| -rī                   | POSS               | possessive suffix  | 4.5.1        |
| -rīpī                 | DEFECT             | 'defective', 'useless'   | 4.8.9        |
| -ro-wē                | chest-LOC          | 'middle of' s/thing multidimensional                                   | 6.2.24       |
| s-                    | 1⇨                 | 1 <sup>st</sup> person subject acting on itself (middle)               | 8.6.2ff.     |
| _sa                   | DIM                | diminutive   | 10.13.3      |
| -samo, -san           | PL.COLL            | plural (restricted use)  | 4.7.2        |
| -sanpa                | IMPATIENT          | impatience imperative marker 'for goodness sake!'                      | 8.10.8       |
| -se                   | NF                 | non-finite   | 8.14         |
| -se                   | DESID              | desiderative   | 6.3.6        |
| -sepī                 | DES.NOM            | desirous nominalizer 'pleasing'  | 4.8.7        |
| t-                    | 1⇨1                | 1 <sup>st</sup> person subject acting on itself (reflexive)            | 8.5ff.       |
| -ta                   | NEG                | negative   | 4.10         |
| -ta                   | TERM               | terminative stative vblzer   | 8.13.7       |
| -ta                   | FUT                | future   | 8.7.5        |
| -ta                   | DISLOC             | dislocative imperative   | 8.10.2       |
| -tae                  | PERL               | perlative 'along'  | 6.2.26       |
| -ta-hkarē             | CONT.DIR-<br>C.EXP | container directional counter-expectational 'through'                  | 6.2.6        |
| _tahkarē/<br>_tahkara | CONCES             | counter expectational, concessive                                      | 10.17.3      |
| -taike                | NEG.INTENS         | negative emphatic  | 13.2; 13.3   |
| -ta(ka)               | CONT.DIR           | container directional 'into'   | 6.2.5        |
| -tē                   | PL                 | SAP plural (non-recent, distal past, and future perfective)            | 8.7.1        |
| -tē                   | SK.ADV             | adverbializer 'skilled in'   | 10.3         |
| -tē(kē)               | IMP.PL             | imperative plural  | 8.10.1       |
| -ti                   | PL                 | SAP plural (present, immediate past)                                   | 8.7ff.       |
| -tī                   | INAN               | inanimate marker on question formative <i>a-</i>                       | 7.3ff.       |
| t(ī)-                 | 3COREF             | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person coreferential possessive                        | 3.4.4; 4.3.6 |
| t(ī)-                 | COREF              | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person coreferential possessive, semantically bleached | 8.14.4ff.    |
| -tīise                | big.POSS           | having big (in combination with <i>i-N-</i> )                          | 11.4.2       |
| _to                   | PL                 | plural non-SAP   | 8.7.2        |

| Morpheme    | Gloss        | Meaning  | Section     |
|-------------|--------------|--|-------------|
| -to         | NOM          | nominalizer on postpositions or adverbs, 's/one', s/thing'             | 9.4         |
| -tomo, -ton | PL           | nominal plural   | 4.7.1       |
| -to-n       | SK.NOM       | agent-focussed skilled nominalizer                                     | 9.2.8       |
| -to(po)     | TMP.NOM      | time, manner, place nominalizer  | 9.2.4       |
| -tuwë       | ANT          | anterior, 'after'  | 9.2.1; 12.5 |
| w-          | 1→3          | 1 <sup>st</sup> person subject acting on 3 <sup>rd</sup> person object | 8.6ff.      |
| -wa         | STAT         | stative vblzer   | 8.13.8      |
| -wa         | NEG          | negative marker  | 8.14.2      |
| wa-         | NEG          | negative 'un-'   | 8.6.1       |
| -wae        | comp         | comparative, '(more) than'   | 6.4.7       |
| -wame(ke)   | not.know     | not know   | 6.4.1       |
| -wapo       | in.front     | anterior locative 'in front of/first'                                  | 6.2.16      |
| -warë       | know         | know   | 6.4.1       |
| -wë         | LOC          | locative formative (follows postposition)                              | 6.1.1       |
| -wein-je    | side.NOM-LOC | at location of 'near'  | 6.2.16      |
| -wena-e     | trace-LOC    | trace 'behind, on trail of'  | 6.2.17      |

# Map of Suriname showing the location of the Cariban groups



## Language legend

- 1 Kari'na
- 2 Wayana
- 3 Trio
- 4 Akuriyo
- 5 Tunayana
- 6 Sikiyana

# 1 The Trio

## 1.1 The people and their environment

The Trio, whose self-denomination is *Tarëno*, literally meaning ‘the people here’ are a small Cariban group of approximately 2000 speakers in total who live in four main villages in the southern rainforest region of the Republic of Suriname, and across the border in Brazil to the south of the Tumuchumac mountains. The name Trio is a xenonym given to this group of people by outsiders, that is, in coastal Suriname and in an international context, these people are known as Trio or Tiriyo, the latter of which is used in Brazil. The present grammar is based on data collected from speakers resident in the four Surinamese villages Palumeu, Tëpu, Kwamalasamutu, and Sipaliwini; the geographical names used throughout this book are spelled as they are generally found on modern maps and as they are used by the authorities in Paramaribo, unless it is relevant for the context to use the Trio spelling.<sup>1</sup> The sociolinguistic situation within the four villages differs greatly both with regard to the constitution of the population of each village and also with regard to the influence that external factors such as sustained contact and development projects have had on the lifestyle, education, and speech pattern of the Trio living there.

The village Sipaliwini [sipaɾɨwini] ‘river (water) of the stingray’, located at approximately 2½ degrees latitude north and 56 degrees west longitude on the banks of the Sipaliwini River is home to approximately fifty Trio speakers; the word *sipari* denotes a species of stingray, the ending *wini* ‘water, river’ is found in many hydronyms throughout the Guianas. While the village is a permanent settlement with its own health clinic, it is often used as a stop-over for Trio going to and from the Brazilian Trio villages. There is no school in Sipaliwini, nor is there any sustained missionary effort there; the degree of monolingualism is high if one excludes the frequent visitors from Kwamalasamutu who have a smattering of Dutch and/or Sranantongo.

Kwamalasamutu [kwamaɾasamutu], literally ‘(place of) bamboo and sand’, situated at 2½ latitude north and 56½ degrees longitude west, is the most com-

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1 Many place names in Suriname are still written in the Dutch spelling where *oe* /*u*/ was used rather than the modern spelling with *u*, for example, the Trio village Kwamalasamutu (Trio spelling: Kwamarasamutu) is sometimes written as Kwamalasamoetoe; in this work I consistently use the spelling with *u* rather than *oe* unless the *oe* is found in a citation.

plex Trio village with regard to the ethnic constitution of the population and the number of languages other than Trio that are spoken there, and it has the highest number of Trio speakers of all the villages, namely approximately 800 – 900. In general, the name Kwamalasamutu is referred to by the abbreviated form Kwamala, which in the Trio orthography is Kwamara. In the early 1960s when missionary activity began in the far south of Suriname, a missionary post was set up in a village called Alalapadu [aɾaɾapaɾu] on the Sipaliwini but later in 1976/77 the entire village moved to form a new village, Kwamalasamutu, also on the Sipaliwini (see map). The population of Kwamalasamutu consists mainly of people from the Trio groups (see section 1.6 below for the formation of the Trio group), and of smaller groups of Tunayana and Mawayana (ca. 60-80 people per group), Sikiiyana (ca. 50), and Akuriyo (ca. 10); Tunayana, Sikiiyana, and Akuriyo are Cariban groups (see also Carlin 1998a; Carlin and Boven 2002). Details of how these latter groups came to live among the Trio are given in section 1.7 below. Thus a sizeable number of the non-Trio population learned Trio as a second language, and now use Trio which is the dominant language in the village as their primary language. The older generations of the three groups, Tunayana (including Katuena, a subgroup of the Tunayana), Mawayana, and Sikiiyana speak the Cariban language Waiwai as their second language, and Trio as their third language, the younger generations of these groups generally have at least a good passive knowledge of Waiwai, though many people as young as 30 years actively speak Waiwai. Nowadays they all also speak Trio, exhibiting differing degrees of both fluency and in-depth knowledge of this language: the Trio readily distinguish between ‘good’ and ‘less good’ speakers of their language. Within each of the originally non-Trio groups at least the oldest generations speak or have a passive knowledge of their original languages, whereby there are approximately fifteen speakers of Tunayana, ten speakers of Sikiiyana, and three speakers of Mawayana. Mawayana is the only Arawakan language spoken in this Cariban enclave. Thus the youngest generations in Kwamalasamutu now speak Trio as their first and primary language. The Akuriyo in Kwamalasamutu no longer speak their former language which is genetically one of Trio’s closest relatives, but they are not considered to be ‘good’ speakers of Trio. In addition, both the Akuriyo and the Sikiiyana are perceived as being lower on the social scale and are not regarded as desirable marriage partners by the other groups in Kwamalasamutu.

The expansion of the number of Trio speakers in Kwamalasamutu through members of non-Trio second-language learners has had the effect of simplification of some aspects of Trio grammar, with the aim towards more transparency of grammatical forms, these are mentioned in the grammar where relevant. A further effect of the multi-ethnic composition of this Trio village is the seeming

shift of ethnic identity, that is to say, within the broader national context, the inhabitants of Kwamalasamutu, and in fact of all the Trio villages, refer to themselves as Trio, whereby most townspeople refer to all Amerindians undifferentiatedly as *Ingi* in Sranantongo, the lingua franca of Suriname, or as *Indiaan* in Dutch, which is the official language of Suriname. When one asks who the visitor to the Trio village is, however, the Trio answer about themselves or another as being *Parumapon* ‘a Palumeu person’, *Tëpupon* ‘a Tëpu person’, *Kwamarapon* ‘a Kwamala person’, or *Sipariwinipon* ‘a Sipaliwini person’, whereby *-pon* is the nominalized form of the locative postposition *-po* meaning ‘in, at’. It is generally only within the immediate village context that an ethnic distinction is made and felt, thus within Kwamalasamutu a person will generally be referred to by others by the name of his/her ethnic group, often with some joking or derogatory remark as to the characteristics of that group; it is unusual to be proffered information as to the ethnic identity of one’s interlocutor until one specifically asks for it.

Of the four main Trio villages in Suriname, Kwamalasamutu is the one where the most ‘development’ projects are located, among other reasons, because it is the home of the paramount chief, in Suriname referred to by the Sranantongo term *Granman*; there are presently two conservation agencies which run projects relating to traditional knowledge of plants and medicines; in addition, it has the most advanced health clinic of all the villages with several campaigns for the prevention of illnesses such as malaria and HIV. As a result, the people of Kwamalasamutu have the most contact with the outside world, that is, with the national authorities and with project workers. There has been a more or less functioning school in Kwamalasamutu for the last years – school education in all the villages of the interior of Suriname was interrupted during the war of the interior between 1986-1992. In accordance with the official educational policy in Suriname, the medium of instruction is Dutch, a language that the vast majority of children have little or no access to prior to entering school, in addition, over the last six years there has only been one permanent Creole teacher from Paramaribo who is a mother-tongue speaker of Dutch and Sranantongo, and a few teachers from town for shorter periods; the other teachers and assistants at the school are local Trio, most of whom do not speak fluent Dutch.

The village Tëpu, which is found on older maps as Përëru Tëpu ‘frog-rock’, at 3½ degrees latitude north and 55½ degrees longitude west is quite a traditional village made up of approximately 200 Trio, some thirty Akuriyo, and one or two unmarried Wayana, also a Cariban group. All the villagers only speak Trio now since the Akuriyo language died out there with the death of the last three fluent speakers in 1998 and 2001. Literally only a handful of Trio in Tëpu have a good knowledge of Sranantongo and/or Dutch. Contact with the outside world is quite

limited and often sporadic, since even for the conservation agencies, Tëpu is seen as auxiliary to Kwamalasamutu. Over the last years there has been quite a lot of political tension within the village leadership that has resulted in the village being neglected both internally and from the outside; the effect of the lack of sustained contact with the outside world is immediately tangible since the village leadership has not adapted its negotiation strategies to deal with either ‘development’ workers or with the authorities from Paramaribo, thus making the gap between the Amerindian and the outside world seem at times insuperable. The school in Tëpu which only functioned sporadically between 1986 and 2000 is now manned by local teachers or assistants, some of whom are being trained by the Margreet Kauffman Foundation in Palumeu; however, the teachers’ knowledge of Dutch is very limited, yet using Trio as the language of instruction is not a real option for the Trio since they equate learning with learning Dutch rather than with acquiring an education.

The village of Palumeu, in Trio named Paruma [pa:ɾuma] is located at the junction of the Tapanahoni [tapanani] and Palumeu rivers, at 3½ degrees latitude north and 55½ degrees longitude west. Palumeu is a mixed village of approximately 150 Trio and 150 Wayana; in the last years there has been a demographic rise in all of the Trio villages with the exception of Sipaliwini. Despite the fact that both Trio and Wayana live in Palumeu, there is almost no bilingualism here. This is not to say that there is no communication between the two ethnic groups, rather, many have a passive knowledge of each other’s languages and are able to compute phonological, syntactic, lexical and semantic correspondences between the two. In 1992 the semi-governmental agency Movement for Eco-Tourism Suriname (METS) built an tourist eco-resort just outside of the village, and took several Trio and Wayana into their employ as barmen, cooks and tourist guides.<sup>2</sup> Seeing the need for education in the village, this organization started building a school but a reshuffling of management staff took place and the plans for the school were put on hold. In 1998, the Margreet Kauffman Foundation was initiated by two Dutch educators who pledged themselves to setting up a school in Palumeu, which now is running successfully and where Dutch advanced students of education teach the Trio and Wayana and give training to the teachers and teaching assistants in Tëpu. The medium of instruction is Dutch; however, at the time of writing teaching materials are being developed in Trio as well and will hopefully be implemented in the not too distant future. While most of the villagers keep much to themselves whenever tourists are at the adjacent resort, the people from Palumeu have had more, and more sustained, exposure to outsiders

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2 The official Dutch title of the METS is Maatschappij tot Exploitatie van Toeristische verblijven in Suriname, NV.

than all the other villages. In addition, because of tourism there are regular flights to and from Paramaribo which offers the villagers more mobility if and when they can afford a stay in town.

There are also some few Trio living in the predominantly Wayana village Pîrëuimë (a.k.a. Pileowimë or Apetina) to the north of Palumeu at 3½ degrees latitude north and 55 degrees longitude west; according to my information there are three Trio families living there. In addition, there are approximately 20 people living more or less permanently at the bible camp at Kasikasima (see map), and since approximately 2000, at the instigation of one of the conservation groups, there have been two or three families living in the formerly abandoned village Alalapadu since the area is rich in Brazil nuts. A few Trio families have also been living for about the last ten years at Kuruni and Amatopo near the Guyanese border, where the Trio claim that their ancestors are buried; most of these families have relatives at Kwamalasamutu whom they visit regularly. The Surinamese Trio villages can only be reached by airplane, making travel to and from Paramaribo expensive and in many cases impossible. The Trio generally travel between the villages Tëpu and Palumeu, and between Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini by dug-out canoes powered by out-board motors. Travel between Kwamalasamutu and Tëpu and/or Palumeu is by plane, although in the past people have travelled by boat and on foot through the forest. All the villages are equipped with at least one radio by means of which they communicate both with each other and with Paramaribo, throughout the day.

## 1.2 Present day economy and subsistence

The Trio are agriculturalists who also hunt and gather in the forest. Since the Trio all live along river banks, fishing is also a major subsistence activity. The division of labour is along gender lines with mainly the women being responsible for the crops. The staple food is cassava, other crops being bananas, pineapples, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, eddoes, yams and maize. Calabashes, gourds, and cotton are also grown. Fields are cut and cleared by men, both sexes take part in the planting, and thereafter the fields are taken care of by the women. The reader is referred to Rivière (1969) for a detailed description of division of tasks according to gender and for Trio culture in general. Hunting and fishing are mainly carried out by men who often travel alone with their hunting dog, or sometimes just a man with his wife or sister, or they travel in small groups of two or three men. Small-scale fishing is practised by women. In the dry season (November-December), the Trio carry out the practice of river poisoning, by releasing *ineku*, a yellow-wooded liana sp. [*Lonchocarpus* sp. Leguminosae], into the rivers. The active principle of the liana *ineku* is rotenone which causes vaso-

constriction in the fish thereby suffocating them (cf. Plotkin 1993).<sup>3</sup> The fish thereby come to the surface of the water, and can be grabbed by hand.

The changes that have occurred since the villages became more accessible when airstrips were made are multifarious in nature. Nowadays several villagers are in the employ of the national government as Captains (village chiefs, referred to by the Dutch term *Kapitein* ‘captain’), deputies (*Bashas*), overseers (*Bestuursopzichter*, referred to as B.O.) and as such receive a monetary salary. The Trio officially have one *Granman* ‘paramount chief’ who ideally should be a spokesman for all the Trio; however, for the Trio each village is an autonomous unit with its own chiefs; so in effect, the granman generally only negotiates with the government on behalf of his own village, Kwamalasamutu; for an overview of the yet pervading political structure of the Trio, see Rivière (1971), and for an example of the national government’s lack of understanding of how society and politics of their Amerindians in general and Trio in particular work, see Carlin and Boven (2002:39-41). Since the schools, in those villages that have schools, were taken over by the national government from the *Medische Zending Suriname* (Medical Mission of Suriname) in the 1990s, teachers and teaching assistants also receive a salary from the government. The health centres (referred to as *Poli(kliniek)*) are also manned by local healthworkers who are trained and paid by the Medical Mission of Suriname. In addition, some villagers are employed by the conservation agencies. The introduction of paid work and monetary gains has had a major impact on village life since for both men and women the traditional means of providing for one’s family by hunting or by processing cassava for bread is restricted to those times when they are not working; as a result, since the mid 1990s goods such as fish, meat, and fruit that are hunted and harvested respectively are bought and sold for money. While there are a few shops in each village, these sell very little apart from toothpaste, soap, and washing powder, and supplies fluctuate according to the shop-keeper’s ability to receive these goods from Paramaribo. Furthermore, the prices asked in the villages are exorbitantly high, not only because the price of flying the goods to the villages is high, but also because the Trio have not yet become used to the value of money, or to calculating a fair price-cost relation. Notwithstanding the high prices that are concomitant with ‘foreign’ goods, the Trio have chosen to continue to use these goods and no longer desire to do without them. This attitude has clearly affected hunting and fishing patterns as well since people now use rifles to hunt with, and prefer fish-hooks to their traditional way of fishing with harpoons or fishtraps: however, not only have the means themselves been abandoned, but also the spe-

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3 During the preparation of *ineku*, it is stamped to a dry powder, the men who stamp it often complain of a temporary loss of their sense of taste.

cialized vocabulary that was used to refer to, for example, different kinds of fishtraps is also being lost, not to mention the skills that were necessary to make the different kinds of fishtraps; I have seen only two different types of fishtrap, namely *masowe* which is a long thin fishtrap, and *kamena* (also *kamina*),<sup>4</sup> a shorter, broader trap which was used to catch *aimara* a fish species, namely *Hoplias Aimara* or *Hoplias macropthalmus* of the Erythrinidae family.<sup>5</sup> As this new money-run economy flourishes, class differences are developing whereby those people who earn money both perceptibly (through their clothes and possessions) and factually have begun to form a middle class; they have more wealth and often it is these who pay to send their children to boarding schools in Paramaribo since they see this as an investment in their own and the child's future. However, many people do not have monetary income, and while they generally have enough to eat and to meet their basic necessities, they feel frustration at being denied the western goods that have become necessary to them. The 'elite' of Kwamalasamutu includes, besides the village leadership, a large number of ethnic Mawayana, who have strategic positions in the health centre, the school, and in the village leadership.

### 1.3 Classification of the language

Trio is a language of the Cariban language family.<sup>6</sup> To date there has been no accepted internal classification of the Cariban languages, so although the classification of Trio as Cariban is undisputed, it is unclear where exactly Trio stands within the family. From the few data that exist on Akuriyo it is clear that it was one of Trio's closest relatives, along with Carihona which is still spoken by some 30-40 people in Colombia. A comparison of phonological and morphological features of the three languages Trio, Akuriyo, and Carihona was carried out by Meira (2000). Since the various classifications of the Cariban family are dealt with critically in Gildea (1998), only a summary is given in the following, taking three classifications found below in Table 1.1. The classification by Girard in 1971 assigns Trio to group 7 named the Tiriyo group which contains ten other

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4 The only people I met who knew the word *kamena* (or *kamina*) were Mawayana and Tunayana who insisted that the Trio also use this word, however, I couldn't find a Trio who used it although older speakers did know what it meant. Many younger Trio speakers (±30) claimed never to have heard the word *masowe*.

5 Meira (1999: 702) mistakenly gives *aimara* as *Hoplias Malabaricus* Characidae (sic) which is *patakai* in Trio; in fact the two species, *aimara* and *patakai*, are very similar but eyes of the *aimara* are slightly larger than those of the *patakai*, and the stomach of the *aimara* is white while that of the *patakai* is not (cf. Boujard et al. 1997:69-70).

6 The Cariban family is said to have something between 39 and 60 languages, many of which are now extinct.

languages (Girard 1971:208-9).<sup>7</sup> Durbin's (1977) classification of the Carib languages is the one referred to most often in Cariban studies although it too clearly exhibits discrepancies that arise from the lack of sound language descriptions. In this classification, Durbin (1977) has Trio as a member of the subgroup East-West Guiana Carib of the Northern Cariban group. A later classification by Kaufman (1990) assigns Trio to the D branch of the D-E-F Guiana group with the subgrouping given in the third column of Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Some classifications of Trio

| Girard: Group 7 | Durbin: Northern Carib,<br>D: East-West Guiana Carib | Kaufman D-E-F Guiana<br>Branch D. Tiriyo group |
|-----------------|--|--|
| <i>Tiriyo</i>   | 1. Wayana-Aparai                                     | D1: Tiriyo subgroup                            |
| Kumayena        | 2. Roucouyenne                                       | Tiriyo   |
| Pauxi           | 3. Aracaju   | Akuriyo  |
| Pianakoto       | 4. Trio-Rangu  | D2: Karihona subgroup                          |
| Saluma          | 5. Wama (Akuriyo) (Surinam)                          | Hianakoto                                      |
| Tiriyometesem   | 6. Urukuyana   | Karihona                                       |
| Urukueña        | 7. Triometesem (Surinam)                             | D3: Salumá                                     |
| Wama            | 8. Kumayena (Surinam)                                | Salumá   |
| <i>Carijona</i> | 9. Pianakoto   |  |
| Guake           | 10. Saluma   |  |
| Hianakoto-Umawa | 11. Pauxi  |  |
|                 | 12. Cachuena   |  |
|                 | 13. Chikena  |  |
|                 | 14. Waiwai   |  |

Many of the names given in the classifications of the first two columns will be recognized below in the section on the history of the Trio. Many of the names of ethnic groups end in the suffix *-koto* (variously given in older sources as *-goto*

7 Girard includes in his classification the enigmatic language Saluma which in the literature has been called Saloema, Taroema, Taruma and several other variations of these; it is not clear but is generally assumed that Saluma and Taruma refer to the same language, and this language seems, in fact, to be an isolate. Girard, however, classifies Saluma as Cariban within the Trio group, taking his data from Käyser (1912); Käyser, however, recorded this short wordlist during the Corentyne expedition of 1910-11, according to his account, from one Saluma woman living among the Trio on the Sipaliwini, and comparison of this wordlist with Father Cary-Elwes' Taruma (Saluma?) wordlist recorded in Guyana in the 1920s, shows that the language Käyser recorded was not Taruma at all but perhaps a different Trio subgroup, or alternatively the woman in question had spoken Trio to him. That Käyser, however, was referring to the enigmatic Taruma (a.k.a. Saluma, etc. see Boomert (1977)) is plausible since he also makes reference to the fact that many of the more ornate or artistic artefacts that he was given by the Trio were manufactured by the Saluma, and we know from earlier reports such as Käyser (1912) and Schomburgk (1845) that the Saluma and the Trio were in contact. Likewise, the language that Father Ahlbrinck recorded in 1926, whereby he states that he wasn't sure whether it was Trio or Saluma, is quite clearly Trio.

or *-ghotto*), which is a Cariban collective suffix designating an ethnic group; others end in *-yana* (*-jana*, *-yenne*) which is found among many groups of different linguistic affiliation, Arawakan, Cariban, Tupian, and Tucanoan and has the same meaning. Some groups are found using both variants, for example, Aramakoto and Aramayana, both of which likely referred to one and the same group; see also De Goeje (1924).

#### 1.4 Variation within Trio

Two dialects are distinguishable in Trio, based on phonological alternations, namely an eastern and a western dialect which also runs through to the villages in Brazil. The difference between the dialects is in fact minimal, yet, since speakers identify with one or other of the dialects, the issue must be addressed. The main differences are the realization of the cluster *hk* and the plosive *p*. In the eastern villages of Tëpu and Palumeu *hk* is realized as [k] whereas in the western villages of Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini it is realized as [h], for example, *pa-hko* [pa:kɔ] versus [pa:hɔ] ‘father!, my father’. In Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini the plosive *p* is more often than not realized as the bilabial fricative [ɸ]; in part this has to do with the fact that a significant number of speakers are/were Waiwai-speaking, whereby Waiwai does not have a plosive *p*, rather, it has the voiceless bilabial fricative  $\phi$ .

In addition, those Trio who live more or less permanently in Brazil have loanwords from Portuguese, for example, for the days of the week, months of the year, and for numbers, whereas those living in Suriname use the Sranantongo and/or Dutch terminology for such temporal and numeric concepts; however, apart from these foreign concepts the differences between the Brazilian and Surinamese Trio are not many, although a younger speaker from Brazil is immediately recognizable by the degree to which he uses nasalization in his speech. With older speakers practically no difference can be heard.

More striking, however, is the difference between the language of the oldest and the younger generations. In Kwamalasamutu this difference is the starkest, a fact which is related to the number of second language learners where some simplification of grammatical forms has taken place; contrary to the general impression that all the Tunayana, Mawayana, and Sikiiyana speak fluent and perfect Trio, they do not, in some cases the more complex grammatical expressions in Trio have not been acquired by the older generations ( $\pm 40$  years) of these groups.<sup>8</sup> In Tëpu the difference between the language of the different generations

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8 This fact became painfully clear to me while conducting research on Mawayana through the medium of Trio. In fact, when I mentioned this to the English anthropologist Peter Rivière (pers. comm. 2003), who spent a long period in Alalapadu and Kwamalasamutu in the 1960s, he re-

is somewhat less stark although villagers often joked that I spoke Trio ‘like an old man’; initially I worked mainly with older informants. The Kwamalasamutu villagers often attribute complex linguistic forms that they themselves would not use to ‘those Aramayana’ in Tëpu, whereby ‘those Aramayana’ are descendants of the Aramayana, or any other group for that matter, who make up the Trio group but who are still more traditional in holding on to old customs and forms of speech. As stated above, the people of Tëpu are both linguistically and culturally somewhat more conservative, partly because they have had much less sustained exposure to outsiders than, for example, the inhabitants of Kwamalasamutu, and also because the village structure, though it has grown in size compared to what villages were in the pre-missionary period, has remained relatively small, thus retention to some degree of their former way of life has prevailed. The inter-generational differences lie in morpho-syntactic rather than phonological features, whereby some morphology has even been lost, for example, the older ventive imperative suffix *-mii* has since been replaced by a more transparent analytic construction with the imperative verb form *ohkë* ‘come!’; the two variants are given in (1.1a-b). The form in (1.1a) is still used by older speakers, and is understood by younger speakers in Tëpu and Palumeu but it is generally not understood by speakers under 45 in Kwamalasamutu.

(1.1)a    *ene-mii*  
           see-VENT  
           come look!

b            *ene oh-kë*  
           3.see.NF come-IMP  
           come look! (come to see)

Other instances of ‘younger people’s speech’ are the use of the complex form *iweike* [3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST], the instrumental-marked nominalized verb ‘be’ as a marker of a reason clause; in former times, and in the speech of older speakers, REASON was expressed by means of the instrumental *-ke* marked on a zero-nominalized verb form as shown in (1.2a), whereas nowadays, the form *iweike* is used in combination with a finite verb, as shown in (1.2b).

(1.2)a    *n-ë:s-ina-n*                      *anota-hpë-ke*  
           3↔-REFL-cry-PRES.NCERT    3POSS.fall.NOM-PST-INST  
           he is crying because he fell (because of his former falling)

b            *n-ë:s-ina-∅-n*                      *n-anota*                      *i-w-ei-ke*  
           3↔-REFL-cry-PRES.NCERT    3→-fall-I.PST            3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
           he is crying because he fell

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marked ‘they always spoke terrible Trio’.

According to older speakers such usage shows the general state of decay that has set in since the traditional way of life was abandoned; other comments that are frequently made by older speakers is that such linguistic distortions are indicative of the lack of maturity (which also includes wisdom) of the younger generations, and their lack of linguistic ‘taste’. A further disqualification of younger speakers into the world of wisdom and maturity, a world that is evident through how one speaks, is the fact that the former register of ceremonial dialogue that was necessary to survive and prove one’s worth, is no longer known nor understood by speakers under 45 (see below section 1.8). The frequent complaints of old people about the degeneration of younger people’s speech is not quite comparable to the complaints made by older people in any western society that is fast changing, rather, there is much more at stake here since according to Trio beliefs, the soul or the essence of the person is found in one’s speech, thus refined and ‘good’ linguistic behaviour is regarded as an indicator of the personality or character of the speaker.

### 1.5 The status of Trio today

The status of Trio within the national context is a very low one indeed. In Suriname, which was an English colony from 1650-1667 and a Dutch colony from 1667 till 1975, Dutch is the sole official language, even though this language is not spoken by the majority of the Maroon and Amerindian groups who live in the interior of the country (for a history of Suriname, see Buddingh’ 1999). In fact, nineteen languages are spoken in Suriname, one of which, Sranantongo, an English-based creole language functions within large sections of society as the *lingua franca*; some few Trio who have more contact with townspeople have acquired relative fluency in Sranantongo. In general, the Amerindian languages of Suriname, as well as their speakers, have an almost negligible position on the margins of this creole- and Hindustani-dominated society.<sup>9</sup> The medium of education in village schools is Dutch, even though many of the local teaching assistants do not fully master this language. Only a handful of outsiders have learned to speak Trio to some degree. When outsiders visit a Trio village, they are required to present themselves and their intentions in the village to the village leadership, and a Trio interpreter is used, even if a Captain speaks some Dutch or Sranantongo (see Carlin 1998a; Carlin and Boven 2002). In general the Trio prefer to learn Dutch rather than Sranantongo since the former is regarded as a pres-

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9 In Suriname, the word Hindustani (in Dutch *Hindoestanen*) refers to that section of the population whose forebears came from India to Suriname between 1873 and 1916 as contract labourers to work on the plantations after the abolition of slavery in 1863. Elsewhere in the Caribbean, this group is referred to by the name East Indian.

tige language. When they are in Paramaribo, most Amerindians are addressed in Sranantongo even though they may be more competent in Dutch.<sup>10</sup> Speaking Sranantongo rather than Dutch to an Amerindian is a reflection of the general opinion in the urban centres that Amerindians are less educated. The slight, whether intentional or not, does not go unnoticed by the Trio. Furthermore, as is evident from recent encounters with the judicial system in Suriname, Trio is not considered to be a language at all and Trio defendants are not regarded as eligible for an interpreter in court.<sup>11</sup> See also Carlin (2001) for an overview of language use patterns in Suriname over the last century.

## 1.6 Formation of the Trio nation

While it would perhaps be useful, as an overview, to start this section on the history of the Trio with a paragraph on the pre-history of the group, this is, alas, not possible because only few archaeological studies have been carried out in Suriname, and those that have been carried out have yielded more information on the peopling of the coastal area, down as far as Apura on the Corentyne and to the east along the Maroni River, than about the southern and central part of the country for which relatively little information has been forthcoming (see Versteeg and Bubberman 1992; Versteeg 1998). This lack of archaeological research in the Sipaliwini District has not only been because of lack of interest or funds but partly because of the huge size of the country that is only sparsely populated. In fact, petroglyphs have been found on the Sipaliwini savanna but unfortunately these cannot be dated. The general consensus among archaeologists, however, is that the peopling of Suriname has its origins in the south, in the general area of the Amazon River. In the late 1990s spectacular rock paintings were found by a Trio near the village Kwamalasamutu, consisting of roughly eight conjoined cave chambers, the walls and ceilings of which are covered in paintings; fortunately these and the many potsherds also found at the site should be able to be carbon-dated although, for various reasons, as yet they have not been but it is hoped that some archaeological work will be carried out there in the near future. According to the Trio there are several caves that house similar rock paintings in the Kwamalasamutu area, yet no-one has as yet followed up this report.

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10 Unlike the Trio, the related Cariban group Wayana who live on the Lawa River are more competent in Sranantongo than Dutch and they do not consider Sranantongo to be a low prestige language.

11 Reference is being made here to a recent court case where the Trio defendant, who did not speak any Dutch and only spoke broken Sranantongo, was not provided with an interpreter although the Brazilian witnesses for the case were provided with two Portuguese-speaking interpreters.

Given the lack of archaeological studies, this section must start with the immediate pre-colonial period and the sources consulted are those by the hands of Europeans. As a preliminary, however, it is necessary to dwell for a moment on the name Trio. As stated above, the name Trio (Tiriyó in Brazil) is used by governments, national societies, and researchers to refer to a seemingly homogeneous ethnic group in the southern rainforests of Suriname, and across the Brazilian border. However, the people themselves use the term *Tarëno* as their autonym; this name is made up of two morphemes, a locative demonstrative meaning ‘here’ and a nominalizer *-no* meaning ‘person (who)’, thus meaning ‘the people here’. This name, *Tarëno*, directly reflects the origin of this group of people as being made up of several different and largely autonomous Amerindian groups, some of whom were closely related and most of whom were closely interacting groups. Although it would be more correct to refer to the Trio throughout this book as the Trio groups, I am sticking to the term Trio since that is the name which the villagers in Palumeu, Tëpu, Kwamalasamutu, and Sipaliwini use to identify themselves when interacting with non-Trio. When using the Trio language, *Tarëno ijomi* [Trio 3POSS.language], people refer to themselves by the all-subsuming term *Tarëno*, yet when people ask to which Trio group a given person belongs, the answer will be one of a number of group names which make up the Trio group. Trio oral traditions likewise contain several references to different but related ethnic groups who lived together in a large village Samuwaka ‘big sand’ near the Kantani peak on the West Paru savanna grassland just across the border with Brazil (see map). Many of the groups that were stated to have lived in the village of Samuwaka are found again in Frikel (1957) who recognized that the term Trio is a generic term used to denote a conglomeration of Amerindian groups. He claimed that the Trio are made up of at least twelve subgroups whom he divides up into six peaceful and six ‘wild’ groups, ‘wild’ meaning either inaccessible or literally ‘wild’; he states: ‘Da bilden die wenigstens 6 Teilstämme oder Grosssippen das Volk der Trio. Dazu kommen noch die “wilden” Trio, mit denen wenig Verbindung besteht, die aber als zum Volksganzen gehörig anerkannt werden’ (Frikel 1957:514). In his publication of 1960, Frikel adds Kirikirikoto to the list of friendly groups. Frikel’s groups are given in an adapted form in Table 1.2. Among the ‘wild’ groups in Table 1.3, the Akuriyo and Wama were alternate names for the same group; likewise Tiriyometesem and Wayarikure were probably the same people, see also Carlin 1998a, Carlin and Boven (2002). The Pianoí are considered by Frikel to have been a ‘wild’ subgroup of the Aramayana, while the Kukuyana formed a subgroup of the Maraso (and Pijanakoto). An excellent ethnographic survey of the hundreds of Amerindian groups on the divide of the Guianese and Amazonian river systems has been written by Rivière (1963), to which the reader is referred.

Table 1.2: The Trio group after Friel (1957), I

| 'Friendly' subgroups     | Meaning of name                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Aramayana (Aramagoto)    | Sweat bee people                  |
| Aramicho (Aramiso)       | Pigeon people                     |
| Arimihoto (Arimiyana)    | Spider monkey people              |
| Maraso (Pijanakoto)      | Eagle people (Harpy eagle people) |
| Okomoyana (Maipuridjana) | Wasp people (Tapir people)        |
| Prouyana (Rangu)         | Arrow people                      |
| Kirikirikoto             | Green parrot people               |

The Trio oral traditions contain many of the same names and yet others, with explanations as to the identity of the groups. The late storyteller *par excellence* of the Trio, the former *pijai* 'shaman' Tëmenta Wehtaru, tells of the groups who lived in Samuwaka, which included the names given in Table 1.2 plus the Akijo, a group closely related to the Akuriyo, and the Waripi, another name for the Okomoyana. He explains that the term Pîrëujana (written by Friel as Prouyana) was a *mono eka* 'big name' just as the term Tarëno, that is, it was a cover term for several smaller related groups; he says:

'Ma senpo Tarënomene teese, Samuwakapo Tarënomene, nërë Pîrëujana eka. Mono eka serë Pîrëujana, tapîime teese Pîrëujana, Tîrîjoton, irëpo Tîrîjo nkan, irëpo Akîjo, Akîjonkërë. Tarëno apo nërë Akîjo.' (Keisi 1984:230, spelling adapted)

'Well, here at Samuwaka there were the Tarëno groups, the Tarëno groups, their name was Pîrëujana. This is an inclusive name, Pîrëujana, there were many Pîrëujana groups, Tîrîjo for example, there they called them Tîrîjo and Akîjo, and other Akîjo peoples. Those ones, the Akîjo are like the Tarëno'. (EBC: my translation)

He continues that the Akuriyo and the Okomoyana were friends, that another name for the Okomoyana was Waripi, and that all of these were fierce peoples. The Pîrëujana were friends with the Tîrîjo and the Aramayana who lived together, in contrast to the Okomoyana and the Akuriyo who were outsiders (to Samuwaka). In fact, for a long time, because they were not settled among the Trio, the Akuriyo and the Okomoyana acted as middlemen in the trade line from the coast.

Thus while the name Trio (Tîrîjo) would seem to refer to only one of the many groups that make up the present-day Trio, it is this name that is found in 1796 in a letter from a postholder F. Meyer to the governor, where he writes of 'a sort of Akolie called Trios' who had been warded off in an attack (cited in De Goeje 1943:340). However, we do have much earlier mentionings of several of the names given in Table 1.2. In 1596 Sir Walter Raleigh had dispatched two expeditions to search south of the Orinoco for alternative routes to El Dorado; it

was during the second of these that the expedition leader Leonard Berry chanced to meet an English explorer John Ley, on the Corentyne River which is the western border of Suriname, who had been charting the rivers and the inhabitants of (greater) Guyana up and down the coast from the Amazon to the Orinoco. Ley, who left but a manuscript which was studied by Lorimer (1994), does mention that he heard from the coastal groups about a group called Akuriyo living in the mountains who had ‘no haier on their heades They have their heades Endented quarterwise, before, behinde and on both sides’ (Lorimer 1994:207); see also Carlin and Boven (2002).

Table 1.3: The Trio group after Frikel (1957), II

| ‘Wild’ subgroups         | Meaning of name                        |
|--------------------------|--|
| Akuriyo =                | Agouti people                          |
| Wama                     | ?                                      |
| Tiriyometesen =          | (descriptive term: ‘ones as the Trio’) |
| Wayarikure (Oyarikulets) | ?                                      |
| Pianoí                   | ?                                      |
| Kukuyana                 | (bird sp.)                             |

Only a decade later in 1608 Unton Fisher was instructed by his expedition leader Robert Harcourt to investigate the upper regions of the Maroni River in the east (now the river that marks the border between Suriname and French Guiana). Fisher travelled to over four hundred kilometres up the Maroni River and recorded the various Amerindian groups he met there (see Harris 1928).<sup>12</sup> The villages he passed from the coast upstream, on a journey of eleven days, were inhabited by Kari’na, Yao and Paragoto, and four days further upstream he came upon yet another Kari’na village. It was there that he was told of ‘diuers mighty Nations of Indians, hauing holes through their eares, cheekes, nostrils, and nether lippes’ (Harris 1928:120) who lived a further six days journey upstream. Unfortunately we do not learn anything about these peoples, except that they were feared by the groups closer to the coast. The list of names that Fisher received is given in Table 1.4.

The second column in Table 1.4 gives the likely correlations between the groups from 1608 and groups that are mentioned from the nineteenth century onwards; in Fisher’s list, we can see that he noted down variants of names, for example, the Arameeso and Waremisso were likely the same people, as were the

<sup>12</sup> Harris (1928:163) points out that Purchas found the Fisher report among Harcourt’s documents but that he didn’t know who had written it; Harris claims on the basis of the care with which it is written and the detail found in it that it indeed in all likelihood was written by Fisher although it cannot be entirely ruled out that the author was the apothecary Humphrey Croxton. In addition, it seems that the Fisher report was only incompletely copied so that ethnographic details that most certainly were recorded were omitted.

Acawreanno and the Acooreo, cf. the modern name Akuriyo. Of the groups for whom we can suppose later correspondents, five, namely the Aramiso, Akuriyo, Pijanakoto, Kukuyana, and Kirikirikoto are found as those that in part make up the Trio group. Little is known about the activities or migrations of these groups for the remainder of the seventeenth century, apart from a report by two French Jesuits who met some Aramiso to the south of the Waki River in 1674. Indeed it is not until Antonio Caulín’s history of New Andalucia in the 1770s that we once again find the names Akuriyo and Kirikirikoto (written there as Kirikiriscótos), see Caulín (1966). Given the relative dearth of names in Caulín (he also mentions the Arinagótos, a group whose descendants are still found in present-day Guyana) we can assume that the term Akuriyo was used as a cover-term for all unknown or inaccessible Amerindians of the interior, just as it was in the time of Ley at the end of the sixteenth century, and just as it would be until at least the end of the nineteenth century – one exception here may be Stedman (1796) who mentions some quite feared Pijanakoto living in the interior. In expedition reports by Robert Schomburgk up the Corentyne in the west of Suriname in the middle of the nineteenth century we again find references to the Pijanakoto, and for the first time also to the Trio (found in Schomburgk 1845 as Drio), who according to him were a sister-tribe of the Pijanakoto.

Table 1.4: Fisher’s list of groups on the Maroni River in 1608

| Fisher        | 19 <sup>th</sup> –20 <sup>th</sup> century equivalent |
|---------------|---|
| Crawenna      |   |
| Pawmeanna     |   |
| Zuikenna      | Chikena, Sikīyana                                     |
| Peewattere    |   |
| Arameeso      | Aramiso   |
| Acawreanno    | Akuriyo   |
| Acooreo       | Akuriyo   |
| Tareepeeanna  | Taripiyana  |
| Corecorickado | Kirikirikoto  |
| Peeaucado     | Pijanakoto  |
| Cocoanno      | Kukuyana  |
| Itsura        |   |
| Waremisso     | Aramiso   |

What we learn from these older sources is that there was a distribution of the ancestors of the Trio throughout the southern and central regions of Suriname stretching from the Corentyne to the Maroni rivers. The formation of the Trio group as we know them today under the name Tarēno has in part to do with the contact with outsiders that occurred in the twentieth century, and also with the fact that both wars between Amerindian groups themselves and sickness had greatly affected the size of the groups, leading them ultimately to come together

at the mission posts that were established in the middle of the century. The following two sections deal with recorded contact with the Trio groups, first with contacts by expedition members, followed by a section on sustained contact with Christianity and modern-day life. Probably the first contact of the Trio groups with non-Amerindians was with Maroons whom the Trio refer to as *mekoro* [me:kɔɾɔ]; at the beginning of contact with Creoles from the coastal region, the Creoles were also referred to as *mekoro* because of their skin colour but nowadays, Creoles are referred to by the name *pananakiri* which in former days was used exclusively for white people. In principle the Trio world distinguishes *witoto*, *mekoro* and *pananakiri*, whereby *witoto* refers to any Amerindian, *mekoro* refers to a Maroon, and *pananakiri* refers to a townsperson regardless of skin colour. Further distinctions may be made within each category, for example, within the category *witoto* there are the *Wajanaton* ‘the Wayana’, *Akainaton* or *Galibiponton* ‘Kari’na’, and *Aruwakaton* ‘the Arawaks’. While *mekoro* still refers to a Maroon, as distinct from a Creole, it also refers to a black person, thus there is overlap between the categories *mekoro* and *pananakiri*, that is, a *pananakiri* can be either a *mekoro* or a *tikorojan* ‘white person’. A light-skinned Creole is referred to as *mekoro* followed by the diminutive marker *-pisi*, that is, *mekoropisi* ‘light-skinned Creole’.

### 1.7 History of contact

The first concrete and recorded meeting of a European with the Trio was by Robert Schomburgk who, in 1843, came upon a village of Trio near the head of the Kutari river. In fact, in the nineteenth century there are only two recorded encounters with the Trio, the one by Schomburgk in 1843, and one by the French explorer Jules Crevaux in 1878 along the East Paru River where he met some survivors of a smallpox epidemic. Both these explorers noted the goods trade that was being carried on between the Trio and the Maroons, thus contact between these groups was though irregular quite constant, presumably starting shortly after the onset of marronage in Suriname in the 1630s (for more on this trade, see below Languages for specific purposes).<sup>13</sup> The first ethnographic details, however, stem from Dutch explorers who carried out three expeditions in the early 1900s, namely the Tapanahoni expedition of 1905, the Tumuchumac expedition of 1907, and the Corentyne expedition of 1910-11 (see Franssen Herderschee 1905; De Goeje 1906, 1908; and Käyser 1912). These expeditions found the Trio living on the East and West Paru rivers, the Palumeu and Tapanah-

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<sup>13</sup> The generally accepted date among creolists for the start of marronage in Suriname is given as ca. 1660; a closer look at the sources, however, suggests that marronage probably began around the 1630s during the period of English rule (Arends 2002:116).

honi rivers, and in the Sipaliwini basin. After these in 1916, the American anthropologist William C. Farabee undertook a fieldtrip following the same route as Schomburgk in 1843. He found the Trio living in the same area where Schomburgk had found them. In 1928 a Brazilian expedition under General Rondon met with some Trio on the Marapi (for a more detailed description of early contacts with the Trio, see Rivière 1969). In 1940-2 the Surinamese creole Lodewijk Schmidt visited the entire area inhabited by the Trio, made a population census and recorded his findings in his well-known and invaluable *Verslag van drie reizen naar de Bovenlandsche Indianen* (Report of three journeys to the Indians of the Interior). It is assumed that the constitution of the Trio group as we know it today took shape around this period and probably up as far as the first half of the 1950s when an influenza epidemic hit the Trio region, and decimated in numbers, they joined forces. There followed the missionary phase described in the next section where descendants of the various groups mentioned in preceding sections came together at the missionary posts, calling themselves Tarëno ‘the people here’, relegating their former ethnic identities to be passed on orally from one generation to the next. If one asks someone in a Trio village who they are, that is, *akī ěmē* ‘who are you?’, they will invariably answer *Tarëno wī* ‘I am a Trio’, however, if one asks *akijana ěmē* ‘what tribe are you?’ one will receive an answer such as *Tarëno wī, pahko pīropī, manko Okomoyana* ‘I am a Trio, my father is Pīropī, my mother is Okomoyana’: Pīropī is a descriptive term, literally meaning ‘chest’, and its usage as an ethnonym is to designate those Trio living in the middle of the forest; according to informants, the Pīropī form the central kernel of the ‘pure, unmixed’ Trio. It is unknown how old this term is since it is not found in the literature at all until the middle of the 1950s; the Trio also say that the Brazilian Trio use this term to refer to the Surinamese Trio.<sup>14</sup>

Developments starting in the 1950s dramatically changed both the Trios’ way of life and their culture. In 1948, Protasio Frikel a Brazilian missionary entered the Trio area on the Brazilian side and over the following two decades made a study of their linguistic and ethnic affiliation, in preparation for the establishment of a mission post. In 1959, the Catholic mission post was set up after the Brazilian Air Force had made an airstrip near the upper reaches of the West Paru in Brazil; shortly after this a Franciscan mission was set up close by (Rivière 1969:14). In 1960 in Suriname, Operation Grasshopper, an initiative by the government authorities, got off the ground, its main purpose being to make areas of

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14 Many people who claim to be Pīropī, and/or Okomoyana, are in fact very light-skinned and also have a lighter colour of eyes than most Trio; the Trio often make jokes about their light skin colour and call them jokingly *buru* ‘Dutch planter’, *bakra* ‘Dutch person’ or *pananakiri* ‘white person, person from town’.

the interior accessible. This they did by cutting airstrips at strategic points. A year later an American Door-to-Life Gospel mission was set up at Palumeu, followed shortly after by a post which became the village Alalapadu in the Sipaliwini basin (Vernooij 1989:127ff). One of the most drastic changes to the Trio way of life was that the few mission posts acted as a magnet for the already weakened Trio with the result that villages were suddenly at least four times the size of a traditional village, which was inhabited on average by thirty people, and at most by fifty people.<sup>15</sup> Besides banning drinking and dance parties which were central to Trio culture, the missionaries also banned the practice of shamanism, replacing the indigenous notion of spirit body termed *wiripë*, which denoted an ambiguous and thus not inherently good or evil spirit, by Satan, thus an inherently evil spirit; nowadays it is nigh to impossible to express the notion of spirit without it immediately being understood as Satan. One major positive result of missionary contact was the demographic upturn that it facilitated, since each missionary post had medical facilities; in fact, nowadays, it is no longer unusual to find up to four generations living together. The first American missionary to work among the Trio, Claude Leavitt, had previously been evangelizing the Waiwai groups in the south of Guyana, and from the Waiwai he brought with him, as indigenous missionaries a few people from the Waiwai villages. These people settled first in Alalapadu and then in Kwamalasamutu and are referred to by the Trio there as Waiwai. These people, however, are ethnic Tunayana (and the related Katuena) and Mawayana although they do all speak Waiwai. The main church elder in Kwamalasamutu is a Tunayana, and it is mainly the Mawayana who man the health clinic.

With relatively easy accessibility to the villages since the cutting of the airstrips, two conservation agencies are active, namely Conservation International and the somewhat smaller-scale Amazon Conservation Team, and their employees travel to the villages of Kwamalasamutu and Tëpu quite regularly. Another form of sustained contact is found in the schools in Kwamalasamutu and Palumeu where teaching staff and assistants either from Paramaribo or from Holland are more or less permanently or at least continuously present thus ideally increasing the Trios' knowledge of Dutch; the effect, however, at least in Kwamalasamutu, is almost negligible, and very few Trio have to date mastered the Dutch language, although they so sincerely want to learn Dutch.

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15 When mention is made of large villages in the past, for example, Samuwaka, it is likely that this was seen as a continuous concatenation of relatively autonomous units along a river. As pointed out by Rivière (2000), for the Trio the notion of the more, the merrier is an idealized view that is projected onto their Samuwaka past as well as their present struggling to maintain the status quo in the present-day large settlements.

In addition, since late 2002, a semi-permanent military post has been set up in Kwamalasamutu, consisting of two soldiers from Paramaribo who are replaced by two others every month. The reason for suddenly setting up this post was reports from the Trio of Kwamalasamutu that Guyanese helicopters had been flying over the area, and since the border question between Suriname and Guyana has been flaring up with regularity over the last few years, these reports were taken as a serious threat to the sovereignty of Suriname. At present, approximately fourteen Trio recruits from the village are being trained as soldiers; the training mainly involves physical exercise, and when the military's finances have improved there will be shooting instruction. Anyone who has ever seen the average Trio shoot game will see the irony in this: the Trio are excellent marksmen, even under the most dire circumstances such as balancing on a canoe shooting upwards at an angle, aiming at an iguana on the side of a tree, that is invisible to the untrained eye, they seldom miss the mark. The language used between the soldiers from Paramaribo and the Trio recruits is Sranantongo for general communication, and Dutch for orders, even though most of the Trio speak neither language. The two Trio in this group of recruits who know both languages act as interpreters for the others.

#### 1.8 Languages for specific purposes I: ceremonial dialogue

Apart from the dialectal and generational differences given above, the Trio had in the past two or three different formal registers of language used for the specific purpose of introduction of a stranger to a village and for trade and barter.<sup>16</sup> These language registers were termed 'ceremonial dialogue' by the anthropologist Niels Fock (1963) who had encountered a similar phenomenon among the Waiwai of Guyana/Brazil. The distribution of such ceremonial dialogue throughout Amazonia is given in an appended list to Fock's (1963) monograph on the Waiwai. The dialogue in question can be characterized as a stylized, and for the most part formal, register of a given language that had to be learned. It constituted a kind of verbal duelling, the outcome of which could lead to war, peace, or death. Unfortunately, to date, relatively few descriptions of the dialogue have been forthcoming. All the more unfortunate since among most groups the practice of performing the dialogue is falling (or has already fallen) into disuse thus making it difficult to get recordings and sometimes even more difficult to find informants who can explain the stylistically deviant and semantically of-

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16 My sincere gratitude goes to Peter Rivière who has given me access to his recordings of the different forms of ceremonial dialogue. The present analysis is based both on these, on Peter Rivière's writings about the dialogue, and my own recordings from a few old men who performed the dialogue for me in the late 1990s.

ten opaque utterances. The loss of this domain-specific register of language goes hand in hand with a change in the social structure in which the dialogue was used, that is to say, its loss can be immediately correlated with an ongoing post-contact societal transition. While its demise may be mourned by those researchers interested in language and culture, its disappearance does bring certain (subjective) advantages for those who had to use it in the past. When the ceremonial dialogue was still in use it called for great skill and mental exertion, as well as an insightful world-knowledge on the part of its users. As far as it is possible to determine, the ceremonial dialogue as an institution among the Trio fell into disuse mainly as a result of contact with missionaries in the early 1960s when major changes occurred in Trio culture in general (for many aspects of Trio culture that were lost or changed as the result of missionary contact, see Rivière (1966, 1969, 1981a, 1981b)). In spite of the fact that ceremonial dialogue is no longer used by the Trio, I shall describe some aspects of it here for the simple reason that a lot of information about Trio culture and their dealings with both friends and outsiders can be gleaned from this institution, that is, although the stylized dialogue itself is no longer used, normal everyday language is used nowadays to express the same concerns and ideas encapsulated in the dialogue.

The contexts within which ceremonial dialogue was used were clearly defined, that is, one used it in order to introduce oneself as a guest or stranger in a village, to conduct trade, or to ask for a woman in marriage.<sup>17</sup> There were always two participants at a given time, a village elder and a visitor, trader, or a bridegroom to be. Thus, one of the participants was always from outside the village, and the dialogue, regardless of the reason for which it was used, involved negotiation by means of verbal duelling. The competitive nature of the dialogue is evident from the fact that it could have a major impact on the group's immediate future, that is, the fact that the outcome of the dialogue was uncertain and that it could be the cause of major disruptions or violence if the two participants were not satisfied at the end. Thus it is clear from the outset that if possible the outcome should not be violent but that that possibility was present. For the Trio, being verbally adept and persuasive is the sign of a strong character; it is essential for a village leader to be such a strong character, and his verbal powers of persuasion are often described as being *karime* which means physically strong on the one hand and verbally adept on the other. When a Trio leader is being praised for his verbal skills, people will say *karime ijomi* 'his language is strong' which is meant as a compliment of the highest order; however, when a government

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17 While I only deal with a few social aspects of the dialogue, the reader is referred to Rivière (1969; 1971) for more detailed accounts of how the dialogue fits into Trio culture in a wider context.

leader, for example, a minister, from Paramaribo is described thus, it is somewhat less a compliment and more a complaint that he is being difficult.

Being accepted into a village entailed persuading the village elders that one was not dangerous, that is, that one was not planning to curse anyone, and also that one was not carrying any infectious diseases and in general, that one did not harbour any bad-will against anyone in that village. Since a stranger was a potential killer, either intentionally through cursing or unintentionally through spreading an illness, and since the host village assumed the worst, it was up to the stranger to assuage the fear of his hosts. Hence the dialogue can be seen as a challenge, a test of one's persuasive skills by means of verbal acuity, a test one could pass or fail. The dialogue took place in the *anna* 'village square' where the visitor and the village elder sat beside each other but facing slightly away from each other. Each speaker took turns while the other responded. While the dialogue itself has now become obsolescent, the formality of presenting oneself to the village leadership on arrival in a Trio village is still adhered to. The content of the meeting is much the same as that of former times, that is, the visitor is expected to state clearly his intentions in the village and is asked, directly or indirectly, about any ulterior motives he might have, and about his health, cf. Carlin (1998b). Leaving aside the formal aspects of the dialogue, if one compares the content of the ceremonial texts from former times with the introductory meetings that I had (and witnessed other people having) with the village leadership of Tëpu and Kwamalasamutu, one can see that the Trios' perception of the precarious situation they are forced into every time a stranger enters a village has remained stable over time, see Table 1.5.

Table 1.5: Content of the Dialogue

| Dialogue: pre-1960s   | Present  |
|---|--|
| introduction by visitor   | welcome by leadership  |
| assertion by visitor:<br>alone, has not met anyone on the way, not hostile, in good health. <sup>18</sup> | questions by leadership:<br>are you alone?; do you intend to wage war?; have you got a cold? |
| acceptance and closure  | acceptance and closure   |

The comparison given in Table 1.5 shows that the content of the encounters is the same whereby in former times it was the visitor who issued information first and nowadays the exchange is led by the village leadership.

The other context in which the dialogue was used was that of trade. Trading with and among the Trio took place between established trading partners, termed *-pawana* (which is always marked for a possessor), who often did not see

18 Note that a similar feature is found in the Ndjuka-Trio pidgin, described below, when traders arrived in the village, in opening statements such as *sikisiki silowa* 'I am not sick'.

each other for a year or sometimes longer. The dialogue relating to trade was generally only used either when the price of an object was too high, or when one of the partners wanted some item that perhaps the other did not want to sell, a case that called for great verbal powers of persuasion on the part of the prospective buyer. For the Trio *pawana wehto* ‘being a friend, trading partner’ is something of an institution which the Trio take very seriously, and the canons of which should not be violated. The Trio have great trust in their friendship ties, in fact, it is something of an honour to have someone say *jipawana ëmë* ‘you are my friend’, though it is an expensive honour since the reciprocal nature of this institution obliges one to help one’s friends when asked. That the *pawana wehto* ‘being a friend, trading partner’ is a highly-held institution that brings with it certain obligations of reciprocity is evident from a distinction that is made between being, for example, *ji-pawana* [1POSS-friend] ‘my friend’ and *ji-pawana-me* [1POSS-friend-FACS] ‘my friend’, literally ‘my friend but not officially so’; the addition of the facsimile marker *-me* excludes (or relieves) one of the obligations involved, that is, one is indeed (as) a friend but the friendship has not yet been institutionalized (for the characteristics of the facsimile marker *-me*, see sections 4.8.50ff.

### 1.8.1 The form of the dialogue

In this section I present some examples of the different dialogue registers.<sup>19</sup> There were basically three types of ceremonial dialogue, that differed not only in terms of formality and ‘strength’ but also in terms of the likely outcome of the dialogue (see Rivière 1971).<sup>20</sup> What all the registers have in common is that two interlocutors, henceforth speaker and responder, take turns in speaking. A turn may take up to ten minutes after which the roles are reversed. The turn itself is made up of a series of short statements of maximally nine syllables whereby the responder makes an utterance after each statement, the utterance generally has the form of an acknowledgement. In addition, all the forms of dialogue are highly rhythmical, with the stronger types being chanted or almost sung rather than spoken. The weakest form was not competitive but was used among friends or within the family, for example, when someone returned after a long absence, or before going on a journey, thus it was a type of dialogue that was less formal than the others — some linguistic comments on the Trio terms for the dialogue are given in an intermezzo at the end of this section.

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19 Although the dialogue is no longer used, I am presenting most of this discussion in the historical present here.

20 For a macro- and micro-level analysis of the ceremonial dialogue, see Carlin (1998b).

The least formal register can involve two or more participants, male or female who are related or acquainted.<sup>21</sup> This dialogue can be carried out sitting or standing. It is mainly used to tell people of one's immediate plans or to relate something out of the ordinary that one has done, or it is used between people who have not been in contact with each other for a while. It is characterized by the fast speed at which it takes place and by the fact that the responder, unlike in the other registers, either repeats half the speaker's statement as his response, or he responds with *irë\_rë* [DP.INAN.ANA\_ASSERT] 'that's it, exactly that' or *nna* which was an old demonstrative pronoun meaning 'that's it, that's all'. The contents of this register are transparent, unlike the more formal registers, making statements such as 'I'm going far, I'm going to meet people'; in addition, there seems to be no prescribed final element in the speaker's statements. A short example of the least formal dialogue is given in (1.3), where S stands for speaker and R for responder.

|       |   |   |   |   |
|-------|---|---|---|---|
| (1.3) | S | tīwarë kīwehkonke<br>we are warned        | R | tīwarë<br>warned                        |
|       | S | ma wateeseken<br>well, (they're all) dead | R | irë_rë<br>exactly                       |
|       | S | senpoken weine<br>I am only here          | R | mm<br>mm                                |
|       | S | ëwë këpohkë<br>here I am (accept me)      | R | irë_rë<br>exactly                       |
|       | S | senpoken weine<br>I am only here          | R | irë_rë<br>exactly                       |
|       | S | senpo kītati<br>we are here               | R | nna<br>that's it                        |
|       | S | ineposewa wae<br>I didn't meet anyone     | R | ineposewa weine<br>I didn't meet anyone |

The strongest form of the dialogue, which is called interchangeably *no kato* 'no speech' and *taame kato*, 'taame speech' likewise consists of a series of statements in short lines of not more than nine syllables, and after a few initial lines, the line ends with one of the following words: *kara*, *taame*, *tëme*, or *karahke*. As pointed out by Rivière (1971:299), these words may not have a meaning at all but are used for rhythmic purposes. The dialogue consists of three phases, an introductory phase, in which the visitor states that he is alone and well-disposed

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21 Since I did not witness this type of ceremonial dialogue being performed myself, I am relying on Rivière (1969, 1971) for the background information, and on my own analysis of Rivière's recordings.

towards the village, a negotiation phase, in which the visitor states his intentions, and a closing phase where if the negotiations have been successful the village elder will welcome the stranger to the village. Only the first of these phases is spoken, from the negotiation phase onwards the dialogue acquires a melodic contour and is performed in an almost singing voice. Unlike the informal dialogue, the stronger types are mostly used by older men, who sit on stools facing slightly away from each other. Rivière (1971:299) states that a man and woman can use this form but not women among themselves. The responder replies with a low murmuring grunt, represented in the example in (1.4) as *mm*. The language used for *no kato* is archaic and stylized, and semantically opaque; both older and younger informants who were able to help me transcribe some dialogue could produce the words but generally not their meaning. One example is the occurrence of older forms of the verb ‘be’ *sekee* and *sekeine* ‘I am’ and ‘I was’ respectively, that are used alongside the present-day form *wae* ‘I am’. Furthermore, neither personal nor place names occur in the dialogue, reference only ever being made to these by means of pronouns or locative demonstrative pronouns. An extract from the *no kato*, with a free English translation, as performed for me by Ęmupirihpë (E) and Kësëhpë (K) from Kwamalasamutu in 1998 is given in (1.4).

|       |   |  |   |    |
|-------|---|--|---|----|
| (1.4) | K | sejiweime<br>here I am                                 | E | mm |
|       | K | jurakanunmunme<br>I am travelling around               |   |    |
|       | K | ëporinme wija<br>I have found you                      | E | mm |
|       | K | ee wirëkene kara<br>yes, there’s only me (no-one else) | E | mm |
|       | K | nnakene karahke<br>that’s all (no-one else)            | E | mm |
|       | K | nnakene taame<br>that’s all                            | E | mm |
|       | K | wikahkeneirë kara<br>I say to you                      | E | mm |
|       | K | sejiweime kara<br>here I am                            | E | mm |
|       | K | ëporinme wija kara<br>I have found you                 | E | mm |
|       | K | ee wirëkene kara<br>yes, there’s only me               | E | mm |

The slightly weaker form of *no kato*, though also highly competitive, is also used by younger men and is also known by some women. The final word of the line, such as *kara* given in (1.4) above, is not required in this form although it may occur. The responder often replies with a murmur or with *irërë* ‘exactly (that’s it)’. Example (1.5) below gives an example of a dialogue that occurred when one of the trading partners, here the speaker, was dissatisfied with the payment he received for a hunting dog. The final word that occurs in this extract is *tërëi*; the responder (R) was silent for most of the speaker’s turn here. It is interesting here to note the word *iwakararahpë* ‘intestines’ in the ante-penultimate line; this word is a manipulated form of the more usual *iwakaririhpë* found in the last line, thus one might conclude that as dialogue strategies not only were names avoided, as pointed out above, but also that some, perhaps taboo words were purposely manipulated to avoid using that actual word. See also below for name avoidance strategies in modern Trio.

- (1.5) S irëme manae sekei tërëi  
so that's what you are like
- S tëkintëenpepa wīkae ëja tërëi R mmm  
I don't want to provide you with any more dogs
- S ma ëwë hkatënekene tërëi  
I'll think about it
- S irë-me sekei kaikui inrepentëewa manae  
(you're like that) you haven't paid for my hunting dog
- S ëkintëewapa wae tërëi  
I'm not going to provide you with any more hunting dogs
- S inapësewankërëpa manae tërëi  
you are not going to take any more
- S mami iwakararahpë apon kaken  
like with trumpeter bird's intestines
- S kaikui mirepentëne tërëi  
you paid for my dog
- S kepëewa mami iwakaririhpë apono kaken  
but what you gave me was like the trumpeter bird's intestines

### 1.8.2 Intermezzo: Notes on the names of the dialogue

In his article on ceremonial dialogue among the Trio, Rivière (1971) distinguished three forms of the dialogue according to the ‘strength’ or ‘force’ of the dialogue, namely *nokato*, *sipësipëman*, and *tesëmiken*, the first two of which he subsumed under the term *turakane*. It is worth dwelling on these terms for the

moment, and finally looking at the word *turakane* which is the modern Trio word for ‘tourist, traveller’. In the mid 1990s when I started my fieldwork among the Trio, the terms *nokato* and *sipēsipēman* were known to older speakers over sixty years of age; the term *tesēmiken*, as given by Rivière, was not known to them in this context. The word *tesēmiken* probably should be *teesemiken* which would mean ‘a candidate for being continually’ but this only seems to be half of the expression since if this word is correct then it should have a qualifying noun preceding it, that is, ‘a candidate for being continually X’. Unfortunately it is unlikely that we will find the full expression now since speakers cannot think of what it might have been. There is, however, no doubt that a distinction did exist between this form of dialogue and the others, its form and structure is clearly different from the stronger forms; Rivière (1971:298-299) gives some examples of when it was used.

The term *nokato* is made up of two parts, namely the noun *no* and the nominalized form of the verb *ka* ‘say’ with the meaning ‘no saying’ or as a genre perhaps ‘no speech’ as it is termed by Rivière (1971). That *no* is a noun is evidenced by its ability to be possessed, and by the fact that it cannot be cliticized by the verbal plural clitic *\_to*; the meaning of *no* is somewhat difficult to translate well but means something like ‘assertive speech’, and is still found today in expressions such as *no kakē* [*no say.IMP*] meaning ‘be assertive!’ or ‘put your foot down!’ According to my informants, *taame kato* ‘*taame* saying’ was practically synonymous with *no kato*; I have not been able to discover a meaning for the word *taame* but as stated above, in the dialogue it is repeated at the end of each line (other line closures are *kara* and *tērei* and *tēme*, for which I have no meaning). Like the word *no*, *taame* is nominal in that can take a possessor. The term *sipēsipēman* seems to be a cover term for the *no kato* and the *taame kato*, but again, only one old informant recognized this term, and great was his delight in the fact that I had heard of it; I deduce from this fact that it had not been used for a very long time. Rivière (1971) subsumes the terms *no kato* and *sipēsipēman* under the term *turakane*. In the sections on ceremonial dialogue in his 1969 monograph, Rivière does not mention the term *turakane*, rather, it appears in his 1971 article where he states that it is derived from the verb *ēturuka* ‘talk business, do barter’ (Rivière 1971:299) which expresses the notion of negotiate, with the idea of negotiation being crucial to the ceremonial dialogue. However, although semantically this would be neat, this etymology is unlikely since the Trio verb with this meaning does not have a final syllable *ka*, rather the verb is *ēturu*, which is the reflexive form of the underlying verb *uru* ‘talk, tell’, a verb which is also found in every-day spoken Trio, where it is often used in the sense of talking to someone to arrange something, or at least with the implication of a reciprocal exchange. In addition, in order to derive *turakane* from this verb one would

have to motivate the change of the second vowel from *u* to *a*; thirdly, although the final *-ne* in *turakane* looks like the nominalizer of person ‘someone who Xes’, it would be impossible here since that nominalizer can only be suffixed to transitive verbs, the correct grammatical form would be *ēturu-ke* ‘someone who does barter’, that is, with the nominalizer *-ke* for one-argument verbs. In modern Trio the word *turakane* is translated as ‘tourist, traveller’ and is taken by other researchers and apparently also by the Trio to be a derivative of the intransitive verbs *urakana* and *urakanu(mu)* both of which mean ‘stroll around, go for a walk’; Meira (1999:797) likewise gives the derivation of *turakane* as being from this verb.

However, it would seem that what has happened here is that two different etymologies have become confused or fused, and I would like to show that the probable origin of this word is in fact *tora kane* [ideophone.arrive sayer] ‘a person who says “I’ve arrived”’ and that it is directly related to the ceremonial dialogue. According to Meira’s analysis found implicitly in the dictionary entry *turakane*, the form *turakane* is structurally comparable to the form *t-ee-se* [coreference-be-nonfinite] ‘was’ which is the non-witnessed past form of the verb ‘be’; the final element *ne* he seems to understand to be the non-finite marker thus *turakane* should mean ‘he travelled, strolled around’. In order to analyze this final *ne* as a non-finite marker, one would have to explain why the final syllable of the verb root *urakana* ‘travel, stroll’ is dropped (admittedly this would not be the greatest problem since it may be a verbalizing suffix anyway). However, the problem lies elsewhere: Meira adds that this form *turakane* takes the nominalizer *-mī* which in his analysis is a ‘potential Subject’ nominalizer, and in my analysis, a candidate nominalizer with the verb then meaning ‘a candidate for travelling, strolling around, someone about to go travelling’. This nominalizer *-mī*, which is generally only found in its full form if further morphology occurs and which word-finally reduces to *-n* can only be suffixed to a verb that is already marked with the non-finite marker which is *-se* (allomorphs *-e*, *-je*, in a very few cases *-ne*). The actual form that occurs with the meaning ‘a candidate for travelling, strolling around’ is in fact quite predictably *t-urakana-e-n* or *t-urakana-e-mī-npē* [COREF-stroll-NF-C.NOM-PST] whereby in the latter the nominalizer *-mī* is followed by the nominal past suffix meaning ‘a former candidate for travelling around’ or ‘someone who was going to go travelling’. Thus on structural grounds Meira’s analysis of this word will not work here. The reason for claiming that the term comes from the expression *tora kane* ‘a *tora* sayer’ or ‘a person who says “I’ve arrived”’ is that in former times the traveller entering the village had to speak first to an elder, to say that he had arrived in the village and to explain his intentions, in fact, the *no kato* and *taame kato* both begin with a statement such as *ma ēwē këpohkë* [literally ‘find me!’] ‘I have arrived (at your

village)'. I claim that it was the minimal difference between the two first vowels of the two expressions, namely *u* and *o*, that facilitated the reshaping of the term *tora kane*, which in its original meaning had become as obsolescent as the institution of ceremonial dialogue itself whence it rose, to form a word that was almost identical formally and already a derivative semantically, that is, he who travels necessarily arrives. As shown above in Table 1.5, with the ceremonial dialogue it was the visitor who started the proceedings rather than the procedure nowadays which requires the village leadership to initiate talks. Thus it is not surprising, but very interesting that Meira (1999:797) quotes a speaker using the form *turakanemi* 'visitor(s)' which, unless there were a reanalysis of the final syllable *ne* as a non-finite marker, would be ungrammatical.

### 1.9 Languages for specific purposes II: Trio-Ndyuka pidgin

During the period of plantation slavery in coastal Suriname, there were several groups of slaves who escaped from the plantations and fled to the forest interior of Suriname, establishing communities there along the river banks. From the early days of marronage these escaped slaves, or Maroons, had contact with Amerindian groups; indeed along the Coppename River around 1660 the Maroons intermarried with Kari'na (Caribs) which resulted in a community of mixed race referred to as Karboegers or Muraato (Smith 2002). While not all Maroon groups intermarried with Amerindians, trade links were set up between the Maroons and various Amerindian groups, and in order to facilitate trade, the participants developed what became a stable pidgin language, that existed for about two hundred years until the 1990s, although it actually fell into disuse among trading parties when younger Amerindians and Maroons (and Creoles) had more contact and began using the lingua franca Sranantongo.<sup>22</sup> When the French explorer Jules Crevaux met the Trio in 1878 during a smallpox epidemic, he was addressed by a Trio woman in the pidgin, she said 'Panakiri ouani oua, a la pikiniialele, nono poti. Echimeu ouaca, cassava mia oua' which translates as 'we don't want whitemen, all the children are dead, put in the ground; leave quickly, don't stay to eat cassava!' (Crevaux 1883:275). The fact that the Trio

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22 Thoden van Velzen and Van Wetering (1988:11) state that the Ndyuka began to move to the Tapanahoni River shortly after 1760. By 1790 the migration had been completed. We know from the oral traditions that those Amerindian groups, such as the Akuriyo, and Okomoyana, and probably also the Aramayana were middlemen in bringing trade goods from the coast to south of the present-day Trio settlements, namely to the village of Samuwaka. At the time of Schomburgk's expedition to the interior of Guyana in 1843, the Trio had already long established contacts with their Maroon trading partners and considered themselves to be 'matties' or friends of the Maroons.

woman used the pidgin at all in this context lends support to Huttar and Velantie's (1997:103) claim that the pidgin was also used for general conversation and not just for trade. Other authors who have written on this pidgin are de Goeje (1906, 1908), Huttar (1982), and Huttar and Velantie (1997). Indeed in 2001, after I had recorded several different older speakers acting out a trade scene using the pidgin three years beforehand (see Carlin and Boven 2002:25-26), I witnessed an old Trio man (80+) in Paramaribo, who still mastered this language, use it in conversation with a Ndyuka Maroon of a comparable age. The Trio referred to this pidgin as *mekoro ijomi*, literally Maroons' language. Maroons, and thus all black people, were referred to as *mekoro* [me:kɔɾɔ] in Trio. Older people still refer to Sranantongo as *mekoro ijomi* while younger people say *Sranan ijomi*, which is a literal translation of the compound Sranantongo.

While the Trio-Ndyuka trade pidgin is made up of elements from the creole language Ndyuka, as well as elements from Kari'na and probably Wayana (also a Cariban language), two languages that share much of their lexicon and grammatical elements with Trio, I shall look here at the specifically Trio elements. Most verbs in the pidgin are from the creole language Ndyuka, *waka* 'go', *kon* 'come', *suku* 'look for' etc. as are the pronouns *pumi* 'I, my' and *piyu* 'you, your'; most nouns are from Trio or another Cariban source.<sup>23</sup> Adverbs and adjectives are from the creole, ultimately from a European source, and are found in the pidgin marked with the facsimile marker *-me* (see sections 4.8.5ff.), for example, *moime* 'nice, good' from the Dutch *mooi* 'nice, beautiful'; *esime* 'quickly' ultimately from the English 'haste'. Negation is marked by means of the Trio negative suffix *-wa*, for example, *pumi waka-wa* 'I am not going, leaving', *sikisiki silo-wa* 'I am not sick'; negation may, however, be double marked since the creole pre-verbal *no* is sometimes found preceding the verb marked with *-wa*, as in *nónó pumi no kodi-wa* 'no, I am not lying' (the verb *kodi* is probably from dialectal English 'cod', as in 'I'm not coddling you, I'm not kidding you'. The pidgin has many features in common with the ceremonial dialogue, although it seems that it was the Trio who state the arrival of the visitor as shown in (1.6). At the beginning of the trading dialogue the visitor must state that he is in good health, as shown in (1.7a-c) where three variations are given, with the verb *kon* 'come' in (1.7b) and the verb *silo* 'be' in (1.7c). That the Trio are friends of their Maroon traders is stressed to show from the outset that the parties are well-disposed towards each other; in (1.8) the Trio uses two words, the creole *matti* and the pidgin *awana* both meaning 'friend'. With these preliminaries over, trading can begin, as shown in (1.9a-b) where in (1.9a) the Maroon wants a hunting

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23 The plosive *p* in Trio is often realized as a bilabial fricative [ɸ], for the second person pronoun both [piyu] and [ɸiyu] are found in my small corpus.

dog (the Trio are to this day renowned for the quality training of their hunting dogs) and in (1.9b) the Trio gives a list of his needs. The examples in (1.6), (1.8) and (1.9) are an extract from the pidgin as I recorded it from Tëmenta in Tëpu in 1999 (a slightly longer version can be found in Carlin (2002:25-26); the examples in (1.7a-c) were given to me by Ęmupirihpë and Kësëhpë from Kwamalalahamutu in 1998.

- (1.6)      so piyu kon matti  
              so you have arrived, friend
- (1.7)a      nónó sikisikiwa  
              no, (I'm) not sick
- b            nónó sikisiki konwa  
              no, I haven't come (in state of) sickness
- c            nónó sikisiki silowa  
              no, (I'm) not sick
- (1.8)      so sama so piyu, hee awana, matti, awana, pumi matti so pumi so luku  
              so what do you want, friend, friend, friend, my friend I want to see  
              (what you have)
- (1.9)a      pumi kaikusi pumi suku pumi waka ... pumi kon ... pumi so teke  
              pumi se teke  
              I am looking for a hunting dog, I'm looking (travelling looking), I  
              have come, I want to take my hunting dog
- b            so hehe, pumi wani mariya, mm, epimushu, mm soutu, mm sipara  
              so yes, I want a knife, red cloth (for kamisa), salt, a machete

## 1.10 Cultural aspects of language usage

In this section I describe two aspects of Trio culture that are vital for an understanding of language usage. One aspect is name avoidance, whereby people generally avoid using another person's name, or if they must use it, it is produced in a low whisper. Another aspect is about how a successful life is only possible through harmony with all elements in one's environment, both the visible and the invisible, and how the Trios' conceptualization of the world(s) in which they live is expressed in certain grammatical categories. These aspects are dealt with in turn below.

### 1.10.1 What's in a name?

In explaining problems that arose while collecting data for Trio genealogies in the early 1960s, Rivière (1969:290) writes the following: 'The Trio do not use names in direct address, and try to avoid doing so in reference'. The Trio term

for ‘name’ is *eka* (<*ëka*). This word is treated as an animate entity, for example, the question *akī ëeka* ‘what’s your name?’ is formed by means of the animate question word *akī* ‘who?’. The concept *eka* is regarded as part of the person as a human being, and as such is on a par with a person’s *amore* (< *omore*) ‘soul’. Knowing and using a person’s name can be a powerful weapon.<sup>24</sup> In former times, many children were not given a name until they were six months or even a year old, one reason being that children were not yet fully formed human beings, see Rivière (1969) for restrictions on a child’s father’s movements after its birth as a means of protection of the child’s soul. Nowadays, since a birth has to be registered in the health clinic, a name is given within a matter of days, or else a Christian (or western) name is given within a few days but the Trio name(s) is often deferred until a few months later. The decision of which name to give is difficult to ascertain; some names are clearly descriptive, for example, *Tīpanae*, which literally means ‘having a heightened sense of hearing’; many names end in the nominal past tense marker *-hpë*, such as *Kësëhpë* or *Ëmupirihpë*; yet others have names of animals, for example, *Kapai* ‘armadillo’, or *Okoi*, a name which is clearly a manipulated form of the word *ëkëi* ‘snake’.<sup>25</sup> The son of one shaman gave his children the names of spirits. At the same time one has to be careful about always wanting to assign a meaning to a name since foreign names are often adapted to Trio phonology, for example, the name of a child in *Tëpu*, *Ehpënë*, looks like a perfectly good Trio name and one might even like to speculate that it ends in the nominalizer *-në*, however, it is the Trio-ized version of my own Irish name. To my knowledge there is no gender distinction in Trio names. Nor does there seem to be a limited stock of names that can be used. The use of nicknames is also common among the Trio; these are often names that are phonologically similar to a word in the language, for example, *Kuikui* is a name given to a man who was reputed to be a good hunter, and it is very similar to *kai-kui* ‘dog, jaguar’; other nicknames seem to be made up, for example, *Tiko*, *Bat*(man).

Among most Trio, using a person’s name, whether in their absence or presence, is avoided, and sometimes people will go to great lengths to refer to someone without using their name or without making it too obvious to whom he/she is

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24 Name avoidance is common among Cariban groups. According to anthropologist Audrey Butt Colson (pers. comm. 6-6-03), who worked extensively among the Akawaio in Guyana: “The Akawaio feel that to know a person by name means that power can be exerted over that person – by an enemy. Invocations are built on ‘naming’ forces of nature (animals, birds, climatic phenomena, mythical heroes etc.) and thereby their essential qualities are annexed and put to use (to cure, to kill, to obtain success in hunting etc.)”

25 The man called *Okoi* is actually a *Sikīyana* who was a powerful shaman. The Trio maintain that his name was certainly well chosen.

referring, as I show below. This avoidance of names only minimally applies in the same way to Christian (western-type) names as it does to indigenous names, that is, it is not seen as a major social *faux pas* to say someone's Christian name, although the voice is always lowered if the person is absent. Every Trio has at least two Trio names, which people do know, yet generally Trio both refer to and address each other by means of kinship terms, a fact which makes it very difficult for outsiders to actually learn people's names; since the establishment of the health clinics in the villages, giving one's name to another has become more common since all visits to the clinic are recorded. In addition, at least in Kwamalasamutu since that village is so big and spread out, summoning people, that is, calling names over the village megaphone is a daily occurrence, also since a list of those patients who have tested positive for malaria is announced every afternoon; likewise when, for example, a search party is being organized the names of the participants are read out on the megaphone. It is possible that as this practice continues, the taboo sphere surrounding the articulation of someone else's name may disappear.

Thus in addition to their Trio names, many people have a western (Christian) name, and a nickname. Nicknames tend to start within peer groups but can spread so that the whole village will know a person's nickname too. The use of having a western name is that one does not have to fear when it is continually used by outsiders, one man I know who has an official function in one of the villages simply changed his name so that he would not be referred to by foreigners by his real name; his family needless to say continue to use his Trio name, but never fail to use his 'new' name when talking about him to outsiders. One of the first questions a Trio ask an outsider is *akī ěeka* 'what's your name?'. If one asks a Trio the same question, which one is expected to do, they state their name with a low voice; to reply to this question with *ekanna wae* 'I am without a name' is considered to be extremely rude.

So how do people avoid names? There are basically four means employed to avoid using someone's name, namely those given in (1.10a-d).

- (1.10) Name avoidance strategies
- a use kinship term
  - b use of teknonyms
  - c phonological processes: syllable elision, addition of a consonant
  - d descriptive process: personal traits, simile

The use of a kinship term is the simplest way of avoiding a person's name, and often entire genealogies are used to refer to a person, a milder example is, *Siihpi ipapa iwēi injonpē* 'Siihpi's father's older sister's deceased husband'; when addressing someone, one uses the appropriate term according to the age of that a

person, thus a woman can be addressed by an older man as *jiwëri* ‘younger sister’, as *wëi* ‘older sister’ by a younger man etc. There are also two terms of address that women use for other women of the same age group or that men use for their male peers, namely *kori* and *jako*, respectively.

Since the name taboo does not apply to children, teknonyms are mostly used among adults and so have the form ‘X’s father’ or ‘X’s mother’. One can still address the person in question, the teknonym simply replaces the name, for example, *Pokari ipapa, ëjokise manan?* ‘Pokari’s father, do you want something to drink?’

A name can also undergo a phonological process such as elision of the final syllable, for example, *Rinësi* becomes *Rinë*. Addition of a segment is also found, for example, in the name *Tëmeta* which becomes *Tëmenta*.<sup>26</sup>

A name can often be avoided by describing some characteristic of the person in question, or by using their job description, for example, *noimano* ‘the glutton’, *ipanapin* ‘the deaf person’, *tuna entu* [water owner] ‘man in charge of the water pump’. When negative characteristics are used to talk about someone as in *noimano* ‘glutton’ above, it is always said jokingly and never meant as an insult. Note that these are not nicknames since nicknames are seldom, if ever, descriptive.

Finally simile is also used to avoid making direct reference to a person, and to the non-initiated it can be very difficult to imagine who the speaker could be referring to: I once witnessed an old man make reference to his own son as ‘the one who looks like an Arawak’. Such elaborate and often preposterous avoidance strategies by older people are a source of great hilarity among younger speakers who feel that they do not have the same inhibitions with respect to names; however, the tradition is strong and even most younger speakers will try to avoid using a person’s name or if it is necessary to use it, they will lower their voices to a whisper.

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26 I am still not sure if this is not just a case of metathesis, given the life history of this man, he was born of a woman who became pregnant while gathering fruit; she refused to tell anyone the father’s name and perhaps even believed herself that she had been made pregnant by a spirit. This man was destined to become a *pijai* ‘shaman’, he became in fact the most feared shaman in Suriname, and as a shaman he could undergo transformations. The verb ‘transform’ in Trio is *ëmeta*; he told me that because it was his destiny to undergo transformation *tëmetaen jiwëike* ‘because of my being a candidate for transforming’ he was given the name *Tëmeta*. If his actual name were *tëmetaen* ‘one to (be) transform(ed)’, then we would be dealing with a case of metathesis. I think that perhaps as a shaman even he avoided his own name. While I did hear old women call him *Tëmeta*, many people called him *Tëmenta*. If *Tëmeta* was indeed his real name then the old women’s lack of inhibition in using his proper name would be very surprising.

### 1.10.2 The Trio worlds and reconciliation between them

As one becomes more acquainted with the Trio and their language, one realizes that laughter, and the concomitant feeling of sharing an experience, is a vital part of their lives; in fact, the Trio are an extremely witty people who enjoy a good joke, mostly at somebody else's expense, and are masters at playing with words. What they lack in ludic performances such as those described by Howard (2001) among the Waiwai, they make up for in verbal wit. Unfortunately the Trios' word play and jokes lose a lot in translation into another language and culture so I shall only give one example of what I heard and which caused hilarity among the speakers. One case was an old man Ēmupirihpē in Kwamalasamutu who was giving me some examples of the Trio-Ndyuka pidgin, and how the Trio used to bargain with the Maroons. The utterances he produced were formulaic and had a melodic contour in keeping with the nature of the dialogue; as soon as he said *moime* 'nice, good' he paused ever so slightly and in the same tone of voice and with the same expression on his face, he said *moi ēnao tirikē* 'put a spider to your breast!' at which all the listeners lowered their heads and began laughing - raucous laughter among the Trio is not appreciated, rather it is more subdued. The root *moi* in the pidgin is from the Dutch *mooi* 'nice, beautiful' and it is homophonous with the Trio word *moi* meaning 'spider'. The locative expression *ena* is derived from the bodypart *ena* meaning 'neck'; it is used of children who are at their mother's breast and it also has a sexual connotation whereby a man will 'lie at the breast' of his lover, a come-on line is often *j-enaohkē* 'come to me (my breast)!'<sup>27</sup>

Laughter in Trio society can be seen as a physical and psychological manifestation of the cultural canon that one can only live a successful life if one lives in harmony with one's environment, human and natural. The notion of living in harmony with one's environment is a deep-seated aspect of Trio culture, and indeed of many Amazonian peoples, and it is only recently that anthropologists have addressed the issue of conviviality in Amazonia (see Overing and Passes 2000). Laughter itself is an indicator of being *sasame*, a term the Trio translate as 'being happy' but it could perhaps be qualified with 'at one with oneself and one's environment'. The reader is referred to Rivière (1969, 2000) who writes at length about the institutionalization of *sasame wehto* 'being happy', and the changes that have occurred in the means of attaining the feeling of being *sasame* since the advent of the missionaries. In former times, *sasame* was the equivalent of a (collective) drunken or 'merry' state, and could reach orgiastic proportions

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27 Trio women carry their children at their breast in a *winjepu*, which is a selfmade cloth that is tied around the woman's neck. The *winjepu* is actually like a very small hammock and is also manufactured in the same way as a hammock.

during the dance feasts to which all the neighbouring villages were invited. When I was in Tëpu in 1997, if someone was *sasame*, he or she was enjoying a party and was feeling tipsy; in Kwamalasamutu, where missionary influence has been strongest, and drinking practices have been practically eradicated, *sasame wehto* is regarded as the happy state one is in because one is a Christian, it is a sort of religious state of feeling in harmony with God and one's surroundings. Generally being *sasame* was the culmination of a collective feeling of harmony. For the Trio, the assurance of a harmonious collective life within the community hangs precariously in the balance and depends on the ability of the individual to lead a responsible life, thereby contributing to the harmony of the collective. The highest degree of leading a responsible sociable life is expressed in Trio by the word *junme* [juŋmɛ] which means 'mature, wise'; this term is generally used to describe older men who have acquired this state through their advanced years.<sup>28</sup> It can be used to characterize younger men but only exceptionally so, women on the other hand, are regarded as *junmeta* 'not mature, not wise'. Having a leader who is *junme* is of vital importance for the success of the village. Within the collective, each individual plays an autonomous role and is responsible for his/her own actions that will have bearing on the collective.

Among the Trio, adults do not tell other adults what to do or how to behave. In fact, even if the villagers are being adversely affected by the actions of another (or lack thereof), they are reluctant to point out to that person that he should act differently; the general opinion is that his/her behaviour is 'up to him/her'. The individuals' sense of sole responsibility is encoded in the language by means of the clitic *\_hkatē*. A typical example is the case of the *tuna entu* [water boss], the man who is in charge of turning on the waterpump for the whole village. If he decides to go hunting for a week, thereby forcing the villagers to drink rain- or riverwater for the duration, then no-one complains about this, or finds it irregular. However, it often happens that when the Trio have to resort to drinking rain- or riverwater that has not been boiled, the weaker of the village, that is, children and old people get diarrhoea or even dysentery from which some die. When I asked about the lack of well-water, I was told *tuna entu \_hkatē* 'that's up to the man in charge of the water pump'. Likewise much dissatisfaction with decisions of the government is accompanied with a shrug of the shoulders and *ranti \_hkatē* 'that's up to the government!'

As with many Amazonian peoples, the world in which the Trio live is made up of both their physical and visible environs and of their intangible and invisible

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28 The word *junme* is made up of the elements *jumi* which reduces the final syllable to the velar nasal *ŋ* and the facsimile marker *-me*. The word *jumi* is found in other Cariban languages, for example, Wayana and Kari'na with the meaning 'father'.



roduced as *jeemi-me* which also means ‘my daughter’ but not biologically so. Furthermore, much of Trio colour terminology is formed by means of a noun plus the facsimile marker, to indicate that something ‘is like X in appearance’, for example, *tawame* ‘(reddish) brown’ whereby the noun *tawa* means ‘earth, soil’; *pakokome* ‘greenish blue’ from the noun *pakoko* ‘cricket sp. that appears at 6 p.m.’<sup>29</sup>

These and other aspects of the Trio language that are directly correlated with the ethnography of the Trio are elucidated further in the grammar where relevant.

### 1.11 Former studies on Trio

There exists both anthropological and linguistic work on the Trio although in sum it is relatively little. The first short wordlist of Trio, consisting of twenty-nine items, was recorded by the French explorer Jules Crevaux on the upper reaches of the East Paru in Brazil in 1878 and published in Crevaux, Sagot, and Adam (1882:39-40). However, the first substantial linguistic (and also ethnographic) data on Trio are from the hand of the Dutch marine lieutenant Claudius Henricus de Goeje who set off in 1904 on his first expedition to the hitherto quite inaccessible interior of Suriname as the second expedition topographer (van Lier 1955:321-22); the data he collected consisted of a wordlist of just over five hundred entries, including some short phrases, and were published in 1906 (de Goeje 1906). In de Goeje (1909:180-243) we find a good short grammatical sketch of the language as well as a wordlist. De Goeje’s wordlists were supplemented in 1912 by a wordlist of 187 entries by another Dutch explorer Käyser who led an expedition in which de Goeje also took part to the upper Corentyne River (Käyser 1912). A 152-item, rather idiosyncratic wordlist is also found in Farabee (1924:208-11); Farabee was an American ethnographer who in 1916 met with some Trio, whom he called Diau, at the source of the Wanamu in present-day Guyana which is the same area where the explorer Robert Schomburgk had met them over sixty years earlier in 1843. Notwithstanding some inconsistencies in transcription and errors in meanings in the wordlists, all of these wordlists, with the possible exception of Farabee (1924:208-11) are still quite useful and interesting. After de Goeje (1909) there was no further linguistic work carried out among the Trio until the arrival of the American missionary Claude Leavitt, who learned Trio and produced a grammatical sketch in manuscript form to help his fellow-missionaries learn the language. Unfortunately this sketch was never published although it is very useful, also because he deals with some grammatical

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29 Much of Trio colour terminology ends in the facsimile *-me*, but the independent noun can no longer be determined synchronically, see section 10.6.1.

suffixes, for example, what seemed to be a type of comitative morpheme *-nete*, that is no longer used and is no longer known except to some old people (see 6.3.1). Since then, a useful wordlist has been produced by the missionaries Ellie and Henk Plomp (1986), and in 1998 Frei Bento Letschert published a Trio-Portuguese dictionary. In 1984 the missionary/schoolteacher Cees Koelewijn published two volumes of a text collection in Trio (Keisi 1984), consisting mainly of Trio mythology but also including some historical events; an English translation of these texts, with some explanation of the text motifs, was published in Koelewijn and Rivière (1987). In addition, more scientific analyses, all of which very short, of aspects of Trio grammar can be found in Miggliazza (1965) and Jones (1972), Wallace (1980, 1983). In more recent times, Sergio Meira (1997, 1998) has treated several phonological aspects of Trio; in 1999, Meira, who worked mainly among the Brazilian Trio, completed a very valuable Ph.D. dissertation on the grammar of Trio, with much emphasis on comparative-historical aspects of the language. Indeed I was able to consult Meira's grammar in the later stages of writing the present grammar, a fact which allowed me to expand on his grammar and elaborate on the cognitive aspects and details of analysis. Where relevant I point out any differences of data and analysis; while Meira's data are mainly from Brazil, the data in this grammar are all from predominantly older speakers in Suriname (see above for the differences between the speech of the older and the younger generations).

While valuable ethnographic details can be found in the various works of de Goeje mentioned above, the most detailed anthropological work among the Trio has been carried out by the English anthropologist Peter Rivière who has published extensively on both Trio and on comparative studies of Guianan groups (Rivière 1963, 1966, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1981a,b, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1994, 1995a,b, 2000). In 1963, Rivière began anthropological research among the Trio of Suriname which culminated in his monograph *Marriage among the Trio* published in 1969, and since has been followed by many articles. It is in his earlier B.Litt. thesis from 1963 that we find an overview of almost all historical references and mentionings of the Trio and several other Guianan groups. Since the 1950s a lot of valuable anthropological work has been carried out by the German/Brazilian missionary Protasio Frikel, who, though not a trained anthropologist, has added much to our knowledge of the Trio and their history (see Frikel (1957, 1958, 1960, 1961a,b, 1964, 1971, 1973). Many points of criticism of Frikel's work are dealt with in the work of Rivière.

## 1.12 Collection of data

Most of the data presented in this grammar were collected in Suriname over a period of seven years starting from 1996, when I spent three months in Tëpu with

the aim of conducting a sociolinguistic study of Trio; in each of those seven years I spent two to three months continuously in the field, with a total of six months in Tëpu and approximately nine months in Kwamalasamutu. I spent shorter periods in Palumeu where my main informant from Tëpu often stayed when he was visiting his family there. Both in Paramaribo and in Kwamalasamutu I had the opportunity to work with various informants from Sipaliwini and Pirëuimë (Apetina). Over the years I also had the opportunity to talk to many Trio from the Trio villages in Brazil who had come to Kwamalasamutu and Tëpu to visit their families. As preparation for my first fieldwork trip I consulted Trio wordlists recorded by De Goeje (1906, 1909) and generated an additional wordlist based on the story of Ineku which was published in Keisi (1984:137-147). Of immense help were the texts collected by Cees Koelewijn in 1981, published in the original in 1984 in two volumes entitled *Tarëno tamu inponopi panpira*, which I checked with informants in the field. An English translation of these texts was published by Koelwijn and Rivière in 1987.

I started with text collection, recording stories from old storytellers, and transcribed and translated these with the help of both the storyteller and a younger informant who spoke some Dutch. On the basis of the stories I was able to elicit much material to supplement the texts. After the first couple of years I was able to carry out fieldwork in Trio, which allowed me a deeper insight into many areas of the Trio language and culture that are difficult to grasp in translation. I was most fortunate in having as my main teacher and storyteller, Captain Tëmenta, who passed away in December 2002, who helped me immensely over the years. His patience knew no bounds and we had many a laugh together whenever I surprised him with a word that only old people knew. He was such a knowledgeable person on all aspects of Trio life, both present and pre-missionary, that I always travelled to whichever village he was in at the time, mostly Tëpu and Palumeu. Otherwise I tried to go to one village one year and another the following year so that I could record dialect differences. In addition, when in Paramaribo I always found informants in the Diaconessen hospital, where the staff were most helpful and allowed me to visit outside of the regular visiting hours. It was there that I could help the Trio patients in talking to the doctors, and explaining surgical procedures, since in general when the Trio are in hospital, unless they have a smattering of Sranantongo or Dutch, which only very few have, they cannot communicate with the hospital staff. One exception was Captain Tëmenta who regaled his entire ward in a mixture of Trio, the Trio-Ndyuka pidgin and Sranantongo. With the help of some Trio patients I made a list of bodypart terminology for use by the hospital staff. It was also in the hospital that I learned a different sort of Trio, one that I perhaps would not have learned in the village, and also much about the Trio themselves; it was there that

I heard, for example, the combination of an augmentative and a diminutive when a woman who had never been in a lift before described it as a *kanawaimëpisi* [kanawa-imë-pisi: boat-AUG-DIM], literally ‘a little big boat’ meaning ‘a small airplane’; the word *kanawaimë* [boat.AUG] has become lexicalized to mean ‘airplane’.

In addition, the Medische Zending Suriname ‘Medical Mission of Suriname’ asked for my help in translating an information brochure about AIDS into Trio. It was while I was working on this translation with a Trio from Kwamalasamutu that it became clear to me how difficult it is for a Trio speaker to translate from Dutch into Trio since much of what is not expressed explicitly in Dutch (or English for that matter) must be expressed in Trio if the same meaning is to be achieved. A case in point is the use of the frustrative marker *-re(pe)* which does not necessarily have to be explicitly stated in Dutch, but the omission of which changes the meaning in Trio. Take for example, the sentence ‘People infected by HIV can walk around like healthy people and can feel healthy before they develop the symptoms of AIDS’, if the frustrative marker is omitted on the verbs ‘walk’ and ‘feel’, it would mean in Trio that the people *are* healthy, however, when the frustrative added, the meaning is as it is meant, ‘they feel healthy *although they are not*’. For a Trio to have translated this sentence with the frustrative marker would require the original Dutch to have included *tevergeefs* ‘in vain’.

In all, this grammar is based on numerous conversations, several hours of elicitation, and recorded sessions, in total almost twenty texts of different genres, including the different forms of the ceremonial dialogue and spirit songs sung by (former) shamans, as well as on discussions on the Keisi (1984) text collection.

### 1.13 Spelling and abbreviation conventions

In this work I adhere to the Trio orthography as far as possible. In the chapter on phonology, phonemes are written between slashes, for example, /o/, and the phonetic realization is written between square brackets, for example, [ɔ]. An asterisk before a word form marks ungrammaticality. With a few exceptions, for example, *maakë* ‘mosquito’ and *j-eeka* ‘it bit me’, the Trio do not write long vowels; in this grammar, where a word has a long vowel, either underlyingly or phonetically, or when vowel length is the realization of grammatical conditioning that is not represented in the orthography, I give the phonetic representation of that word after its first occurrence in the text. In the example sentences I only mark a long vowel (by means of the colon symbol (:)) if it is grammatically relevant in that section. Thus, for example, the anterior suffix on verbs, *tuwë* [tu:wə] ‘after’ is found in the examples as *tuwë*, but the past non-witnessed form of the middle

verb *epataka* ‘appear’, which is written *tepatakae*, is found in the examples as *t-e:-pata-ka-e* with a long first vowel since length in this case has the grammatical function of marking a one-argument transitive verb. Generally the grapheme *i* is inserted before the palatal nasal *n* if the *n* is immediately followed by the glide *j*, for example, *ëmëinjamo* [2pro.pl] ‘you (pl)’; this *i* simply reflects the palatalization of the nasal and is an orthographic convention to which I adhere as far as possible in this book. Morpheme boundaries are marked by a hyphen. Clitics are marked by a preceding underscore, for example, *\_to* ‘plural clitic’. In the glosses of the examples, a dot represents multiple functions or meanings without further segmentation, for example:

- (1.12)a    eta-tuwë  
               3.hear.NOM-ANT  
               after (he) heard it
- b.            tī-jokī-kon  
               3COREF-drink-PSR.PL  
               their drink

#### 1.14    Typological overview of Trio

Trio has 11 phonemic consonants, a seven-way vowel system, and 15 phonemic diphthongs. It is an agglutinative language which is mainly suffixing, the only prefixes are the personal prefixes and three derivational diathesis prefixes. It has as its major word classes Verb, Noun, and Postposition. These word classes can and generally must be inflected for person. Trio has four exponents of the category person, 1, 1+2, 2, 3, and semantically an additional person 1+3 which formally combines features of both first and third persons. Nouns can be marked for possessor, and all verbs, whether nominalized or not must be marked for person in keeping with the argument structure of the verb. Postpositions too can be inflected for person. The plural marking of person is different for each of the word classes. Morphologically Trio roots of the main word classes are very short, but stems can be very long due to the various derivational possibilities; nouns can be easily made into verbs by means of verbalizers, and verbs can be nominalized by means of seven different nominalizers. There are two nominalizers for postpositions and adverbs, and also two negative nominalizers. Many predications are nominal in nature, which is facilitated by the fact that both tense and aspect can be marked on nouns and nominalized verbs.

Most Trio non-derived verbs are transitive verbs, most intransitive verbs are derived by means of verbalizers. Furthermore, Trio has a small set of intransitive verbs that take their person marking from the transitive set (split intransitive verbs). Trio verbs mark evidentiality in the non-past tenses, that is, all non-past

verbs are marked for certainty (1, 1+2, and 2 persons) or for non-certainty (3<sup>rd</sup> person and interrogative of speech act participants). A non-finite form of the verb is used to express non-witnessed past events. Trio has the preferred basic word order OVS with variation due to pragmatic considerations.

The basic locative postpositions distinguish the type of space involved, that is, space is subcategorized into ‘open, spread out space’ as in a village or savanna, ‘contained space’ as in a house or the forest, ‘liquid space’ as in the river or liquid, and finally ‘fire space’ to express location in or near a fire. Trio has a wide range of postpositions, many of which are derived. Postpositions can also be nominalized and consequently marked for tense, number, person, and even reflexive, as can be seen in the word *ëipanapëkënton* : *ëi-pana-pëkë-n-ton* [REFL-ear-VERTICAL.LOC-NOM-PL] which is used to express the concept ‘co-wives’ and which literally means ‘the ones with their ears side by side in a vertical position’.

Trio has a large number of question words that are based on two formatives, namely *a* and *eeke*, most question words are derived. There is a large set of words that do not easily fit into any of the defined word classes, namely different types of adverbials, discourse and modal particles. There is also a large number of ideophones and somewhat fewer interjections.



## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Introduction

Trio has 11 phonemic consonants, a seven-way vowel system, and 15 phonemic diphthongs. Vowel length is distinctive but there are not many words that have long vowels, those that have a phonemic long vowel can usually be diachronically motivated after comparison with cognates in other Cariban languages. Word stress is non-distinctive and predictable.

### 2.2 Phoneme inventory: the consonant phonemes

The eleven consonant phonemes are given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

|             | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------|----------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Plosive     | p        | t        |         | k     |         |
| Fricative   | ɸ        | s        |         |       | h       |
| Flap/Liquid |          | r        |         |       |         |
| Nasal       | m        | n        |         |       |         |
| Glide       | w        |          | j       |       |         |

#### 2.2.1 General characteristics

One of the features that becomes immediately obvious in looking at the consonant inventory is that there is no voice distinction in Trio. There are no voiced plosives or fricatives, nor are there voiceless nasals. The plosive series of consonants is voiceless and unaspirated. The inventory given in Table 2.1 is almost identical to that of syllable-initial consonants, the one exception being the glottal fricative /h/ which can only occur in post-vocalic syllable-final position. With the exception of the fricatives /ɸ/ and /h/ all consonants can occur word-initially, /ɸ/ only occurs as a suffix-initial consonant. With the exception of ideophones, all words in Trio end in either a vowel or in a velar nasal which is an allophone of the alveolar nasal in word-final position. In the phonetic transcriptions given in the sections on syllable structure and stress below (sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2), the syllable that is stressed is marked with a preceding symbol <sup>1</sup>.

### 2.2.2 Stops

The oral stops are /p/, /t/, and /k/. The distribution and allophony of the stops are given in the following.

The phoneme /p/ is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop. It can occur word- and syllable-initially as in *pena* ‘long ago’ and *tēpose* ‘found’ but not word- or syllable-finally (apart from in ideophones, e.g., *tīp* ‘killing’). The phoneme /p/ has the bilabial fricative [ɸ] as an allophone. The allophone, which also occurs as an independent phoneme, is the usual realization of the stop in the western dialect, see 2.4.2.

The phoneme /t/ is a voiceless alveopalatal unaspirated stop. It can occur word- and syllable-initially as in *tarēno* ‘Trio’ and *wītoto* ‘human being’ but not word- or syllable-finally.

The phoneme /k/ is a voiceless dorso-velar unaspirated stop. It can occur word- and syllable-initially as in *kone* ‘all right’ and *eka* ‘name’ but not word- or syllable-finally (apart from in ideophones, e.g., *tak* ‘hitting’). Intervocally /k/ can be realized as a voiced stop, for example, *ērūkē* [əɾugə] ‘caterpillar’ or as a voiced velar fricative [əɾugə]. These realizations appear to be speaker-dependent.

### 2.2.3 Nasals

There are two voiced nasal stops in Trio, the bilabial /m/ and the alveolar /n/. The phoneme /m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal stop. It can occur word- and syllable-initially as in *moto* ‘worm’ and *omore* ‘spirit, soul, shadow’, but not word- or syllable-finally, apart from in ideophones, e.g., *kwatim* ‘sound of arrow being shot’, and in the non-native word ‘Suriname’ as in *Surinam karakuri* ‘Surinamese money’. However, when followed by a postposition such as the general locative *-po*, the word Suriname is represented orthographically as *Surinanpo* ‘in Suriname’, which is a backformation of the rule of consonant assimilation of /n/ to a following /p/, as given in the next paragraph.

The phoneme /n/ is an alveolar nasal and can occur word- and syllable-initially as in *nono* ‘earth, ground’ and word- and syllable-finally. Word-finally /n/ is realized as a voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ as in *tēnisen* [tənisen] ‘drink, something to drink’. Syllable-finally the phoneme /n/ generally assimilates in place of articulation to a following plosive, that is, to the bilabial nasal /m/ as in *ji-nmuku* [jimmuku] ‘my child’. However, one morpheme, the facsimile suffix *-me* seems to have optional assimilation of a preceding *n*. Where there is no assimilation to the *m* of *-me*, then the final *n* is treated as word-final and is realized as the velar nasal [ŋ]. For example, the realization of *i-pamī-kon-me* ‘(as) their brother-in-law’ can be either [i'pami'kõmme] or [i'pami'kõmɛ]; the phonetic realization of

the word *junme* ‘wise, mature’ is, however, always [juŋ.mɛ] and not [jumɛ]: where applicable, the non-assimilation of *n* to *m* will be written in the examples with a dot [.] between the two consonants in any examples that follow throughout the book. The phoneme /n/ assimilates to the bilabial stop /p/ as in *ampo* [ampɔ] ‘where?’, to the velar stop /k/ as in *etainkë* [e'taiŋkə] ‘run!’, and to the alveopalatal stop /t/ resulting in the alveolar nasal as in *ëkomanti* [ə'kɔmanti] ‘you (pl.) spent the night’. When forming a cluster with a following glide /j/, the nasal is palatalized, for example, *sen* [sɛŋ] ‘this’ and *seinje* [sɛ'jɲɛ] ‘this side, this way’. It is this palatalization that is reflected in the orthographic convention of inserting an *i* before the nasal in this environment, as in *seinje* ‘this side’, given above, and for example, *ainja* [a'jɲa] ‘1+3 pronoun’. As stated in the introduction, as far as possible, I keep to the orthographic conventions used by the Trio.

The following list in (2.1) gives some (near) minimal pairs of the oral and nasal stops dealt with above.

|       |     |             |      |               |
|-------|-----|-------------|------|---------------|
| (2.1) | apë | his/her arm | nono | ground, earth |
|       | atī | what?       | mono | big           |
|       | akī | who?        |      |               |

## 2.2.4 Fricatives

There are three phonemic fricatives, all voiceless, namely the bilabial /ɸ/, the palatal /s/ and the glottal /h/. The phoneme /h/ is highly restricted in its occurrence and is dealt with separately below.

The phoneme /ɸ/ is a voiceless bilabial fricative. It is represented orthographically by the digraph ‘hp’. It can only occur syllable- but not word-initially as in *mëhparë* [mə'ɸaɾə] ‘game animals’ and *akihpe* [a'kiɸe] ‘who on earth?’. Phonetically a bilabial fricative also occurs as an allophone of the bilabial oral stop /p/, especially in the western dialect, and it is also the realization of the sequence of a syllable-final /h/ and a syllable-initial /p/. Despite the restrictions obtaining with regard to the occurrence of this fricative, and the fact that it also acts as an allophone of the plosive /p/, I regard this segment as a phoneme, contrary to the analysis given in Meira (1999). The phonemic status of the bilabial fricative is evidenced by the following minimal pairs of grammatical morphemes:

-*hpë* [ɸə] ‘nominal past marker’ versus -*pë* [pə] ‘contact locative marker’, for example, *ijomihpë* [i'jomihɸə] ‘his former language’ vs. *ijomipë* [i'jomipə] ‘about his language’.

-*hpe* [ɸe] ‘indefinite specific marker’ versus -*pe* [pe] ‘negative desirous marker’, and also -*se* [se] ‘desiderative marker’.

Thus phonologically there is a contrast between /p/, /ɸ/, and the sequences /hɸ/

and /hp/ which in the western dialect of Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini is neutralized phonetically to [ɸ] in intervocalic position, whereas in the eastern dialect of Palumeu and Tëpu there is no neutralization of the two sounds. The realization rules of the underlying forms and the orthographic conventions are summarized in Table 2.2 below. A discussion of the cluster hp is found below in 2.4.2.

Table 2.2: The phonemes /p/ and /ɸ/

| Phonologically | Phonetically                   | Orthographically |
|----------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| p              | [p] (eastern) or [ɸ] (western) | p or hp          |
| ɸ              | [ɸ]                            | hp               |
| hp             | [hɸ]                           | hp               |

The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless palatal fricative which can occur word- and syllable-initially as in *suku* ‘urine’, and *sasame* ‘happy’ but not word- or syllable-finally. The phonetic quality of the phoneme /s/ ranges along [s], [h], [ʃ], and [tʃ] with the following features: in the western dialect [h] is always found as the realization of /s/ in the word *pijasa* [piˈjaha] ‘a bit’, whereas the same word is realized as [piˈjasa] in the eastern dialect; with other words, in the same environment, the /s/ is realized as the alveolar [s], for example, *sasame* [saˈsame] ‘happy’ and in the ideophone *sasatu* [saˈsaːtu] ‘sound of something (e.g., airplane) landing’. With older speakers [ʃ] is found word-initially if followed by front vowel *siitë* /ʃiːtə/ ‘proper name’, *isimëu* /iʃimëu/ ‘proper name’. [tʃ] is mostly found with older speakers as the realization of /s/ before back vowels, as in *soni* [tʃɔni] ‘vulture’; *suku* [tʃuku] ‘urine’, and *sarë* [tsaːrə] ‘here’.

The glottal fricative /h/ has a special status as a phoneme. It only occurs as syllable closure, where it is realized as [h] or as length [:] often before a grammatical morpheme, but never word-finally. The phoneme /h/ is an indicator of syllable reduction either as a historical process, for example, *mahto* [mahtə] or [maːtə] ‘fire’ is found in other Cariban languages such as Yao for example, as *mapoto* ‘fire’, and in Wayana as *wapot* and in Aparai as *apoto* (see Schafer 1963) or as a grammatical elision process, such as found, for example, with reducing stems such as *tëriːse* [təˈɽiːsɛ] ‘perished’ from the verb *ëri(ki)* ‘perish’ and *enehto* [eˈnehtə] ‘instrument for bringing’ from the verb *ene(pi)* ‘bring’. The realization of this phoneme may be more palatal or velar in nature depending on the immediately preceding vowel, that is, it is realized as the palatal [ç] when preceded by the high front and central vowels *i* and *ĩ* as in *tërihto* [təˈɽiçtə] ‘his own death (fate)’ and *jitërihtaot* [jiːtəˈɽiçtaot] ‘while I’m going’, and its realization is very close to the velar fricative [x] when preceded by the high round back vowel *u* as in *jiwëturuhtaot* [jiˈwətuˈɽuxtaot] ‘while I am speaking’. See also 2.4.2 below for *h*-clusters with a following plosive.

### 2.2.5 Liquid

There is only one liquid in Trio, namely the phoneme /ɾ/ which is a flap and which is orthographically represented by the grapheme ‘r’. The phonetic realization of the flap depends on the vocalic environment. With front vowels there is a delayed release resulting in what sounds like a voiced palato-alveolar stop *r*; in the environment of back vowels, the phonetic realization is between the lateral *l* and trilled *r*. The phoneme can occur word-initially, as in several forms of the verb ‘do’, for example, *ritē* ‘skilled in doing, skilled in making’, in *rupeimē* ‘lizard species, big’, although it does not often occur in this position. Most instances of a word-initial /ɾ/ are found in loanwords from Sranantongo/Dutch as in *ratara* ‘doctor’, *rario* ‘radio’, *rama* ‘flashlight’, *ranti* ‘government’. The phoneme /ɾ/ is more often found in intervocalic syllable-initial position as in *serē* [seɾə] ‘this’, *iwarē* [iwa:ɾə] ‘he knows’. This phoneme can never occur word-finally.

### 2.2.6 Glides

There are two glide phonemes /w/ and /j/. The phoneme /w/ is a bilabial glide that has minimal lip-rounding, rather it is characterized by spread lips. It can occur word- and syllable-initially as in *wī* ‘I’ and *nīwan* ‘he is dancing’, but never word-finally. In the environment of a front vowel and especially in ideophones, *w* is often realized with some friction. An example of a minimal pair is *ēwa* ‘rope’ and *ēja* ‘to you’. The palatal glide *j* occurs word- and syllable-initially as in *je(ri)* ‘tooth’, and *ējeripo* ‘your flat round baking plate’, but never word-finally. The phoneme *j* can be realized with some friction when followed by the front vowel *i*.

## 2.3 The vowel phonemes

There are 7 vowel phonemes, which are given in Table 2.3. Vowels contrast in quality along three degrees of vowel height, namely high, mid, and low, and along three degrees from front to central to back. Though long vowels are seldom found, vowel length is distinctive and is represented here by doubling the vowel symbol. However, where a long vowel is not written orthographically but is grammatically relevant, for example in certain verb forms where vowel length indicates a one-argument transitive verb, the colon symbol is used; this symbol is also used in the relevant phonetic transcriptions. For the grammatical function of vowel length in person marking, see 2.3.1. The vowels have approximately the realization of the IPA vowel symbols [i e ə i a o u]. Allophonic variation is given where relevant below. The schwa and the high central vowel /i/ are represented orthographically as *ē* and *ī* respectively. Not all the vowel phonemes are equal in

their distribution, that is, there are restrictions on the occurrence of certain vowels in a certain environment. The high central vowel /i/ is the only vowel that cannot occur word- or syllable-initially. All vowels can occur in word- and syllable-final position.

Table 2.3: Vowel phonemes

|      | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | i     | ĩ       | u    |
| Mid  | e     | ě       | o    |
| Low  |       | a       |      |

The vowel /i/ is a high front vowel. It can occur in initial and final position in the word, as in *ipawana* ‘his/her friend’ and *arimi* ‘spider monkey’.

The vowel /i/ is a high, central, unrounded vowel which can only occur in word- and syllable-final position, as in *kĩri* ‘man’. This vowel can never occur word- or syllable-initially. When *ĩ* follows a bilabial consonant, as in *ipĩ* [ipũ] ‘his wife’, it has the phonetic value [u], that is, there is no lip-rounding, only lip-spreading.

The vowel /u/ is a high back rounded vowel that can occur word- and syllable-finally, as in *uru* ‘cassava bread’.

The vowel /e/ is a mid front unrounded vowel. This phoneme can occur word- and syllable-initially and -finally as in *enu* ‘s/o’s eye’ and *entu* ‘s/o’s owner’. The most frequent realization of this phoneme in an open syllable is as the open [ɛ], *meta* [mɛta] ‘did you understand?’ When followed by a syllable-final nasal, and when /e/ itself is in word-final position, it is realized as a close vowel, for example, *tahken* [ta'hɛŋ] ‘maybe’, and *těne* [tɛne] ‘(he) saw (it)’. Likewise when *e* occurs as the second vocoid in diphthongs, its realization is also close, see 2.3.1 below.

The phoneme /ě/ is a central, unrounded vowel, or schwa. This vowel can occur word- and syllable-initially and -finally as in *ěwě* [ɔwɔ] ‘a while’ When stressed the schwa is sometimes realized as the close vowel [e] as in the Trio autonym, *Tarěno* [taɾɛnɔ].

The vowel /o/ is a mid, back, rounded vowel and is realized as an open vowel. It can occur word- and syllable-initially and -finally as in *ota* [ɔta] ‘hole’ and *tonoro* [tɔnɔɾɔ] ‘bird’. Unlike the mid front unrounded vowel /e/, the realization of /o/, even in word-final position and in closed syllables, is always open.

The phoneme /a/ is low central unrounded vowel that can occur in all positions, for example, *aki* ‘who?’, *tawa* ‘soil, earth’ *jeka* ‘my name’.

(Near) minimal pairs of the vowels phonemes are given in (2.2).

|       |        |                      |
|-------|--------|----------------------|
| (2.2) | ëpa    | vulva, your grandson |
|       | ëpi    | medicine             |
|       | ëpë    | about you            |
|       | epa    | her vulva            |
|       | ipa    | his grandson         |
|       | ota    | hole                 |
|       | ahtarë | how many?            |
|       | kana   | fish                 |
|       | kena   | no idea!             |
|       | ëwë    | a bit                |
|       | awë    | in it                |
|       | nĩrĩ   | he made it           |
|       | nëri   | squirrel             |
|       | juru   | my cassava bread     |
|       | jĩrĩ   | he made me           |
|       | jarë   | he took me           |

### 2.3.1 Vowel length and vowel sequences

Vowel length is distinctive phonemically but long vowels are rare. In general long vowels are the phonetic realization of stress, however, there is a case of vowel length which is an indicator of a one-argument transitive verb. In addition, in the more easterly dialect of Tëpu and Palumeu a long vowel is often the result of compensatory lengthening of the vowel preceding an elided syllable, as in the word *ipi(ti)* ‘his wife’ which is a reducing stem which drops the final syllable under certain circumstances, for example, before the possessor plural marker, as in *i-pi:-kon* [ipɪ:kɔŋ] ‘their wives’. In the more westerly dialect this word is realized as [ipihkɔŋ] (see under the phoneme /h/ in fricatives above). Long vowels can never occur word-finally, except in the ceremonial dialogue where the word *majee* is used as an indicator of dialogue closure (see 1.8 above.). Some examples of minimal pairs with an intrinsic long and short vowel are given in (2.3a-e).

|       |   |        |          |               |       |        |               |
|-------|---|--------|----------|---------------|-------|--------|---------------|
| (2.3) | a | j-eeka | [jɛ:ka]  | it bit me     | j-eka | [jɛka] | my name       |
|       | b | mahto  | [ma:tɔ]/ | fire          | mato  | [matɔ] | hammer        |
|       |   |        | [ma:htɔ] |               |       |        |               |
|       | c | siikë  | [si:kə]  | tree sp.      | sikë  | [sikə] | jigger        |
|       | d | maa    | [ma:]    | far           | ma    | [ma]   | disc. marker  |
|       | e | mëërë  | [mɛ:ɾə]  | 3PRO.ANIM.MED | mërë  | [mɛɾə] | 3PRO.INAN.MED |

When a word is *a-* or *o-*initial, the second person is marked on it by gemination of the vowel, thereby forming a minimal pair with the same word marked for the

third person, for example, *aakono* [a:kɔnɔ] ‘your brother-in-law’ versus *akono* [akɔnɔ] ‘his brother-in-law’, and *aarën* [a:rɛŋ] ‘he is taking you’ vs. (O) *arën* [arɛŋ] ‘he is taking (O)’. In some cases there is an historical explanation for long vowels, such as consonant elision, as can be seen if we compare the relevant lexemes to their cognates in related languages, for example Wayana *mahak* ‘mosquito’ is in Trio *maakë*.

There are two cases in which vowel lengthening has a grammatical function, namely to indicate person marking with the person 1+2 prefix *k(i)-* which fronts and lengthens an *ë*-initial stem when there is a third person object, for example, *k-eene* ‘you and I see him’ which contrasts with the form *k-ëne* ‘I see you’ or, ‘you see me’ where no third person is involved. Likewise in the non-finite past unwitnessed form where the verb is marked with the coreferential prefix *t(i)-*, a few one-argument transitive verbs mark the transitive status of the verb by means of a *w* between the person marking and the verb or by its allomorph length, for example, *tii-w-ëe-se* [COREF-1TR-come-NF] ‘came’ from the verb *ëe(pi)* ‘come’, *tii-ka-e* ‘said’ from *ka* ‘say, and *t-ee-pataka-e* [COREF-MID.1TR-appear-NF] ‘appeared’ from the middle verb *epataka* ‘appear’ (the abbreviation .1TR indicates a one-argument transitive verb, that is, reflexive and middle verbs and a small set of verbs that formally do not allow an object but that take their person marking from the transitive set, see section 8.5.2). In both cases, vowel lengthening marks the presence of an object (see also Chapter 9).

Vocoid sequences of non-identical vocoids are pronounced as diphthongs. There are 15 diphthongs in Trio (see also Jones (1972:42) and Meira (1999:50) who adds one to this list, namely /ëo/ which, however, he states is somewhat controversial; my informants did not accept the one word he found containing this diphthong, namely *?apëo* ‘beside’). The 15 diphthong phonemes with minimal pair examples are given in Table 2.4, see Meira (1999) for more examples. In the diphthongs *ëe*, *oe*, and *eu* the final element /e/ is generally realized as close, for example, *tëewa* [tɛɛwa] ‘not going’ *epoe* [ɛp<sup>w</sup>e] ‘above it’ *euto* [euto] ‘answer (n.)’. As is evident from Table 2.4 below, not all vocoids are allowed in both positions of the diphthong sequence. The rules governing vowel sequence in diphthongs are as follows: V<sub>1</sub> can be any vowel except the high front vowel /i/. V<sub>2</sub> can be any vowel except /a/, /i/, /ë/, that is, V<sub>2</sub> can be from the series of front or back vowels but it cannot be a central vowel, that is, movement is never towards the centre but always towards the periphery.

Table 2.4: Diphthong phonemes and minimal pairs

|    |  |
|----|--|
| ae | <i>wae</i> ‘I am’ : <i>wei</i> ‘sun’; <i>wi</i> ‘I’  |
| ai | <i>nai</i> ‘he is’ : <i>nei</i> ‘he was’; <i>ne</i> ‘he came’                                  |
| ao | <i>aotii</i> ‘ribcage’ : <i>ootii</i> ‘your meat’; <i>otii</i> ‘his meat’; <i>atii</i> ‘what?’ |

|    |  |
|----|--|
| au | <i>pau</i> ‘island’ : <i>pai</i> ‘tapir’; <i>pa</i> ‘dad’; <i>-pe</i> ‘negative desirous’; <i>-po</i> ‘locative’ |
| eu | <i>euto</i> ‘answer’ : <i>otoo</i> ‘turkey’  |
| ei | <i>wei</i> ‘sun’ : <i>wii</i> ‘cassava’  |
| oi | <i>moi</i> ‘spider’ : <i>mëe</i> ‘he’ : <i>maa</i> ‘far’   |
| oe | <i>poe</i> ‘CAUS.PRES.CERT’ : <i>pëe</i> ‘from [SOU]’; <i>pai</i> ‘tapir’  |
| ëu | <i>tëuse</i> ‘answered’ : <i>teese</i> ‘was’   |
| ëe | <i>ëeti</i> ‘your uncle’ : <i>eeti</i> ‘his uncle’; <i>aoti</i> ‘ribcage’  |
| ëi | <i>ëire</i> ‘dangerous’ : <i>ëere</i> ‘your liver’   |
| ii | <i>wii</i> ‘cassava’ : <i>wi</i> ‘I’   |
| iü | <i>kiriü</i> toucan : <i>kërëe</i> ‘I am taking you’   |
| ua | <i>kuama</i> (orthographically <i>kwama</i> ) ‘bamboo’   |
| ui | <i>kaikui</i> ‘jaguar’ : <i>kaikë</i> ‘name of spirit’   |

The vocoid sequence /ua/ is found in only one word in the corpus, namely *kwama* [k<sup>u</sup>ama] ‘bamboo’. While it may be worth postulating a labio-velar *k<sup>u</sup>* as a phoneme, which is found, for example, in *kwama* ‘bamboo’, in the second syllable of *kaikui* ‘jaguar, dog’, and in some other words, such an analysis would not necessarily be more economical than the analysis of a velar plosive plus a diphthong since there are so few words that have this sequence, and in addition there is a tendency in Trio towards simplex onsets. Meira (1999), on the other hand, gives the word for ‘bamboo’ as *kuwama*; however, even in slow speech, there is no vowel to be heard here. Nor is there a reduction or loss of any other vowel found in this environment neither in monomorphemic roots, as in *kewei* ‘fishhook’ or *kawë* ‘high’, nor in stems, where in fact it would not be expected anyway since the vowel is part of the prefix, as in, for example, *kivëepoto* ‘our meeting place’. The word *kwama* forms a (near) minimal pair with *kamaki* ‘plant sp.’ and with *kama* ‘bed’ which is a loanword probably from the Dutch *kamer* ‘room’. Meira (1999) in his appended wordlist also gives a word *kuwe* ‘snail sp.’ but gives no indication of its pronunciation.

## 2.4 Distribution of consonants

All consonant phonemes except two of the fricatives, namely /h/ and /ɸ/ can occur word-initially. All can occur syllable-initially except the phoneme /h/. Only two consonant phonemes can occur syllable-finally, namely the fricative /h/ and the nasal /n/ which generally assimilates to a following consonant in place of articulation. The only consonant found in word-final position is the nasal /n/ which in this position is realized as the velar nasal [ŋ].

### 2.4.1 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters seldom occur root-internally rather they are found in derived stems. They can have the form hC or nC where C stands for any consonant, that is, they are either formed by the syllable-final /h/ plus a following consonant, or the first consonant of the cluster is the alveolar nasal and the second is a stop, whereby the nasal assimilates in place of articulation to the following stop, for example, *enpa* [ɛmpa] < *en+pa* ‘teach, provide insight’, *jonpa* [jɔmpa] < (*j*)*omi+pa* ‘speak, provide language’, where the *-pa* in both these cases is the providative verbalizer. The syllable boundary falls between the the two elements, that is, we are not dealing here with pre-nasalized consonants. As stated above in 2.2.3, the facsimile marker *-me* is ambivalent in that a syllable-final preceding *n* can undergo assimilation to *m* or not (see (2.4b, c). Nasal clusters do not occur word-initially, with the exception of the hortative particle *npa* [mpa] ‘let’s go’ and *nkan* ‘s/he says’, rather they are found word-internally, generally across morpheme boundaries. Examples of the nasal-initial clusters are given in (2.4a-j).

|       |   |           |            |                |                           |
|-------|---|-----------|------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| (2.4) | a | np > [mp] | kīnpono    | [kīm'pɔnɔ]     | he told it                |
|       | b | nm > [mm] | tīwērēnmao | [tī'wəɾəm'mao] | sometime, some other time |
|       | c | nm > [ɲm] | junme      | [jʉn.me]       | mature, wise              |
|       | d | nt > [nt] | jenta      | [jɛnta]        | I am awake                |
|       | e | nk > [ŋk] | inkapīhpē  | [iŋka'pīpə]    | his woven things          |
|       | f | ns > [ns] | kīnsaika   | [kīm'saika]    | s/he made a mistake       |
|       | g | nn > [nn] | nunnē      | [nunnə]        | moon                      |
|       | h | nr > [nr] | onkenrēken | [ɔŋ'kɛŋɾə'kɛŋ] | just quiet                |
|       | i | nj > [ɲɲ] | seinje     | [sɛɲɲɛ]        | here, this side           |
|       | j | nw > [ɲʉ] | kīnwakuta  | [kīŋ'vakuta]   | her belly grew            |

There are very few examples of a geminate consonant in a monomorphemic word, one being *nunnē* ‘moon’. There is also one grammatical morpheme, namely *-nna* ‘-less, without’ that is made up of a geminate consonant, for example, *uru-nna* ‘without (his) cassava bread’. Other occurrences of a geminate nasal occur across morpheme boundaries and are the coda and onset of two separate syllables, as with the nominalized verb *ēpori* in *epon-ne-nna* ‘without a meeting person, without meeting anyone’.

There is one case of a syllabic nasal in Trio, namely the first nasal element in the word *nna* [ɲna], which is probably an archaic demonstrative, and which now means ‘that’s all, that’s how it is’. It is not clear whether the privative suffix *-nna* is etymologically related to the old demonstrative.

## 2.4.2 The h + plosive cluster

As stated in the introduction, the realization of the h + plosive cluster is one feature that allows us to split the language into two geographical dialects, western and eastern. In fact, the sounds /hk/ and /hp/ act as a sort of shibboleth for the Trio, since the different realizations of these two clusters will identify the speaker as being from one or the other dialect area. The syllable closure phoneme /h/, which is the result of syllable elision, has one of two realizations preceding the plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/, namely as spirantization or as length. The realizations of the h-clusters are summarized in Table 2.5, where it is shown that in the eastern dialect of Tëpu and Palumeu there is (almost) consistent realization of the cluster as length.

Table 2.5: h-clusters

| cluster | Western          | Eastern |
|---------|------------------|---------|
| hp      | [ϕ]; [hϕ]        | [:p]    |
| ht      | [ht]             | [:t]    |
| hk      | [:h]; [hx]; [hh] | [:k]    |

According to most speakers, the eastern dialect of Tëpu and Palumeu realize the /hk/ cluster as /:k/, that is, the /h/ is realized as length on the preceding vowel, as in *pahko* [pa:kɔ] ‘my father, father!’ whereas this cluster is realized as either [:h], [hh] or [hx], that is, *pahko* [pa:hɔ], [pahhɔ], or [pahxɔ] ‘my father, father!’ in the dialect of Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini. Likewise, in Tëpu the cluster /ht/ tends to be realized as [:t], as in *erahtëe* [ɛɾa:tæ] ‘to look for’ as opposed to the Kwamalasamutu realization of [ɛɾahtæ] where the /h/ is clearly audible. As stated above, the bilabial stop /p/ has the bilabial fricative [ϕ] as an allophone in the western dialect. In the western villages of Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini, the combination of /h/ and the bilabial plosive /p/ is realized as a bilabial fricative [ϕ], or as [hϕ], for example, *tïponohpoe* [tïpɔnɔhϕ<sup>w</sup>e] ‘asked’ as opposed to [tïpɔnɔ:p<sup>w</sup>e] in the eastern dialect of Tëpu. While speakers will readily point out that another village speaks differently – and they especially love to point out the differing realizations of [pa:kɔ] / [pa:hɔ] / [pahhɔ] ‘father, my father’, and [tu:ka] / [tu:ha] ‘Brazil nut’ – the differences shown here are in fact not at all that stable since it is often speaker-dependent whether a speaker pronounces a word with an audible /h/ or with vowel length instead, a case at hand being the word *itu-htao* ‘in the forest’ which can be realized as [itu:tao] or [itu:htao] regardless of the dialect spoken by the speaker.

There is an additional cluster namely /hs/ which in the western dialect may be realized as [hs], [:s], or [xs] and which in the eastern dialect is generally realized

as [ːs], for example, *wīse* ‘urucu plant, extract thereof used to paint body’ which is realized as [ʊiːse] or [ʊihse].

A distinction must be made between the h-clusters described above, which morphophonologically are the result of syllable elision, and allophonic variation of the simplex plosive phonemes. For example, the /hp/ cluster in the word *tīponohpoe* ‘asked’ is a result of the elision of the final syllable of the verb *iponopi* ‘tell’ which is a syllable-reducing verb; the elided syllable is replaced by /h/ (or length in the eastern dialect) before further morphological material can be added, in this case the causative marker *-po*. In other cases, however, no such syllable elision process has taken place, nor can one be historically motivated, yet the pronunciation of, for example, the locative markers *-hkao* ‘liquid locative’ and *-htao* ‘container locative’ are found as [hhao] and [htao] in the western dialect, and as [kao] or [hhao] and [ːtao] or [htao] in the eastern dialect. Some examples are given in (2.5). In such cases a cluster analysis as the result of a morphophonological process is unwarranted. It is likely that the allophonic realization of the phonemes /k/ and /t/ as [h] and [ht] respectively in these cases is the result of a generalization of the occurrence of a syllable closure before a morpheme boundary in the western dialect by analogy with filling the slot of the elided syllable in this position. This generalization is then represented in the orthography by writing the postpositions as *-hkao* and *-htao*. A result of the *h*- or length insertion, however, is that that syllable then constitutes a heavy syllable since the clusters /ht/, /hp/, and /hk/ are ambisyllabic whereby the syllable preceding the stop is a heavy syllable (see 2.5). A similar example is found with the benefactive verbalizer *-htē* which is written with the digraph ‘ht’ to represent the allophones [ht] and [ːt] of the phoneme /t/. That ‘ht’ represents one phoneme can be seen if one compares the cluster /ht/ in (2.6) the first element of which is a result of elision of the final syllable *pī* of the verb *enepī* ‘bring’ followed by the imperative plural suffix *-tē*, with the allophone [ht] of the phoneme /t/ in (2.7). For syllable reduction in verbs, see section 8.3.

|       |              |               |               |                  |
|-------|--------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| (2.5) |              | Western       | Eastern       |                  |
|       | tuna-hkao    | [tuna:hao]    | [tuna:kao]    | in the water     |
|       | tēnisen-hkao | [təniːsɛŋhao] | [təniːsɛnkao] | in the beer      |
|       | itu-htao     | [itu:htao]    | [itu:tao]     | in the forest    |
|       | enī-htao     | [ɛniːhtao]    | [ɛniːtao]     | in the container |

|       |   |              |         |       |
|-------|---|--------------|---------|-------|
| (2.6) | eneh-tē-pa                              | serē-pona-pa | < enepī | bring |
|       | 3.bring-IMP.PL-CYC DP.INAN.PROX-DIR-CYC |              |         |       |
|       | bring it back here!                     |              |         |       |

|       |  |      |        |            |
|-------|--|------|--------|------------|
| (2.7) | t-omoi-htē-Ø-e                                 | i-ja | < omoi | claw, nail |
|       | COREF-claw-PROVID-NOM-NF 3-GOAL                |      |        |            |
|       | he put claws on it (on a basket he was making) |      |        |            |

### 2.4.3 Suffix consonants

All consonants can occur as the initial consonant of a suffix (or clitic), as shown in the list of suffixes (2.8a-j), whereby only one suffix per initial consonant is given as an example. Those suffixes that start in /h/ are of the cluster type hC. There are no vowel-initial suffixes, notwithstanding the complex composition of the perlocative postposition *-tae* which is made up of a directional *-ta* plus the vowel *e* and the locative postpositions that end in *o*, namely *-hkao* and *-(h)tao* which are likewise directionals *-hka* and *-ta* plus the vowel *o*, the result of which are the locative forms *-hkao* that expresses ‘in liquid’ and *-(h)tao* ‘in container-like location’. Statistically speaking there are many /p/, /t/, and /k/-initial suffixes while only a few /w/- and /ϕ/-initial suffixes.

|       |   |           |   |
|-------|---|-----------|---|
| (2.8) | a | -po       | general locative                                  |
|       | b | -ta       | container directional; non-verbal negation marker |
|       | c | -ka       | reversative verbal suffix; intransitivizer        |
|       | d | -hpe [ϕe] | indefinite specific marker                        |
|       | e | -se       | desiderative postposition                         |
|       | f | -re(pe)   | frustrative marker                                |
|       | g | -me       | facsimile marker                                  |
|       | h | -nao      | locative  |
|       | i | -wa       | verbal negation marker; stative marker            |
|       | j | -ja       | goal postposition                                 |

### 2.4.4 Distribution of the vowels

All vowels except /i/, can occur in initial position in a stem. There are only few attestations of /i/ as a root-initial vowel, for example, *irukuku* ‘snake species’ given below and *ikiri* ‘younger brother (female ego)’. There are, however, several plant names that begin in /i/. Examples of stem-initial vowels are given in (2.9). All vowels can occur between consonants as shown in (2.10).

|       |   |         |                        |
|-------|---|---------|------------------------|
| (2.9) | i | irukuku | snake sp. (bushmaster) |
|       | u | uru     | cassava bread          |
|       | e | ene     | look (at it)!          |
|       | ë | ëre     | liver                  |
|       | o | ota     | hole                   |
|       | a | arama   | honey                  |

|        |   |        |               |
|--------|---|--------|---------------|
| (2.10) | i | arimi  | spider monkey |
|        | ĩ | kĩrĩ   | man           |
|        | u | ěturu  | talk          |
|        | e | meta   | did you hear? |
|        | ë | ëwë    | a while       |
|        | o | totore | with gaps     |
|        | a | tawa   | earth, soil   |

All vowels can occur in word final position as shown in (2.11).

|        |   |        |             |
|--------|---|--------|-------------|
| (2.11) | i | ëremi  | spirit song |
|        | ĩ | nĩrĩ   | he made it  |
|        | u | maaru  | cotton      |
|        | e | amore  | his spirit  |
|        | ë | ëpë    | about you   |
|        | o | kĩnoro | macaw sp.   |
|        | a | tuna   | water       |

There are certain morphological processes of person marking that affect *ë*- and *o*-initial stems, these are given in the section Person marking across word classes in Chapter 3.

## 2.5 Syllable structure

The syllable structures of Trio can be summarized as : (C)V(V)<sup>n</sup>/<sub>h</sub>. Some examples of these syllable types are given in (2.12a-o) where a dot (.) marks a syllable boundary.

### (2.12) Syllable types

|   |                                  |             |                               |
|---|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| a | V                                | a.ku.nu.sa  | lazy                          |
| b | N                                | n.na        | that's all                    |
| c | VV                               | aa.rën      | he takes you                  |
| d | CVV                              | maa         | far                           |
| e | V <sub>i</sub> V <sub>j</sub>    | ae.rë       | really                        |
| f | CV <sub>i</sub> V <sub>j</sub>   | wae         | I am                          |
| g | CV                               | mĩ.me.so.ro | hair gourd                    |
| h | VC                               | en.tu       | (its) owner                   |
| i | CVC                              | sen         | this (thing)                  |
| j | V <sub>i</sub> V <sub>j</sub> C  | ëen.ta      | are you awake? (good morning) |
| k | CV <sub>i</sub> V <sub>j</sub> C | tëin.ken    | one (numeral)                 |
| l | VC <sub>h</sub>                  | ah.tao      | when, if                      |
| m | CVC <sub>h</sub>                 | kah.të      | skilled at weaving            |
| n | VN                               | en.pa.ta    | his face                      |
| o | CVN                              | tah.ken     | maybe                         |

The syllable onset is either empty or simple; complex onsets and codas are inadmissible. If a loanword has a complex onset, an epenthetic vowel is inserted, for example, *tuweime* ‘two’ from Dutch *twee* ‘two’. The syllable nucleus is generally a vowel, or a sequence of identical vowels or a diphthong as in *maa* ‘far’ and *yoi* ‘lizard’ or it can be the syllabic nasal /n/ in *nna* /n.na/ ‘that’s all’. The syllable coda is either empty or the glottal fricative /h/ or the nasal /n/. It is only in ideophones that the coda can be another consonant. Those syllables whose coda constitutes the nasal /n/ or the glottal fricative /h/ and all syllables whose

nucleus constitutes a long vowel are considered to be heavy syllables, all others are light syllables. The distinction heavy versus light syllables is crucial for stress assignment whereby all the former are stressed regardless of their position in the word (see section 2.5.1).

Although most words in Trio are polysyllabic, most roots are either mono- or disyllabic, some are trisyllabic. I have not been able to find roots of more than three syllables. While it is, for example, possible to segment the verb stem *-ët-amore-htë-* ‘dream’ into [-REFlexive-spirit-BENefactive-], it is not always possible to find a synchronic meaning for a putative root, for example, *i-hkërën-ma* ‘destroy s/o’ seems to contain the inchoative stative suffix *-ma* which might indicate that the word has the meaning ‘cause someone to be in a state of destruction’ yet the supposed root remains elusive. Some examples of root syllable types are given in (2.13a-g).

|        |                                |          |              |
|--------|--------------------------------|----------|--------------|
| (2.13) | Root syllables                 |          |              |
| a      | V                              | a-kĩ     | who?         |
| b      | V <sub>i</sub> V <sub>j</sub>  | oi       | grass        |
| c      | CV                             | -ka-     | say          |
| d      | CVV                            | maa      | far          |
| e      | CV <sub>i</sub> V <sub>j</sub> | pai      | tapir        |
| f      | VCVCV                          | o.mo.re  | soul, spirit |
| g      | CVCVCV                         | pu.tu.pë | head         |
|        |                                | we.re.na | knee         |

### 2.5.1 Stress and syllable structure

Stress in itself is not a distinctive feature in Trio, rather word stress is non-distinctive and predictable. Stress correlates acoustically with vowel length. Stress is assigned at word level, as shown in (2.14b-c) where in words consisting of light syllables of the type (C)V, stress falls on every second syllable from the right. As can be seen in examples (2.14b) and (2.14c) stress is moved whenever a prefix is added to the word. Primary stress is assigned to every heavy syllable whereby a heavy syllable consists of a syllable with an inherent long vowel or a diphthong, or a closed syllable. As also shown in Meira (1999) and van de Vijver (1998) stress is avoided, if possible, on the outer edges of the word, that is, stress is never assigned to a final syllable, and it is only assigned to an initial syllable if a word is disyllabic, as shown in (2.15a-c); this is in order to avoid word-final stress. The constraint of no stress in word final position is absolute and inviolable. As a consequence monosyllabic words have no stress; there are only a few attestations of monosyllabic words in Trio, for example, *oi* ‘grass, savanna’. Likewise the final syllable in example in (2.16b) which consists of the syllable CV<sub>i</sub>V<sub>j</sub> cannot be stressed even though it is a heavy syllable. Secondary stress is

assigned such that alternate syllables are stressed but not the first (or final) syllable. However, these constraints can be violated by primary stress assignment; adjacent syllables are stressed if both are heavy, and the first syllable is stressed if it is heavy, as shown in (2.16c) and (2.16a-b) respectively. First light syllables only receive stress if disyllabic to avoid word-final stress, and secondary stress can be adjacent to primary stress to avoid word-final stress, as shown in (2.18a-b). When a heavy syllable falls between a sequence of (C)V syllables, then stress is assigned to every second light syllable from that heavy syllable onwards as shown in (2.17a-c) even if that results in two adjacent syllables being stressed (2.18a-b). Note, however, that when two stressed syllables are adjacent to each other as in (2.18a-b), it is the syllable with a nasal coda that acoustically carries more stress.

- |        |   |                    |                              |                         |
|--------|---|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (2.14) | a | arimika-ne         | [a. 'ʔi:.mi. 'ka:.ne]        | (his) guardian, carer   |
|        | b | pakoro             | [pa. 'kɔ:.ʔɔ]                | house                   |
|        | c | ji-pakoro          | [ji. 'pa:.kɔ.ʔɔ]             | my house                |
| (2.15) | a | pata               | ['pa:.ta]                    | village                 |
|        | b | ere                | ['ɛ.re]                      | his liver               |
|        | c | j-enu              | ['jɛ.nu]                     | my eye                  |
| (2.16) | a | enpata             | ['ɛn.pa.ta]                  | his/her face            |
|        | b | t-e-pata-ka-e      | ['tɛ:.pa. 'ta.kae]           | appeared                |
|        | c | wan-pan-to         | ['wam. 'pan.tɔ]              | song (means of dancing) |
| (2.17) | a | i-jahpĕ-ntĕ-ne-me  | [i. 'ja:h. 'ʔɛn.tɔ. 'nɛ:.me] | as his helper           |
|        | b | i-kuhtuntĕ-tuwĕ    | [i'kuh. 'tun.tɔ. 'tu:.wɛ]    | after counting it       |
|        | c | mi-jahpĕ-ntĕ-tĕ-ne | [mi. 'jah. 'ʔɛn.tɔ. 'tɛ:.ne] | did you (pl) help them? |
| (2.18) | a | n-i-suka-n-pa      | [ni. 'su:. 'kam.pa]          | he washes it again      |
|        | b | m-i-repe-ntĕ-n     | [mi. 'ʔɛ:. 'pɛn.tɔŋ]         | are you paying?         |

## 2.5.2 Reduplication and syllable structure

Reduplication is generally a characteristic of verbal forms, finite or nominalized, where the reduplication expresses iterativity, intensity, or durativity of the action or state, plurality of subject or object, and with negated verbs it often expresses a speaker's frustration or annoyance at the action not being carried out.<sup>1</sup> Redupli-

1 Meira (1999:95) states that reduplication 'appl[ies] to verbs (with a few exceptions)' but there is no mention of which exceptions he has in mind. Most instances I have of reduplication are with verbs, with one common exception being reduplication of the nominalized form of the adverb *kure* 'good, well', namely *kurano* 'a good, nice person', or 'a good-looking person' which reduplicates as *kura-kurano*, which always refers to a plural referent. When used to refer to a singular referent this word is reduplicated as *kure-kurano*; a further example is the word *tivĕrĕken* 'a dif-

cation is not used to express plurality of an action in the sense of counting, for example, it is not used if one wants to say ‘three nights passed’, which is expressed by repeating the entire verb form three times *tikomainje, tikomainje, tikomainje* ‘three nights passed’.

There are basically two types of processes, one that reduplicates the initial one or two syllables of the stem as shown in the examples in (2.19a-b), and one that reduplicates part of the verb root, for example, *nisu:suhtan* ‘he sure is urinating intensely (in a strong gush)’, the latter category is dealt with below. These two types are termed external and internal reduplication respectively by Meira (1999:95).

With the first type of reduplication, when the first two syllables of a word are light syllables, that is, (C)VCV then both these syllables are reduplicated as shown in (2.19a-c). Since the phonetic realization of stress is vowel length, the second syllable of the reduplicate is marked in the phonetic transcription by a preceding stress mark <sup>1</sup> and the vowel is marked for length by means of the colon symbol (:). Long vowels that occur as the result of syllable elision are marked in the same way in the phonetic transcription and are written with a double vowel symbol in the fourth column showing the original verb form before reduplication, even where this is not marked in the orthography.

- (2.19) a kīpa-kīpanamapoti [kɪ'pa:-kɪ:'pana<sup>1</sup>mapoti] I am making your heads spin  
 b tīpi-tīpijoose [tɪ'pi:-tɪ'pi<sup>1</sup>jɔ:se] (they) whipped and whipped  
 c ine-inekaramaewa [i'nɛ:-i'nɛ:kara<sup>1</sup>maewa] (absolutely) not giving

When the second syllable is heavy, either by having a geminate vowel or a vowel sequence of different vowels, then only the first mora of that syllable is reduplicated, as shown in (2.20a-c).<sup>2</sup> Likewise if the second syllable has an *n* or *h* coda, the coda is not reduplicated, as shown in (2.21a-d).

---

ferent thing’ which reduplicates as *tīwē-tīwērēken* meaning ‘a totally different one’. The expression of intensity with elements other than verbs is by stress and/or vowel lengthening within the root, for example, with the adverbial intensifier *kutuma*, the second syllable is lengthened, *kuuuuuuma* ‘terribly (painful, knowledgeable etc)’; *tapīime* ‘many’ becomes *taaaapīime* ‘an awful lot’, (or *tapīīīīime*); locative demonstrative pronouns, for example, *ooni* in *oonipo* ‘there’ becomes *ooooonipo* ‘way over there’. The lengthening of the vowel is generally accompanied by very high pitch. Alternatively the vowel lengthening is often replaced by a glottal stop whereby there is a prolonged glottal closure, as in *taa'pīime* ‘an awful lot’ or *pe'na* ‘really long ago’. Other means of expressing intensity are by means of vowel lengthening of the root plus the assertive clitic *\_rē*, for example, *irē\_rē* [ɪrɛ:ɪrɛ] (DP.INAN.ANA\_ASSERT) ‘exactly that’.

2 With geminate vowels actually the result is the same, since the vowel of the second syllable in the reduplicate is phonetically realized as a long vowel; however, in keeping with other heavy second syllables that only reduplicate the first mora of that syllable, it is clear that underlyingly this process is in action.

- |          |                    |                        |                             |
|----------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (2.20) a | tëri-tëriise       | [tə'ɾitə'ɾi:se]        | many died                   |
| b        | tikë-tikëenpae     | [tɪ'wətɪ'wəmpæ]        | learned continuously        |
| c        | tivë-tivëerekomae  | [tɪ'wətɪ'wəɾɛ'kɔmæ]    | was confused/annoyed        |
| (2.21) a | wipa-wipahkanerepe | [wi'pawi'pahka'nɛɾɛpɛ] | I kept trying to break it   |
| b        | tikë-tikëhtuinje   | [tɪ'kətɪ'kəhtuɲ'ɛ]     | screamed and screamed       |
| c        | ine-inehtëewa      | [i'nɛ:i'nɛh'təwɛ]      | not planning                |
| d        | ëju-ëjunpatuwë     | [ə'juəl'jupa'tu:wə]    | after you have shown wisdom |

If the first syllable is heavy, then only that syllable is reduplicated as shown in (2.22a-c). In addition, intensity, iterativity, or duration can be increased by further reduplication of the syllable, as shown in (2.22c) where the first syllable *tii* is reduplicated twice.

- |          |                    |                       |                                     |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (2.22) a | kii-kiipanamenpoti | ['ki:ki.'pana'mɛnɔti] | we would cause their heads to spin  |
| b        | tee-teese          | ['tɛ:'tɛ:sɛ]          | (s/he/it) was/ (they) were          |
| c        | tiiitiiëe(< tiiëe) | [tr:'tr.'tətɛ]        | s/he/it/they went and went and went |

However, there is at least one exception to this rule of only reduplicating the first heavy syllable, namely with negated C-initial verbs that are prefixed by the object marker (*i*)*n*-. Example (2.19c) above shows a reduplicated V-initial verb in the negative which behaves regularly as a word with two initial light syllables. With negated C-initial verbs, on the other hand, only the second syllable constitutes a light syllable, since the third person negative prefix is a closed syllable, namely, (*i*)*n*-. Thus one would only expect to see reduplication of the first syllable, and one does, as shown in (2.23a-b). However, there is another pattern that is also found, at least equally as often as the first, namely that the first two syllables are reduplicated as shown in (2.24a-c).

- |          |                  |                      |             |
|----------|------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| (2.23) a | in-inpono:sewa   | [in-'impɔ'nɔ:sɛwɛ]   | not telling |
| b        | in-inku:sewa     | [in-'iŋku:sɛwɛ]      | not trying  |
| (2.24) a | inpo-inpono:sewa | [im'pɔ-im'pɔnɔ:sɛwɛ] | not telling |
| b        | inku-inku:sewa   | [iŋ'ku-iŋ'ku:sɛwɛ]   | not trying  |
| c        | inmo-inmoijewa   | [im'mɔ-im'moijɛwɛ]   | not obeying |

Note that Meira (1999:102-4) seems to have different data in that he has found cases where only the initial vowel of the prefix (*i*)*n*- is reduplicated, as in “‘didn’t imitate’ *in-kuu-sewa* [íi-ŋkúúʃɛwɛ]” (Meira 1999:102). Furthermore Meira (1999:103) treats the negative form of the verbs I have given in (2.24a-b) as ‘internal reduplication’ by reason of there being no second *i* on the prefix (*i*)*n* in the stem, for example, [i-mpɔ-mpɔnɔʃɛwɛ], which if this were correct, would result in a syllabic nasal since complex onsets are not allowed in Trio. However, in his example (70e) he does give the reduplicated form of *injonpaewa* ‘not addressing’ (his translation, Meira 1999:103) as [i-ŋɔ-ŋɔmpɛwɛ] with a superscripted *i* before the stem.

The type of reduplication that occurs word-internally can be characterized as reduplication of the root, that is, reduplication occurs after the personal prefixes and it is the first syllable of the verb root that is reduplicated, as shown in (2.25a-c); unlike the examples given above, the coda is also carried over into the reduplicated syllable

- (2.25) a    *nisuh-suhtan*    [ni<sup>1</sup>ʃuh-ʃuhtan]    he is urinating intensely    < *nisuhtan*  
           b    *wi-pah-pahkae*    [wi<sup>1</sup>pah-payæ]    I am breaking and breaking < *wipahkae*  
           c    *te-tain-tainkae*    [te-tain-tainkae]    (he) ran and ran                    < *tetainkae*

### 2.5.3 Vowel assimilation

Progressive vowel assimilation through the liquid consonant *r* is found with the morphemes *\_rë* ‘really, ASSERTive’, *\_rëken* ‘only’, and the possessed (anti-genitive) suffix *-ri* whereby the first vowel of each of these elements assimilates to a back rounded vowel (*o* or *u*) if immediately preceded by an *o* or *u*. The process involved is described for each suffix in turn.

The clitic *\_rë*, shown in the examples in (2.26a-e) generally becomes *\_ro* when immediately preceded by *o* as shown in (2.27a,b). However, if a word-final *o* is the endpoint of a diphthong, the process is blocked as shown in examples (2.28a,b).

- (2.26) a    *akëmi\_rë*                really his younger brother  
           b    *witëe\_rë*                I am really going (to go)  
           c    *irë\_rë*                    that (emphatic)  
           d    *akī\_rë*                    who exactly?  
           e    *mīnepu\_rë*                really a bridge

- (2.27) a    *tīwërëno\_ro*                a (really) different one  
           b    *irë-po\_ro*                exactly there

- (2.28) a    *tuna-hkao\_rë*                right in the water  
           b    *serë-mao\_rë*                (right) now, nowadays

There is at least one case where the clitic vowel does not assimilate, namely in the word *wītoto* ‘Amerindian human being’ as shown in (2.29) which is never found in the corpus as *\*wītoto\_ro*.

- (2.29)                *wītoto\_rë\_rë*                exactly a human being

The first vowel of the clitic *\_rëken* ‘only’, probably a derivative of the assertive marker *\_rë*, given above, may optionally assimilate in quality to a preceding *o*, as shown in (2.30a,b), both of which are accepted forms.

- (2.30) a    *irë apo\_rëken*                just like that, only like that  
           b    *irë apo\_roken*

The vowel of the anti-genitive (possessed) suffix *-rī*, shown in the examples in (2.31a,b), undergoes assimilation to a preceding *u*, as shown in (2.32a-c).

- |        |   |                 |                     |
|--------|---|-----------------|---------------------|
| (2.31) | a | ji-moitī-rī     | my family           |
|        | b | tī-mama-rī-ja   | to his (own) mother |
| (2.32) | a | j-enu-ru        | my eye              |
|        | b | j-emu-ru        | my testicles        |
|        | c | ji-n-muku-ru-ja | to my son           |

Another rule of vowel assimilation of adjacent vowels is found when an *a-* or *o-* initial stem is marked for the second person. The second person prefix *ē-* is marked on nouns as a possessor and on intransitive verbs as a subject, and on transitive verbs as an object of a third person agent, except when these are *a-* or *o-* initial, in which case there is total assimilation of the prefix vowel, resulting in a gemination of the vowel *aa* or *oo*, as shown in the examples in (2.33a-d) for possessor, and in (2.34a-c) for subject of an intransitive verb, and in (2.34d) for the object of a transitive verb.

- |        |   |            |                                   |
|--------|---|------------|-----------------------------------|
| (2.33) | a | ē-maja     | your knife                        |
|        | b | ē-ere      | your liver                        |
|        | c | a-akēmi    | your younger brother              |
|        | d | o-oī       | your meat                         |
| (2.34) | a | ē-eretae   | you are resting                   |
|        | b | ē-urakanae | you are taking a walk             |
|        | c | a-anotae   | you are falling (you nearly fell) |
|        | d | o-onantan  | they will bury you                |

An instance of vowel alternation is found with monosyllabic suffixes or postpositions that end in *e* and change to *a* when nominalized by means of the person nominalizers *-n(o)* and *-to* (see 9.4); these include the desiderative postposition *-se*, the facsimile marker *-me*, the instrumental *-ke*, and the question word *eeke* ‘how?’. The process is summarized in (2.35) and some contextual examples are given in (2.36) - (2.38). This process also applies to three locative adverbs that end in *je*, as shown in (2.39a-c). The rule is not applied if the final *e* is the endpoint of a diphthong, as shown in (2.40).

- |        |               |                           |   |                       |
|--------|---------------|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| (2.35) | Desiderative  | -se                       | → | -sa-n                 |
|        | Facsimile     | -me                       | → | -ma-n                 |
|        | Instrumental  | -ke                       | → | -ka-to                |
|        | Question word | eeke                      | → | eeka-nō               |
| (2.36) | a             | t-īnjo-se                 |   | n-a-Ø-i               |
|        |               | 3COREF-husband-DESID      |   | 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT |
|        |               | she wants a (her) husband |   |                       |

- (2.37) b t-ĩnjo-sa-n                      mēe  
           3COREF-husband-DESID-NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
           she is someone who wants a (her) husband
- (2.37) a pakoko-me n-a-∅-i  
           cricket.sp-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
           it is green/bluish
- b pakoko-ma-n  
           cricket.sp-FACS-NOM  
           a green/bluish one
- (2.38) a nērē-ke                                      n-ē-ewe-ja-n  
           3PRO.ANIM.ANA-INST                      3↔3-REFL-eat-PRES-NCERT  
           he eats that one (he nourishes himself with that, e.g., monkey)
- b ě-ka-to      n-a-∅-i                                      serē  
           2-INST-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT      DP.INAN.PROX  
           this is yours
- (2.39) a seinje > senja-n      s/one (from) here  
           b weinje > wenja-n      s/one (from) here  
           c mēinje > mēnja-n      s/one (from) there
- (2.40) i-wenae > i-wenae-no      one behind him

This change e → a is considered to be partial assimilation in backness since the conditioning suffixes, *-n(o)* and *-to* have in common that they contain a back vowel; in the case of *-n(o)* the vowel is not always present word-finally (although it is obligatory with some adverbs (see Chapter 10)) but is immediately retrievable as soon as further morphological material such as the past marker *-npē* is added.



## 3 Lexical categories

In the following I give the major and minor word classes of Trio, followed by person and number marking across word class boundaries. There are three major word categories in Trio and four minor ones. The distinction between major and minor is based on both the size of the word category as well as the inflectional and derivational possibilities that a given category has. The word category adjective is not found in Trio, rather adjectival concepts are expressed by means of adverbs, nouns, and verbs. There is a great deal of overlap in person marking across the lexical categories and the morphological processes involved are the same throughout, and it is for this reason that person marking is discussed in this chapter along with definitions of the major word classes.

### 3.1 Major categories

The major lexical categories of Trio are noun, verb, and postposition. These are the categories that have the highest level of inflectional and derivational possibilities. In the following I provide a language-internal definition of these categories.

#### 3.1.1 Noun

Nouns are defined on the basis of inflectional properties, that is, their ability to be possessed and in the manner in which they mark number and tense, the latter two of which are distinct from that of all other word categories. A plural noun is indicated by means of the suffixes *-tomo* (*-ton*), *-samo* (*-san*), *-jamo* (*-jan*); plurality of the possessor of a possessed noun is indicated by the plural marker *-komo* (*-kon*). These contrast with the plural marking on verbs by means of the suffixes *-ti*, *-tĕ*, and the clitic *\_to*, and on postpositions, the inflected object of which is pluralized by means of the suffix *-:ne*. Furthermore, syntactically, nouns can function as subjects or objects in a clause. There are certain markers that only nouns (and also reified and person-focussed nominalizations) can take such as, for example, the nominal diminutive suffix *-pisi*(*kĕ*) and the augmentative suffix *-imĕ*. Likewise only nouns or nominals can take the facsimile marker *-me*. Within the lexical category of nouns there are subclasses such as pronouns which can also function as subjects or objects, but these cannot be possessed, and their plural marking differs from that of nouns. Pronouns can, how-

ever, take nominal tense marking. Demonstrative pronouns form a further subclass of pronouns. Nominalizations are included here as a subcategory of nouns. There are several nominalizations in Trio, all of which are nominal but they are so to different degrees. Thus these form a continuum along the range from highly nominal, that is, reified or person-focussed nominalizations, to highly verbal, that is, gerundive or infinitive-type nominalizations.

### 3.1.2 Verbs

Verbs are defined on the basis of their distinct inflections for person (both subject and object in a portmanteau prefix), number, and tense/aspect, causative, and evidentiality marking. A finite verb is all in all very restricted in the inflectional and derivational marking it can take. Once verbs are nominalized or made non-finite, however, they have a much broader array of both inflectional and derivational markers. Syntactically finite verbs function as a predication, they express an event or a state of affairs. Finite verbs are, however, not the only means of sentence predication since many predications are nominal.

### 3.1.3 Postpositions

Postpositions are defined by their distinct inflectional marking for person and number as well as their syntactic properties. Plurality of the object of a postposition is marked by means of the plural marker *-:ne*. as opposed to *-tomo* (*-ton*), *-komo* (*-kon*) used for nominals and *-ti*, *-të*, and *\_to* used for verbs. Postpositions can be simplex or derived.

### 3.1.4 Minor categories

The minor categories are those closed class categories that compared to the major classes have fewer derivational possibilities, namely adverbs, interrogatives, particles, and ideophones including the subcategory interjections.

### 3.1.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are defined on semantic and morpho-syntactic grounds. Adverbs cannot combine with person or plural marking. The only morphology that adverbs can take is a nominalizing suffix. Most adverbial expressions are derived forms. Adverbs generally modify a verb. They can only modify a noun if they have first been nominalized.

### 3.1.6 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are defined by their restricted inflectional possibilities and their syntactic behaviour; unless some other element in the clause is in focus, interrogatives occur clause-initially. There are two basic roots for interrogatives, namely *a-* and *eeke*(*e*). The interrogatives are then derived by suffixation of the postpositions for location, source, reason, time, cause, and instrumental. The word class interrogatives is the only lexical class that allows use of the indefinite-specific marker *-hpe*, which is marked either on the question word itself or on the final element of the interrogative phrase.

### 3.1.7 Particles

Particles are defined by their lack of ability to take any morphology or undergo any morphological processes. The particle category is a relatively small closed lexical class. The particles have a discourse function and are given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Particles

|           |                                       |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| ėwė       | later, in a minute                    |
| tahken(e) | maybe                                 |
| pitė      | (for a) while                         |
| marė      | also                                  |
| aha       | yes                                   |
| kone      | o.k.                                  |
| owa       | no                                    |
| kena      | no idea/not a clue                    |
| ma        | discourse particle/ new topic         |
| naka      | that's it! it's finished, it's enough |
| npa       | come on, let's go                     |
| naapopa   | thank you                             |

### 3.1.8 Ideophones and interjections

Ideophones are characterized by their possibility to have a deviant phonological form, and syntactically and semantically by their place and function in a sentence. A small group of ideophones can only occur as an object of the verb *ka* 'say', while a larger group occurs either as close to the verb, on either side of the verb, or as an utterance on their own. Interjections are seen as being of the same category as ideophones, that is, they have expressive content, namely they are used to express empathy, commiseration, or surprise. Like the larger group of ideophones, interjections can stand alone as independent utterances. Neither ideo-

phones nor interjections can take any further morphology. They do, however, undergo processes of vowel lengthening to indicate intensity.

### 3.2 Person-marking across word classes: Preliminaries

The following sections deal with those person-marking categories that occur across the main word classes of noun, verb and postposition. Person marking on transitive verbs is for the most part restricted to that class of verbs and thus is not dealt with in detail here, but is left to the chapter on verbal morphology (8.6 ff.). Likewise person marking in the third person is only dealt with for the word classes nouns and postpositions, third person marking on verbs is found in Chapter 8. Object marking of speech act participants, although belonging to person marking on transitive verbs, is dealt with in this chapter for reasons that will become apparent below.

There are two different but related morphological processes that affect the phonological form of a person-marked stem, namely vowel alternation in *ě*-initial bases, and the insertion of the glide *j* before person-marking in a small group of words of the three main word classes. First, a summary of the main points of person as a category is given, then the two processes are described in turn.

The category of person distinguishes four exponents, namely first (1), second (2), first and second (1+2), and third (3) person; in semantic terms, there is, if one will, an additional person, namely person 1+3, expressed as a pronoun *ainja* [a'jɲa], which is a first person plural exclusive form, that is, it refers to the speaker and someone else, but not the addressee. The behaviour of person 1+3 deserves special attention because on the basis of agreement this person takes its person marking from the third person, that is, the third person prefixes are used; however, when evidential marking is required on a finite verb, then this person uses the evidential marking of the first person. In combination with the person marking of the third person, the pronoun *ainja* is obligatory at all times. Person 1+3 is a singular, not a plural form. In fact, person 1+3 takes its person marking equally from the two elements of which it is made up, namely morphologically it is a third person singular and on verbs it marks evidentiality according to the speech act participant status of the first person.

The exponents of the category of person are given in Table 3.2 using the independent pronouns for exemplification purposes. These independent personal pronouns are only mentioned here and are dealt with in detail in Chapter 5. Each exponent of person has one or several prefixes that is marked on a nominal, a verb, or a postposition to indicate the argument structure of that element; a list of the prefixes dealt with in this chapter (thus excluding the person-marking pre-

fixes on transitive verbs) is given in Table 3.3. The third person, when marked on non-verbal categories, distinguishes between a coreferential *tī-* and a non-coreferential *i-* prefix; person 1+3, being in part a third person, likewise distinguishes between the coreferential *tī-* and the non-coreferential *i-*. In general, a distinction is made throughout the grammar between speech act participants (SAPs) and the third person; this is seen in the plural marking and in the evidentiality marking on verbs; the distinction between animacy and inanimacy in the third person is not reflected in terms of agreement on the verb. Furthermore, there exists in Trio a person hierarchy which gives precedence to SAPs over the third person, that is, in verbal predications whenever a SAP and a third person are involved, it is the SAP prefix that will be marked on the verb. After a discussion of the phonological form of bases with regard to vowel occurrence, a description is given of the morphophonological alternations that occur in the bases (that is, roots and stems) in conjunction with person marking, giving paradigms for each word class. Plural marking of (person marked on) nouns, verbs and postpositions is discussed in the relevant chapter on that word class.

Table 3.2: Independent pronouns

|             |                                       |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1           | wī                                    |
| 2           | ēmē                                   |
| 1+2         | kīmē                                  |
| 3 animate   | mēe / mēērē / ohkī / mēkī / nērē      |
| 3 inanimate | sen(i),serē / mērē / ooni / mēn / irē |
| 1+3         | ainja                                 |

Table 3.3: Personal prefixes

| Person  | Postp | Noun | Verb S, O      | Non-finite verb |
|---------|-------|------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1       |       |      | j(i)-          |                 |
| 2       |       |      | ē-/:           |                 |
| 1+2     |       |      | k(ī)-          |                 |
| 3       |       | i-/∅ | S: n(i)-       | in-/∅           |
| 3 coref |       | tī-  | ---            | tī-             |
| 1+3     |       |      | identical to 3 |                 |

### 3.2.1 Vowel alternation in bases before person marking

While Trio has a seven-way vowel system, there is an uneven distribution of the vowels, that is, not all vowels are allowed to occur in all positions of roots. The high central vowel *ī* is not allowed root- or stem-initially in any word class. The vowel *i* occurs seldom in root-initial position. Very few noun roots begin in *i*, and those that do are, for example, some animal terms as *irukuku* ‘snake sp.’, and

a few other nouns which semantically are in a part-whole relationship such as *iimo* ‘egg(s)’, *ikiri* ‘older brother of female ego’; the initial *i* found in transitive verb stems is a diathesis marker that stands in a paradigmatic relationship with *ë* (reflexive) and *e* (middle) respectively, the root is in these cases consonant-initial; postpositions do not begin in *i*. Of the remaining five vowels, *o* and *u* are very infrequent in both root- and stem-initial position; there are remarkably few *o*- and *u*-initial verbs and nouns, and no *o*- or *u*-initial postpositions. The vowel *e* occurs frequently in stem-initial position but only seldom in root-initial position for reasons that pertain to person-marking, discussed below. The vowel *a* is the most frequently occurring root- and stem-initial vowel. The vowel *ë* is a frequent root-initial vowel, however, it occurs significantly less frequently as a stem-initial vowel. A stem that begins in *ë* indicates the absence of person-marking (see 3.3.1 below). When an *ë*-initial stem is person-marked for first, second, and non-coreferential third person, the vowel changes to *e* after the person marking prefixes, and also after the  $\emptyset$  marker for the third person. In addition disyllabic stems of the type *ëCë* and *oCo* undergo a change of the initial vowel to an *aCë* and an *aCo* structure when person marking is added. The rule is summarized in (3.1a-b), and is followed by some examples of nouns in (3.2a-c), verbs in (3.3a-c), and postpositions in (3.4a-b). In each of the examples, where possible, the final two rows show the same element marked with a person 1+2 prefix *k(i)*- and the third person coreferential prefix *t(i)*- where the initial vowel is retained. In diphthongs of the type *ëi*, when the initial element is *ë*, this vowel is fronted to *e* as shown in (3.5a-b).

(3.1) Stem alternation rule I: Before person marking

- (a)  $\ddot{e} \rightarrow e$  / person-marking for 1, 2, 3(non-coref) only
- (b)  $\ddot{e}C\ddot{e} \rightarrow aC\ddot{e}$  / person-marking for 1, 2, 3 (non-coref) only
- $oCo \rightarrow aCo$  / person-marking for 1, 2, 3 (non-coref) only

(3.2) *ë*-initial nouns

|   |        |                    |                         |
|---|--------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| a |        | <i>ëre</i>         | liver                   |
|   | 1      | <i>j-ere</i>       | my liver                |
|   | 2      | <i>ë-ere</i>       | your liver              |
|   | 3      | $\emptyset$ -ere   | his liver               |
|   | 1+2    | <i>k-ëre</i>       | our liver               |
|   | 3coref | <i>t-ëre</i>       | his own liver           |
| b |        | <i>ëkëmi</i>       |                         |
|   | 1      | <i>j-akëmi</i>     | my younger sibling      |
|   | 2      | <i>a-akëmi</i>     | your younger sibling    |
|   | 3      | $\emptyset$ -akëmi | his younger sibling     |
|   | 1+2    | <i>k-ëkëmi</i>     | our younger sibling     |
|   | 3coref | <i>t-ëkëmi</i>     | his own younger sibling |

|   |        |         |                      |
|---|--------|---------|----------------------|
| c | oCo    | omore   | spirit, shadow, soul |
|   | 1      | j-amore | my spirit            |
|   | 2      | a-amore | your spirit          |
|   | 3      | ∅-amore | his spirit           |
|   | 1+2    | k-omore | our spirit           |
|   | 3coref | t-omore | his own spirit       |

(3.3) *ë*-initial verbs

|   |        |             |              |
|---|--------|-------------|--------------|
| a | ë → e  | ëta         | hear         |
|   | 1      | j-eta-∅     | he heard me  |
|   | 2      | ë-eta-∅     | he heard you |
|   | 3      | mëe ∅-eta-∅ | he heard him |
|   | 1+2    | k-ëta-∅     | he heard us  |
|   | 3coref | t-ëta-e     | heard        |

|   |           |           |              |
|---|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| b | ëCë → aCë | ërë       | take         |
|   | 1         | j-arë-∅-n | he takes me  |
|   | 2         | a-arë-∅-n | he takes you |
|   | 3         | n-arë-∅-n | he takes him |
|   | 1+2       | k-ërë-∅-n | he takes us  |
|   | 3coref    | t-ërë-e   | taken        |

|   |           |           |          |
|---|-----------|-----------|----------|
| c | oCo → aCo | onota     | fall     |
|   | 1         | j-anota   | I fell   |
|   | 2         | a-anota   | you fell |
|   | 3         | n-anota   | he fell  |
|   | 1+2       | k-onota   | we fell  |
|   | 3coref    | t-onota-e | fell     |

(3.4) *ë*-initial postpositions

|   |     |          |                                  |
|---|-----|----------|----------------------------------|
| a |     | ëkatao   | beside                           |
|   | 1   | j-ekatao | beside me                        |
|   | 2   | ë-ekatao | beside you                       |
|   | 3   | ∅-ekatao | beside him                       |
|   | 1+2 | k-ëkatao | beside us                        |
|   | 3   | t-ëkatao | beside himself, at his own house |

|   |           |       |                |
|---|-----------|-------|----------------|
| b | ëCë → aCë | ëwë   | inside         |
|   | 1         | j-awë | inside me      |
|   | 2         | a-awë | inside you     |
|   | 3         | ∅-awë | inside him     |
|   | 1+2       | k-ëwë | inside us      |
|   | 3coref    | t-ëwë | inside himself |

(3.5) *ë* → *e* in diphthongs

|   |        |                                |
|---|--------|--------------------------------|
| a | ëire   | dangerous, angry               |
|   | j-eire | dangerous to me, angry with me |
| b | ëetĩ   | uncle                          |
|   | j-eetĩ | my uncle                       |

### 3.2.2 Glide-insertion

There is a small, and sometimes very small, group of words from each of the word classes that begin in one of the vowels *a*, *o*, or *ě* and that require the insertion of the glide *j* before person marking can be added. In fact, there are nineteen nouns that have the *j*-inserting rule, given here in (3.6a-s) (see also 4.3.3), and one postposition, namely *apo* ‘like’ shown in (3.7a) with a noun, and in (3.7b) with a personal prefix and the inserted glide. The noun *ěměině* ‘thorn sp.’ in (3.6r) is from Meira (1999:208) who also has an additional noun *isireti* which is a Portuguese loan meaning ‘razor’. The verbs that have *j*-insertion are those that are based on one of the nouns plus a verbalizer as shown in (3.8a,b). The vowel alternation rule given above, that is,  $\check{e} \rightarrow e$  and  $\check{e}C\check{e} \rightarrow aC\check{e}$  applies to only some of these nouns. The noun in (3.6p) has the change  $\check{e} \rightarrow a$ , and according to Meira (1999:729) the noun *ěměině* ‘thorn’, although of the  $\check{e}C\check{e}$  structure, has no change of the initial vowel to *a* as would be expected. Furthermore there are no changes in the *oCo* nouns as shown in (3.6i-m). Words that begin in *a* are not affected by the glide insertion. It is tempting to consider this glide insertion as a relic of a possessive ‘relator’ that occurred between the personal prefixes and the element to which they were attached (see Gildea 1998), and then regard all those words that begin in a *j*, some examples of which are given in (3.9a-g), as having frozen the former prefix. Considering that many of the nouns given in (3.6a-s) are loan words – in the case of (*j*)*oroko* ‘work’ a relatively late loan at the earliest from the end of the seventeenth century - it would mean that the reconstructed possessive ‘relator’ as a productive process was still in operation until quite late.

It is thus quite possible that what causes the change in the initial vowel, that is,  $\check{e} \rightarrow e$  throughout the grammar before person marking is the application of the palatalization rule brought about by the (supposed) glide insertion whereby the resulting possessed form in *e* is the result of the unrealized palatal glide, that is, the rule applies without there being any overt realization of the conditioning factor that triggers the rule, namely the glide. If this is the case then the third person possessive prefix, which is *i*- preceding consonant-initial elements and zero before vowel-initial words, is not quite zero at all, as is suggested by the way I represent it in the examples, rather, it is still present in the form of a rule or of an unrealized palatal glide. On the other hand, the glide insertion as an old relator between a person-marker and a following noun or verb would not explain in a natural way the change of an initial  $\check{e}$  or *o* to *a* in  $\check{e}C\check{e}$  and *oCo* structures. For this reason, this latter process is treated here as a morphological rather than a phonological process.

For the lack of a better gloss, in this grammar, the glide in this function is glossed as EUphonic to give expression to the fact that synchronically it is an ep-

enthetic glide between two vowels, with the caveat that this glide insertion may be a reflex of a former possessive marker.

|       |                      |                   |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------|
| (3.6) | /j/-inserting nouns  |                   |
|       | a aipī               | speed, ferocity   |
|       | b akoo               | mortar            |
|       | c akusa              | needle            |
|       | d anai               | corn              |
|       | e arimina            | electric eel      |
|       | f (a)paruru          | banana(s)         |
|       | g o                  | tool              |
|       | h omi                | word, language    |
|       | i osi                | rash              |
|       | j oroī               | cashew            |
|       | k oroisi             | wristwatch        |
|       | l oroko              | work              |
|       | m orontī             | wax               |
|       | n otono              | cough, cold       |
|       | o ěikěkě             | wound             |
|       | p ěkěrěu (-j-akěrěu) | disease           |
|       | q ěnkai (-j-ankai)   | comb              |
|       | r ěriipo (-j-eripo)  | flat baking plate |
|       | s ěměině             | thorn sp.         |

(3.7) a wītoto apo  
human.being like  
like a human being

b ě-j-apo  
2-EU-like  
like you

(3.8)a wi-j-omi-htě-∅-e  
1→3-EU-language-BEN-PRES-CERT  
I am translating it (I am language-providing it)

b wi-j-oroko-ntě-∅-e  
1→3-EU-work-BEN-PRES-CERT  
I am providing him with work (making work for him)

|       |                   |                   |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (3.9) | /j/-initial words |                   |
|       | a jaramata        | jaw, chin         |
|       | b jara            | temporary shelter |
|       | c jokī            | drink             |
|       | d jahta           | armpit            |
|       | e jetīpě          | bones             |
|       | f je(rī)          | tooth / teeth     |
|       | g joto            | friend (lover)    |

### 3.3 Person marking

Person is marked on a constituent by means of personal prefixes, and number is marked independently by suffixes. Person marking on nouns and nominalized verbs encodes a possessor (and where relevant an object); on postpositions, person marking encodes the object of the postposition; person marking on verbs is somewhat more complex and encodes the semantic roles of both an agent and a patient in the case of a transitive verb, and subject in the case of an intransitive verb. All the main word classes obligatorily take person-marking, and those elements that lack an argument are also marked as having a zero argument. The non-verbal classes exhibit fully identical marking which includes a coreferential prefix *tī-* in the third person which is not found in the verbal class of marking either an intransitive subject or the object of a transitive verb. Identical personal prefixes of the exponents for first, 1+2, and second persons, given in Table 3.4 below, are used to mark the arguments that are listed in (3.10). Person marking in the third person is not uniform across all the functions and word classes: it distinguishes a non-coreferential (*i-/∅*) and a coreferential (*t(i)-*) prefix when marked on nouns and postpositions; transitive and intransitive verbs mark a third person agent and subject respectively by means of the prefix *n(i)-*, and a transitive object by means of the prefix *in-* (see also 8.6 below); the third person prefixes are given in Table 3.5. For a specialized usage of *t(i)-* on non-finite verbal forms, see section 8.14.4.

Table 3.4: One-argument prefixes

|     | C-initial stem | V-initial stem |
|-----|----------------|----------------|
| 1   | ji-            | j-             |
| 2   | ě-             | ě/:            |
| 1+2 | kī-            | k-             |

- (3.10)
- object on a postposition (1-place)
  - possessor on a noun or nominalized verb (1-place)
  - intransitive subject (1-place)
  - object of a transitive verb (SAP object of a third person agent ) (2-place)

Table 3.5: Third person prefixes

|        | Nouns and postpositions | Verbs: S and A | O            |
|--------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 3      | <i>i-/∅</i>             | <i>n(i)-</i>   | <i>-(i)n</i> |
| 3coref | <i>t(i)-</i>            | ----           | ---          |

In (3.11) and (3.12) below I give two identical paradigms for argument marking on a postposition and on a noun, namely with the contact locative *-pě(kě)* in its

extended sense of ‘busy with, about’ and with the possessed noun *pata* ‘village’; the plural suffix *-kon* marks plurality of the possessor, not of the noun itself (see 4.4). In order to show the almost identical marking of arguments on verbs, I give in (3.13) the paradigm of the reducing intransitive verb (*i*)*koma(mi)* ‘spend the night, get dark’<sup>1</sup>, and in (3.14) the object marking of SAPs on a transitive verb when the agent is the third person; as stated above, according to the person hierarchy obtaining in Trio, if a SAP and a third person are both present, then it is the SAP rather than the third person that is marked on the verb. In (3.13) and (3.14) the third person and person 1+3 are also given in order to complete the paradigms, more details can be found in Chapter 8. With postpositions such as *-pě(kě)* ‘contact locative: ‘at, busy with, about’, the goal postposition *-ja*, and the source postposition *-pěe*, the postposition is marked directly on the pronoun *ainja* as shown with *-pě(kě)* in (3.11) below. With other postpositions such as, for example, *-ekatao* ‘beside’ *-warē* ‘know’ the third person prefix *i-* is required as well as the pronoun itself.

(3.11) Contact locative postposition *-pě(kě)*

|        | Sg.      |               | Pl.         |  |                  |
|--------|----------|---------------|-------------|--|------------------|
| 1      | ji-pě    | about me      |             |  |                  |
| 2      | ě-pě     | about you     | ě-pěkě:-ne  |  | about you        |
| 1+2    | kī-pě    | about us      | kī-pěkě:-ne |  | about us         |
| 3      | i-pě     | about him     | i-pěkě:-ne  |  | about them       |
| 3coref | tī-pě    | about himself | tī-pěkě:-ne |  | about themselves |
| 1+3    | ainja-pě | about us      |             |  |                  |

(3.12) Possessed noun *pata* ‘village’

|        | Sg.          |                 | Pl.         |  |                   |
|--------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|--|-------------------|
| 1      | ji-pata      | my village      |             |  |                   |
| 2      | ě-pata       | your village    | ě-pata-kon  |  | your (pl) village |
| 1+2    | kī-pata      | our village     | kī-pata-kon |  | our (pl) village  |
| 3      | i-pata       | his village     | i-pata-kon  |  | their village     |
| 3coref | tī-pata      | his own village | tī-pata-kon |  | their own village |
| 1+3    | ainja i-pata | our village     |             |  |                   |

(3.13) Subject of intransitive verb (*i*)*koma(mi)* ‘get dark, spend night’

|     | Sg.                  |                            | Pl.               |
|-----|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1   | ji-komain-ja-e       | I am spending the night    |                   |
| 2   | ě-komain-ja-e        | you are spending the night | ě-komain-ja-ti    |
| 1+2 | kī-komain-ja-e       | we are spending the night  | kī-komain-ja-ti   |
| 3   | ni-komain-ja-n       | he is spending the night   | ni-komain-ja-n_to |
| 1+3 | ainja ni-komain-ja-e | we are spending the night  |                   |

1 The verb (*i*)*komamī* given in (3.13) reduces the final syllable to *n*. The *i* found preceding the *n* in the tense-marked form given here is an orthographic convention reflecting the palatalization of the nasal before the glide.

(3.14) SAP object of transitive verb *ene(pi)* ‘bring’ with third person agent

|     | Sg.               |                    | Pl.          |  |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|--|
| 1   | j-enee-ja-n       | he is bringing me  |              |  |
| 2   | ë-enee-ja-n       | he is bringing you | ë-enee-ja-ti | he is bringing you                                   |
| 1+2 | k-ënee-ja-n       | he is bringing us  | k-ënee-ja-ti | he is bringing us                                    |
| 3   | n-enee-ja-n       | he is bringing it  | n-enee-ja-n  | to he is bringing them<br>(or: they are bringing it) |
| 1+3 | ainja Ø-enee-ja-n |                    |              | he is bringing us                                    |

### 3.3.1 Absence of argument and person-marking

Absence of a (definite) argument on nouns entails a non-possessed noun as shown in the examples in (3.15a-c), whereby those nouns that are *ë*-initial or of the structure *ëCë* or *oCo* remain so if unpossessed but undergo change of the initial vowel: *ë* → *e*, *ëCë* and *oCo* → *aCë* and *aCo* respectively when possessed by the first, second, and third non-coreferential persons; persons 1+2 and the third person coreferential do not cause any change in the initial vowel. Consonant-initial and *o*-, *u*-, and *a*-initial nouns do not show any overt marking of a zero argument as shown in (3.16a-c). Absence of a person marker on verbs indicates that there is no object or an indefinite object. This unmarked form of a verb stem is obligatory with the adverbializer *-të* ‘skilled’ as in (3.17a,b), and with the nominalizer *-në* since no definite object is allowed, as shown in (3.18a,b), and when the verb is in the non-finite negative or supine form, when there is no definite object as shown in (3.19a,b) and (3.20a,b); one-argument transitive verbs, that is, intransitive verbs that mark person with the prefixes of the transitive paradigm (see 8.5.2) and those verbs that are marked for reflexive take a prefix *w(i)*- to mark the absence of an argument as shown in (3.21a,b) (for the length allomorph of *w(i)*, see Chapters 8 and 9). It was not possible to find an unmarked postposition among those that are obligatorily marked for object, however, considering the fact that the third person coreferential prefix *tì*- and person 1+2 prefix *kì*- do not cause a change in the initial vowel, then we can assume that the underlying root-initial vowel of *e*-initial or *a*-initial postpositions of the structure *aCë*, likewise is *ë* in such examples as those in (3.22a,b).

#### (3.15) Noun stem

|        |         |                       |
|--------|---------|-----------------------|
| (a)    | ëwanë   | heart (non-possessed) |
| 1      | j-ewanë | my heart              |
| 2      | ë-ewanë | your heart            |
| 3      | Ø-ewanë | his heart             |
| 1+2    | k-ëwanë | our heart             |
| 3coref | t-ëwanë | his own heart         |
| (b)    | ëpëi    | seat (non-possessed)  |
| 1      | j-apëi  | my seat               |

|         |        |                                   |                                |
|---------|--------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|         | 2      | a-apēi                            | your seat                      |
|         | 3      | ∅-apēi                            | his seat                       |
|         | 1+2    | k-ēpēi                            | our seat                       |
|         | 3coref | t-ēpēi                            | his own seat                   |
|         | (c)    | orokī                             | tail, penis (non-possessed)    |
|         | 1      | j-arokī                           | my tail                        |
|         | 2      | a-arokī                           | your tail                      |
|         | 3      | ∅-arokī                           | his tail                       |
|         | 1+2    | k-orokī                           | our tail                       |
|         | 3coref | t-orokī                           | his own tail                   |
| (3.16)a |        | maanini                           | ankle (non-possessed)          |
|         | 1      | ji-maanini                        | my ankle                       |
|         | 2      | ē-maanini                         | your ankle                     |
|         | 3      | i-maanini                         | his ankle                      |
|         | 1+2    | kī-maanini                        | our ankle                      |
|         | 3coref | tī-maanini                        | his own ankle                  |
|         | (b)    | uru                               | cassava bread (non-possessed)  |
|         | 1      | j-uru                             | my cassava bread               |
|         | 2      | ē-uru                             | your cassava bread             |
|         | 3      | ∅-uru                             | his cassava bread              |
|         | 1+2    | k-uru                             | our cassava bread              |
|         | 3coref | t-uru                             | his own cassava bread          |
|         | (c)    | otī                               | meat (non-possessed)           |
|         | 1      | j-otī                             | my meat                        |
|         | 2      | o-ofī                             | your meat                      |
|         | 3      | ∅-otī                             | his meat                       |
|         | 1+2    | k-uru                             | our meat                       |
|         | 3coref | t-ofī                             | his own meat                   |
| (3.17)  | a      | ēnpa-tē                           | skilled in teaching            |
|         | b      | ēpēh-tē                           | skilled in catching            |
| (3.18)  | a      | ērē-nē                            | taking                         |
|         | b      | ēremina-nē                        | singing spirit-songs           |
| (3.19)  | a      | ēta-e-wa                          | not hearing (not able to hear) |
|         | b      | ēne-∅-wa                          | not seeing                     |
|         | c      | ēnee-se-wa                        | not bringing                   |
| (3.20)a |        | ēta-e nī:-tē-∅-n                  |                                |
|         |        | hear-NF 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT     |                                |
|         |        | he's going in order to listen     |                                |
| b       |        | ēne-∅ n-ee-ja-n                   |                                |
|         |        | see-NF 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT    |                                |
|         |        | he's coming to have a look around |                                |

(3.21)a eek-*apo-n apo n-a-∅-i w-ēt-amore-htě-ně*  
 how-like-NOM like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1TR-REFL-soul-BEN-G.NOM  
 what is dreaming like?

b irě *apo n-a-∅-i tuna-hka wī:-tě-to*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT water-DIR 1TR-go-TMP.NOM  
 that's what going to the water(world) is like

### (3.22) Postpositions

|     |        |                   |                |         |              |
|-----|--------|-------------------|----------------|---------|--------------|
| (a) | ěwě    | interior locative | (b)            | ěkěřě   | comitative   |
|     | 1      | j-awě             | inside me      | j-akěřě | with me      |
|     | 2      | a-awě             | inside you     | a-akěřě | with you     |
|     | 3      | ∅-awě             | inside him     | ∅-akěřě | with him     |
|     | 1+2    | k-ěwě             | inside us      | k-ěkěřě | with us      |
|     | 3coref | t-ěwě             | inside himself | t-ěkěřě | with himself |

## 3.4 The persons

In this section, a description is given of each of the person markers in different phonological environments. Since person marking in Trio is quite complex and within the verbal system is dependent on verb diathesis, valency and the number of actants, an overview is given here and where relevant more details are given in the sections on verbal morphology in Chapter 8.

### 3.4.1 The first person

The first person occurs as *j-* before vowel-initial elements, and *ji-* before consonant-initial words, as shown in (3.23) and (3.24) where in the (a) examples it functions as a possessor on a noun; in the (b) examples it is the subject of an intransitive verb; and in the (c) examples it is the object of a transitive verb with a third person agent; and in the (d) examples it indicates the object of a postposition.

|        |   |             |              |
|--------|---|-------------|--------------|
| (3.23) | a | j-otī       | my meat      |
|        | b | j-ereta-∅-e | I am resting |
|        | c | j-ene-∅-n   | he sees me   |
|        | d | j-akěřě     | with me      |

|        |   |              |                |
|--------|---|--------------|----------------|
| (3.24) | a | ji-munu      | my blood       |
|        | b | ji-suhta-∅-e | I am urinating |
|        | c | ji-wě-∅      | he shot me     |
|        | d | ji-pě        | about me       |

Some few nouns and verbs are lexically specified for an irregular marking of the first person, namely with the prefix *pi-*, which is identical to the non-person-marked form. Some examples of *pi-*initial nouns and verbs are given in (3.25)

and (3.27) respectively. Each of these nouns also allows a regular first person form with the prefix *ji-*, replacing the *pī* syllable resulting in the forms given in (3.26) respectively. The alternative form of first person marking for the verbs given in (3.27a-c) depends on the valence of that verb, and is given in (3.28a-c).

|        |   |        |  |
|--------|---|--------|--|
| (3.25) | a | pīre   | arrows, weapons (or: my arrows, weapons) |
|        | b | pīhtai | slipper, my slippers                     |
|        | c | pīropī | chest, my chest                          |

|        |   |          |             |
|--------|---|----------|-------------|
| (3.26) | a | ji-ire   | my weapons  |
|        | b | ji-ihtai | my slippers |
|        | c | ji-ropī  | my chest    |

|        |   |                    |                     |
|--------|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| (3.27) | a | pīnohpa(mī) (itr.) | being, feeling cold |
|        | b | pīhtē (itr.)       | come down           |
|        | c | pītarēnma (tr.)    | warn, inform        |

|        |   |                 |                   |
|--------|---|-----------------|-------------------|
| (3.28) | a | ji-nohpain-ja-e | I am feeling cold |
|        | b | w-īhtē-Ø-e      | I am coming down  |
|        | c | w-ihtarēnma-Ø-e | I am warning him  |

### 3.4.2 The second person prefix: *ē*/:

The prefix for the second person is *ē-* before C-initial elements, as shown in (3.29a-b), and *ē-* before *e-* and *u-*initial words, as in (3.30a-b). With *a-* and *o-*initial words, the second person is marked by means of geminating that initial vowel, as shown in (3.31a-b). Following the general rule given in (3.1a,b) above, if the element-initial vowel is *ē*, it changes to *e*, whereafter person can be marked, see examples (3.32a-e) below. No morphophonological changes occur with *a-*, *o-* or *u-*initial stems. With an *e-* and *u-*initial stem, being prefixed for the second person by means of the prefix *ē-* results in a diphthong *ēe*, *ēu* as shown in (3.32a,c-e). If the stem-initial vowel is *a* or *o* there is gemination of that vowel, that is, *aa*, *oo* as in (3.32b,g,h). The resultant long vowel has the function of distinguishing between a second and third person, the latter of which is zero-marked. If, however, a noun has an initial long vowel — only very few nouns do — then there is no gemination of that vowel since super long vowels are not allowed in Trio, and the meaning of the word can only be determined through the context, see example (3.33).

|        |   |          |            |
|--------|---|----------|------------|
| (3.29) | a | ē-kanawa | your boat  |
|        | b | ē-pakoro | your house |

|        |   |       |                    |
|--------|---|-------|--------------------|
| (3.30) | a | ē-eka | your name          |
|        | b | ē-uru | your cassava bread |

|        |   |          |                |
|--------|---|----------|----------------|
| (3.31) | a | a-akoron | your companion |
|        | b | o-otī    | your meat      |

|        |        |   |               |                      |
|--------|--------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| (3.32) | Base   |   | Person-marked | Meaning              |
| a      | ëka    | → | -eka          | name                 |
|        |        |   | ë-eka         | your name            |
| b      | ëkëmi  | → | -akëmi        | younger sibling      |
|        |        |   | a-akëmi       | your younger sibling |
| c      | ëreta  | → | -ereta        | rest                 |
|        |        |   | ë-ereta-∅-e   | you are resting      |
| d      | ëne    | → | -ene          | see                  |
|        |        |   | ë-ene-∅-n     | he sees you          |
| e      | ëkatao | → | -ekatao       | beside               |
|        |        |   | ë-ekatao      | beside you           |
| f      | uru    |   | uru           | cassava bread        |
|        |        |   | ë-uru         | your cassava bread   |
| g      | otĩ    |   | otĩ           | meat                 |
|        |        |   | o-otĩ         | your meat            |
| h      | onota  | → | -anota        | fall                 |
|        |        |   | a-anota-∅     | you fell             |
| i      | ëkërë  | → | -akërë        | comitative           |
|        |        |   | a-akërë       | with you             |

(3.33) aaro foam, your foam, his foam

### 3.4.3 The 1+2 prefix *kĩ-*

The prefix for person 1+2 is *kĩ-* before C-initial words and *k-* before V-initial words as shown in (3.34a-d) and (3.35a-i). As stated above (see section 3.2) nouns and postpositions do not begin in an initial *i* or *e*. In addition, there are no *o-* or *u-*initial postpositions, and most of those that begin in *a* cannot take an object. The only *a-*initial postposition that can take an object, namely *apo* ‘like’, undergoes glide-insertion and thus behaves as though it were C-initial, as shown in (3.35g). Very few nouns in Trio begin with an initial *i-*, most of these are animal terms and these generally cannot be possessed. However, with nouns such as *iimo* ‘egg(s)’, which can be possessed, the noun-initial vowel assimilates to the vowel of the prefix which is then dropped, resulting in the form given in (3.35i). There is one instance known to me where the initial vowel *i* is retained and the prefix does not drop its vowel, resulting in a diphthong, namely with the noun *ikiri* ‘brother (female ego)’, the possessed form is given in (3.36a) below and forms a minimal pair with the semantically somewhat problematic possessed form of the noun *kiri* ‘man’ given in (3.36b). With transitive verbs that mark their transitivity status by means of the prefix *i-*, the stem-initial initial vowel *i-* assimilates to the vowel of the prefix and the vowel of the prefix is dropped, resulting in *k-i-* as shown in (3.37a-b). Few, if any, nouns in Trio begin with an initial *e* in the non-possessed form, all of the nouns found in the corpus that begin with an initial *e* in the possessed form are derived from a non-possessed form of

the noun with an initial *ē*. However, person 1+2 (as well as the third person coreferential prefix *tī-*) does not cause any change in the *ē*-initial root. Hence when prefixed by the 1+2 person possessive prefix *kī-* the vowel of the prefix is simply dropped as before all other vowel-initial elements; some examples are given in (3.38a-d). Likewise those elements that change the first vowel of an oCo structure to *a* when marked for person, retain this original vowel when marked for person 1+2, as shown in (3.39a-b).

- |        |   |               |                                      |
|--------|---|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| (3.34) | a | kī-kanawa     | our boat                             |
|        | b | kī-pakoro     | our house                            |
|        | c | kī-suhta-∅-e  | we are urinating                     |
|        | d | kī-pē         | about us                             |
| (3.35) | a | k-arī         | our leaves                           |
|        | b | k-aotī        | our ribcage                          |
|        | c | k-otī         | our meat                             |
|        | d | k-uru         | our cassava bread                    |
|        | e | k-ērepa       | our food                             |
|        | f | k-ēkatao      | beside us                            |
|        | g | kī-j-apo_ro   | just like us                         |
|        | h | k-ēne         | I see you (or: you see me)           |
|        | i | k-īimo        | our eggs                             |
| (3.36) | a | kī-ikīrī      | our brother (female ego)             |
|        | b | kī-kīrī       | ?our man (semantically dubious)      |
| (3.37) | a | k-ī-konka-∅-n | he pierces us                        |
|        | b | k-ī-suka-∅-n  | he washes us                         |
| (3.38) | a | k-ēēmi        | our daughter                         |
|        | b | k-ēhke        | our hammock                          |
|        | c | k-ēreta-∅-e   | we are resting                       |
|        | d | k-ēne-∅-n     | he sees us                           |
| (3.39) | a | k-onota-∅-e   | we are falling (we nearly fell)      |
|        | b | k-okoroma-∅-e | I am helping you/ you are helping me |

#### 3.4.4 The third person prefixes *i-* and *tī-*

The third person is quite irregular compared to the other persons discussed above in that there is somewhat less cross-categorial similarity. For this reason only third-person marking on nouns and postpositions is dealt with here since it is identical for both word classes. Third person marking on verbs is dealt with in Chapter 8.

In the third person a distinction is made between non-coreferential and coreferential marking on nouns (and nominalized verbs) and postpositions. The non-coreferential object of a postposition and the possessor of a noun is marked

with the prefix *i-* before C-initial words, and with zero ( $\emptyset$ ) before V-initial words, as shown in (3.40)a-c) and (3.41a-c) respectively. However, see section 3.2.2 above for the status of what I present here as zero-marking on V-initial stems.

- |        |   |                     |                     |
|--------|---|---------------------|---------------------|
| (3.40) | a | i-moitī             | his kin             |
|        | b | i-kanawa            | his boat            |
|        | c | i-pě                | about him           |
| (3.41) | a | $\emptyset$ -enu    | his eye             |
|        | b | $\emptyset$ -otī    | his meat            |
|        | b | $\emptyset$ -akēmi  | his younger brother |
|        | c | $\emptyset$ -ekatao | beside him          |

The third person coreferential prefix *tī-* is used on postpositions to indicate that the subject of the clause is coreferential with the object of the postposition, see (3.42a). In addition, the coreferential prefix *t(i)-* is used in certain specialized constructions in which the prefix is semantically bleached. To distinguish the coreferential with full referential meaning, as given in this section, from that used in the specialized constructions where it is used as a ‘dummy prefix’, I gloss the former as 3COREF and the latter as COREF throughout the book.

With possessed nouns, the coreferential marker is used to express coreferentiality of the subject of the clause with the possessor of the noun as shown in (3.42b-c). The prefix *tī-* behaves like the 1+2 person prefix *kī-* in that it does not cause any change in the initial vowel if this is *ě*, or with the structures *ěCo* or *oCo* where the initial vowel would otherwise change to *e* or *a*, examples are given in (3.43a-e); the corresponding non-coreferential form is given beside these examples to show how the initial vowel changes with other persons.

- |          |  |                         |                    |                     |
|----------|--|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (3.42)a  | kure t-ěwě n-ka- $\emptyset$ -n                                |                         |                    |                     |
|          | good 3COREF-INT.LOC 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT                     |                         |                    |                     |
|          | ‘all right’ he thinks (says inside himself)                    |                         |                    |                     |
| b        | tī-pakoro $\emptyset$ -rī-ja-n                                 |                         |                    |                     |
|          | 3COREF-house 3→3-do-PRES-NCERT                                 |                         |                    |                     |
|          | he is building his own house                                   |                         |                    |                     |
| c        | tī-w-ět-uru-se n-a- $\emptyset$ -i ě-ja                        |                         |                    |                     |
|          | 3COREF-1TR-REFL-talk.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2-GOAL    |                         |                    |                     |
|          | he wants to talk to you (he is wanting his own talking to you) |                         |                    |                     |
| (3.43) a | t-ěrepa  | his own food            | $\emptyset$ -erepa | his food            |
| b        | t-ěnu-ru   | his own eye             | $\emptyset$ -enu   | his eye             |
| c        | t-ěkēmi  | his own younger brother | $\emptyset$ -akēmi | his younger brother |
| d        | t-okono  | his own brother-in-law  | $\emptyset$ -akono | his brother-in-law  |
| e        | t-ěwě  | inside himself          | $\emptyset$ -awě   | inside him          |

### 3.4.5 Person 1+3

Person 1+3, that is, the first person exclusive, is deviant in several respects; it is encoded both in an independent pronoun and in a prefix, whereby the pronoun *ainja* is an obligatory argument, that is, the pronoun cannot be dropped in the way all the other pronouns can. Secondly, person 1+3 does not have its own prefix, rather it uses prefix of the third person, that is, *i-* before C-initial elements and zero before V-initial words; all morphophonological variation and conditioning is identical to that of the third person given above. Further, person 1+3 cannot take suffixal plural marking, rather the pronoun *ainja* may have plural meaning but it behaves formally as a singular element (cf. also 8.6.10). A possessive construction with *ainja* requires the pronoun to be stated and the possessed noun is prefixed by the third person possessive prefix *i-*, whereby the resulting construction is the same as that of a genitive N-N possessive construction; compare the possessive form with *ainja* in (3.44a) with a Noun-Noun possessive construction in (3.44b). When the subject is person 1+3 and the possessor of a noun object are coreferential, then that noun is marked with the third person coreferential possessive prefix *tī-* as shown in (3.45a-c). The pronoun, *ainja*, however, cannot occur in combination with the coreferential marker as a possessor, rather the instances of *ainja* in examples (3.45a-c) are as subject of the clause and not as part of the noun phrase with which they are coreferential – the pronoun as possessor can only be followed by the possessed noun marked with the third person prefix *i-*, as shown in (3.44b). In examples (3.45b-c) the pronoun *ainja* could be placed after the verbs *nepohtan* ‘find’ and *nai* ‘is’ respectively. While the prefix on the verb is always dropped in the third person if the verb is immediately preceded by an overt object, this is not the case with person 1+3 as shown in sentence (3.45b); not dropping the prefix on the verb provides us with further evidence that the pronoun is the subject of the sentence; equally correct would also be the order *totī ainja nepohtan*.

(3.44)a kīrī i-pakoro  
 man 3POSS-house  
 the man’s house

b ainja i-pakoro  
 1+3PRO 3POSS-house  
 our (excl.) house

(3.45)a tī-nono-se n-a-∅-i ainja  
 3COREF-land-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 we want our land

b a-ja\_mo ainja t-otĩ n-epoh-ta-n  
 Q-GOAL\_MOD 1+3PRO 3COREF-meat 3→3-find-FUT-NCERT  
 where are we supposed to find (our) meat?

c irë apo-ta  
 DP.INAN.ANA like-NEG

ainja tĩ-w-ei-se n-a-Ø-i  
 1+3PRO 3COREF-1TR-be.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

we don't want to be like that (we are not wanting our own being like that)

With most postpositions the pronoun *ainja* is treated as though it were a noun and the postposition is suffixed to the (pro)noun *ainja*, as shown in (3.46a-g). With V-initial postpositions that begin in *ë* or *ëCë*, the initial vowel becomes *e* or *a* according to the rule given above in (3.1a-b) above; examples are given in (3.46e-f) below. The examples to the right of those in (3.46a-g) give the inflected form of the postposition for comparative purposes. The postposition *apo* 'like' is simply placed after *ainja* and does not undergo glide insertion as it would if there were person marking, see (3.46d). The desiderative *-se*, which has an allomorph *-je* when marked with a personal prefix, is simply suffixed to the pronoun *ainja*.

|         |   |   |          |            |
|---------|---|---|----------|------------|
| (3.46)a | kĩn-ka-Ø ainja-ja<br>3→3.PST.1TR-say-PST 1+3PRO-GOAL<br>(he) said to us                 | kĩn-ka-Ø i-ja<br>3→3.PST.1TR-say-PST 3-GOAL<br>he said to him |          |            |
| b       | ainja-pëh-ta eh-kë<br>1+3PRO-CONTACT.LOC-NEG be-IMP<br>don't be meddling in our affairs | i-pëh-ta eh-kë<br>3-CONTACT.LOC-NEG BE-IMP<br>don't touch it! |          |            |
| c       | ainja-se  | wanting us  | ji-je    | wanting me |
| d       | ainja apo   | like us   | ji-j-apo | like me    |
| e       | ainja Ø-awë   | inside us   | j-awë    | inside me  |
| f       | ainja Ø-akërë   | with us   | j-akërë  | with me    |
| g       | ainja Ø-ekatao  | beside us   | j-ekatao | beside me  |

C-initial postpositions, which are mostly the postpositions of cognition and perception, require the postposition to be marked with the third person prefix *i-* as shown in (3.47a-d).

|        |   |              |                               |
|--------|---|--------------|-------------------------------|
| (3.47) | a | ainja i-wame | we don't know (unknown to us) |
|        | b | ainja i-warë | we know (known to us)         |
|        | c | ainja i-pĩnë | loving us                     |
|        | d | ainja i-no   | afraid of us                  |

### 3.5 Reflexive marking across word classes

The processes of stem-initial changes described above ( $\ddot{e} \rightarrow e$ ;  $\ddot{e}C\ddot{e} \rightarrow aC\ddot{e}$ ;  $oCo \rightarrow aCo$ ) are also required before reflexive marking can be added. The reflexive markers are almost identical across the word classes. The allomorphs of the reflexive markers are given in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Allomorphy of the reflexive prefixes

| Nouns  | Verbs | Postposition           |
|--|-------|------------------------|
|  |       | $\ddot{e}- / \_e$      |
|  |       | $\ddot{e}t- / \_a,o,u$ |
|  |       | $\ddot{e}i- / \_C$     |
| <hr/>  |       |                        |
| $\ddot{e}\ddot{e}s- / \ddot{e}is- / \_glide-inserting\ N,V,Pp$ |       |                        |

Not all stem-initial elements occur in the postpositions, that is, there are no *o-* or *u-*initial postpositions. Since the meanings of the resultant reflexive forms are often idiosyncratic, these are dealt with in detail in the relevant chapter pertaining to that word class. The meaning of a reflexive-marked noun is reciprocal as shown in (3.48a-b); when marked on verbs the meaning is reflexive or reciprocal as in (3.49a-b). Reflexive-marked postpositions, which usually have reciprocal meaning, are given in (3.50a-b). Person marking on reflexive verbs is given in section 8.6.2: reflexive (and middle) verbs are taken as a subcategory of transitive verbs.

(3.48) Noun

a  $\ddot{e}i\text{-}pana\text{-}p\ddot{e}\ \ddot{t}i\ddot{r}i\text{-}k\ddot{e}$   
REFL-ear-CONTACT.LOC do-IMP  
put them side by side (in a vertical position)

b  $\ddot{e}t\text{-}ak\ddot{e}mi\text{-}me\ t\text{-}ee\text{-}se$   
REFL-sibling-FACS COREF-be-NF  
they were (as) brothers (to each other)

(3.49)

|   | Verb                               | Reflexive  | Meaning                  |
|---|------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| a | $omore\text{-}ht\ddot{e}$          | $\ddot{e}t\text{-}amore\text{-}ht\ddot{e}$       | dream                    |
| b | $(j)ahp\ddot{e}\text{-}nt\ddot{e}$ | $\ddot{e}\ddot{e}s\text{-}ahp\ddot{e}nt\ddot{e}$ | help oneself/ each other |

(3.50)

|   | Postposition  | Reflexive                         | Meaning                   |
|---|---------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| a | $(j)apo$      | $\ddot{e}is\text{-}apo\text{-}ro$ | like each other, the same |
| b | $\ddot{e}poe$ | $\ddot{e}\text{-}epoe$            | above one another         |

### 3.6 Plural marking of the personal prefixes across word classes

While person marking is similar across the word classes, plural marking of the personal prefixes differs, and shows little overlap; in fact, plural marking of the

personal prefixes only overlaps within two of the word classes, namely with some constructions involving a non-finite verb and postpositions. In this section an overview is given of the plural suffixes on nouns to mark a possessor, and plural marking on postpositions and three types of non-finite verb forms. Plural marking of the pronouns and of the actants marked on verbs is given in chapters 5 and 8 respectively.

Possessor of a noun is pluralized by means of the suffix *-komo* which reduces to *-kon* word-finally, as shown in examples (3.51a-c), each of which is preceded by the singular form. The full form of the suffix, that is, *-komo*, can occur word-finally as in (3.51b) and (3.52), but it is generally only used when a suffix (or postposition) follows the possessor plural marker, compare examples (3.53) and (3.54) with the goal postposition and the nominal past marker respectively. It is not possible to combine the first person possessive prefix *ji-* with the plural marker *-komo*, rather plurality of the first person is expressed either by using person 1+2 as in (3.55b-c), the latter of which is used when the number of the second person is higher than 1, or by using person 1+3, that is, the pronoun *ainja* plus the third person possessive prefix *i-*, as shown in (3.55d).

- |        |   |          |                 |               |                 |
|--------|---|----------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (3.51) | a | ě-pakoro | your (sg) house | ě-pakoro-kon  | your (pl) house |
|        | b | kī-moitī | our (sg) family | kī-moitī-komo | our (pl) family |
|        | c | i-maja   | his knife       | i-maja-kon    | their knife     |

- (3.52)   ě-moitī-komo  
 2POSS-kin-PSR.PL  
 your (pl) family

- (3.53)   kī-moitī-komo-ja  
 1+2-kin-PSR.PL-GOAL  
 to our (pl) family

- (3.54)   kī-moitī-komo-npě  
 1+2-kin-PSR.PL-PST  
 our (pl) former family (they're now dead)

- |        |   |                |  |
|--------|---|----------------|--|
| (3.55) | a | *ji-pakoro-kon |  |
|        | b | kī-pakoro      | our (your (sg.) and my) house (2 people)               |
|        | c | kī-pakoro-kon  | our (your (pl.) and my) house (several people)         |
|        | d | ainja i-pakoro | our (his/her/their and my) house (2 or several people) |

If both the possessor and the noun itself are plural, then a fusional suffix *-kontokomo* (*-kontokon* word-finally) is used; the suffix *-tomo*, which reduces to *-ton* word-finally, pluralizes a noun, as shown in (3.57). Whether this fusional suffix *-kontokomo* was ever generally used or not, it can now only be used with animate nouns. However, the suffix *-kontokomo* is used with the independent possessive pronouns where the referent is generally inanimate (see section 5.5).

With inanimate possessed nouns plurality is only marked on the possessor leaving the number status of the noun to be understood from the context. Thus example (3.56b) can equally mean ‘your (pl) house’ and ‘your (pl) houses’.

- (3.56) a kī-moitī-kontokon our (pl) families (pl)  
 b ě-pakoro-kon your (pl) house(s)

- (3.57) pakoro-ton houses

When the desiderative postposition *-se* is suffixed to the plural possessor *-komo*, it is usually fused with the suffix resulting in *-koe* as shown in (3.58a-b); the alternatives, namely *-kon-se* and *-komo-se*, however, are also acceptable as shown for *-kon-se* in (3.58c). In examples (3.58b-c) the reader should not become confused by the non-finite marker *-se* which is homophonous with the desiderative marker. Plurality of person as an object of a postposition is expressed by means of the suffix *-.ne* as shown in (3.59). This suffix causes lengthening of the final vowel of the postposition. For more details on postpositions and person marking, see Chapter 6.

- (3.58)a ě-jokī-koe m-ana-Ø-ti?  
 2POSS-drink-PSR.PL.DESID 2→3-be-PRES-PL  
 do you (pl) want something to drink?  
 b tī-jokī-koe t-ee-se Okomojana-ton  
 COREF-drink-PSR.PL.DESID COREF. I TR-be-NF Okomoyana-PL  
 the Okomoyana wanted something to drink (their drink)  
 c tī-jokī-kon-se t-ee-se Okomojana-ton  
 3COREF-drink-PSR.PL-DESID COREF. I TR-be-NF Okomoyana-PL  
 the Okomoyana wanted something to drink (their drink)

- (3.59)a a-akērē a-akērē-.ne  
 2-COM 2-COM-PL  
 with you (sg) with you (pl.)  
 b ě-nkae ě-nkae-.ne  
 2-behind.LOC 2-behind.LOC-PL  
 behind you (sg) behind you (pl)  
 c k-ĕwē k-ĕwē-.ne  
 1+2-INT.LOC 1+2-INT.LOC-PL  
 inside the two of us inside all of us

The suffix *-.ne* is also used to pluralize the object of a non-finite transitive verb as shown in (3.60a-d) where example (3.60a) shows the purpose of motion (supine) form; example (3.60b) shows the non-finite past non-witnessed form of the verb; example (3.60c) shows a habitual past form; and example (3.60d) shows a non-finite negative form. Plural marking of the object of a non-finite transitive

verb in this manner is, however, not found frequently, rather, the plural is generally not marked but is understood from the context.

- (3.60)a    *ë-ene-∅-:ne wëe*  
 2-see-NF.SUP-PL 1→3.1TR-come-I.PST  
 I have come to see you (pl)
- b            *t-ënpa-e-:ne i-ja*  
 COREF-teach-NF-PL 3-GOAL  
 he taught them
- c            *pena i-konka-e-:ne nërë kutuma*  
 long.ago 3-pierce-NF.HAB-PL 3PRO.ANIM.ANA INTENS  
 long ago, she used to give them (the villagers) dreadful injections
- d            *in-ene-∅-wa-:ne w-ei-ne*  
 3O-see-NF-NEG-PL 1→3.1TR-be-NR.PST  
 I didn't see any of them

There is one additional case of the postpositional plural marker *-:ne* being used with verbs, and one which is more frequently found in the corpus, namely plural marking of the object of a transitive nominalized verb and the subject of an intransitive nominalized verb marked with the anterior suffix *-tuwë* [tu:wə] ‘after’, as shown in (3.61a-b).

- (3.61)a    *∅-epoh-tuwë-:ne i-ja-:ne*  
 3-find.NOM-ANT-PL 3-GOAL-PL  
 after they met them (after their meeting by them)
- b            *wītoto wa-i-w-eh-tuwë-:ne naka*  
 human.being NEG-3-1TR-be.NOM-ANT-PL finished  
 after the Amerindians die, that's it, it's finished

## 4 Nominal morphology

In this chapter, nouns and noun formation are discussed. While there is sometimes a fuzzy boundary between what constitutes a noun and a verb in Trio, nouns, as a lexical category, can be defined on the basis of both morphological and syntactic criteria. Nouns can be possessed and marked by the personal prefixes and a possessed (anti-genitive) suffix *-ri*, given in 4.5.1; they take distinctive plural marking, namely *-tomo* (*-ton*), given in section 4.7.1; they can be marked for past tense by means of two suffixes *-npě* and *-hpě*, given in 4.5.3; and they can take the augmentative suffix *-imě* (section 4.8.2), the nominal diminutive suffix *-pisi(kě)* given in section 4.8.3; the facsimile suffix *-me* (sections 4.8.5 and 4.8.6); and the suffix *-hpije* ‘infested with’, given in section 4.8.4. Syntactically, nouns can be subjects or objects, as well as the object of a postpositional phrase.

### 4.1 General characteristics of nouns

As stated in the preceding chapter, nouns can begin with a consonant or with the vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, or *ě*, but not with *i*, or *e*, and only seldom with the vowel *i*. Some morphophonological changes occur on the base form of a noun before it can be marked for person; a description was given in Chapter 3, and is repeated in short below. On account of their morphological properties, we can distinguish various shapes of nouns, that is, (a) a root that is unspecified for lexical class and which requires a (classifying) suffix, for example, the root *su*, and its nominal form *suku* ‘urine’; (b) a possessed stem, for example, *-ehke* [PSR-hammock] ‘someone’s hammock’, as opposed to the non-possessed noun *wěitapi* ‘hammock’; (c) a nominal derived from a postposition by means of the nominalizer *-n(o)*, for example, *ěkěi-pěkě-n* [snake-CONTACT.LOC-NOM] ‘animal trader’; and (d) a compound noun, for example, *wěrimuku* ‘girl’ made up of the two elements *wěri* ‘woman’ and *-nmuku* ‘s/o’s child’ (see section 4.9 below). A general bi-partite distinction is made between animate and inanimate nouns in Trio. The distinction becomes crucial when the choice of anaphoric personal and demonstrative pronouns and plural marking is involved (see section 5.3). Furthermore, distinctions in noun types are made according to semantic domains: some kinship terms, for example, the terms for close affines, exhibit similar behavioural and

morphological restrictions (see section 4.11). Certain groups of nouns, that is, kinship and body part terms, only occur in their possessed form. In addition, within the domain of kinship terms some only occur in the first person possessive form, for example, *pahko* means both ‘my father’ and ‘father!’; *wëiko* ‘my older sister’ and ‘(older) sister!’; *manko* ‘my mother’ and ‘mother!’ etc. (a list of kinship terms is given at the end of this chapter). Although kinship and body part terms generally occur in their possessed form, it is possible to elicit body parts in their non-posessed forms, for example *ëwanë* ‘heart’ versus *ewanë* ‘his heart’. Furthermore, there are nouns which use a different stem to indicate a possessed item, for example, *kaikui* ‘dog, jaguar’ > *j-eki* ‘my pet, hunting dog’; *tïpîtë* ‘field’ versus *ji-tupi* ‘my field’, *ë-tupi* ‘your field’ etc. Some nouns such as natural phenomena cannot be possessed, for example, *nunnë* ‘moon’, *wei* ‘sun’, *konopo* ‘rain’, nor can animal terms. In order to possess animal terms the noun *eki* ‘pet’ is possessed and then followed by the animal, for example, *j-eki kuri* ‘my pet parrot’.

Some nouns, such as *iwenahpë* ‘his footprint’ and *eekepîhpë* ‘his corpse’, due to their semantics are not only obligatorily always possessed but they must also be marked for past tense. The noun *i-wena-hpë* ‘his footprint’, is marked for past because logically a footprint does not come into existence until after it has been made at some point in the past, and a footprint has cultural significance since a shaman may take the soil from someone’s footprint to use in putting a curse on him/her. Likewise, a corpse, *ee-ke-pî-hpë* does not come into being until its possessor has died, the noun itself is a derived form from the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ plus the cessative verbal suffix *-kepî*, a zero nominalizer and the nominal past suffix *-hpë*, literally ‘one that has ceased to be’.

This chapter continues with a section on traces of a now defunct noun class system; inflectional morphology, namely person marking in the form of possessive prefixes, possessed suffixes, nominal tense marking, negated possessives, and number marking. Then follow the derivational suffixes, namely the size categories augmentative and diminutive, the suffix *-hpije* ‘infested with’, the facsimile suffix that expresses truth and knowledge, and two suffixes that express the notion of ‘pleasing’ and ‘not pleasing’. Then follows a section on kinship terms and vocative forms, and a list of body parts.

Derivational processes such as noun to verb formation are dealt with in the section on verbalizers in 8.13.

## 4.2 Noun classes

Some nouns still exhibit remnants of what may have been a nominal classifier system. Throughout the lexicon one comes across recurrent endings for certain

lexical domains or word classes, that are, however, no longer analyzable as meaningful morphemes. For example, two nouns that denote protruding bones are similar in form, namely *-hpīitiki* ‘tailbone (also anus)’ and *ēpēritiki* ‘elbow’, the latter of which is derived from *ēpē* ‘arm’; likewise many names for insects, but also plants, end in a final element *-kē*, for example, *maakē* ‘mosquito’, *kanamitēkē* ‘biting ant sp.’, *sirikē* ‘firefly (also star(s))’. Many nouns that denote liquids end in *ku*, for example, *eeku* ‘juice, sap’, *eramuku* ‘sweat’, *etaku* ‘saliva’, and *suku* ‘urine’. Moreover, some names of plants that produce a sap or latex end in *ku*, for example, *ipuku* which is *Macoubea guianensis* Aublet (APIACEAE) (from DeFilipps, ms.). That the *ku* in these cases forms nouns is evidenced by the fact that the *ku* is dropped in the derived corresponding verbs, leaving an *h* as a trace of the elided syllable: these nouns are verbalized by means of the inchoative terminative verbalizer *-ta* which forms intransitive verbs as shown in (4.1a-d). The one exception here is *eeku* ‘juice’ in (4.1d) which does not drop the formative *ku*. It is also likely that the verb root *-:suka-* ‘wash’ is based on the root *su* followed by the transitive reversative verbalizing suffix *-ka* literally meaning ‘remove urine’. Thus taking *su* as an example of a root unspecified for word class, we have at least those derivatives given in (4.2).

|       |   |         |        |          |             |
|-------|---|---------|--------|----------|-------------|
| (4.1) |   | Noun    |        | Verb     |             |
|       | a | eramuku | sweat  | eramuhta | to sweat    |
|       | b | etaku   | saliva | etahta   | to salivate |
|       | c | suku    | urine  | suhta    | to urinate  |
|       | d | eeku    | juice  | eekuta   | to melt     |

|       |          |         |
|-------|----------|---------|
| (4.2) | su       |         |
|       | su-ku    | urine   |
|       | -suh-ta- | urinate |
|       | -su-ka-  | wash    |

Since this assumed noun class system is no longer productive (nor entirely transparent), and given that in general, it is possible to distinguish nouns from verbs both structurally and morphologically although there is sometimes a fuzzy line between what can be regarded as a noun stem as opposed to a verb stem, I only distinguish in this grammar between a root, for example, *su*, and a stem, for example, *suku*, where necessary.

#### 4.3 Inflectional Morphology

Inflectional morphology consists of personal prefixes on the noun to indicate the possessor, with the number of the possessor marked in suffixes on the noun. Another inflectional suffix is the possessed or anti-genitive suffix *-ri* that synchronically marks that the noun is possessed; in his work on the related language

Kari'na (Carib), Hoff (1968) refers to the anti-genitive suffix as a marker of construct case (*status constructus*). In addition there are several suffixes that mark the plural of a noun. Possessed nouns are also obligatorily marked for tense if either the entity denoted by the noun has ceased to exist or if the possessive relationship no longer exists, namely by means of the suffixes *-hpë* or *-npë*. Those classes of nouns that are obligatorily possessed and/or marked for past tense are dealt with in the relevant sections of possession and/or tense. The nominal affixes, starting with the possessive inflectional affixes are taken in turn below.

#### 4.3.1 Possession

A possessed noun or nominal, regardless of whether the possessor is an overt lexical item or not, must be marked by a possessive prefix. Some nouns, mostly kinship terms and body parts, but not only these, also require an anti-genitive suffix of the form *-ri*.

#### 4.3.2 Possessive prefixes on nouns

While some facts pertaining to person marking on nouns were discussed in Chapter 3, they are repeated below and elaborated on where necessary. There are four exponents of the category of person in Trio, namely first (1), second (2), first and second (1+2), and third (3) person. Semantically there is an additional person, namely person 1+3 which is expressed by the pronoun *ainja* which is semantically a first person plural exclusive form, that is, it refers to the speaker and someone else but not the addressee; the form and morphosyntactic behaviour of this person is deviant in that it does not have a separate possessive prefix, rather it uses the third person possessive prefix *i-*, and the pronoun itself *ainja* obligatorily precedes the possessed noun. In accordance with the fact that person 1+3 behaves morphologically just as the third person, it is singular in form although semantically it is plural. Since the independent pronouns are dealt with separately in Chapter 5, only the forms of the corresponding prefixes are given in Table 4.1 below. With the exception of the second person, the vowels of the prefixes are similar, that is, the high front *i* for the first person, and the centralized *ĩ* after the prefix consonants *k* and *t*. The third person distinguishes a non-coreferential prefix *i-* and a coreferential prefix *tĩ-* meaning 'his/her/its own'. Number of the possessor is marked independently in suffixes that are dealt with in section 4.4 below.

Some nouns are lexically specified for an irregular marking of the first person possessed form, namely with the initial syllable *pĩ*, which is identical to the non-possessed form. To my knowledge, only three nouns are known that pattern in this way, namely, *pĩre* which means both 'arrows, weapons' and 'my arrows,

weapons’, *pihtao* ‘slipper, my slippers’, and *piropi* ‘chest, my chest’. Each of these nouns, however, also allows a regular first person possessive form with the prefix *ji-* replacing the *pi* syllable resulting in *ji-ire*, *ji-ihtao*, and *ji-:ropi* respectively. In addition, there is at least one noun, namely *tuna* ‘water’ which drops its first syllable before person marking, replacing the syllable by a length reflex; the possessive paradigm of *tuna* ‘water’ is given in (4.5) below after the regular paradigms in (4.3) and (4.4) showing a C-initial noun and a V-initial noun respectively.

Table 4.1: Possessive prefixes

|        | C-initial noun | V-initial noun |
|--------|----------------|----------------|
| 1      | ji-            | j-             |
| 2      | ě-             | ě/:            |
| 1+2    | kī-            | k-             |
| 3      | i-             | ∅              |
| 1+3    | ainja i-       | ainja ∅        |
| 3coref | tī-            | t-             |

The second person prefix *ě* has a length allomorph before *a-* or *o-*initial nouns, that is, the prefix is realized as gemination of the vowel, expressed here by doubling the vowel. As shown in Table 4.1, the third person possessor is realized by either the prefix *i-* preceding a consonant-initial noun or it has zero realization preceding a vowel-initial noun. The reader is referred to section 3.2.2 for a caveat concerning zero realization preceding a vowel-initial noun. In (4.3) I give a paradigm of a possessed consonant-initial noun, and in (4.4) that of a vowel-initial possessed noun.

|       |                           |                   |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| (4.3) | <i>pakoro</i>             | house             |
|       | 1 <i>ji-pakoro</i>        | my house          |
|       | 2 <i>ě-pakoro</i>         | your house        |
|       | 1+2 <i>kī-pakoro</i>      | our house (incl.) |
|       | 3 <i>i-pakoro</i>         | his house         |
|       | 1+3 <i>ainja i-pakoro</i> | our house (excl.) |
|       | 3coref <i>tī-pakoro</i>   | his own house     |

|       |                        |              |
|-------|------------------------|--------------|
| (4.4) | <i>otī</i>             | meat         |
|       | 1 <i>j-otī</i>         | my meat      |
|       | 2 <i>o-otī</i>         | your meat    |
|       | 1+2 <i>k-otī</i>       | our meat     |
|       | 3 <i>∅-otī</i>         | his meat     |
|       | 1+3 <i>ainja ∅-otī</i> | our meat     |
|       | 3coref <i>t-otī</i>    | his own meat |

|       |                 |               |
|-------|-----------------|---------------|
| (4.5) | tuna            | water         |
|       | 1    ji-:na     | my water      |
|       | 2    ë-:na      | your water    |
|       | 1+2 kī-:na      | our water     |
|       | 3    i-:na      | his water     |
|       | 1+3 ainja i-:na | our water     |
|       | 3coref tī-:na   | his own water |

The morphophonological conditioning of the form of the prefixes that occurs on a noun is dependent on the form of the noun, that is to say, with consonant-initial nouns the possessor is prefixed to the stem, as shown in the paradigm in (4.3) above. With vowel-initial roots there is quite some morphophonological conditioning depending on both the basic, non-possessed form, of the noun, and on the person of the possessor. Noun roots in general can have *a, o, u,* and *ë* as their initial vowel in an open syllable but never *i*, and seldom *i* or *e*. While the two cases of morphophonological change, that is, vowel alternation in bases and glide-insertion preceding person-marking, have been described in Chapter 3, they are repeated in short below for the nouns.

#### 4.3.3 Stem alternation rules

The stem alternation rule with vowel-initial nouns applies to *ë*-initial nouns and nouns that begin in the sequence *ëCë* and *oCo* where C stands for any consonant. The rules are repeated in (4.6a-b). With *ë*-initial nouns, the initial *ë* is fronted to *e*, before the first, second, and third persons, as shown in (4.7); persons 1+2 *kī*- and the third person co-referential *tī*-, do not cause any change in the initial vowel.

- (4.6)
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a | $\text{ë} \rightarrow \text{e} / 1, 2, (\text{non-coref}) 3 \text{ person}$     |
| b | $\text{ëCë} \rightarrow \text{aCë} / 1, 2, (\text{non-coref}) 3 \text{ person}$ |
|   | $\text{oCo} \rightarrow \text{aCë} / 1, 2, (\text{non-coref}) 3 \text{ person}$ |

- (4.7)
- |       |                   |
|-------|-------------------|
| ënu   | eye (unpossessed) |
| j-enu | my eye            |
| ë-enu | your eye          |
| ∅-enu | his eye           |
| k-ënu | our eye           |
| t-ënu | his own eye       |

With *ëCë* and *oCo* sequences, the initial vowel changes to *a*, after which person-marking is added, as shown in (4.8) through (4.10). Likewise this vowel change does not occur with persons 1+2 (*kī*-) or the third person coreferential prefix *tī*-.

- (4.8)
- |        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| ëpäi   | seat, table (unpossessed) → apëi |
| j-apëi | my seat, table                   |
| a-apëi | your seat, table                 |

|        |         |                                     |
|--------|---------|-------------------------------------|
|        | Ø-apëi  | his seat, table                     |
|        | k-ëpëi  | our seat, table                     |
|        | t-ëpëi  | his own seat, table                 |
| (4.9)  | orokī   | tail, penis (non-possessed) → arokī |
|        | j-arokī | my penis/tail                       |
|        | a-arokī | your penis/tail                     |
|        | Ø-arokī | his penis/tail                      |
|        | k-orokī | our penis, tail                     |
|        | t-orokī | his own penis, tail                 |
| (4.10) | omore   | spirit (non-possessed) → amore      |
|        | j-amore | my spirit                           |
|        | a-amore | your spirit                         |
|        | Ø-amore | his spirit                          |
|        | k-omore | our spirit                          |
|        | t-omore | his own spirit                      |

The second process of base alternation pertains to some few vowel-initial nouns that are lexically specified as requiring an epenthetic *-j-* when possessed, as shown in (4.11) through (4.13). The nineteen words that require the epenthetic *-j-* (glossed in this work as EUphonic) that are thus far attested are listed in (4.14); those that have a change of vowel after the glide-insertion are given in parenthesis. Given that the two linguists working on Trio, Meira (1999) and myself, came up with more or less the same list independently of each other (Meira (1999:208) has only two additions to this list, namely the Portuguese loan *isireti* ‘razor blade’ and *ëmëinë* ‘thorn, thorny shrub’) suggests that there are perhaps not too many more of this kind. At least three of the words in (4.14) are loanwords, namely *akusa* ‘needle’ an old loan from Spanish *aguja* ‘needle’; *oroisi* ‘wristwatch’, and *oroko* ‘work’ from Sranantongo *orosi* ‘wristwatch’ and *wroko* ‘work’ respectively which are ultimately from Dutch *horloge* ‘wristwatch’, and English ‘work’ respectively. When inserted before a noun that has *ë* as its initial vowel, that vowel is fronted to *e* as in (4.11) or lowered to *a* as in (4.13), in keeping with the *ëCë* → *aCë* rule given above. One exception is found with the word *ënkai* ‘comb’ in (4.14) which changes the initial vowel to *a* even though there is no *ë* in the second syllable. Insertion of the glide does not cause any changes in vocalic quality to *o*-initial or *oCo* roots. Three possessive paradigms of glide-inserting nouns are given in (4.11)- (4.13). A close look at the nouns in (4.14) shows that there are no *u*-initial nouns that have the glide insertion.

|        |       |                                 |                      |
|--------|-------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| (4.11) | ëripo | flat baking pan (non-possessed) |                      |
|        | 1     | ji-j-eripo                      | my flat baking pan   |
|        | 2     | ë-j-eripo                       | your flat baking pan |
|        | 1+2   | kī-j-eripo                      | our flat baking pan  |
|        | 3     | i-j-eripo                       | her flat baking pan  |

|        |                                       |                    |                         |
|--------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
|        | 1+3                                   | ainja i-j-eripo    | our flat baking pan     |
|        | 3coref                                | tī-j-eripo         | her own flat baking pan |
| (4.12) | omi                                   |                    | language, word          |
|        | 1                                     | ji-j-omi           | my language             |
|        | 2                                     | ē-j-omi            | your language           |
|        | 1+2                                   | ki-j-omi           | our language            |
|        | 3                                     | i-j-omi            | his language            |
|        | 1+3                                   | ainja i-j-omi      | our language            |
|        | 3coref                                | tī-j-omi           | his own language        |
| (4.13) | ēkērēu                                |                    | disease                 |
|        | 1                                     | ji-j-akērēu        | my disease              |
|        | 2                                     | ē-j-akērēu         | your disease            |
|        | 1+2                                   | ki-j-akērēu        | our disease             |
|        | 3                                     | i-j-akērēu         | his disease             |
|        | 1+3                                   | ainja i-j-akērēu   | our disease             |
|        | 3coref                                | tī-j-akērēu        | his own disease         |
| (4.14) | Nouns with obligatory glide insertion |                    |                         |
|        |                                       | aiḗ                | speed, ferocity         |
|        |                                       | akoo               | mortar                  |
|        |                                       | akusa              | needle                  |
|        |                                       | anai               | corn                    |
|        |                                       | arimina            | electric eel            |
|        |                                       | (a)paruru          | banana(s)               |
|        |                                       | o                  | tool                    |
|        |                                       | omi                | word, language          |
|        |                                       | osi                | rash                    |
|        |                                       | oroī               | cashew                  |
|        |                                       | oroisi             | wristwatch              |
|        |                                       | oroko              | work                    |
|        |                                       | orontī             | wax                     |
|        |                                       | otono              | cough, cold             |
|        |                                       | ēikēkē             | wound                   |
|        |                                       | ēmēinē             | thorn                   |
|        |                                       | ērīpo (-j-eripo)   | flat baking plate       |
|        |                                       | ēkērēu (-j-akērēu) | disease                 |
|        |                                       | ēnkai (-j-ankai)   | comb                    |

While not all of the words in (4.14) can be possessed by a definite possessor, that is, *ji-j-arimina* ‘my electric eel’ is grammatical but is semantically only reluctantly accepted by informants, these words do occur in the possessive construction with the coreferential prefix *tī-*, namely *tī-N-ke* ‘to have N’ as in the examples in (4.15a-b). It would seem to be quite idiosyncratic that the word *paruru* [paaruru], given that it is consonant-initial, in (4.15b) should have the glide-insertion, however, it is clear from the stress pattern in this word, that is, stress falls on the first syllable, that it was at an earlier stage of the language vowel-

initial, namely *aparuru* [apa:ɽuɽu], thus following the rule that stress usually falls on every second syllable from the left; the initial vowel *a* is only retrievable synchronically in this possessed form. In fact, I know of one older speaker in Kwamalasamutu who still refers to bananas with the non-elided first vowel, namely as *aparuru*.

- (4.15) a    *tī-j-arimina-ke n-a-∅-i serē tuna*  
 COREF-EU-electric.eel-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX river  
 there are electric eels in this river (this river has electric eels)
- b            *tī-j-aparuru-ke w-a-∅-e*  
 COREF-EU-banana-INST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I have bananas

It was stated above in 3.2.2 that it is likely that the two processes of vowel alternation  $\ddot{e} \rightarrow e$  and  $\ddot{e}C\ddot{e} / oCo \rightarrow aC\ddot{e} / aCo$  and the glide insertion are interrelated and that what causes these vowel alternations is the application of a palatalization rule brought about by the possessive ‘relator’ prefix *j-*. In fact, there is evidence that this is the case since in the speech of one old man a form was found which had glide insertion with a possessed noun that otherwise never has glide insertion, namely *amore* ‘spirit (possessed)’ as shown in (4.16); the past marking on this example is further explained in section 4.5.3 below.

- (4.16)      *pananakiri ∅-j-amore-npë-hpë*  
 whitemen 3POSS-EU-spirit-PST-PST  
 former dead spirits of white people

#### 4.3.4 Vowel-initial nouns and the CV-prefixes

With nouns that begin in *a*, *o*, or *u* the vowel of the consonant-initial prefixes (that is, first, first and second, and third person coreferential prefixes) is dropped as shown in the examples in (4.17) - (4.19).

- (4.17)      *aaro*                      foam  
 1            *j-aaro*                      my foam  
 1+2        *k-aaro*                      our foam  
 3coref *t-aaro*                      its own foam
- (4.18)      *uru*                              cassava bread  
 1            *j-uru*                              my cassava bread  
 1+2        *k-uru*                              our cassava bread  
 3coref *t-uru*                              his own cassava bread
- (4.19)      *otī*                                meat  
 1            *j-otī*                                my meat  
 1+2        *k-otī*                                our meat  
 3coref *t-otī*                                his own meat

### 4.3.5 The second person prefix

If the noun-initial vowel is *e* or *u*, being prefixed for the second person by means of the prefix *ě-* results in a diphthong *ěe*, *ěu* as shown in (4.20a-b). If the noun-initial vowel is *a* or *o* there is gemination of that vowel, that is, *aa*, *oo* as in (4.20c-d). The resultant long vowel has the function of distinguishing between a second and third person possessor; the third person forms are given for comparison in (4.21a-b). If, however, the noun has an initial long vowel — only very few nouns do — then there is no gemination of that vowel since super long vowels are not allowed in Trio, and the meaning of the word can only be determined through the context, as in example (4.22).

|        |       |                   |               |                      |
|--------|-------|-------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| (4.20) | Base  | Pre-person-marked | Person-marked | Meaning              |
| a      | ěka   | eka →             | ě-eka         | your name            |
| b      | uru   | uru →             | ě-uru         | your cassava bread   |
| c      | ěkěmi | akěmi →           | a-akěmi       | your younger brother |
| d      | otī   | otī →             | o-otī         | your meat            |

|        |        |                   |               |                     |
|--------|--------|-------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| (4.21) | Base → | Pre-person-marked | Person-marked | Meaning             |
| a      | ěkěmi  | akěmi →           | ∅-akěmi       | his younger brother |
| b      | otī    | otī →             | ∅-otī         | his meat            |

(4.22) aaro foam, your foam, his foam

### 4.3.6 The 1+2 prefix and the third person coreferential prefix

As stated above (see section 3.2) nouns do not begin in an initial *i* or *e*. Whenever the prefixes for the 1+2 person and the third person coreferential, *kī-* and *tī-*, occur before nouns with an initial vowel, that is, *a*, *o*, *u*, and *ě*, the prefixes drop their vowel, for example, (4.23a-j). When prefixed to an *i-* initial stem, the initial *i-* vowel assimilates to the vowel of the prefix and the vowel of the prefix is dropped, resulting in *k-ī-* and *t-ī-* as shown in (4.24a-b). It should be noted that there are very few nouns in Trio that begin with an initial *i-*, and even fewer that can be possessed; many nominalized verb stems, however, in particular those that take the valency prefix *i-* for transitive verbs, do thus begin in the vowel *i*; an example is given in (4.25). There is one instance known to me where the initial vowel *i* is retained and the prefix does not drop its vowel, resulting in a diphthong, namely with the noun *ikīri* ‘brother (female ego)’, the possessed form is given in (4.26a) below and forms a minimal pair with the semantically somewhat dubious possessed form of the noun *kīri* ‘man’ given in (4.26b). Few, if any, nouns in Trio begin with an initial *e* in the non-possessed form, all of the nouns found in the corpus that begin with an initial *e* in the possessed form are derived from a non-possessed form of the noun with an initial *ě*, hence when prefixed by

the 1+2 person possessive prefix *kī-* and the coreferential *tī-*, the prefixes drop their vowel and there is no change to the noun-initial *ē*, some examples are given in (4.27a-c). The nouns that begin in an initial *ē* are those that front the initial vowel to *e* when possessed by the first, second and third person possessive prefixes; this process and that of vowel lowering of *ē* and *o* in polysyllabic nouns was described above in 4.3.3.

- (4.23)
- |   |         |                       |
|---|---------|-----------------------|
| a | k-arī   | our leaves            |
| b | t-arī   | his own leaves        |
| c | k-aotī  | our ribcage           |
| d | t-aotī  | his own ribcage       |
| e | k-otī   | our meat              |
| f | t-otī   | his own meat          |
| g | k-uru   | our cassava bread     |
| h | t-uru   | his own cassava bread |
| i | k-ērepa | our food              |
| j | t-ērepa | his own food          |
- (4.24)
- |   |        |                    |
|---|--------|--------------------|
| a | k-īīmo | our eggs           |
| b | t-īīmo | his (its) own eggs |
- (4.25)
- t-ī-suka-e i-ja  
COREF-TR-wash-NF 3-GOAL  
 he washed it
- (4.26)
- |   |          |                                 |
|---|----------|---------------------------------|
| a | kī-ikīrī | our brother (female ego)        |
| b | kī-kīrī  | ?our man (semantically dubious) |
- (4.27)
- |   |          |              |
|---|----------|--------------|
| a | k-ēēmi   | our daughter |
| b | t-ēnu-ru | his own eye  |
| c | k-ēhke   | our hammock  |

#### 4.4 Plural marking of the personal prefixes on nouns

Plurality of the possessor on possessed nouns is expressed by means of the plural marker *-komo*, which reduces to *-kon* word-finally, as shown in examples (4.28a-c) each of which is preceded by the singular form. It is not possible to combine the first person possessive prefix *ji-* with the plural marker *-komo*, rather the logical plural of the first person is rendered by a pronoun *ainja* in combination with the third person possessive prefix *i-* as shown in (4.29d). Morphosyntactically this deviant expression of the first person plural (exclusive), which I gloss as person 1+3, is a singular form. For a discussion of the peculiarities of the pronoun *ainja* expressing person 1+3, see section 3.4.5.

- (4.28)
- |   |          |                   |               |                   |
|---|----------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| a | ē-pata   | your (sg) village | ē-pata-kon    | your (pl) village |
| b | kī-moitī | our (sg) family   | kī-moitī-komo | our (pl) family   |
| c | i-wēri   | his sister        | i-wēri-kon    | their sister      |

- (4.29)a \*ji-pakoro-kon  
 b kī-pakoro our (your (sg) and my) house  
 c kī-pakoro-kon our (your (pl) and my) house  
 d ainja i-pakoro our (his/her/their and my) house

While the full form of the morpheme *-komo* has been attested occurring on its own as in (4.30), it is generally only used when a suffix (or postposition) follows the possessor plural marker, compare examples (4.31)-(4.32). Thus the allomorph *-kon* is the most frequently found form in the corpus.

- (4.30) ě-moitī-komo  
 2POSS-kin-POSS.PL  
 your (pl) family

- (4.31) kī-moitī-komo-ja  
 1+2-kin-POSS.PL-GOAL  
 to our (pl) family

- (4.32) kī-moitī-komo-npě  
 1+2-kin-POSS.PL-PST  
 our (pl) former family (they're now dead)

If both the possessor and the noun are plural, then a fusional suffix *-kontokomo* (*-kontokon*) is used (see 4.7 below for the plural of nouns). This fusional suffix is only used with animate nouns, as in (4.33a). With inanimate possessed nouns plurality is only marked on the possessor leaving the number status of the noun to be understood from the context. Thus example (4.33b) can equally mean ‘your (pl) house’ and ‘your (pl) houses’. Compare example (4.33b) with the non-possessed plural marked noun in (4.34).

- (4.33) a kī-moitī-kontokon our (pl) families (pl)  
 b ě-pakoro-kon your (pl) house(s)

- (4.34) pakoro-ton houses

When the desiderative postposition *-se* (see section 6.3.6) is suffixed to the plural possessor *-kon*, it is usually fused with the suffix resulting in *-koe* as shown in (4.35a-b); the analytic alternatives, namely *-komo-se* and *-kon-se*, however, are also found, as shown in (4.35c-d). As shown in examples (4.35b-c) the non-finite marker *-se* marked on the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ is homophonous with the desiderative marker, however, these two forms should not be confused.

- (4.35)a ě-jokī-koe m-ana-Ø-ti?  
 2POSS-drink-PSR.PL.DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL  
 do you (pl) want something to drink?

- b            *tī-jokī-koe t-ee-se Okomojana-ton*  
 3COREF-drink-PSR.PL-DESID COREF.1TR-be-NF Okomoyana-PL  
 the Okomoyana wanted something to drink (their drink)
- c            *t-ëe-komo-se-ta\_to t-ee-se*  
 3COREF-uncle-PSR.PL-DESID-NEG\_PL COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 they didn't want their uncle (he was their husband)
- d            *tī-jokī-kon-se t-ee-se Okomojana-ton*  
 3COREF-drink-PSR.PL-DESID COREF.1TR-be-NF Okomoyana-PL  
 the Okomoyana wanted something to drink (their drink)

#### 4.5 Possessive suffixes

In the following sections some suffixes are discussed that co-occur with possessed nouns and nominalizations. These are an anti-genitive suffix *-rī* that marks the possessed state of the noun; two past suffixes, *-npë* and *-hpë*, and a privative suffix *-nna* ‘-less’ that occurs on a noun marked for possession by means of the third person non-coreferential prefix *i-*. These possessive suffixes stand in paradigmatic relation to each other and are for the most part not combinable, however, for exceptions see section 4.5.3 below. The privative *-nna* ‘-less’ is included in this section for reason of it only being marked on nouns, however, a description of this morpheme is repeated in Chapter 11 where it is shown how the *-nna* fits into a much more elaborate scheme of the expression of possession.

Some of these possessive suffixes apply to the possessed, some to the possessor, and some to both, for example, the anti-genitive *-rī* and the privative *-nna* ‘-less’ apply to the possessed, as shown in (4.36a-b) respectively; the past markers *-npë* and *-hpë* apply to either the possessed or possessor or both as being ‘past’ as shown in (4.37a-c). Each of these possessive suffixes is taken in turn below.

- (4.36)a    *ji-moitī-rī*  
 1POSS-kin-POSS  
 my family
- b            *i-mahto-nna w-a-∅-e*  
 3POSS-fire-LESS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I have no fire (I am fireless)
- (4.37)a    *tuhka-npë*  
 Brazil.nut.tree-PST  
 old Brazil nut tree (that no longer bears nuts)
- b            *i-punu-npë*  
 3POSS-body-PST  
 his body (possessor is deceased)

- c           ji-kamisa:-hpë  
               1POSS-loincloth-PST  
               my old loincloth OR my loincloth after I have died

#### 4.5.1    Anti-genitive suffix *-rī*

There is historical evidence and indeed still some synchronic evidence that a possessed noun was followed by the suffix *-rī*, as in *i-mama-rī* ‘his mother’. This or a phonemically similar suffix is still found in other Cariban languages in the area, e.g., Kari’na (Carib), see Hoff (1968); Wayana (de Goeje 1946); Apalai (Koehn & Koehn 1986); Waiwai (Hawkins 1999). In his analysis of Kari’na spoken on the coast of the Suriname, Hoff (1968) calls this marker the *status constructus*. Synchronically, at least in Trio, the *-rī* is most commonly used only if the possessed noun is followed by the goal postposition *-ja*, as shown in (4.38), although as can be seen in (4.39) it can be used without a following postposition. In Carlin (1997) I glossed this suffix as linker, yet given the fact that it only occurs in possessive constructions, it seems more appropriate to call it an anti-genitive suffix and not a *status constructus*; this suffix is glossed in the examples in this book as POSSESSED. It is mostly older speakers who still consistently use this form even when there is no following postposition. Furthermore it was not possible to elicit *-rī*, since a possessed form with *-rī* was only forthcoming if the word to which it was suffixed was followed by a postposition, a form which occurs more often in texts. Since it seems that the system of marking the anti-genitive suffix on nouns is disappearing in the speech of younger speakers, unless it is followed by postposition, it is impossible to give a list here of the words which take this suffix. It is possible, however, to state semantic domains where the suffix is generally found: most kinship terms as shown in examples (4.38)–(4.40), excepting those kinship terms that have their first person marked by the vocative *-ko*, for example, *pahko* ‘my father, father!’, *wëi-ko* ‘my older sister, older sister!’; some body part terms, and all nominalized (and possessed) verbs marked with *-rīhtao* ‘while’, which is made up of the anti-genitive suffix *-rī* followed by the container locative postposition *-(h)tao*, forming a subordinate clause, as shown in (4.41). This ongoing process of erosion of the suffix *-rī* in word final position appears to be blocked when the suffix is protected by additional morphological material such as the goal postposition *-ja*. The suffix *-rī* undergoes a vowel assimilation process becoming *-ru* after a noun ending in a final *u* as shown in (4.40) (for vowel assimilation, see 2.5.3).

- (4.38)    irë apo n-ka-Ø-n t-aupī-rī-ja  
           DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3. ITR-say-PRES-NCERT 3COREF-mother.in.law-POSS-GOAL  
           that’s what he says to his mother-in-law

- (4.39) pērēru-me-rēken i-mama-rī n-ka-Ø-n  
 frog-FACS-only 3POSS-mother-POSS 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

Pērēpērēwa i-mama-rī  
 proper.name 3POSS-mother-POSS

it is said his mother was only like a frog, Pērēpērēwa's mother

- (4.40) ... wī-ka-Ø-e jī-n-muku-ru-ja  
 ... 1→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT 1POSS-3O-bear.NOM-POSS-GOAL  
 ... I say to my son

- (4.41) t-ēpē-se i-ja Ø-anota-rī-htao  
 COREF-take-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-fall.NOM-POSS-CONT.LOC  
 he<sub>i</sub> caught him<sub>j</sub> as he<sub>j</sub> was falling (in his falling)

#### 4.5.2 Intermezzo:

-rī anti-genitive versus roots with syllable-final rī or tī

The anti-genitive suffix *-rī* cannot combine with plural marking, neither of the noun itself (*-tomo*) nor of the possessor (*-komo*), nor can it be combined with the marker *-nna* 'without, -less' which requires the noun to be possessed by the third person possessive prefix *i-* regardless of the person of the possessor, as shown in (4.42) with a third person possessor and in (4.43) with a first person possessor. There are, however, some seeming exceptions to this rule of non-combinability, namely with the nouns *je* 'tooth', and *apē* 'arm, limb' which require the apparent suffix *-rī* in the privative construction with *i-N-nna* '-less', as shown in (4.44a-b). The difference in behaviour of the nouns *je* 'tooth' and *apē* 'arm' points to a different etymology of the element *rī* in these two nouns, since older grammars of related Cariban languages, for example Cumanagoto and Pariagoto give cognate forms for *je* 'tooth' and *apē* 'arm' ending in the consonant *r* or an *rV* syllable.<sup>1</sup> Since the possessed form of *je* 'tooth' and *apē* 'arm' in present-day Trio is found without a final consonant or syllable, namely *ji-je* 'my tooth' and *j-apē* 'my arm', the apparent anomaly in behaviour can be seen as a retrieval of the original form of the noun, the form which is likewise retrievable before the nominal past marker *-npē* as shown in (4.45a-b).

1 The Cumanagoto cognate for 'arm' given in the first, second and third person for the Spanish entry Braço is *yapuer*, *ayapuer*, *chapuer* in Platzmann's facsimile edition (1888:99) of Mathias Blanco's dictionary; the entry for 'tooth' under Diente is given as *der*, *ader*, *cher* (Platzmann 1888:125). The Pariagoto for 'tooth' was *yeri* and for 'arm(s)' *apuer*, as found in a manuscript from perhaps the eighteenth century, which was probably transcribed from an earlier manuscript, unearthed in Madrid by Raoul Zamponi and currently being prepared for publication by Zamponi and Carlin. I would like to thank Willem Adelaar for pointing out this possibility of the *rī* and *tī* being part of the root forms.

- (4.42) i-mama-nna t-ee-se  
 3POSS-mother-LESS COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he had no mother
- (4.43) i-pata-nna w-a-∅-e  
 3POSS-village-LESS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I don't have a home (village)
- (4.44)a i-jeri-nna n-a-∅-i  
 3POSS-tooth-LESS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is toothless
- b ∅-apēri-nna t-ee-se  
 3POSS-arm-LESS COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he had no arms
- (4.45)a kaikui i-jeri-npē i-wein-je t-ee-se  
 jaguar 3POSS-tooth-PST 3-side.NOM-LOC COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he had a jaguar's tooth with him
- b ∅-apēri-npē mēe ∅-awē  
 3POSS-arm-PST 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3-INT.LOC  
 his<sub>i</sub> arms were inside him<sub>j</sub>

There are a few other candidates for having a final *rV* syllable that is dropped but retrieved before past marking, namely those given in (4.46a-c). Examples (4.45a-b) and (4.46a-b) take the nominal past marker *-npē*, but strangely enough example (4.46c) takes the other nominal past marker *-hpē*, for which I have no explanation.<sup>2</sup> See also the paragraph below for past marking on *tī*-final nouns.

- (4.46)a ē-tamuru-npē-kon  
 2POSS-leader-PST-PSR.PL  
 your (pl.) former elder
- b sipariwini ∅-eekuru-npē  
 proper.name 3POSS-juice-PST  
 former tributary of the Sipaliwini River
- c t-auphīri-hpē  
 3COREF-mother.in.law-PST  
 his own former mother-in-law

A similar situation as with the final syllable *rī* or *rV* in the lexemes given above, is found with those nouns that take an apparent suffix *-tī* in many of the same contexts as the suffix *-rī*. Some examples of the nouns in question are given in the list in (4.47). In an earlier publication (Carlin 1997), while stating that fol-

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2 The form given in example (4.46a) is said to be 'old man's language' and the modern equivalent is *ē-tamu-komo-npē*.

lowing distributional morphological criteria, the element *tī* could not be an allomorph of the suffix *-rī*, I nevertheless called the *tī* a linker morpheme. After further analysis and comparison of the data with those of older grammars of related languages it would seem that these nouns, like the forms *jerī* ‘tooth’ and *apēri* ‘arm, limbs’ given above, are also derived from older forms that are attested as ending in either a final consonant *t* or syllable *tī*. The final syllable is a reducing syllable and is retrievable when followed by a postposition as shown in (4.48) or other morphological material such as the nominal tense marker *-npē* and the suffix *-nna* ‘-less’ as shown in (4.49) and (4.50) respectively. Whether or not the root-final *-rī* and *-tī* were a type of classifier can no longer be checked, however, semantically it is difficult to motivate a classifier analysis of the type that is given above in 4.2.

- (4.47) ee(tī)                uncle  
           ipī(tī)            wife  
           ehke(tī)        hammock (possessed)  
           samu(tu)        sand  
           epi(tī)            medicine  
           repe(tī)        payment  
           ihpo(tī)        body hair
- (4.48) t-ēne-∅ i-ja i-pītī-ja mēhparē  
       COREF-see-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-wife-GOAL game.animals  
       she, his wife saw the game
- (4.49) j-ehketī-npē arē-tē  
       1POSS-hammock-PST take-IMP.PL  
       take my hammock (after I have died)!
- (4.50) i-pītī-nna nērē t-ee-se  
       3POSS-wife-LESS 3PRO.ANIM.ANA COREF. 1 TR-be-NF  
       he didn’t have a wife

As stated above those nouns that have their final syllable in *rī* and *tī*, as part of the root, drop that syllable and retrieve it under the conditions given above; moreover, before plural marking the final reducing syllable is dropped and there is either compensatory lengthening of the final vowel of the noun, or there is *h*-insertion, compare examples (4.51a-c) below. If there is other intervening morphological material such as the past marking on the noun, which does not permit elision of the final syllable, then plural marking which follows the past marking, is allowed as expected, see example (4.52).

- (4.51)a pītī     wife  
           ji-pīh-ton  
           1POSS-wife-PL  
           my wives

- b            *ë-pih-kon-me tiri-të*  
 2POSS-wife-PSR.PL-FACS do-IMP.PL  
 treat her as your (pl) wife!
- c            *eetī    uncle*  
*t-ëë-komo-se-ta\_to t-ee-se*  
 3COREF-uncle-PSR.PL-DESID-NEG\_PL COREF. ITR-be-NF  
 they didn't want their uncle (he was their husband)
- (4.52)    *ji-piti-npë-ton*  
 1POSS-wife-PST-PL  
 my former wives

#### 4.5.3 Tense and possession

In addition to the possessed suffix *-ri* discussed above, Trio also has two suffixes that are also found on possessed stems, namely *-npë* and *-hpë* which are suffixed to a possessed noun, pronoun (see section 5.4), or possessed nominal (see Chapter 9). On the one hand these suffixes express 'former' possession, that is, they indicate that something used to be in someone's possession but no longer is, including the situation that holds if the possessor has died, as shown in (4.53), or on the other hand, they can refer to some entity, possessed or not, that is old or no longer usable as shown in (4.54) and (4.55). Only one of the markers, namely *-npë*, can be used in combination with pronouns whereby it expresses pastness of an entity, and not pastness of a possessive relation, that is, reference is then being made to a deceased or otherwise departed referent, as shown in the past-marked pronouns in (4.56a-b); other examples as well as specialized constructions with past-marked pronouns are given in Chapter 5. When a person dies, any reference made to his bodyparts or belongings must take past reference suffixation. The pastness that is marked is given schematically in (4.57a-c). Which of the meanings is relevant (former possession or deceased possessor, or old) is context-dependent although a certain degree of ambiguity may still remain.

- (4.53)    *ji-kamisa:-hpë*  
 1POSS-loincloth-PST  
 my former loincloth, my loincloth after I have died
- (4.54)    *ainja i-pata:-hpë*  
 1+3PRO 3POSS-village-PST  
 our former village (abandoned village)
- (4.55)    *tuhka-npë*  
 Brazil.nut.tree-PST  
 old Brazil nut tree (no longer bears nuts)

- (4.56)a mēe-npĕ  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PST  
 he (the deceased one)
- (b) namo\_ro-npĕ  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT-PST  
 they (those ones who have left here)
- (4.57) (Possessor)-Noun/Pronoun-Past  
 a [Noun/Pronoun] Past  
 b [Possession of Noun] Past  
 c [Possessor of Noun] Past

The two suffixes *-npĕ* and *-hpĕ* are no doubt etymologically related; they do not seem to differ in meaning, but they do generally differ in their distribution, although some nouns have been found that can take either of the suffixes, as in (4.58). The nouns that take the suffix *-hpĕ* are generally those that require or allow the possessive suffix *-rī* in the non-past, and it is these nouns that have compensatory lengthening of the final vowel of the noun before the past-marking suffix; this lengthening is not realized orthographically. These nouns include most kinship and some body part terms given in (4.59a-k) marked for past. Zero-marked verbal nominalizations also take the suffix *-hpĕ*, as in (4.59) but cannot combine with *-npĕ* (see 9.2.1). Those nouns that do not take the possessive suffix *-rī*, as well as personal and demonstrative pronouns, can only be marked for past with the suffix *-npĕ*, some examples are given in (4.60a-h). In the domain of nominalizations, *-npĕ* can be suffixed to the person-focussed nominalizer *-ne* and *-no* and the time/manner/place nominalizer *-topo*. These nominalizers are high on the scale of nouniness (cf. 9.2.4 and 9.2.6). In addition the postposition *apo* ‘like’ can also take the past marker *-npĕ*, but not *-hpĕ*, as shown in (4.61).

- (4.58) ji-maja-npĕ                      Also:    ji-maja-hpĕ  
 1POSS-knife-PST  
 my old or former knife
- (4.59)
- |   |               |   |
|---|---------------|---|
| a | ∅-eemi-hpĕ    | his deceased daughter                         |
| b | i-mama:-hpĕ   | his deceased mother                           |
| c | i-papa:-hpĕ   | his deceased father                           |
| d | t-ĕkĕmi:-hpĕ  | his own former brother                        |
| e | i-n-muku:-hpĕ | his deceased son                              |
| f | i-pi:-hpĕ     | his former skin                               |
| g | i-pu:-hpĕ     | his foot (possessor deceased)                 |
| h | i-kaimo:-hpĕ  | his former (shot) game                        |
| i | i-jokī:-hpĕ   | his former drink                              |
| j | j-eema:-hpĕ   | my former path                                |
| k | ji-para:-hpĕ  | my former (old) arrow heads                   |
| l | ∅-ahkĕtĕ:-hpĕ | his operation, i.e. the former cutting of him |

|        |   |               |                                 |
|--------|---|---------------|---------------------------------|
| (4.60) | a | i-punu-npë    | his body (possessor deceased)   |
|        | b | p-ïre-npë-ton | my weapons (possessor deceased) |
|        | c | j-ehketi-npë  | my hammock (possessor deceased) |
|        | d | j-epiti-npë   | my former medicine              |
|        | e | i-putupë-npë  | his head (possessor deceased)   |
|        | f | ∅-apëri-npë   | his arms (possessor deceased)   |
|        | g | namoro-npë    | they (who have just left)       |
|        | h | nërë-npë      | he (deceased)                   |

- (4.61) eek-apo-n apo-npë kïn-ka-ito ji-n-muku-ru  
 how-like-NOM like-PST 3→3PST.1TR-say-? 1POSS-3O-bear.NOM-POSS  
 what was it like what my son was saying to us?

In cases where a family member has died, past is marked on both components of the relationship, for example, where a son had died his mother becomes the deceased son's past mother as shown in (4.62a), and at the same time any reference to the deceased son from the point of view of the parents is also past-marked as shown in (4.62b). The example in (4.62b) refers to a story where the child had been consumed by a spirit and thus no longer was the child at all except in its body-casing, and thus had to be destroyed in the manner described.

- (4.62)a irë-me i-mama:-hpë tï-w-ës-ina-e  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3POSS-mother-PST COREF-1TR-REFL-cry-NF  
 so his mother cried
- b i-n-muku:-hpë marë t-ënë-e i-ja  
 3POSS-3O-bear.NOM-PST also COREF-eat-NF 3-GOAL  
 he also ate his former child

Past marking is also frequently used to mark the past relationships of referents who change from one state to another as can be seen in example (4.63) where the younger of two brothers had turned into a jaguar by imitating the behaviour of a jaguar and so had to be killed by his older brother. The younger brother had become something else, namely a jaguar, and thus his relationship to his brother was no longer what it had been. Example (4.64) shows how (the) Moon's former sisters had become his wives, in the form of stars.

- (4.63) t-ëkëmi-hpë wë-e\_pa tï:-të-e  
 3COREF-younger.sibling-PST shoot-NF.SUP\_CYC COREF.1TR-go-NF  
 he (older brother) went back to shoot his younger brother
- (4.64) ma tëërë n-a-∅-i i-pï i-wëri:-hpë-ton  
 DISC DP.LOC.DIST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-wife 3POSS-woman-PST-PL
- ∅-ekatao\_rë n-a-∅-i sirikë-me  
 3-beside\_ASSERT 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT star-FACS
- his wives are there, his former sisters, right beside him as stars

That the possessor can be the past-marked element is evident from examples such as (4.65) where reference is made to future generations, that is, to a period in time when the addressee will no longer be alive. Likewise, the derived form given in (4.66) meaning ‘one in my place, my replacement’ must be past-marked since the speaker is referring to someone else (his son) taking over his job, his place vis-à-vis the government employer.

(4.65) ě-parī-npě-kon-pona-rĕn  
 2POSS-grandchild-PST-PSR.PL-DIR-forever  
 up as far as your future grandchildren for generations to come

(4.66) ji-pata:-hpě-po-n-me n-a-∅-i mĕe  
 1POSS-village-PST-LOC-NOM-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is my replacement (person in my former place)

There is also one attestation in the corpus of double past marking combining the two past suffixes, namely on the noun *omore* ‘spirit (non-possessed)’ as given in the excerpt in (4.67). It is not entirely clear as to why there is a double past marking on this noun, nor what conditions the order of the two suffixes: in the non-past, the noun marked by the first person possessive prefix is *j-amore* ‘my spirit’, the form *j-amore-npĕ* is ‘my spirit after I have died’ thus the meaning of the form given in (4.67) would have to be ‘the former dead spirits of the white people and black people’, that is, the noun must first be marked for past with *-npĕ*, and then for past possessor with *-hpĕ*, a plausible explanation if one compares the form in (4.67) with that of the non-possessed form in (4.68). That the two different suffixes are used, rather than the same suffix twice, could be simply due to the very unnatural-sounding *-j-amore-npĕ-npĕ*. Note that the noun *omore* ‘spirit (non-possessed)’ does not normally undergo glide-insertion; see remarks in section 3.2.2 above about example (4.16). The text from which both sentences (4.67)- (4.68) are taken is the narration of a shaman’s trip to another (the celestial) world where he told of the ‘people’ or spirits he met there.

(4.67) pananakiri n-a-∅-i marĕ irĕ-po  
 whitemen 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT also DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

pananakiri ∅-j-amore-npĕ-hpĕ marĕ  
 whitemen 3POSS-EU-spirit-PST-PST also

mekoro ∅-j-amore-npĕ-hpĕ marĕ tapĭi-me  
 Maroons 3POSS-EU-spirit-PST-PST also many.ANIM-FACS

there are whitemen there too, whitemen’s spirits too, blackmen’s spirits too, many

- (4.68) *irë-pona ainja n-itunta-∅-e, omore-npë i-pata*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-DIR 1+3PRO 3→-enter-CERT spirit-PST 3POSS-village  
 we entered there, a village of spirits

Some nouns, given in (4.69a-c), are obligatorily marked for past. Example (4.69a) shows the nominalized form of the verb *kepī* ‘stop’ which functions here as a cessative (‘stop’) marker suffixed to the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ resulting in the meaning ‘corpse, one who has ceased to be’. Since *kepī* is a nominalized verb form, only the suffix *-hpë* is allowed. Past marking is obligatory in this case because a corpse is necessarily a past referent; example (4.69b) is past marked because logically one has to make a footprint before it can come into being by which time it already is past, and similarly a birthday as in (4.69c) can only be named so after the event of birth.

- (4.69)a *ee-kepī-hpë*  
 be-CESS.NOM-PST  
 corpse (one who has ceased to be)
- b *i-wena:-hpë*  
 3POSS-trace-PST  
 his footprints (trace, trail)
- c *∅-enuh-topo-npë*  
 3POSS-be.born-NOM-PST  
 birthday (time/place of being born)

When a possessor is pluralized by the suffix *-kon* (*-komo*) the plural marker usually follows the tense marker as in (4.70).

- (4.70) *i-nepu-hpë-kon*  
 3POSS-bridge-PST-PSR.PL  
 their former bridge

#### 4.5.4 Negative possessive suffix *-nna* ‘without’

The third person possessive personal prefix *i-*, in combination with the suffix *-nna*, is also used to form a privative construction, that is, a negative possessive construction of the type ‘he is X-less, he has no X.’ The subject is encoded on the verb ‘to be’ and the object of possession is marked with the third person possessive prefix *i-*, regardless of the person of the subject, and suffixed by the marker *-nna*. The suffix *-nna* cannot co-occur with the other possessive suffixes *-rī*, *-npë* or *-hpë*. Some examples are given in (4.71a-c). For a more detailed discussion of the *i-N-nna* construction and for other types of negative possession, see Chapter 11). For the nominalized counterpart of the *i-X-nna* form, that is, ‘s/one without X’, see section 9.5.

- (4.71)a i-*jeri*-*nna* n-a- $\emptyset$ -i  
 3POSS-tooth-LESS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is toothless
- b i-*mahto*-*nna* w-a- $\emptyset$ -e  
 3POSS-fire-LESS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I have no fire
- c  $\emptyset$ -*oti*-*nna* m-eh-ta-hki  
 3POSS-meat-LESS 2→3.1TR-be-FUT-PL  
 you (pl.) will be without meat

#### 4.6 Possession and negation

A possessed noun can be negated by means of the negative suffix *-ta*, which negates the entire clause, as shown in (4.72a-b). The resultant meaning is ‘is not possessor’s X.’ For a more detailed analysis of the expression of possession and ownership, see Chapter 11.

- (4.72)a ji-*pih*-ta n-a- $\emptyset$ -i *mee*  
 1POSS-wife-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 she is not my wife
- b *eh*-*ja*-no\_ri-ro-ta *seri*  
 2POSS-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT DP.INAN.PROX  
 this is not yours

#### 4.7 Number and nominal plural marking

One of the best indicators of the nounhood of a given element is the plural marking it takes (for a discussion of word classes and number marking across word classes, see 3.6). In the above we saw that the suffix *-komo* (*-kon*) is used to pluralize the possessive prefixes. Plural marking of a noun, on the other hand, is marked by means of the suffix *-tomo* and its allomorph *-ton* which occurs word-finally. Animacy and the feature human also play a role in plural marking as can be seen in the choice of plural marking on the pronouns, that is, the third person inanimate pronouns take the nominal plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*) whereas the third person animate pronouns take plural marking suffixes specifically for the animate pronouns, namely *-samo* (*-san*) or *-jamo* (*-jan*); these two latter plural markers are found on two nouns denoting ‘sets of humans’. In addition, there is an exceptional plural marker *-hti*, found only with the noun *mure* ‘child’.

##### 4.7.1 The plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*)

The general plural marker for a nominal entity is *-tomo* (*-ton*) which is suffixed to the nominal as shown in (4.73a-e). The allomorph *-ton* is found word-finally,

and the full form *-tomo* is usually, but not only, restricted to instances when the plural noun is followed by further morphological material, as shown with the goal postposition *-ja* in (4.74). The plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*) also pluralizes the third person inanimate and demonstrative pronouns, some examples are given in (4.75a-b), see also section 5.3.2.

|        |   |        |           |            |            |
|--------|---|--------|-----------|------------|------------|
| (4.73) | a | wēri   | woman     | wēri-ton   | women      |
|        | b | kīri   | man       | kīri-ton   | men        |
|        | c | mokoko | crab      | mokoko-ton | crabs      |
|        | d | pata   | village   | pata-ton   | villages   |
|        | e | enī    | container | enī-ton    | containers |

(4.74) wēri-tomo-ja  
 woman-PL-GOAL  
 to the women

|        |   |      |      |          |       |
|--------|---|------|------|----------|-------|
| (4.75) | a | serē | this | serē-ton | these |
|        | b | ooni | that | ooni-ton | those |

The plural morpheme *-tomo* (*-ton*) is used with different types of plural meanings depending on the nature of the noun involved and on definiteness, that is, it can have basic plural meaning ‘more than one’, distributive (individuating), associative, or collective meaning. Starting from the notion of general number (see Corbett 2000) which is subdivided into singular and plural, Trio tends to group general number with singular, that is to say, a noun may have plural meaning without being marked for plural; for example, *wēri* can mean ‘a woman’ or ‘women’; compare the sentences in (4.76a-b). In (4.76a) the noun *wēri* ‘woman’ is unmarked for plural and may have singular meaning ‘a woman’ but it may also have plural meaning and may be definite or indefinite ‘the women’ or ‘some women’. In (4.76b), on the other hand, the meaning is both plural and definite. Examples of basic plural ‘more than one’ are given above in (4.73a-e).

- (4.76a) wēri nī-tē-∅-n  
 woman 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 a woman is leaving; the woman is leaving; (some) (the) women are leaving
- b wēri-ton nī-tē-∅-n  
 woman-PL 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 the women are leaving  
 \*women are leaving

When generic terms such as *kana* ‘fish’, *tonoro* ‘bird(s)’, *mēhparē* ‘tree-dwelling game animal(s)’ are marked with the plural, their meaning is an individuating (distributive) plural across species, that is, ‘several fish species’, ‘several bird species’, ‘several tree-dwelling game species’, as shown in (4.77).

(4.77) serë apo n-a-Ø-i i-mënpärë-kon  
 DP.INAN.PROX like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-things-PSR.PL

kana-ton aimara waatau suruirī  
 fish-PL fish.sp. fish.sp. fish.sp

this is what their (trading) things are: different sorts of fish, *aimara*,  
*waatau*, *suruirī*

Similarly, some nouns such as group names are inherently plural, and when combined with the plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*) they acquire an individuated plural meaning referring to different members of the collection. Thus, for example, *Waiwai* refers to the collective group Waiwai and *Waiwai-ton* denotes on the one hand all the individual Waiwai, and on the other hand, the separate ethnic groups that make up the Waiwai group.

Plural marking can be used with a proper name as in (4.78), thereby resulting in an associative plural, that is, the plural marker *-ton* refers to a group of people much as in English ‘the Smiths’. In Trio, however, the referents are not necessarily affinally related but they can be also those living in someone's compound or those of his group.

(4.78) Japoma-ton the Japoma family (the Japomas)

#### 4.7.2 Collective marking

Collective marking is only found in its true sense with some nouns denoting human referents, that is, the referents are seen as forming a collective, as opposed to the individuating kind of plural marking described above. Collective marking is seen most clearly in the suffix *-jana* which is used to refer to ethnic group names. This suffix is also found throughout the Guianas to refer to group names in many non-Cariban languages such as those of the Arawakan, Tupian, and Tucanoan families as well. Many of the names of ethnic groups known to the Trio and who formed what is now known as the Trio group, end in the suffix *-jana*, as shown in (4.79a-c). When one is asking to which ethnic group someone belongs, then the collective suffix is marked on the animate question word *a-kī*, [Q-ANIM] as shown in (4.80); the suffix *-jana* is not compatible with the inanimate question word *a-tī* [Q-INAN] ‘what?’.

(4.79) a Okomo-jana Wasp people  
 b Arama-jana Sweat bee people  
 c Pīrëu-jana Arrow (-cane) people

(4.80) a-kī-jana ëmë  
 Q-anim-COLL 2PRO  
 what tribe do you belong to?

Two of the plural markers that are found on the third person pronouns, namely *-samo* (*-san*) and *-jamo* (*-jan*) have been taken over to express collective meaning on two nouns that express age-sets with human referents, namely *tamu* ‘old man, elder’ and *notipë* ‘old woman’, as shown in (4.81a-b). It is likely that these two plural markers, since they can only be marked on the third person animate pronouns, were adapted to express collective meaning on these two nouns that also have animate referents. As stated above, the inanimate third person pronouns take the plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*). The suffix *-samo* (*-san*) is used to pluralize the third person animate proximal pronoun *mëe* as shown in (4.82). The remaining third person animate pronouns form their plural with *-jamo* (*-jan*), as shown in (4.83); the one exception is the third person animate anaphoric pronoun *nërë* which pluralizes as *namo(ro)*, see also section 5.3. The animate question word *akī* ‘who?’ likewise takes the plural *-jamo* (*-jan*) as shown in (4.84), (although *akī-ton* also occurs in the corpus). Thus animacy would seem to be the most salient feature of these two plural markers, in addition to the fact that pronouns are hierarchically higher than nouns. Where these two nouns occur throughout this book marked with the plural markers *-samo* (*-san*) and *-jamo* (*-jan*), I gloss these as plural with collective meaning: PL.COLL to highlight the fact that with these two nouns these suffixes express the notion ‘set of elders’ or ‘set of old women’.

(4.81) a *tamu* elder *tamu-san* elders  
 b *notipë* old woman *notī-jan* old women

(4.82) *ainja* Ø-*arë-ne mëe-san*  
 1+3PRO 3→3-take-NR.PST 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL  
 they took us

(4.83) Third person animate pronouns

|                     |             |                 |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|
|                     | Sg.         | Pl.             |
| Medial              | <i>mëëë</i> | <i>mëë-jan</i>  |
| Distal              | <i>ohkī</i> | <i>ohkī-jan</i> |
| Audible/non-visible | <i>mëkī</i> | <i>mëkī-jan</i> |

(4.84) *a-kī-jamo-hpe tī-wë-e i-ja, mëhparë-ton*  
 Q-ANIM-PL-INDEF.SPEC COREF-shoot-NF 3-GOAL game.animals-PL  
 what (who) on earth kinds of game animals did he shoot?

The plural markers on the two nouns in (4.81a-b) can be combined with the plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*) resulting in the individualizing meaning ‘the different sets of people’ as shown in (4.85a-b) so that, *tamu-san-ton* refers to several groups of elders, for example, the Trio elders, the Aramayana elders, etc., or to subgroups of elders. The combination of *-tomo* (*-ton*) with plural-marked inanimate third person pronouns is not possible.

- (4.85) a tamu-san-ton (different groups of) elders  
 b noti-jan-ton (different groups of) old women

A plural marker that is no doubt etymologically related to the suffix *-jamo* is *-njamo* which is only found with the second and 1+2 personal pronouns, that is, *ëmë-(i)njamo* ‘you (pl.)’ and *kimë-(i)njamo* ‘I and you (pl.)’. The parenthetical *i* in these words reflects the Trio orthographic convention of marking palatalization of a nasal by inserting a preceding *i*, that is, *ëmëinjamo* and *kimëinjamo* respectively. This suffix does not reduce word-finally. The plurality that is expressed by means of the suffix *-njamo* on these pronouns is collective in that it refers to a collective entity defined by the speech situation, that is, it is a delimited group taken as a unit, namely ‘you, the listeners’ and ‘I and you (pl.) the listeners’.

Derived nouns, that is, nominalized forms, only form their plural in *-ton* (*-tomo*) and not in *-san/-jan(a)*, regardless of whether or not they refer to sets of humans as shown in (4.86a-b).

- (4.86)a e-wai-pîn-ton  
 MID-bend-NEG.POT.NOM-PL  
 the people unable to bend their knees
- b i-pono-ne-ton  
 TR-tell-NOM-PL  
 storytellers

The plural marker *-hti*, which has only been found with one noun, namely *mure* ‘child’ can likewise be combined with the plural marker *-ton*, as in *mure-hti-ton*. The resultant noun expresses the notion ‘all the different children’. Another irregular noun meaning ‘offspring, children’ is found below in (4.87c-d), namely *-munkë-* which is clearly related to the derived noun *-n-muku* meaning ‘son, child, the object of s/o’s bearing’. The instances of the noun *-munkë-* found in the text corpus show that it must always be possessed and marked with the plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*).

The full forms of the plural markers (*-tomo*; *-samo* and *-jamo* respectively) are generally used whenever a plural noun is followed by a postposition – statistically most occurrences are found before the goal postposition *-ja* – although there are a few attestations of this allomorph being used without any further suffixation, compare examples (4.87a-e).

- (4.87)a mure-hti-tomo / murehti-ton children<sup>3</sup>

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3 When used to refer to adults, this word is slightly derogatory in that expresses that its referents lack the wisdom of the older generations and now in particular the former world and way of life of the Trio, that is, the life that still existed prior to the arrival of the missionaries.

- b pērēru-tomo-htao  
frog-PL-CONT.LOC  
among the frogs
- c mēe ∅-eemi-ton ∅-apēi-hpē-ke  
3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3POSS-daughter-PL 3POSS-take.NOM-PST-INST

ě-munkě-tomo-ja  
2POSS-offspring-PL-GOAL

because your sons took his daughters (because of the former taking of his daughters by your sons)

- d ě-munkě-tomo-se w-a-∅-e ji-pēeto-me  
2POSS-offspring-PL-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 1POSS-servant-FACS  
I want your sons as my servants

- e ... tīi-ka-e pijai ěkēi-imě-tomo-ja  
... COREF.1TR-say-NF shaman snake-AUG-PL-GOAL  
... the shaman said to the anacondas

If a noun is marked for tense, the plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*) follows the tense marker as shown in (4.88a-c). Only few examples were found in the corpus of past marking with the plural suffix *-jamo* (*-jan*), whereby the past marker follows the plural marker, an example is given in (4.89a), and in (4.89b) an example is given where the plural marker *-ton* follows the past marker resulting in an individuating plural. According to informants, however, there is some variation since the forms in (4.90a-b) were both said to be acceptable.

- (4.88) a ji-maja:-hpē-ton my former knives  
b ji-pata:-hpē-ton my former villages  
c t-okono-npē-ton his own former brothers-in-law  
d ji-tamuru-npē-ton my former chiefs
- (4.89) a mēkī-jamo-npē those ones (animals) we could hear  
(who are no longer there)  
b mēkī-jamo-npē-ton those ones (different groups of animals)  
we could hear (who are no longer there)
- (4.90) a ě-tamuru-npē-kon your pl. former leader  
b ě-tamu-komo-npē your pl. former leaders

#### 4.7.3 Plural suffix *-kontokomo*

As stated above, the plurality on a noun is marked by the suffix *-tomo* (*-ton*), and plurality of possessor is marked by the suffix *-komo* (*-kon*). When both the possessor and the noun are plural, a fusional suffix *-kontokomo* (*-kontokon*) is used, as shown in (4.91a-d); I gloss this “possessor plural and noun plural” suffix as

PSR.PL.PL. The suffix *-kontokomo* (*-kontokon*) is now falling into disuse and younger informants tend to relegate it to the category ‘old men’s language’ and even there it seems that the suffix *-kontokomo* was only used if the noun had an animate referent, as shown in examples (4.91a-d). However, the suffix *-kontokomo* (*-kontokon*) is also used with the independent possessive pronouns with reference to inanimate referents, see section 5.5. With nouns that have inanimate referents such as the example given in (4.92a) only the possessor receives the plural marking; the ambiguity that arises is resolved by the context. Younger people nowadays tend not to use the suffix *-kontokomo* (*-kontokon*) even if the noun has an animate referent as shown in (4.92b) which is the younger speakers’ equivalent of (4.91c).

- (4.91)a    *kī-tamu-kontokon*  
               1+2POSS-elder-PSR.PL.PL  
               our (pl.) leaders
- b            *kī-tamu-kontokomo-ja tīi-ka-e*  
               1+2POSS-elder-PSR.PL.PL-GOAL COREF. ITR-say-NF  
               (he) said to our (pl.) leaders
- c            *i-moitī-kontokon*  
               3POSS-kin-PSR.PL.PL  
               their families
- d            *ë-tamu-ru-npë-kontokon*  
               2POSS-elder-POSS-PST-PSR.PL.PL  
               your (pl.) former leaders
- (4.92)a    *ë-pakoro-kon*  
               2POSS-house-PSR.PL  
               your (pl.) house, your (pl.) houses
- b            *i-moitī-kon*  
               3POSS-kin-PSR.PL  
               their families (or: their family)

#### 4.8        Nominal derivational suffixes

The derivational suffixes dealt with in the following sections include the size categories augmentative *-imë* and diminutive *-pisi(kë)*; the suffix *-hpije* ‘having in great amounts’; the facsimile marker *-me*; the pleasing suffix *-sepī* and its negative counterpart *-pe(ke)*, and the suffix *-rīpī* which marks a noun as being ‘non-functional’ or ‘useless’.

##### 4.8.1     Size categories augmentative *-imë* and diminutive *-pisi(kë)*

The noun can be extended by one of the size categories, augmentative or diminu-

tive without changing its nominal status. While the two suffixes are logically not combinable, there are instances of them being combined if a stem with one of the suffixes has been lexicalized. Any further inflectional or derivational processes take place after the size categories.

#### 4.8.2 Augmentative *-imē*

The semi-productive augmentative *-imē* is suffixed to the noun, and carries the meaning of very big or giant Noun. If the noun ends in a simple vowel, both the final vowel of the noun and the initial vowel of the suffix are retained. The two nouns given below in (4.93d,j) that have their final vowel in *a* form a diphthong [ai] with this final vowel and the initial vowel of the suffix; these two nouns are lexicalized and highly frequent forms. If the noun ends in a diphthong the final vowel of which is *i* then the initial vowel of the suffix is dropped. Many foreign concepts are translated into Trio by means of the augmentative suffix *-imē* along a path of metaphorical extension according to appearance, for example, (4.93f,g,i) and/or use (4.93d,j). The most common examples are listed in (4.93a-j). Example (4.93j) *parata-imē* refers to a range of non-cultural items usually made of non-natural fibres, especially plastic.

|        |   |            |             |               |   |
|--------|---|------------|-------------|---------------|---|
| (4.93) | a | ariwe      | caiman      | ariwe-imē     | big caiman                                      |
|        | b | enu        | eye (poss.) | enu-imē       | big eye (poss.)                                 |
|        | c | ēkēi       | snake       | ēkēi-mē       | anaconda  |
|        | d | kanawa     | boat        | kanawa-imē    | small airplane <sup>4</sup>                     |
|        | e | rupei      | lizard sp.  | rupei-mē      | large (mythical) lizard                         |
|        | f | pīmokoko   | libelle     | pīmokoko-imē  | helicopter                                      |
|        | g | pījankēkēi | millipede   | pījankēkēi-mē | train   |
|        | h | otono      | cold        | otono-imē     | tuberculosis                                    |
|        | i | wītoto     | human.being | wītoto-imē    | gorilla   |
|        | j | parata     | latex       | parata-imē    | bucket, football, balloon,<br>false teeth, etc. |

While the suffix *-imē* can formally be attached to any noun, that is, morphologically it is possible to do so, its semantics are such that the resultant noun often acquires an unreal or absurd greatness, thus a great number of the nouns found with the augmentative suffix are lexicalized forms, for example, *kanawa-imē* ‘small airplane of the Cessna type/size’; *parataimē* ‘bucket, football etc.’ (see Carlin 1998a). In addition, many (medicinal) plant names end in the augmentative suffix *-imē*, mostly with a very specialized meaning based on a range of elements such as the reason for having to take the medicine, the shape or appear-

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4 Airplanes of the Boeing 747 size are referred to as *kapuman* [sky-FACS-NOM], lit. ‘one as the sky’ because they fly so high.

ance of the plant. For example, *arawe-imē* ‘big cockroach’ is the name of a plant, the decoction of which is used to treat the eyes, that has leaves that look like cockroaches; *pīrēu-imē* ‘big arrow’ is another plant the decoction of which is used to bathe sores caused by palm thorns (which pierce one like arrows); *arawata-imē* ‘big howler monkey’ is a plant which was used in former times to treat children who had fallen ill after their father had broken a taboo by hunting (e.g., shooting a howler monkey) before his couvade period had finished after his wife had given birth.<sup>5</sup> I have not come across any instances of double occurrences of the augmentative suffix, not even in cases of augmentative-marked nouns that have become lexicalized.

#### 4.8.3 Diminutive *-pisi(kē)*

The diminutive *-pisi(kē)* is found exclusively on nouns and it can be suffixed to virtually any noun. While dropping the final syllable is not obligatory as such, that is, it does occur in its full form as shown in (4.94a), the suffix is usually found without the final syllable *kē* as examples (4.94b-d) show. Before postpositions either the full form or the reduced form of the diminutive can occur, as shown in (4.94e) and (4.95). In (4.94e) the husband in question was a second husband contemporaneous with the first. For the diminutive on verbs and other word classes, see 10.13.3.

- (4.94)a    *j-eemi-pisikē*  
           1POSS-daughter-DIM  
           my little daughter
- b            *j-eemi-pisi*  
           1POSS-daughter-DIM  
           my little daughter
- c            *pakoro-pisi Ø-entu-me n-a-Ø-i*  
           house-DIM 3POSS-owner-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
           he owns a small house
- d            *pīja-n-pisi*  
           small-NOM-DIM  
           a small one

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5 The information given here on medicinal plants is from the late Captain Tēmenta of Tēpu, and partly from Koita in Kwamalasamutu; I should like to thank them both here for their patience in relating many plants names to me, unfortunately I did not see all of these plants and have not been able to identify them. The couvade is no longer practiced but in some families certain restrictions are still adhered to by the father after the birth of a child.

e t-ëne-Ø Ø-injo-pisikë-ja  
 COREF-see-NF 3POSS-husband-DIM-GOAL  
 her minor husband saw it

(4.95) tī-tunta-e nkērë pa pata-pisi-pona  
 COREF-arrive-NF\_PERSIST\_CYC village-DIM-DIR  
 they arrived at yet another little village

The suffix *-pisi* can be used to highlight a specific aspect of the semantic content of a noun, that is, it can form a quantifiable unit for nouns that are not inherently seen as a unit. It can be used as a partitive as in (4.96a-b) where in (4.96b) what is being brought back to the village after a hunting party is normally referred to as *kaimo* ‘dead game’ which is a non-count noun; it can have the meaning ‘some (in the sense of small amount)’ as in (4.96b); and it can act as a quantifier of quality by stating ‘degree’ as in (4.96d).

(4.96)a j-ootī-pisi-se w-a-Ø-e  
 1POSS-meat-DIM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want a piece of meat

b aanoka-tëkë kī-n-arë-kon-pisi pa  
 roast-IMP.PL 1+2POSS-3O-bring.NOM-PSR.PL-DIM\_CYC  
 roast the pieces we bring back

c ji-karakuri-pisi-se w-a-Ø-e  
 1POSS-money-DIM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want some money

d mekoro-pisi n-a-Ø-i nërë  
 Maroon-DIM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he is a light-skinned Creole

The diminutive *-pisi(kë)* can be combined with a noun marked by the augmentative *-imë* if that noun has been lexicalized, for example, the noun *kanawa-imë* [boat-AUG] has been lexicalized to mean ‘small airplane’ of the type that lands regularly in the Trio villages. On being taken upstairs in a hospital lift for the first time a Trio woman exclaimed that the lift was a *kanawa-imë-pisi* [boat-AUG-DIM] ‘a little airplane’.

Another way of expressing smallness relative to a referent that has already been mentioned is formed by the possessed noun *i-n-muku-pisi* ‘his/her/its little child’ as shown in (4.97a-b) where in (4.97a) the speaker was saying that monkeys’ tails come in all sizes, large ones and little ones.

(4.97)a amerarë n-a-Ø-i, mono-ma-n i-n-muku-pisi marë  
 all 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT big-FACS-NOM 3POSS-3O-bear.NOM-DIM too  
 there are all sizes, big ones, little ones too

b mono kanawa-imë n-ee-ja-n  
big boat-AUG 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT

owa i-n-muku-pisi\_rëken  
NEG.P 3POSS-3O-bear.NOM-DIM\_only

is the big plane coming? no, just the little one

#### 4.8.4 The suffix *-hpije* ‘having in great amounts’

The suffix *-hpije* is used to characterize a noun as being present in great numbers or amounts. A noun marked with the suffix *-hpije* is usually found as a complement of the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ whereby the subject is being characterized as being ‘covered in’, ‘infested by’, ‘loaded with’ the denotee of the *-hpije*-marked noun, some examples are given in (4.98a-c). The meaning of *-hpije* is either negative and alarming in the sense that one has no control over the ‘infestation’ or it is positive to the extreme and could be translated as ‘having plenty of’ as seen in such examples as (4.98b). While Meira (1999:413) claims to have found an example of this suffix with person marking, my informants did not accept this suffix with any person marking. When nominalized with *-n(o)* the final *e* of *-hpije* assimilates in backness and changes to *a* becoming *-hpija-n* ‘s/one or s/thing covered in X’; this nominalized form is usually found to refer to a place where lots of a particular plant grows, for example, *ineku-hpija-n* ‘place where a lot of the *ineku* liana grows’

(4.98)a sikë-hpije w-a-Ø-e  
jigger-INFEST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I’m covered in jiggers, I’ve jiggers all over me

b karakuri-hpije ahtao kure wī-ja  
money-INFEST when good 1-GOAL  
if (he) is loaded (with money), that’s fine with me (that’s what I want)

c maakë-hpije n-a-Ø-i Kwamara  
mosquito-INFEST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Kwamala  
Kwamala is infested by mosquitoes

#### 4.8.5 The facsimile suffix *-me*

The facsimile suffix *-me* is so named since the noun to which it is suffixed acquires the meaning of being manifestly but not intrinsically that denoted by the noun. This suffix embodies par excellence the Trios’ perception of the world in which they live, namely a world of constantly changing states. It is such suffixes as *-me*, found also as *-me* or *-pe* in most other Cariban languages, that have been elusive to researchers in determining their exact meaning. The translation of

a facsimile-marked noun as ‘like X’ or ‘as X’ is found in many works on Cariban languages, yet its meaning is actually ‘for all intents and purposes X but not in essence so’. Thus the noun *wītoto* means ‘human being’ and *wītoto-me* has the basic meaning ‘(not intrinsically) a human being’, and while the facsimile-marked noun *wītoto-me* can be translated as ‘as a human being’ or ‘like a human being’, these are not always appropriate translations because the meaning is ‘a human being’ with a parenthetical ‘not in essence’. Below I give some structural properties of the facsimile marker, followed by a semantic description within the cultural context, followed by some grammaticalized functions of the facsimile.

Structurally the facsimile *-me* can only be suffixed to a nominal, that is, a noun or a nominalized verb, for example, the candidate nominalizer *-mi* (> *-n*), and with a specialized meaning the (reduced form of the) time, manner, place nominalization, see section 9.2.4. When a noun is marked with the facsimile its syntactic status changes from that of a plain noun in that although it can function as the subject or object of a sentence, for example, in imperative clauses, see (4.99a-b), as expected in keeping with its meaning it is generally found in apposition to its object of similitude as shown in (4.100a-b). In this way the facsimile-marked noun can act as a modifier (or a depictive) of another noun, as shown in (4.101a-b). The facsimile-marked noun can be placed immediately after the noun it is modifying, or postposed to the verb. In (4.101a) the facsimile-marked noun *jimunkëtonme* ‘as my sons’ has the same reference as the object of the finite verb, that is, *mëesan* ‘them’. In (4.101b) the facsimile-marked possessed noun *erepa-me* ‘as their food’ has the same reference as the object of the verb ‘give’, namely *tīmonpë* ‘his old eggs’, and has the third person possessive marking to refer to the recipient noun *wītoto* ‘people’. In (4.102a-b) the facsimile-marked noun has possessive marking to indicate coreferentiality of the possessor with the agent, while the *-me*-marked noun is modifying the objects of those verbs. This feature of the *-me*-marked noun modifying another noun is also seen with pronouns in a sentence where a pronoun and noun have the same reference whereby the coreferential noun must be marked with the facsimile *-me*, as shown in (4.103), see section 5.6.

(4.99)a *ji-moitī-me eh-tëkë*  
 1POSS-kin-FACS be.1TR-IMP.PL  
 be my family!

b *i-pawana-me eh-kë*  
 3POSS-friend-FACS be.1TR-IMP  
 be his friend!

(4.100)a *wëri-me nërë*  
 woman-FACS 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 she was manifestly a woman

- b wītoto-me t-ee-se nĕrĕ  
 human.being-FACS COREF. ITR-be-NF 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he was manifestly a human being
- (4.101)a mĕe-san ji-munkĕ-ton-me w-enepĭ-∅  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL 1POSS-sons-PL-FACS 1→3-bring-I.PST  
 I brought them as my sons
- b t-īimo-npĕ t-ĕkarama-e i-ja wītoto-ja ∅-erepa-me  
 3COREF-eggs-PST COREF-give-NF 3-GOAL human.being-GOAL-PL 3POSS-food-FACS  
 he gave the people his old eggs as their food
- (4.102)a nĕrĕ-npĕ t-ĕpo-se Pijanakoto  
 DP.ANIM.ANA-PST COREF-find-NF Pijanakoto
- t-okono-kon-me tĭ-rĕ-e i-ja-:ne  
 3COREF-brother.in.law-FACS COREF-make-NF 3-GOAL-PL
- they came upon him, the Pijanakoto person, they made him their  
 brother-in-law
- b namoro tĭ-munkĕ-ton-me t-ĕnee-se i-ja  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT 3COREF-sons-PL-FACS COREF-bring-NF 3-GOAL  
 he brought them as his sons
- (4.103) ainja itu-htao-n-me  
 1+3PRO forest-CONT.LOC-NOM-FACS  
 we forest-dwellers

As was stated above, facsimile-marked nouns lose something of their nominality; this is also evident in that in contrast to a plain unmodified noun, the facsimile-marked noun can act as a satellite for clitics, that is, for the verbal third person plural clitic *\_to*, the non-nominal diminutive clitic *\_sa*, the persistive clitic *\_nkĕrĕ* ‘still’, and the cyclic clitic *\_pa*, none of which are allowed on a plain noun; compare the examples in (4.104a-d). In addition, the facsimile-marked noun can take the postpositional plural marker *-.ne*, as in *Tarĕno-me-:ne teese* ‘they were Trio groups’. However, since the occurrence of a plural marker following the facsimile marker is quite rare, and given the semantic import of this marker, I have chosen not to group this marker with the postpositions as such but rather to treat it as a nominal suffix.

- (4.104)a wītoto-me\_to ainja kĭn-ene-∅  
 human.being-FACS\_PL 1+3PRO 3→3.PST-see-NR.PST  
 we saw them as human beings
- b wītoto-me\_sa t-ee-se  
 human.being-FACS\_DIM COREF. ITR-be-NF  
 he was a bit (like a) human (being)

- c            mure-me\_nkērē wī ahtao  
 child-FACS\_PERSIST IPRO when  
 when I was a child
- d            wītoto-me\_pa\_to t-ee-se  
 human.being-FACS\_CYC\_PL COREF. ITR-be-NF  
 they had become humans again

It is perhaps for this reason that Meira (1999:426) states that the basic function of the *-me* “can be characterized as that of allowing a noun to be used as an adverb”; however, while the facsimile *-me*, suffixed to a basic nominal or to a sound symbolic expression, can result in an adverbial expression, a distinction has to be made between this sort of adverbial and the depictive function of the *-me* given in the examples above. In their adverbial function the *-me*-marked nouns modify the predication whereas, as shown above, the facsimile in its depictive function modifies or adds some qualifying information about one of the participants of the main predicate. Further arguments against classifying a *-me*-marked noun as an adverb are found in the fact that a facsimile-marked noun can occur as either the head or the dependent of a N-N possessive phrase, as shown in (4.105a-b) where *-me* is marked on the head in (4.105a), and on the dependent in (4.105b). When marked on the head, then the *-me* can, and usually does, have as its scope the entire possessive noun phrase, that is, the facsimile marked on the phrase ‘a human’s name’ in (4.105a) indicates that this is not actually the name of a human at all; the word *kumu* is the name of a small fruit from which the Trio make juice. When the facsimile is marked on the dependent, as in *Tarēnome iwehto* in (4.105b), it only refers to the dependent.

- (4.105)a    wītoto Ø-eka-me t-ee-se Kumu  
 human.being 3POSS-name-FACS COREF. ITR-be-NF Kumu  
 Kumu was an Amerindian’s name
- b            i-po Tarēno-me i-w-eh-to t-ēne-Ø i-ja  
 3POSS-clothes Trio-FACS 3POSS-ITR-be-TMP.NOM COREF-see-NF 3-GOAL  
 she saw his (human) outer casing (his clothes), his Trio-ness

The noun marked by *-me* occurs in identificatory sentences such as (4.100a-b) above, or as an adjunct as in (4.106a). The sentence (4.106a) cannot have the meaning ‘he saw a fish’, rather that would have to be translated as given in (4.106b). Thus the object in (4.106a) is understood from the context, and it is the object that is being modified by the facsimile-marked noun. The facsimile-marked noun is thus not a sole direct object; evidence for this is found with finite sentences where the verb is marked with the third person subject/object prefix *n(i)-* which is always dropped if preceded by an overt lexical object, compare the sentences in (4.107a-b) where (4.107b) is not a possible sentence in Trio. In ex-

ample (4.108) an equational sentence is formed with a negated noun plus the verb *e(i)* ‘to be’ with the facsimile-marked noun as the other part of the equation: such instances of a subject marked by the facsimile *-me* are quite rare. For nouns and negation, see section 4.10 below.

(4.106)a wapo kana-me t-ëne-Ø i-ja  
 first fish-FACS COREF-see-NF 3-goal  
 at first he saw her manifestly a fish (he saw her as a fish)

b kana t-ëne-Ø i-ja  
 fish COREF-see-NF 3-GOAL  
 he saw a fish

(4.107)a Tarëno-me n-ene-Ø-n pananakiri  
 Trio-FACS 3→3-see-PRES-NCERT whiteman  
 the whiteman sees him as a Trio (because he looks like one)

b \*Tarëno-me Ø-ene-Ø-n pananakiri  
 \*the whiteman sees an apparent (facsimile) Trio

(4.108) ji-pī-ta n-a-Ø-i ji-pī-me  
 1POSS-wife-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-wife-FACS

Ø-epa Ø-ota-nna  
 3POSS-vulva 3POSS-hole-LESS

my apparent wife is not my wife, she has no vagina

When nominalized, the vowel of the facsimile marker becomes *a*, as shown in (4.109b) which is the nominalized counterpart of (4.109a), for assimilation in backness, see section 2.5.3.

(4.109)a mīno-me n-a-Ø-i  
 pregnant-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 she is pregnant

b mīno-ma-n-ton  
 pregnant-FACS-NOM-PL  
 pregnant women

The meaning of the suffix *-me* can, however, only be understood in its context of the Trio philosophy of the world and their place in it. In Carlin (1999:236) I wrote that the suffix *-me*, in its basic, that is, non-grammaticalized meanings, has the following functions: (i) an indicating function, (ii) falsifier of a previous belief, (iii) attitudinal proposition.

The first of these functions is used to indicate that one knows that the denotee of the noun is not inherently what it seems, for example, when a spirit takes the form of a human being and is in the world of human beings to interact there, then

one knows that it is not really a human being but simply a facsimile human being. In Trio, the “real” is distinguished from the “facsimile” by means of the suffix *-me*. The suffix indicates that the denotee of the noun is ‘in the (transient) state of being’ that denoted by the noun, but that it is not essentially what it appears to be. Compare the examples in (4.110a-b) where in (4.110a) the woman in question was not a real woman but a spirit, the daughter of Anaconda who had come on earth in the form of a woman to help the Trio man Përëpërëwa. In (4.110b) the young man in question was simply that, a young man; this sentence was uttered when the interlocutor thought that the referent was an old man, so the speaker said, ‘no, he’s a young man.’ Similarly, when the Trio adopt a child, then that child is manifestly but not biologically their child, that is, in referring to that child in an identificatory sentence they must use the facsimile *-me* in order to fulfil the condition of being a truthful speaker. In (4.111) an old man speaks to the woman who was not his biological daughter but whom he saw as a daughter.

- (4.110)a wëri-me nërë  
 woman-FACS 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 she was manifestly a woman
- b kīrī-muku nërë  
 man-child 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he is a young man
- (4.111) j-eemi-me m-ana-e  
 1POSS-daughter-FACS 2→3.1TR-be.PRES-CERT  
 you are manifestly my daughter

The second function, that of falsifier of a previous belief, is found when referring to an object one mistook for something else, as shown in (4.112) where a man had shot an arrow at something he thought was a game animal in the trees but which turned out to be a man.

- (4.112) mēhparë-me k-ëkanī-ja-e  
 game-FACS 1+2-think-PRES-CERT  
 I thought you were a game animal (in the trees)

The third function, which I termed attitudinal proposition (Carlin 2001), is to indicate one’s uncertainty as to the identity of an object one perceives, for example, if it is dark and one can only see a shadow or shape but cannot ascertain what it is. In such a case the speaker is stating that it might be whatever is denoted by the noun. The example given in (4.113) was uttered when the moving object was too far away to be clearly seen by the speaker.

- (4.113) wītoto-me w-ëkanī-ja-e  
 human.being-FACS 1→3-think-PRES-CERT  
 it’s a person, I think

The facsimile marker *-me* may seem at first sight similar in meaning to the postposition *apo* ‘like’, or the particle *ahken* ‘like’, however, there are crucial differences between these forms and their usages. According to Meira (1999:427) these markers differ “in the degree to which the properties of their object coincide with the properties of one of the participants”. Meira (1999:428) goes on to say that the use of the facsimile implies that “*all* the essential properties of its objects” are attributable to the noun marked by *-me*. However, this is not the case since it is exactly the essence of what is denoted by the noun, and that one feature, that is *not* attributable to the *-me*-marked noun. The difference is thus very refined in that the postposition *apo* ‘like’ is used to express the notion ‘being like in behaviour’ whereas the facsimile suffix *-me*, as shown above, expresses the idea of ‘being manifestly X’. The particle *ahken*, which is not as frequently used as either of the other two markers, is much more similar to the facsimile *-me* in that it can be translated as ‘X-like but not essentially X’ as shown in (4.114a-b), however, the latter’s syntactic function is never depictive but only adverbial. In example (4.115a-b) below the person in question was behaving like a caterpillar in that he was eating leaves, that is, he was eating in the manner of a caterpillar. Behaviour for the Trio is one of the defining features of who one is or can become. In example (4.115b) the Amerindian had transformed into a jaguar and had been warned by his brother to be sure not to taste the blood of his prey; the younger brother ignored his warnings, killed his prey and tasted its blood, thus, he was behaving like what he had become, a jaguar, at which point he could no longer transform back to his original state of being a human.

- (4.114)a i-munu in-aame-Ø-wa eh-kē, nana ahken n-a-Ø-i  
 3POSS-blood 3O-taste-NF-NEG be-IMP pineapple like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 don’t taste its blood, it’s like pineapple
- b nana ahken n-a-Ø-i munu-pokin  
 pineapple like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT BLOOD-SENS  
 blood tastes like pineapple (blood taste/smell is pineapple-like)
- (4.115)a t-ēna-se i-ja ērukē apo  
 COREF-eat-NF 3-GOAL caterpillar like  
 he ate like a caterpillar (i.e. he ate leaves)
- b Tarēno-me\_pa ee-se-wa t-ee-se  
 Trio-FACS\_CYC be.1TR-NF-NEG COREF.1TR-be-NF
- munu Ø-aame-hpē-ke i-ja  
 blood 3POSS-taste.NOM-PST-INST 3-GOAL
- he didn’t (couldn’t) become a Trio again because he had tasted blood

The facsimile *-me* is one of several markers of manifestations of the Trios’

worldview, others being the assertive clitic *\_rē* and the frustrative clitic *\_re(pe)*. Yet another aspect is the evidentiality marking that is found on finite verbs, and the use of a non-finite verb form that is used to express a non-witnessed event that has come into existence. Each of these aspects has to do with the idea(l) of optimal communication, which is based on honesty, being a means of attaining a harmonious communal life, an aspect of Trio culture that was mentioned in the introduction to this book, see also Carlin (2002). A discussion of the clitics is found in Chapter 10 and of evidentiality in 8.9. and 8.14.4.

#### 4.8.6 Grammaticalization of the suffix *-me*

It is the most salient meaning of the suffix *-me* that has been pressed into service for grammaticalization purposes, namely that of ‘being in a (transient) state of’. With temporary states, natural or otherwise, such as ‘childhood’, ‘adulthood’ or ‘being a shaman’, and the like, the noun is always marked with the facsimile; when the temporary state is seen from the point of view of an extended period rather than as a bounded unit, in the case of an adult talking about while s/he was a child, that is, someone who has left that state but is talking about the period when that state existed, the facsimile marker is always followed by the persistent clitic *\_nkērē* ‘still’, compare the examples in (4.116a-c).

- (4.116)a *irē apo n-a-∅-i mure-me ji-w-eh-topo-npē*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT child-FACS 1POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PST  
 that’s what my childhood was like
- b *irē-mao pijai-me ji-w-eh-to ti-ku:-se wī-ja*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP shaman-FACS 1POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM COREF-try-NF 1-GOAL  
 then I tried being a shaman (through no choice of my own)
- c *mure-me \_nkērē wī ahtao*  
 child-FACS\_PERSIST 1PRO when  
 when I was a child

The marker *-me* has thus developed into an aspectual marker, that marks a presently occurring but not necessarily constant state on modifying nouns in predicative constructions, and on demonstrative pronouns, some examples are given in (4.117a-b). Suffixation of the facsimile *-me* to modifying nouns leads to an adverbial usage of the nominal form, that is, once a modifying noun is suffixed by the facsimile *-me*, that modifying noun can no longer be used attributively, compare the attributive use of the modifying noun *mono* ‘big’ in (4.118) and its adverbial use in (4.117a). Many stems, namely some that are only found marked by the facsimile marker *-me* such as some colour terms, given in (4.119a-b), are synchronically no longer independent nouns, while yet other colour terms are, for example (4.120a-b), where *pakoko* is the Trio for the Sranantongo *sesi juru*

*vlinder* which is a cricket species that only appears around six o'clock in the evening. In addition, many of the roots to which the facsimile is suffixed are sound-symbolic forms, as those given in (4.121)- (4.122). To give an illustration, in (4.121) the root *-sasa-* is the noise made by the shells or beads on leg bands, waistbands and the like while dancing – dancing was (and still is) a manifestation of being happy and content. As stated above, often the source element that is marked by *-me*, whether nominal or sound symbolic, is not found independently, although many of these roots are found in derived verb forms such as those marked with the inchoative stative verbalizer *-ma*, a form that is semantically equivalent to the facsimile *-me*, for example, (4.123); see also verbalizers in 8.13. A description of *-me* in its adverbial function is given in 10.6.

- (4.117)a *mono-me n-a-Ø-i*  
big-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he is big (in the state of being big)
- b *ěmu-me w-a-Ø-e*  
sad-FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I am sad (in the state of being sad)
- (4.118) *mono konopo n-e-ja-n*  
big rain 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
heavy rain is coming
- (4.119)a *siki-me n-a-Ø-i*  
black-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
it is black
- b *siriri-me n-a-Ø-i*  
blue-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
it is light blue (sky-blue)
- (4.120)a *tawa-me n-a-Ø-i*  
earth-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
it is brown (as earth, soil)
- b *pakoko-me n-a-Ø-i*  
butterfly sp.-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
it is (light) green/bluish (as a pakoko, cricket sp.)
- (4.121) *sasa:-me w-a-Ø-e*  
SS.happy-FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I am happy
- (4.122) a *tututu-me* staggering (child learning to walk, a drunk person)  
b *kirikiri-me* shaking, trembling (from cold, anger, Parkinson's disease)  
c *wiwi-me* wobbling (e.g., while balanced on a thin tree branch)

- (4.123) *ji-sasa-ma-Ø-n*  
 3→1-SS.happy-INCH.STAT-PRES-NCERT  
 he makes me happy

Some loanwords from Dutch or Sranantongo must be suffixed by the facsimile *-me*, for example, all numerals (most of which are written as in Dutch, although some use the Trio spelling, or the numeral itself is used) as shown in (4.124) (see numerals in 10.7), and the word *oroko-* from Sranantongo *wroko* (ultimately from English ‘work’) as shown in (4.125).

| (4.124) | Trio spelling | Dutch spelling | Meaning     |
|---------|---------------|----------------|-------------|
| a       | een-me        | een-me         | one         |
| b       | tuwee-me      | twee-me        | two         |
| c       | tëri-me       | drie-me        | three       |
| d       | pirë-me       | vier-me        | four        |
| e       | peihpë-me     | vijf-me        | five        |
| c       | ses-me        | ses-me         | six         |
| d       | honderd-me    | honderd        | one hundred |

- (4.125) *oroko-me w-a-Ø-e*  
 work-FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am working (or: I work for payment)

The facsimile marker *-me* can also be suffixed to the inanimate anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *irë* and the inanimate medial demonstrative *mërë*, meaning ‘so’ and ‘but’ respectively. These two forms have become lexicalized to a certain degree and are used as cohesion markers within discourse (see 10.11). Two examples are given in (4.126)- (4.127).

- (4.126) *irë-po n-a-Ø-i mahto-imë mono mahto-imë*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT fire-AUG big fire-AUG

**irë-me** *irë Ø-apuru-ja-n\_to*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS DP.INAN.ANA 3→3-close-PRES-NCERT\_PL

*sarë i-wëepi-se-taike\_re*  
 DP.PROX.LOC 3POSS.1TR-come-NF.PURP-NEG.INTENS\_FRUST

There’s a big fire there, an enormous fire, **so** they are building a dam so that the fire won’t come here (but eventually it did).

- (4.127) *nërë-ke\_rëken tī-mu-je t-ee-se mërë-me*  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-INST-only COREF-bear-NF COREF.1TR-be-NF DP.INAN.MED-FACS

*i-j-on-pa-e-wa n-a-Ø-i*  
 3POSS.TR-EU-language-PROVID-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

He only had children by means of those (birds, animals), **but** those children didn’t (couldn’t) talk

#### 4.8.7 The suffixes *-sepī*, *-se:-me* ‘pleasing’

The suffix *-sepī* is derived in both meaning and form from the desiderative postposition *-se* plus a nominal suffix *-pī*. It has the meaning ‘pleasing’ and must be marked for person, namely the experiencer. It is used in equative clauses with zero copula of the type shown in (4.128a). More frequently used, however, is the reduced form of this suffix *-sepī*, namely *se:*, with compensatory lengthening of the vowel, in combination with the facsimile suffix *-me* resulting in a suffix also with the meaning ‘pleasing’. The long vowel of *-se:* is not represented orthographically. The form *-sepī* is used much less frequently than the derived form with *-me*, which is used with the object that is pleasing encoded on the verb ‘be’ and the experiencer as the possessor of the nominal. An analysis of the form *-sepī* as a derivative of the desiderative with the nominalizing suffix *-pī* has both semantic and formal reasons: as stated above, the form *-sepī* is used in equative zero-copular constructions of the type given in (4.128a); the reduced form that is suffixed by the facsimile *-me* requires the verb ‘be’ in the clause; the literal translation of *-se:-me* is akin to ‘X is as (in a state of being) a desirous (seeing) thing of mine’ that is, the facsimile marker indicates a state (cf. 4.8.6), it can only be marked on a nominal, that is, a nominalized element. Semantically, the link between ‘like’ and ‘want’ is too close to warrant a separate or homophonous analysis of the *-se(pī)* / *-se* morphemes. There is no difference in meaning between the forms *-sepī* and *-se-me*, both of which express the notion ‘to be a liked object of X’. The nominal to which *-sepī* and *-se-me* are suffixed must be possessed, as shown in (4.128a-d). In contrast to the forms with the desiderative *-se* meaning ‘want, love, need’ (see section 6.3.6), it is the object of ‘like’ rather than the experiencer that is encoded on the verb ‘to be’, and the experiencer is the possessor. In meaning this *-se-me* construction is similar to the *tī-√pore* ‘have a good X’ construction (see Chapter 11) but differs in that the ‘liking’ is emotive and subjective, that is, the difference between sentence (4.128d) and (4.128e) is that in the (d) example I find that my house is nice whereas in the (e) example it is simply a neutral statement that my house is a good (well-built) one or that I am well-housed. If several objects are involved, the meaning is closer to ‘favourite’ as in (4.129).

(4.128)a *ji:-rapa-sepī serē*

1POSS-bow-DES.NOM DP.INAN.PROX  
this is my best bow (for shooting)

b *∅-ekī-se:-me n-a-∅-i*

3POSS-pet-DES-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he likes his hunting dog (it is a hunting dog of his liking)

- c            *ji-w-e-pĩ-to-se:-me n-a-∅-i serë*  
 1POSS-1TR-MID-bathe-NOM-DES-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX  
 I like this bathing place
- d            *ji-pakoro-se:-me n-a-∅-i*  
 1POSS-house-DES-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 I like my house (it is a house of my liking)
- e            *tĩ-pakoro-pore w-a-∅-e*  
 COREF-house-POS.EXP 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I have a nice house (am well-housed)
- (4.129)    *j-ekĩ-se:-me n-a-∅-i mëe*  
 1POSS-pet-DES-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 I like this hunting dog (this one is my favourite)

When the possessor is plural, the plural marker *-kon* is generally inserted between the *-se:* and the *-me*, although informants also insisted that it is acceptable to have the plural marker precede the desiderative and the facsimile, compare (4.130a-b). Meira (1999:421) also gives the postposition *-ewaaje* to mean ‘like, be happy with’, the root of which is found in my corpus as a derived verb, as given in (4.131) whereby the root *ewakĩ* means happiness.

- (4.130)a    *irë-to n-a-∅-i in-eta-∅-se:-kon-me*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3O-hear-NOM-DES-POSS.PL-FACS  
  
*sasame n-a-∅-i irë-po*  
 happy.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
  
 they like to hear these things, they are happy there
- b            *i-n-eta-kon-se:-me n-a-∅-i*  
 3POSS-3O-hear-NOM-POSS.PL-DES-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they like to hear this
- (4.131)    *j-ewakĩ-ma-po-∅-n mëe-san*  
 3→1-happy-INCH.STAT-CAUS-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 they make me happy

#### 4.8.8    The suffix *-pe(ke)* ‘not pleasing’

The negative counterpart of the morpheme *-se:-me* is *-pe(ke)*. Structurally the two exhibit similar behaviour: the morpheme *-pe(ke)* must be marked on a possessed noun, as in (4.132a), or on a transitive (or transitivized) nominalized verb as in (4.133a). The meaning of this morpheme is given by informants as being very close to the negated desiderative postposition *-se-ta* as described in 6.3.6, the difference being that as shown in (4.132a) and (4.133a) the meaning is ‘I don’t like X’ whereas in (4.132b) and (4.133b) the meaning is ‘I don’t want X’

right now’. The morpheme *-pe(ke)* takes the postpositional plural marker *:-ne* and in this respect differs from its positive counterparts the desiderative and the ‘pleasing’ morphemes *-se:-me* given above which take the possessor plural marker *-kon* ; the final syllable *ke* is only present before the plural marker *:-ne*, as shown in (4.134). For semantic reasons this morpheme is treated in this section rather than under the postpositions.

- (4.132)a j-injo-pe n-a-Ø-i  
 1POSS-husband-NEG.DES 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 I don’t like my husband (he is not a desirous husband of mine)
- b j-injo-se-ta w-a-Ø-e  
 1POSS-husband-DES-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I don’t want my husband (also: I don’t want a husband)
- (4.133)a j-in-ene-pe n-a-Ø-i  
 1POSS-3O-see.NOM-NEG.DES 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 I don’t like to see him (he is not a desirous seeing object of mine)
- b Ø-ene-se-ta w-a-Ø-e  
 3POSS-see.NOM-DES-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I don’t want to see him
- (4.134) ë-n-ene-peke:-ne w-a-Ø-n  
 2-3O-see.NOM-NEG.DES-PL 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 do you not like to see me? (am I an undesirable seeing object of you (pl))

#### 4.8.9 The suffix *-ripi* ‘useless’

The nominal suffix *-ripi* is used to express that the noun or nominal to which it is suffixed is useless, defective, or evil, see examples in (4.135a-b); in this work it is glossed as DEFECTIVE. This suffix is derived from the noun *iripi* ‘something old and useless’ which itself is ultimately derived from the noun *wiripë* which in the past simply meant a spirit from the other world but synchronically carries the meaning of ‘evil spirit, Satan’. An adverbial form, namely *wiripë-me* means ‘broken’, and *wiripë-tao* [spirit-CONT.LOC] refers to what Rivière (1981:7) terms an ambiguous area on the outer edges of the village just before the dense forest starts, the area which is rife with spirits, and hence potentially dangerous.

- (4.135)a wīrapa-ripi serë  
 bow-DEFECT DP.INAN.PROX  
 this bow is useless (wrecked)
- b ji-kanawa-ripi  
 1POSS-boat-DEFECT  
 my wrecked boat

#### 4.9 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are formed by the juxtaposition of two nouns and are characterized by the fact that the second noun does not bear any possessive prefix, as shown in example (4.136a). In a possessive construction, the noun *pata* would be marked with the third person possessive prefix *i-* as it is in (4.136b). The referent of the compound is semantically less definite than that of the possessive construction, compare the examples in (4.136a-b). The first element in the compound has a classificatory function as can be seen in (4.137a) where the noun *karaiwa* ‘Brazilian’ specifies the type of land rather than referring to any particular piece of land individually owned as is the case with the possessive construction in (4.137b).

- (4.136)a *omore-npë pata n-a-Ø-i irë-po*  
 spirit-PST village 3→3. ITR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
 a spirit village is there
- b *pananakiri Ø-j-amore-npë-hpë i-pata*  
 whiteman 3POSS-EU-spirit-PST-PST 3POSS-village  
 a village of white people’s spirits
- (4.137)a *karaiwa nono-pona ti:-të-e*  
 Brazil land-DIR COREF. ITR-go-NF  
 (they) went to Brazil
- b *pena-rë tarëno-ton i-tamu i-nono i-w-ei-ke*  
 long.ago-ASSERT Trio-PL 3POSS-leader 3POSS-land 3POSS-ITR-be.NOM-INSTR  
 because this has always been the land of the Trio elders

#### 4.10 Nouns and negation

Nouns are negated by means of the non-verbal negation marker *-ta*. That is, for constructions of the type ‘IS NOT NOUN’, *-ta* negates the noun, for example, *wītoto-ta* ‘not a person’ in example (4.138a). This negation marker is also marked on postpositions, adverbs, and on a non-finite verb in thethetic construction, see Chapters 6, and 10, and section 8.14.4. The non-verbal negation marker has an emphatic form *-taike*, glossed in this work as NEG.INTENS, which could be translated as ‘not at all’, see example (4.138b). When a negative existential meaning is intended, that is, ‘there is no NOUN’, then the verbal negation marker *-wa*, is used. Compare the two different forms in (4.138) and (4.139).

- (4.138)a *wītoto a-kī-hpe wītoto-ta tahken nërë*  
 person Q-ANIM-INDEF.SPEC human.being-NEG maybe 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 who on earth was this person, maybe he wasn’t a human being

b            *tapiime-taike\_re n-a-Ø-i*  
 many.ANIM.FACS-NEG.INTENS FRUST 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 there aren't many people there at all

(4.139)    *wëri-wa n-ka-Ø-n, wëri-wa*  
 woman-NEG 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT woman-NEG  
 there were no women, he says, no women

#### 4.11 Lists of body parts and kinship terms

In the following a list of body-parts is given in the first and second person possessed forms in Table 4.2. Following this a list of general kinship terms and some vocative forms are given in Table 4.3 and Table 4.4 respectively.

Table 4.2: List of body parts<sup>6</sup>

| 1st person possessed  | 2nd person possessed  | Gloss                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>amüima jiwehto</i> | <i>amüima ë-wehto</i> | weight                      |
| <i>j-amoi</i>         | <i>a-amoi</i>         | finger nail                 |
| <i>j-aotijepë</i>     | <i>a-aotijepë</i>     | ribs                        |
| <i>j-apë</i>          | <i>a-apë</i>          | arm                         |
| <i>j-apëkupun</i>     | <i>a-apëkupun</i>     | arm muscle                  |
| <i>j-apëritiki</i>    | <i>a-apëritiki</i>    | elbow                       |
| <i>j-arokï</i>        | <i>a-arokï</i>        | penis                       |
| <i>j-arokï ipiipë</i> | <i>a-arokï ipiipë</i> | foreskin                    |
| <i>j-eena</i>         | <i>ë-ena</i>          | throat                      |
| <i>j-eepe</i>         | <i>ë-epi</i>          | lips                        |
| <i>j-einja</i>        | <i>ë-einja</i>        | hand                        |
| <i>j-einja akëmi</i>  | <i>ëinja akëmi</i>    | finger, little              |
| <i>j-einja areti</i>  | <i>ëinja areti</i>    | fingertip                   |
| <i>j-einja itamu</i>  | <i>ëinja itamu</i>    | thumb (leader of hand)      |
| <i>j-einjaropi</i>    | <i>ëinjaropi</i>      | palm of hand (hand's chest) |
| <i>j-ejamori</i>      | <i>ë-jamori</i>       | kidney                      |
| <i>j-ekun(u)</i>      | <i>ëekun(u)</i>       | hip                         |
| <i>j-emekun</i>       | <i>ëemekun</i>        | pulse                       |
| <i>j-emu</i>          | <i>ëemu</i>           | testicles                   |
| <i>j-enipoti</i>      | <i>ëenipoti</i>       | eyelash                     |
| <i>j-enkapiipë</i>    | <i>ëenkapiipë</i>     | eyelid                      |
| <i>j-enpata</i>       | <i>ëinpata</i>        | face                        |

6 This list of body-parts is sorted according to the first vowel of the first column.

| 1st person possessed | 2nd person possessed | Gloss  |
|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| j-ensai              | ĕensai               | eyebrow  |
| j-enu                | ĕenu                 | eye  |
| j-enu ari            | ĕenu ari             | pupil  |
| j-epa                | ĕepa                 | vagina   |
| j-ere                | ĕere                 | liver  |
| j-erepijoro          | ĕerepijoro           | lungs  |
| j-ewaapun            | ĕewaapun             | calf   |
| j-ewanĕ              | ĕewanĕ               | heart  |
| j-imiiton            | ĕimiiton             | veins (also: <i>munu itĕ-to</i> 'path of blood') |
| ji-mo(tĭ)            | ĕmo(tĭ)              | pubic hair                                       |
| ji-(pu)pu            | ĕĕpu                 | foot   |
| ji-pujakĭi           | ĕpujakĭi             | toes   |
| pĭropĭ / ji-ropĭ     | ĕ-iropĭ              | chest  |
| ji-tĕpo              | ĕ-tĕpo               | heel   |
| ji-jaramata          | ĕ-jaramata           | chin, jaw  |
| ji-jaramata ipoti    | ĕ-jaramata ipoti     | beard  |
| ji-jata              | ĕ-jata               | armpit   |
| ji-je                | ĕ-je                 | tooth  |
| ji-je epu            | ĕ-je epu             | gum  |
| j-einja irowĕn       | ĕinja irowĕn         | middle finger                                    |
| j-einja pĕkĕrĕn      | ĕinja pĕkĕrĕn        | ring finger                                      |
| j-einjepĕ            | ĕinjĕtĭhpĕ           | cheekbone  |
| ji-poti              | ĕ-poti               | hair (body)                                      |
| kantaton             | ---                  | index finger                                     |
| ji-maanini           | ĕ-maanini            | ankle  |
| ji-manati            | ĕ-manati             | breasts  |
| mĭpa / ji-npa        | ĕ-npa                | shoulderblade                                    |
| mĭka / ji-nka        | ĕ-nka                | back   |
| mĭta/ ji-nta         | ĕ-nta                | mouth  |
| ji-mone              | ĕ-mone               | womb   |
| ji-mota              | ĕ-mota               | shoulder   |
| ji-munu              | ĕ-munu               | blood  |
| ji-nmapun            | ĕ-nmapun             | buttocks   |
| ji-nore              | ĕ-nore               | tongue   |
| j-oonā               | oonā                 | nose   |
| j-oonā ota           | oonā ota             | nostril  |
| ji-panā              | ĕ-panā               | ear  |

| 1st person possessed | 2nd person possessed | Gloss              |
|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| ji-panaroro          | ě-panaroro           | temple             |
| ji-pe                | ě-pe                 | forehead           |
| ji-peti              | ě-peti               | leg                |
| ji-piipě             | ě-piipě              | skin (also corpse) |
| ji-pijaako           | ě-pijaako            | brain              |
| pīroi / ji-roi       | ě-roi                | toenails           |
| pītaropī / ji-ita    | ě-eta                | sole, foot         |
| ji-ponī              | ě-ponī               | navel              |
| ji-popeeta           | ě-popeeta            | cheek              |
| ji-putupě            | ě-putupě             | head               |
| ji-putupě (/ poti)   | ě-putupě (/ ěpoti)   | hair (head)        |
| ji-putupě ijetipě    | ě-putupě ijetipě     | skull              |
| ji-suku (enī)        | ě-suku (enī)         | bladder            |
| j-uru eema           | ě-uru eema           | oesophagus         |
| j-urutupě            | ě-urutupě            | stomach            |
| ji-waku              | ě-waku               | belly              |
| ji-wakeriri          | ě-wakeriri           | intestines         |
| ji-wirijepě          | ě-wirijepě           | vertebrae          |

Details of Trio kinship terminology can be found in Rivière (1969). The basic kinship terms are given in Table 4.3. The kinship terms exhibit some peculiarities in that for some of the nuclear terms the term of address is also used for the first person possessive form, namely those given in Table 4.4; these first person possessed forms all end in a vocative marker *-(h)ko* as shown in the table; immediately following the full form, the abbreviated form is given. With these terms there is no possessed form with the first person possessive prefix *j(i)-* as is found with the other kinship terms; one exception is the term *tamusinpě* ‘grandfather’ the normally inflected form is also possible in the first person when talking about that person’s grandfather, that is, *ji-tamu*; this is, however, not used as a form of address. Note that in the second person no prefix is used, rather the kinship term stands on its own, for example, *papa* ‘your father’ and not \**ě-papa*.

Table 4.3: Kinship terms: general

| Term      | Meaning     | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person | Term of address       |
|-----------|-------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| tamusinpě | grandfather | i-tamu                 | tamusinpě, tamo       |
| noosinpě  | grandmother | i-nootīnpě             | noosinpě, noosi, kuku |
| -papa     | father      | i-papa                 | pa, pahko             |
| -mama     | mother      | i-mama                 | ma, manko             |
| -ee(tī)   | uncle       | ∅-etī                  | j-ee, j-eeť           |

| Term    | Meaning  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person | Term of address                               |
|---------|--|------------------------|---|
| -injo   | husband  | i-injo                 | minko; aenpë                                  |
| -pī(tī) | wife   | i-pī(tī)               | minko, aenpë                                  |
| -ikīrī  | younger brother<br>(female ego) (kīrī = ‘man’) | i-ikīrī                | ji-ikīrī                                      |
| -wēi    | older sister                                   | i-wēi                  | wēiko   |
| -akēmi  | younger sibling<br>(male, female ego)          | ∅-akēmi                | j-akēmi; kami                                 |
| -wēri   | younger sister<br>(male ego) (wēri = ‘woman’)  | i-wēri                 | ji-wēri                                       |
| -piipi  | older brother<br>(male, female ego)            | i-piipi                | pihko   |
| -eemi   | daughter                                       | ∅-eemi                 | j-eemi  |
| -inmuku | son  | i-nmuku                | (ji-nmuku)                                    |
| -pa     | granddaughter                                  | i-pa                   | ji-pa; papotī; tato; wēri-pisi ‘little girl’  |
| -emu    | grandson                                       | ∅-emu                  | mupiro; kunme; musere; kīrī-pisi ‘little boy’ |
| -auhpī  | father/mother-in-law                           | ∅-auhpī                | direct address avoided                        |
| -pamī   | son-in-law                                     | i-pamī                 | direct address avoided                        |
| -paije  | daughter-in-law                                | i-paije                | direct address avoided?                       |
| -akono  | brother-in-law                                 | ∅-akono                | kono  |

Table 4.4: Kinship terms: Vocative and 1<sup>st</sup> person

| Vocative/ 1 <sup>st</sup> person form | Abbreviated form | Alternatives   | Meaning                         |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| tamo                                  |                  | tamusinpë      | grandfather                     |
| noosi                                 |                  | noosinpë, kuku | grandmother                     |
| pahko                                 | pa               |                | (my) father                     |
| manko                                 | ma               |                | (my) mother                     |
| piihko                                | pīi              |                | (my) older brother              |
| wēiko                                 | wēi              |                | (my) older sister               |
| minko                                 | mīi              |                | darling (said by spouses)       |
| aenpë                                 | ae               |                | darling (said by spouses)       |
| j-ako                                 |                  |                | of same (age) status (male ego) |

There are also some non-basic kinship terms that are of cultural significance and terms of address between non-affines. The form of address between women, regardless of age, is *kori*; that between unrelated men is *j-ako* or *j-epe*, the latter of which is probably from Wayana. The term for a possible or suitable marriage partner is *enmerinpë*; the form of address from a male ego is *ji-wëri* ‘younger sister’ and from a female ego *j-eti* ‘my uncle’. In former times the preferred marriage partner for a man was the daughter of his sister, nowadays it is first cousins. Within the system of kinship, one’s position is often defined by which term an affine uses to a key figure, that is, the term *kami* (or its Piropi synonym *jari*) is used to address both men and women who say *tamo* to ego’s *tamusinpë* ‘grandfather’.



## 5 Pronouns

### 5.1 General

This section deals with two types of deictic pronouns, namely the independent personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns, some of which may also function as demonstrative adjectives. The pronouns described here are those that can stand alone as a noun phrase replacing nouns. While person is obligatorily marked in prefixal form on verbs, nominalized verbs and postpositions, as well as on possessed nouns, the use of the independent pronouns is for emphasis or contrast. Pronouns can be inflected for plural as well as for past and negation. A distinction is made in the third person between pronouns referring to animate and inanimate referents. Those pronouns designating animate referents that can be pluralized by morphological means take the plural morphemes referring to animate referents *-jamo* (*-jan*) or *-samo* (*-san*) (see also section 4.7.20). The pronouns referring to inanimate referents take the nominal plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*). For the interrogative pronouns the reader is referred to Chapter 7. The prefixal forms of the personal pronouns as found on nouns, verbs and postpositions are described in 3.2 and in the relevant chapters dealing with that word class. The independent possessive pronouns as well as coordination of pronouns are found in the final part of this chapter.

### 5.2 Personal pronouns: Speech act participants

A distinction is made in the following between pronouns that refer to speech act participants (SAPs), given in Table 5.1 (and in their emphatic forms in Table 5.2), and those that refer to the third person (given in Table 5.3 and Table 5.4 below). The third person pronouns, which have the additional distinction of animate versus inanimate, are dealt with in a separate section below. The pronouns for the second person and for person 1+2 are morphologically similar, both ending in *-mĕ* and forming their plural with *-injamo* [ˈɲamɔ] The orthographical representation of the plural forms *ĕmĕinjamo*, *kĭmĕinjamo*, as well as the 1+3 pronoun *ainja*, where the vowel *i* is inserted before the second nasal, reflects the palatalization of the *n* preceding the glide. The SAP pronouns, with the exception of the first person and person 1+3, can be marked for number, as shown in Table 5.1; for negation by means of the non-verbal negation marker *-ta*, as shown in example (5.1), as well as for past tense in specialized constructions, as in example

(5.2) – see also the section on tense below. The first person pronoun has an underlyingly long vowel which surfaces before additional morphological material such as clitics and postpositions, illustrated here by (5.3a-b). In general the pronouns are used for emphasis or contrast, compare (5.3c-d). The first person exclusive pronoun *ainja*, which is one of the logical plural counterparts of the first person – the other being the inclusive person 1+2 – is the only pronoun that is an obligatory argument at all times, that is, it behaves and functions as a noun and cannot be dropped. Since this pronoun behaves differently and implies inclusion of the third person, it is given in a separate row in Table 5.1, and is dealt with separately below.

Table 5.1: SAP pronouns

|     | Sg    | Pl          |
|-----|-------|-------------|
| 1   | wī    |             |
| 2   | ëmë   | ëmë-injamo  |
| 1+2 | kīmë  | kīmë-injamo |
| 1+3 | ainja |             |

- (5.1) owa, ëmë-ta, wī j-arë-ne  
 NEG.P 2PRO-NEG 1PRO 3→1-take-NR.PST  
 no, not you, he took *me*
- (5.2) wī:-npë\_re tī:-të-e-mī-npë  
 1PRO-PST\_FRUST COREF.1TR-go-NF-C.NOM-PST  
 I was not going
- (5.3)a wī:-ta, mëe tahken  
 1PRO-NEG 3PRO.ANIM.PROX maybe  
 not me, maybe him
- b wī:\_rëken w-ene-Ø  
 1PRO\_only 1→3-see-I.PST  
 only I saw it
- c a-akërë ji:-të-se w-a-Ø-e  
 2-COM 1POSS.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want to go with you
- d ëmë a-akërë ji:-të-se w-a-Ø-e  
 2PRO 2-COM 1POSS.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want to go with *you*

When a pronoun is used in conjunction with a postposition, the pronoun precedes the postposition which is inflected for person and/or number. Any further modifications of the postpositional phrase occur on the final element of the phrase rather than on the pronoun itself as can be observed with the clitic *\_rëken* ‘only’ in (5.4) which is cliticized to the comitative postposition *akërë* which is inflected

for second person yielding ‘only with you’ and thus has the postpositional phrase as its scope. Compare (5.4) with the ungrammatical (5.5).

(5.4)      *ëmë a-akërë\_rëken ji:-të-se w-a-Ø-e*  
2PRO 2-COM\_only 1POSS.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I only want to go with you

(5.5)      \**ëmë\_rëken a-akërë ji:-të-se w-a-e*  
2PRO\_only 2-COM 1POSS.1TR-go-DESID 1→3.1TR-be.PRES-CERT

The independent pronouns are also used in equational and identificatory copular sentences (Trio has zero-copular marking), where they juxtaposed to a noun or nominal, as in (5.6). See also section 12.1.4.

|        |                            |   |  |
|--------|----------------------------|---|--|
| (5.6)a | <i>a-kī ëmë</i>            | b | <i>omi-pëkë-n wī</i>                         |
|        | <small>Q-ANIM 2PRO</small> |   | <small>language-CONTACT.LOC-NOM 1PRO</small> |
|        | who are you?               |   | I am a linguist                              |

The plural of the SAP pronouns, with the exception of the first person exclusive (person 1+3) is formed by *-injamo*; examples of the second and first plus second persons are given in (5.7a-b). The initial *i* on this plural suffix is simply an orthographic convention of marking palatalization of the nasal before the glide *j*, that is, the suffix is pronounced [ʎamɔ] the same *i* is found in the person 1+3 pronoun *ainja* [aʎna].

(5.7)a      *ëmë-injamo\_rëken m-eh-ta-hki irë-po*  
2PRO-PL\_only 2→3.1TR-be-FUT-PL DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
 only you (pl) will be there

b            *kīmë-injamo\_rëken k-eh-ti*  
1+2PRO-PL\_only 1+2.1TR-be.PRES-PL  
 there’s only us

The first person exclusive pronoun *ainja* which refers to persons 1+3 exhibits many peculiarities. Its meaning is exclusion of the addressee, thus ‘I and someone else, excluding you’. Unlike the other pronouns, it does not have its own corresponding prefixal form. For this reason the pronoun *ainja* must be present at all times, that is, in possessive constructions, verbal constructions, and in postpositional phrases. While one could think of this pronoun as referring to the first person exclusive plural, for morphosyntactic reasons it is better analyzed as a 1+3 pronoun, that is to say, it displays both first and third person agreement on the verb: It behaves as a third person singular in that in finite verbs it takes singular third person agreement for person, namely the prefix *n-*, on the verb as shown in (5.8). In possessive constructions it behaves like a noun and takes the third person prefix *i-* as its head-marking as illustrated in (5.9a); example (5.9b) shows a third person possessive construction for comparison. Where appropriate it takes



In contrast to the third-person-only, the first person exclusive *ainja* retains the personal prefix on the verb when it is immediately preceded by a lexical object, compare examples (5.12a-b).

- (5.11)a **mëe nī:-të-Ø-n**  
3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going
- b **ainja nī:-të-Ø-e**  
1+3PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 we are going
- c **sehken kana-ton ainja n-ema-Ø-e**  
also fish-PL 1+3PRO 3→3-fish-PRES-CERT  
 we also catch (various kinds) of fish
- (5.12)a **mëe kana Ø-ema-Ø-n**  
3PRO.ANIM.PROX fish 3→3-fish-PRES-NCERT  
 he is catching fish
- b **ainja kana n-ema-Ø-e**  
1+3PRO fish 3→3-fish-PRES-CERT  
 we are catching fish

### 5.2.1 Emphatic pronouns

A pronoun can be marked for emphasis by means of the assertive clitic *\_rë*. If the first person pronoun is not part of a copular construction, but is standing alone as an utterance, then it always occurs in the emphatic form *wirë* [wi:rə], compare (5.13b-c) which are two possible answers to the question in (5.13a). In the case of the plural forms ending in *o*, *\_rë* becomes *-ro* according to the vowel harmony rules given in 2.5.3. The emphatic forms are given in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Emphatic forms of pronouns

|     | Sg       | Pl             |
|-----|----------|----------------|
| 1   | wi:_rë   | ----           |
| 2   | ëmë_rë   | ëmë-injamo_ro  |
| 1+2 | kimë_rë  | kimë-injamo_ro |
| 1+3 | ainja_rë |                |

- (5.13)a **a-kī ëmë**  
Q-ANIM 2PRO  
 who are you?
- b **wi:\_rë**  
1PRO\_ASSERT  
 (it's) me  
 (as opposed to anyone else)
- c **Apaja wī**  
Apaja 1PRO  
 I am Apaja

While it is possible to intensify the degree of emphasis on nouns by means of re-duplicating the assertive clitic *\_rë*, this has not been attested with pronouns.

## 5.3 The third person pronouns

### 5.3.1 Animate pronouns

The third person pronouns distinguish between animate and inanimate referents. Since the inanimate pronouns also function as general deictic pronouns, these are dealt with after the section on the animate pronouns. Furthermore, the third person is the only person that distinguishes between proximal, medial, distal, audible but non-visible, and anaphoric (and cataphoric) pronouns. The third person pronouns for animate referents are given in Table 5.3, those for inanimate referents are listed in Table 5.4. As with the SAP pronouns given in the section above, the emphatic form of the third person pronouns is formed with the assertive clitic *\_rě*, given in Table 5.3. The preferred emphatic form of the pronoun *něřě* is *něřěrě*, although, according to informants *něřěrě* is also allowed.

Table 5.3: Third person pronouns: animate

|                         | Singular | Plural   | Emphatic       | Emphatic plural |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|----------------|-----------------|
| Proximal                | měe      | měe-san  | měe_rě         | měe-samo_ro     |
| Medial                  | měěrě    | měě-jan  | měěrě_rě       | měě-jamo_ro     |
| Distal                  | ohkī     | ohkī-jan | ohkī_rě        | ohkī-jamo_ro    |
| Audible but non-visible | měkī     | měkī-jan | měk_rě         | měkī-jamo_ro    |
| Anaphoric               | něřě     | namo(ro) | něřěrě/něřě_rě | namo_ro         |

Like the pronouns for the other persons, the third person pronouns behave syntactically as nouns, that is, as subject (5.14a), as object (5.14b-c), and as a nominal in non-verbal sentences (5.14d). The third person pronouns may be the possessor, but not the possessee, in possessive constructions, compare (5.15a) which gives a noun possessor with (5.15b-e) which show the pronominal possessor. These pronouns may occur as the object of a postposition as shown in (5.16a-c).

- (5.14)a    *irě apo mēe jī-rī-ne*  
3DP.INAN.ANA like 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3→1-do-NR.PST  
 that's how he treated me
- b        *mēe w-ene-∅*  
3PRO.ANIM.PROX 1→3-see-I.PST  
 I saw him (this one here)
- c        *něřě w-ene-∅*  
3PRO.ANIM.ANA 1→3-see-I.PST  
 I saw him (the one we're talking about)
- d        *kura-no nēřě*  
good-NOM 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he is good (kind, nice)

- (5.15)a mekoro i-kanawa                      b                      mēe i-kanawa  
 Maroon 3POSS-boat                      3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3POSS-boat  
 the Maroon's boat                      his boat
- c                      mēērē i-pakoro                      d                      ohkī i-pakoro  
 3PRO.ANIM.MED 3POSS-house                      3PRO.ANIM.DIST 3POSS-house  
 his (that one's) house                      his (that one's) house
- e                      nērē i-pī  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA 3POSS-wife  
 his wife (wife of the one we are talking about)
- (5.16)a nērē-ja w-ekarama-∅  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-GOAL 1→3-give-I.PST  
 I gave it to him (that one)
- b                      mēe-ja w-ekarama-∅  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-GOAL 1→3-give-I.PST  
 I gave it to him (this one)
- c                      mēērē-ja w-ekarama-∅  
 3PRO.ANIM.MED-GOAL 1→3-give-I.PST  
 I gave it to him (that one)

The proximal pronoun *mēe* is used to refer to someone close-by, *mēērē* is used to refer to someone present but, for example, at the other side of the room, compare examples (5.17a-b) where in (5.17a) the people referred to were close-by in the same room, and in (5.17b) the referent was standing at a distance from both speaker and addressee. The anaphoric pronoun *nērē* is used to refer to someone or some animate thing that has already been mentioned before and is thus known to both speaker and addressee. The distance between the anaphoric *nērē* and its referent can range from the preceding clause to several clauses. A typical example of the use of *nērē* is given in (5.18) where the pronoun refers to the preceding *witoto* 'person'. Cataphoric use of this pronoun is shown in (5.19).

- (5.17)a serē-po i-pono-to-pora  
 DP.INAN.PROX-LOC 3POSS.TR-tell-TMP.NOM-NEG.EXP  
  
 mēe-san so n-ka-∅-n  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL noise 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
  
 this is not a good place to tell stories, these ones are noisy
- b                      a-kī mēērē  
 Q-ANIM 3PRO.ANIM.MED  
 who is he? (that one over there)

- (5.18) t-ěntu-ke n-a-Ø-i, wītoto n-a-Ø-i  
 COREF-owner-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT human.being 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

Ø-entu-me nĕrĕ-ja n-epeka-ja-n  
 3POSS-owner-FACS 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-GOAL 3→3-ask-PRES-NCERT

there is a boss, a person is the boss, he asks him (for a ticket).

- 5.19) naana ... nĕrĕ ... Nowa  
 whatyemacallim 3PRO.ANIM.ANA ... proper.name  
 whatyemacallim... that one ... Nowa

The non-visible but audible animate pronoun *mĕ-kĭ* which consists of the root *mĕ* plus an animate marker *-kĭ*, (see also the interrogatives in Chapter 7) has only been found in the question ‘who is that?’ when the animate referent can be heard but not seen. The final syllable can be truncated, resulting in *mĕ*, but the full form is the more common one. The plural is formed by the suffix *-jamo* (*-jan*). This pronoun is used, for example, in the forest when one hears animal noises as in (5.20a), and also on the telephone to establish who one is talking to, as in (5.20b).

- (5.20a) a-kĭ mĕ-kĭ-jan  
 Q-ANIM 3PRO.AUD-ANIM-PL  
 who’s that? (several different noises)

- b a-kĭ mĕ-kĭ  
 Q-ANIM 3PRO.AUD-ANIM  
 who’s that? who’s there?

The plural suffixes in the third person animate pronouns are *-samo* (*-san*) or *-jamo* (*-jan*), plural suffixes that are also found with a few nouns that denote groups of humans (see section 4.7.2). While *mĕe-jan* is attested in the corpus as an alternant of *mĕe-san*, the usual form is the latter. The full forms *-samo/ -jamo* occur preceding the assertive (emphatic) clitic *\_rĕ*, which conditioned by vowel harmony becomes *\_ro*, as shown in (5.21a) – for the morphological make-up of the colour term *kananame* in this example, see 10.6. The full form also occurs preceding a postposition as shown in (5.21b-d). Note that preceding the cyclic clitic *\_pa* the *-jan/-san* form is used, as shown in (5.22). The anaphoric pronoun *nĕrĕ* has a distinct lexical plural form *namo* which is more often found marked with the assertive marker than without it, that is, as *namoro*, as shown in (5.21d).

- (5.21a) kananame n-a-Ø-i namo \_ro i-pun  
 yellow.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT 3POSS-body  
 those ones are yellow (bodies are yellow)

- b            *mëe-samo-ja*  
                  3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL-GOAL  
                  to them
- c            *mëe-samo\_hkatë*  
                  3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL\_RESPONS  
                  it's up to them
- d            *namo\_ro\_hkasan*  
                  3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT\_instead  
                  it was those ones instead
- (5.22)      *mëe-san\_pa ni:-të-Ø-n*  
                  3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL\_CYC 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
                  they are going back

### 5.3.2 Inanimate and demonstrative pronouns

The referential and deictic pronouns that are used for inanimate third person referents are given in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Third person pronouns: inanimate/demonstrative

|                         | Singular            | Plural                   | Emphatic Sg             |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Proximal                | <i>sen(i), serë</i> | <i>sen-ton, serë-ton</i> | <i>senĩ_rë, serë_rë</i> |
| Medial                  | <i>mërë</i>         | <i>mërë-ton</i>          | <i>mërë_rë</i>          |
| Distal                  | <i>ooni</i>         | <i>ooni-ton</i>          | <i>ooni_rë</i>          |
| Non-visible but audible | <i>mën</i>          | <i>mën-ton</i>           | --                      |
| Anaphoric               | <i>irë</i>          | <i>irë-ton</i>           | <i>irë_rë</i>           |

The demonstrative pronouns are used for inanimate referents as well as deictic reference, and are distinguished along the lines of proximal, medial, distal, non-visible but audible, and anaphoric. While one can recognize the bases *se-* (*serë, sen*) and *më-* (*mërë, mën*), these are never found without the extensions *-rë*, which is probably the assertive (emphatic) marker, or *-n(i)* which is likely a nominalized form. The inanimate proximal pronouns have two different forms, namely the form *sen* that acts as an independent pronoun only, and one that can occur both independently and can also act to modify a noun, namely *serë*. The distal *ooni* can occur both as an independent pronoun and also as a modifying demonstrative adjective. In a lexicalized form, the inanimate distal pronoun *ooni* is also used for anaphoric reference (see below). The inanimate pronouns and demonstratives take the same plural marking as nouns, namely *-tomo (-ton)*. The allomorph *-tomo* occurs, for example, before the assertive clitic *\_rë*, which conditioned by vowel harmony becomes *\_ro*.



The emphatic form of *sen* is *seni\_rë* and is found in contexts of choosing between two or more items, for example the question ‘which do you want?’ in (5.28a) can be answered by (5.28b):

- (5.28)a aa-no-se m-ana-n? *sen*, owa serë?  
 Q-NOM-DESID 2→3.1 TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX NEG.P DP.INAN.PROX  
 which do you want, this one or this one?
- b *seni\_rë*  
 DP.INAN.PROX\_ASSERT  
 this one

The medial *mërë* is used as an independent pronoun to refer to something that is a short distance away, see (5.29). When the form *mërë* is combined with the locative postposition *-po* to form *mërë-po*, it has the non-specific meaning of ‘there, around there’; the pronoun *mërë* does not have a nominalized form analogous to the proximal demonstrative *sen* given above that has more definite reference.

- (5.29) t-ëni-se-n-ta *mërë*  
 COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM-NEG DP.INAN.MED  
 that is not for drinking (not s/thing to be drunk)

The deictic pronoun *ooni* is used both as a pronoun, as in (5.30a-b) and as a demonstrative adjective (5.31). It is in its latter function that it is most often found. Its meaning is that of distance in time or space, that is, in its spatial sense *ooni* means ‘that over there’. In its temporal sense, it can refer to distance in the past, that is, ‘last’ if the noun it is modifying is marked for past tense, as shown in (5.32a), or distance in the future, that is, ‘next’ as shown in (5.32b) where there is no past marking on the noun. The emphatic form is *ooni\_rë* in the singular and *ooni-tomo\_ro* in the plural.

- (5.30)a *ooni-se m-ana-Ø-n*  
 DP.INAN.DIST-DESID 2→3.1 TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 do you want that one?
- b *ooni w-ene-Ø*  
 DP.INAN.DIST 1→3-see-I.PST  
 I saw that (house)
- (5.31) *ooni pakoro kura-no*  
 DP.INAN.DIST house good-NOM  
 that house over there is a good one
- (5.32)a *ooni iranta-topo-npë k-ëne-ne*  
 DP.INAN.DIST year-TMP.NOM-PST 1→2-see-NR.PST  
 I saw you last year

- b            ooni iranta-to n-e:-ja-n\_pa  
 DP.INAN.DIST year-TMP.NOM 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
 he (a trader) comes back the next year

The pronoun *ooni* also has anaphoric reference as can be seen in (5.33) where the form *ooninpēken*, marked by the nominal past marker *-npē* and the durative clitic *\_ken(e)*, has become lexicalized to mean ‘et cetera, that is, ‘more of those (formerly spoken about) kinds of things’ which can occur with or without the nominal plural marker *-tomo (-ton)*. In this usage of ‘et cetera’ it usually occurs after a list of items as shown in (5.34). As a nominal *ooninpēken* is free to take postpositions and nominalizers as shown by the form *ooni-npē\_ken-ton-pēkē-n* [DP.INAN.DIST-PST\_DUR-PL-CONTACT.LOC-NOM] which carries the meaning ‘companies (people busy with those kinds of things)’ in (5.35)<sup>2</sup>.

- (5.33)        ooni-npē\_ken  
 DP.INAN.DIST-PST\_DUR  
 more of those things (et cetera)

- (5.34)        ainja i-irapa itu-pēe\_rē, ainja Ø-ewa itu-pēe\_rē,  
 1+3.PRO 3POSS-bow forest-SOU\_ASSERT 1+3.PRO 3POSS-ropes forest-SOU\_ASSERT

ainja Ø-epi-ton, ooni-npē\_ken  
 1+3.PRO 3POSS-medicine-PL DP.INAN.DIST-PST\_DUR

our bows are from the forest, our rope is from the forest, our medicine,  
 et cetera.

- (5.35)        kēpēewa n-a-Ø-i ooni-npē\_ken-ton-pēkē-n  
 but 3→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.DIST-PST\_DUR-PL-CONTACT.LOC-NOM

ëikarē tī-w-ēs-ahpē-ntē-se  
 self COREF-1TR-REFL-help-BEN.NOM-DESID

i-n-janopī-mīn apo itu-htao-n-ton Ø-rī-ja-n  
 3POSS-3O-wish-PRIV.NOM like forest-CONT.LOC-NOM-PL 3→3-do-PRES-NCERT

But companies want to help themselves, they are treating the forest  
 people like people without wishes (desires)

The audible but non-visible inanimate pronoun *mēn*, like its animate counterpart *mēkī* is used in the question *atī mēn?* ‘what’s that?’, for example when one hears a noise (bang, rattle). The pronoun *mēn* can also be used as a rhetorical question, for example, when one is wondering about a sound one hears:

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2 Examples (5.34) and (5.35) are taken from a speech by Granman Asonko, made accessible to me by Cees Koelewijn.

- (5.36) mën w-eta-Ø-e?  
 3PRO.INAN.AUD 1→3-hear-PRES-CERT  
 what is it I hear?

The pronoun *irë* is used as a pronoun with anaphoric reference to refer to something already mentioned as shown in (5.37) and (5.38). As a nominal this pronoun can take the range of postpositions other nominals can, as illustrated by the instrumental in (5.38), the desiderative in (5.39), and the reason marker *-janme* in (5.40).

- (5.37) irë apo n-a-Ø-i serë j-in-eta-hpë  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX 1POSS-3O-hear.NOM-PST  
 that's what I heard (this hearing thing of mine is like that (i.e. the story he had just told))

- (5.38) wewe-ke wa-tī-rë-e i-ja, aha, irë-ke  
 tree-INST NEG-COREF-do-NF 3-GOAL yes DP.INAN.ANA-INST  
 he killed him with a stick, yes, with that

- (5.39) irë-se tahken n-a-Ø-i tī-ka-e  
 DP.INAN.ANA-DESID maybe 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT COREF.ITR-say-NF  
 'maybe he wants that' he said

- (5.40) j-eemi-ton Ø-apë-i ë-munkë-ton irë-ja-n-me  
 1POSS-daughter-PL 3→3-take-1.PST 2POSS-son-PL DP.INAN.ANA-GOAL-NOM-FACS

ë-munkë-tomo-se w-a-Ø-e ji-pëeto-me  
 2POSS-son-PL-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 1POSS-servant-FACS

Your sons took my daughters, for that reason I want your sons as my servants

#### 5.4 The pronouns and tense

All of the pronouns can be marked for tense by means of the nominal tense marker *-npë*. Most common is past tense marking on the third person pronouns to refer to someone who has died or has left the village and/or gone away from the speaker, as in (5.41a-b). Past marking on speech act participant pronouns is generally only found in specialized constructions as in (5.42)- (5.44) where, regardless of the tense of the clause (present in (5.42) and (5.44), past in (5.43), both the pronoun and the nominalized verb that is modifying it are marked for past, and the frustrative is marked on either one or the other or both. The form of this construction is: Pronoun-past-frustrative coreferential-Verb-non.finite-nominalizer-past], for example, 'I was a former one with unrealized going'. For the past-marked candidate nominalization in the following examples, see 9.2.9.

- (5.41)a mēe-npĕ  
 3.PRO.ANIM.PROX-PST  
 he/him (s/one who just died)
- b namo-npĕ // namo\_ro-npĕ  
 3.PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL-PST // 3.PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT-PST  
 those ones who have left
- (5.42) Wayana nī:-tĕ-Ø-n ě-pata-hpĕ-po-n-me,  
 Wayana 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-place-PST-LOC-NOM-FACS
- ēmĕ-npĕ\_re tī:-tĕ-e-mī-npĕ  
 2PRO-PST\_FRUST COREF.1TR-go-NF-C.NOM-PST
- the Wayana (person) is going in your place (since) you are not going
- (5.43) Atinio tī:-tĕ-e ji-pata-hpĕ-po-n-me  
 Atinio COREF.1TR-go-NF 1POSS-place-PST-LOC-NOM-FACS
- wī-npĕ\_re tī:-tĕ-e-mī-npĕ  
 1PRO-PST\_FRUST COREF.1TR-go-NF-C.NOM-PST
- Atinio went in my place (since) I was not going (didn't go)
- (5.44) namo\_ro n-ĕ-emeta-nī-ja-n  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT 3↔3-REFL-transform-CAUS-PRES-NCERT
- kīmĕ-injamo-npĕ\_re tī-w-ĕ-emeta-nī-se-mī-npĕ\_re  
 1+2-PL-PST\_FRUST COREF-1TR-REFL-transform-CAUS-NF-C.NOM-PST\_FRUST
- pĭjai-me-ta kī-w-ei-kon-ke  
 shaman-FACS-NEG 1+2.POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PSR.PL-INST
- they are transforming themselves, we are not candidates for transformation because we are not shamans

The audible non-visible animate *mĕkī* is also attested with the tense marker followed by the durative clitic *\_ken(e)* — alternatively preceded by the facsimile marker *-me* as shown in (5.46) — with the lexicalized meaning of ‘all sorts of animate creatures’ or ‘et cetera’ if preceded by a list. Examples (5.45) and (5.46) illustrate its usage, (cf. the inanimate *ooninpĕken* ‘et cetera’ in (5.33) - (5.35)).

- (5.45) irĕ-mao kana t-ĕpĕ-se i-ja-ne  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP fish COREF-take-NF 3-GOAL-PL
- mĕkī-npĕ\_ken i-kaimo-me t-ee-se  
 DP.INAN.AUD-PST\_DUR 3POSS-dead.game-FACS COREF.1TR-be-NF
- then they caught fish, their game was all sorts of living things

- (5.46) mē-kī-npě-me\_ken t-ee-se wītoto  
 DP-ANIM.AUD-PST-FACS\_DUR COREF.1TR-be-NF people  
 (this is the way it is) there were all sorts of people

The inanimate pronouns can also take the nominal past marker *-npě*, the forms are given in Table 5.5. Note that those pronouns that reduce the final syllable occur in their full form when suffixed by the past marker *-npě*. The inanimate audible but non-visible pronoun *men(i)* optionally inserts a syllable *-ri* between the pronoun and the past marker which may be an indication that this pronoun was originally *mēnir(i)*; this is the case with a few nouns that retrieve the final syllable before past marking (see 4.5.2).

Table 5.5: Past marking on the third person inanimate pronouns

| Pronoun      | Past                 |
|--------------|----------------------|
| sen(ī), serē | senī-npě, serē-npě   |
| mērē         | mērē-npě             |
| ooni         | ooni-npě             |
| mēn(ī)       | mēnī-npě / mēnīrīnpě |
| irē          | irē-npě              |

The past marker on the demonstratives, as well as on nouns, can express either a former something as in (5.47), or something which is broken, for example, *senī-npě* can mean either this former thing, or this broken or old delapidated thing.

- (5.47) mēnīrī-npě kokoinjarē ē-warē, m-eta-∅, meinjarē ji-warē  
 DP.INAN.AUD-PST yesterday 2-know 2→3-hear-1.PST today 1-know  
 remember you heard something yesterday? now I know (what it was)

The demonstratives that are marked with the past marker are often lexicalized discourse markers that are used as cohesion elements in text organization, for example (5.48). For a more detailed description of discourse markers, see 10.11.

- (5.48) irē-npě-pěe irē-mao ainja nī:-tē-∅-e  
 DP.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 1+3.PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 after that, then we leave

## 5.5 Independent possessive pronouns

The independent possessive pronouns are formed by means of the stem *-janoro* prefixed by the possessive personal prefixes. The stem is made up of the goal postposition *-ja*, nominalized by *-no* and cliticized by the assertive clitic *\_rē*, which conditioned by the final *o* of the nominalizer becomes *\_ro*, which translates along the lines of ‘the one to me’, that is, ‘mine’ as in (5.49). The possessive prefixes in this expression deviate from the usual possessive prefixes found

on nouns and postpositions only in the first person, since this construction is based on the postposition *-ja*, that is, instead of the possessive and object personal prefix *j(i)-* in the first person, the postposition *-ja* takes *wi-* (see 6.3.7), as shown in (5.49). Since the form is nominal ‘one to X’, the person marked on the nominalized postposition is a possessor and is pluralized by means of the nominal possessor plural marker *-komo* (*-kon*) (not by the postpositional plural marker *:-ne*, nor by the pronominal plural *-injamo*) as shown in (5.50). The paradigm of the independent possessive pronouns is given in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Independent possessive pronouns

| Pronoun         | Gloss                         | Plural          | Gloss                      |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| wī-ja-<br>no_ro | mine                          | ----            | ----                       |
| kī-ja-no_ro     | ours (yours (sg)<br>and mine) | kī-ja-no_ro-kon | ours (yours (pl) and mine) |
| ē-ja-no_ro      | yours                         | ē-ja-no_ro-kon  | all yours                  |
| i-ja-no_ro      | his                           | i-ja-no_ro-kon  | theirs                     |
|                 | ainja i-ja-no_ro              |                 | ours (excl.)               |

There is an alternative means of expressing the notion ‘mine, yours, etc.’ namely by means of the instrumental postposition *-ke* that is nominalized by *-to* (for the change of vowel *e* to *a*, see 2.5.3) and marked for possessor, for example, *ji-ka-to*, ‘mine’, *ē-ka-to* ‘yours’, *i-ka-to* ‘his’ etc. This form has become lexicalized and in practice is used interchangeably with the independent possessives given in Table 5.6. However, when giving someone something one more often uses *ēja-noro serē* ‘this is yours’ with the meaning ‘this is for you’ whereas *ē-kato* ‘yours’ etc. generally refers to something that already belongs to that person.

(5.49) wī-ja-no\_ro serē  
1-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT DP.INAN.PROX  
this is mine

(5.50) ē-ja-no\_ro-kon serē  
2-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-PSR.PL DP.INAN.PROX  
this is yours (pl)

The possessive pronouns also take the nominal plural marker *-ton* (*-tomo*) when the nominal itself, as opposed to the possessor, is plural, as shown in (5.51), see also nouns and number in section 4.7.

(5.51) ē-ja-no\_ro-ton  
2-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-PL  
(these are) yours (sg)

When both the possessor and the pronoun are plural, the fusional suffix *-kontokon* is used as shown in (5.52).

- (5.52) i-ja-no\_ro-kontokon  
 2-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-PSR.PL.NOM.PL  
 (these are) theirs

In an equative plural construction, if the nominal is marked for plural, then the possessive pronoun is not pluralized, compare example (5.53) and the ungrammatical sentence in (5.54):

- (5.53) serë-ton i-ja-no\_ro-kon  
 DP.INAN.PROX-PL 3-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-PSR.PL  
 these things are theirs
- (5.54) \*serë-ton i-ja-no\_ro-kontokon  
 DP.INAN.PROX-PL 3-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-PSR.PL.NOM.PL

The possessive pronouns are negated by the nominal negation marker *-ta* as shown in (5.55a-b).

- (5.55)a wī-ja-no\_ro-ta serë  
 1-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-NEG DP.INAN.PROX  
 this is not mine
- b i-ja-no\_ro-kon-ta serë  
 3-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-PSR.PL-NEG DP.INAN.PROX  
 this is not theirs

In an equative sentence, the possessive pronoun usually precedes the nominal it is being equated with unless this is fronted for emphasis, compare examples (5.56a-c). When the nominal is fronted there is an audible pause before the possessive pronoun.

- (5.56)a ë-ja-no\_ro-ta serë  
 2-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-NEG DP.INAN.PROX  
 this is not yours
- b ë-ja-no\_ro-ta i-n-enepī-hpë-ton  
 2-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-NEG 3POSS-3O-bring.NOM-PST-PL  
 the things he brought are not yours
- c serë ë-ja-no\_ro-ta  
 DP.INAN.PROX 2-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-NEG  
 this is not yours

Since the possessive pronouns are a member of the nominal word class, they too can take the past marker *-npë*, as shown in (5.57).

- (5.57) wī-ja-no\_ro-npë serë  
 1-GOAL-NOM\_ASSERT-PST DP.INAN.PROX  
 this used to be mine

## 5.6 Coordination of pronouns

Coordination of pronouns is formed by juxtaposition of the pronouns, set off from each other by a pause, followed by the particle *marë* ‘also’ which indicates that the list is not necessarily exhaustive, or alternatively, with exhaustive listing, the list is followed by *nna*, [n.na] whereby the first *n* is a syllabic nasal, which would seem to be an old demonstrative pronoun, now with the meaning ‘that’s it’, ‘that’s all’, compare examples (5.58) and (5.59). The commas in the examples indicate the pause between the pronouns. When speech act participants are involved, the verb agrees in person with these and in number with the maximum, that is, plural, as in example (5.58) below where, following the person hierarchy, person 1+2, a SAP, takes precedence over the third person for marking the personal prefix, and the number is made plural to include a third party. Likewise example (5.60) shows that the SAP determines the person marking on the verb while the number marked on the verb is plural.

- (5.58) mēe, ěmē, wī marë poto-pona kī:-të-Ø-ti  
3PRO.ANIM.PROX 2PRO 1PRO also town-DIR 1+2.1TR-go-PRES-PL  
 he, you, and I are going to Paramaribo
- (5.59) ěmē, wī, nna poto-pona kī:-të-Ø-e  
2PRO 1PRO that's.it town-DIR 1+2.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 you and I are going to Paramaribo, that’s all
- (5.60) mēe, ěmē, namo\_ro marë poto-pona mī:-të-Ø-ti  
2PRO.ANIM.PROX 2PRO 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT also town-DIR 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-PL  
 this one, you, and those other ones are going to town

When possession is involved, again the agreement in person is with that of the speech act participant, while agreement in number is for the plural. Compare (5.61) which shows third person only participants and possessors with (5.62) and (5.63) with both SAP and third person participants. Example (5.64) with the 1+3 pronoun *ainja* shows deviant behaviour in that it does not mark the verb as plural to include an extra third person presumably since third person is already included in the meaning of *ainja*; however, note that the possessor in this example is marked as plural.

- (5.61) namo\_ro, mēe marë,  
3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX also  
 tī-pakoro-kon Ø-rī-ja-n  
3COREF-house-PSR.PL 3→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
 those ones and this one are building their house

- (5.62) *ëmë, mée, nna ë-pakoro-kon mĩ-rĩ-ja-ti*  
 2PRO, 3PRO that's.it 2POSS-house-PSR.PL 2→3-do-PRES-PL  
 you and he are building your house(s)
- (5.63) *namo\_ro, kĩmë marë kĩ-pakoro-kon kĩ-rĩ-ja-ti*  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT 1+2PRO also 1+2.POSS-house-PSR.PL 1+2→3-do-PRES-PL  
 those ones and you and I are building our houses
- (5.64) *mée, ainja marë tĩ-pakoro-kon nĩ-rĩ-ja-e*  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 1+3PRO also 3COREF-house-PSR.PL 3→3-do-PRES-CERT  
 this one and we are building our houses

Constructions of the type pronoun-noun where both elements have the same reference, are possible with all pronouns and require the noun to be marked with the facsimile marker *-me*. Examples are given in (5.65a-e). In this usage the *-me*-marked noun has a depictive function modifying the pronoun, see section 4.8.5.

- (5.65)a *wĩ ranti pëeto-me*  
 1PRO government servant-FACS  
 I, a government official
- b *ëmë ëkëi-pëkë-n-me*  
 2PRO snake-CONTACT.LOC-NOM-FACS  
 you an animal trader
- c *kĩmë Tarëno-me*  
 1+2PRO Trio-FACS  
 we (two) Trio
- d *ëmume n-a-Ø-i ainja itu-tao-n-me*  
 sad 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO forest-CONT.LOC-NOM-FACS  
 we who live in the forest/ we forest-dwellers are sad
- e *ëmë-injamo wëri-me*  
 2PRO-PL woman-FACS  
 you women

In the same fashion pronouns can also be combined with numerals. Since numerals in Trio are loanwords from Dutch, they are, as loanwords in general are, always marked with the facsimile marker *-me*. Compare (5.66a-b), which illustrate a pronoun followed by a numeral and a noun, with (5.67) where the numeral is nominalized, then made plural, and then marked again by *-me*; the nominalizing process of the facsimile marker *-me* is *me+n(o)* which results in *man* (see section 2.5.3). When the facsimile-marked numeral is nominalized then it is usually marked for plural, compare non-nominalized numeral in (5.68a) with the nominalized and plural-marked numeral in (5.68b); when a noun that has the same referent is added as a depictive to a nominalized plural-marked numeral, then that noun takes the facsimile marker but it is not marked for plural, as in (5.68c).

- (5.66)a ainja tërii-me kīrī-me poto-pona ainja nī:-të-Ø-e  
 1+3PRO three-FACS man-FACS town-DIR 1+3.PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 we three men are going to Paramaribo
- b mēe-san tuwee-me wēri-me nī:-të-Ø-n  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL two-FACS woman-FACS 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 these two women are going
- (5.67) namo\_ro vierhonderd-ma-n-ton-me n-ëi-ratoema-Ø-n  
 3.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT four.hundred-FACS-NOM-PL-FACS 3↔-REFL-fight-PRES-NCERT  
 those 400 (Wayana) are fighting
- 5.68)a tuwee-me n-a-Ø-i  
 two-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they are two (there are two of them)
- b tuwee-ma-n-ton n-e:-ja-n  
 two-FACS-NOM-PL 3→3.1TR-COME-PRES-NCERT  
 two (people) are coming
- c tuwee-ma-n-ton wēri-me n-e:-ja-n  
 two-FACS-NOM-PL woman-FACS 3→3.1TR-COME-PRES-NCERT  
 two women are coming (lit: two ones, women they are coming)

Demonstrative pronouns that are derived to form spatial and temporal adverbs are dealt with in Chapter 10.

## 5.7 Reflexive particle *ëikarë*

Reflexivity is generally expressed in a prefix on verbs, nouns and postpositions. There is, however, a particle *ëikarë* that can be used to express reflexivity as well as reciprocity. It is often used to reinforce the already existing reflexive as in (5.69a). An example of reciprocal meaning is given in (5.70). A further meaning of *ëikarë* is that of ‘alone’ or ‘for oneself’, as shown in the examples in 5.70), (5.71a-b). Evidence for the particle, rather than nominal or pronominal status of *ëikarë* is found in the fact that unlike nouns and pronouns, it can be cliticized by the third person verbal plural clitic *\_to*, as shown in (5.70).

- (5.69)a kēpēewa n-a-Ø-i ooni-npë\_ken-ton-pëkë-n  
 but 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.DIST-PST\_DUR-PL-CONTACT.LOC-NOM
- ëikarë* ti-w-ëës-ahpë-ntë-se  
 REFL.PART 3COREF-1TR-REFL-help.NOM-DESID

however, the people busy with those kinds of things want to help themselves (and not us)

5.70) **ëikarë\_to n-ëi-ratoema-Ø-n**  
REFL.PART-PL 3↔-REFL-fight-PRES-NCERT  
they are fighting each other

(5.71)a **irë-janme n-a-Ø-i ainja tī-nono-se**  
DP.INAN.AN-REAS.FACS 3→3.1TR-be.PRES.NCERT 3COREF-land-DESID

**ëikarë Tarëno-ton-me**  
REFL.PART Trio-PL-FACS

That's why we the Trio want the rights over our own land for ourselves

b **ëikarë tī-n-punëpī-ke n-a-Ø-i**  
REFL.PART 3COREF-3O-think.NOM-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he is alone in his own thoughts (caught up in his thoughts)



## 6 Postpositions

### 6.1 General remarks

Postpositions are used to express among others notions of location; direction; source; instrument and reason; comitative ‘with’, and desiderative ‘want’. The postpositions under discussion in this section are heterogeneous in both their origin and their behaviour. After some general remarks on the form and structural characteristics of the postpositions, I proceed with the locative and directional postpositions, through perlatives, and environment-specific locatives, to the non-locative postpositions, and finally to those postpositions used for cognition and perception. Postpositions are defined as a word class on the basis of their distinct features of person- and number-marking, as well as on their syntactic characteristics of forming a postpositional phrase which cannot be the subject or object of a clause.

#### 6.1.1 Formal and structural characteristics of the postpositions

A look at the postpositions dealt with in this chapter, given in Table 6.1, reveals certain recurrent elements among the locative and directional postpositions that are summarized in Table 6.2, and discussed below in short. Most of the locatives, but not the purely relational ones, have a direct directional counterpart ending either in *-ka* (which is more often than not dropped) *-na(kii)* or *-kii*, as shown in Table 6.2. In some cases it appears the the locative is derived from the directional, see for example, *-enao* ‘in arms of’, *-renao* ‘in/by fire’; and some where the directional cannot occur without the locative, for example, *-pohtë* ‘at tip of’ and *-rehtë* ‘at top of’ in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: The Postpositions<sup>1</sup>

| Locative | Gloss    | Meaning / Translation                  | Directional |
|----------|----------|--|-------------|
| -po      | LOC      | general location ‘in/at’               | -pona       |
| -mao     | TEMP.LOC | location in time ‘in/on’               | -pona       |
| -(h)tao  | CONT.LOC | contained, demarcated area ‘in/inside’ | -hta(ka)    |
| -hkao    | LIQ.LOC  | location in liquid ‘in’                | -hka(ka)    |

1 I would like to thank the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen for allowing me to use their Space Games Test Kit. Some examples of the postpositions were elicited using the photo-object matching test.

| Locative            | Gloss                       | Meaning / Translation  | Directional              |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| -awē                | INT.LOC                     | inside container/human 'in/inside'                             | -awēna                   |
| -renao              | in.fire                     | in fire (also beside) 'in'                                     | -rena                    |
| -enao               | neck-LOC                    | 'in arms of, in embrace of'                                    | -ena                     |
| await- <i>tao</i>   | dawn-LOC                    | 'outside'  | ---                      |
| -pē(kē)             | CONTACT.LOC                 | contact 'on'   | -pona                    |
| -ekatao             | beside.LOC                  | 'beside/near beside'   | -ekata <sup>2</sup>      |
| -ekun-ē             | hip-LOC                     | hip 'beside/near'  | -ekunē                   |
| ekun-me             | hip-FACS                    | hip 'beside/near/past'   | --                       |
| ju-wē               | SUP.CONTACT-LOC             | superior contact 'on top of'                                   | juwē-na(kīi)             |
| epinē               | INF.LOC                     | inferior non-contact 'under'                                   | epinēna(kīi)             |
| -npo                | on.back                     | on s/o's back  | -npona(kīi)              |
| -epoe               | SUP.LOC                     | non-contact 'over/ above'                                      | -epoena(kīi)             |
| -tae                | PERL                        | perlative 'along'  | -tae                     |
| -eta-e              | bank-PERL                   | perlative 'along river bank'                                   |                          |
| -awē-e              | hang.over-PERL              | perlative 'hanging over'                                       | -awēē                    |
| -pēe                | SOU                         | source (perlative) 'from'                                      | ---                      |
| --                  | CONT.DIR-C.EXP              | container directional counter-expectational                    | -tahkarē                 |
| ---                 | GOAL                        | goal 'to' (person); 'to where?'                                | -ja                      |
| -wapo               | in.front                    | anterior locative 'in front of/first'                          | ---                      |
| -nka-e              | back-LOC                    | 'behind'   | -nkaena(kīi)             |
| -wena-e             | trace-LOC                   | trace 'behind, on trail of'                                    | -wena(kīi)               |
| -hpīti-nao          | anus-LOC                    | 'at rear of pointed object': <i>-hpītikī</i> 'tail-bone, anus' | -hpīti-na-hkīi           |
| -enpata-e           | face-LOC                    | specific: land elevation 'on slope of'                         | ---                      |
| -enpata-ra_sa-po-ro | face-in.line_DIM-LOC-ASSERT | 'opposite facing'  | ---                      |
| -weinje             | side                        | at location of 'near'  | -weinje-nakīi            |
| -ro-wē              | chest-LOC                   | 'middle of' s/thing multidimensional                           | -roh-kīi,<br>-rowē-nakīi |
| -ra-wē              | middle-LOC                  | 'middle of' s/thing unidimensional                             | -rawē-na(kīi)            |
| -rato               | in (parallel) line with     |  | ---                      |
| -pato               | align.LOC                   | 'in alignment with, in way of'                                 | ---                      |
| -poh-tē             | tip-LOC                     | (bird's) beak 'at tip/edge of'                                 | ipoh-tēna(kīi)           |
| -reh-tē             | horn-LOC                    | at horns of 'at top of/on'                                     | -rehkīi,-<br>irehtēna    |
| -ke                 | INST                        | 'with, by means of'  |                          |
| -se, -je            | DESID                       | 'want'   |                          |

2 Only with human referents.

Table 6.2: Structural correlates of the locatives and directionals

| Locative           | Directional            |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| -o                 | (-ka), -na(-ka), -nakī |
| -je                | -nakī                  |
| -tē                | -na(kī), -kī           |
| -ē                 | -na(kī)                |
| -wē                | -na(kī), -kī           |
| Perlative/Locative |                        |
| -nkae              | -na(kī)                |
| -epoe              | -na(kī)                |
| -wenaē             |                        |

Locatives have an array of endings, namely *-o*, *-je*, *-tē*, *-ē*, or *-wē*. Those postpositions ending in *-o* form the bulk of the basic locatives, *-po* (general) *-mao* (temporal), *-(h)tao* (container), *-hkaō* (liquid), *-renao* (fire), including the derived locatives *-ekatao* (beside), *-enaō* (in embrace of), *-etao* (on bank of), and *-hpītinao* (at rear of). There are at least two locative adverbials that pattern with these locatives, namely *antinao* ‘deep’ which has reduced postpositional characteristics, but is dealt with below in the section environment-specific locatives, and *warunaō* which means something akin to being ‘in the dark or in a shaman’s hut’ and has specialized meaning to express the initial process of shamanic preparation for a trip to another world. One postposition, namely *-weinjaē* (side, non-anatomical) ends in *-je* but has locative demonstrative pronominal counterparts, namely *seinje* ‘this side’, and *mēinjaē* ‘that side’. Those that end in *-tē* relate to specific location *-poh-tē* ‘at front/protruding part of’ and *-reh-tē* ‘at top of’ are derived from nouns *potī* ‘beak’ and *retī* ‘horns’ respectively; the locative adverbial *amoh-tē* ‘upstream’ (directional: *amohkī*) the nominal origin of which is synchronically untraceable, also clearly belongs in this category. Those ending in *-ē* are *-epinē* ‘under’ and *-ekunē* ‘beside’, the latter of which is derived from the body part *ekun* ‘hip’; the origin of *-epinē* is unclear. Those ending in *-wē* again express specific location, namely *-awē* (interior), *-rowē* [rɔ:wə] ‘in middle of (multidimensional)’, *-rawē* ‘in middle of (unidimensional)’, and *-juwē* [ju:wə] ‘on top of (+contact)’. These too are probably derived from body parts, namely *-awē* < *aotī* ‘ribcage’ – one would expect the initial vowel of *-awē* to be long, however, it was probably blocked because if it were long, then the third person inflected form would be realized as a long vowel and the second person inflected form would result in a super long vowel which does not occur in Trio. The postposition *-rowē* is derived from *pīropī* ‘chest’; according to Meira (1999:403) *-rawē* is derived from *-ra* ‘middle part, front of body’; the origin of *-juwē* is unclear.

The perlocative postpositions end in *e*, *-tae* ‘along’; *-awëe* ‘hanging over’; *-enpatae* ‘on slope of’; *-wenaē* ‘in the trail of’; *-nkaē* ‘behind’ the meaning of which is locative rather than perlocative; *-etae* ‘along river bank’, and *-epoe* ‘above (non-contact)’, again with both locative and perlocative meaning. The locative adverbial *arenaē* ‘downstream’ (directional: *arena*) likewise has locative and perlocative meaning. Formally, it is likely that the source postposition *-pëe* belongs to the perlocative group.

Some postpositions function as complements of verbal phrases, such as the instrumental *-ke* with some verbs that are formed by means of the benefactive verbalizers *-ntë* and *-htë*. Many postpositional phrases are predicational in use. The postpositions can be divided up into simple and derived; some of the locative postpositions are derived from bodyparts. In addition a few postpositions show an advanced degree of grammaticalization.

### 6.1.2 Person marking

Some postpositions are obligatorily inflected for person and require a pronominal object (the third person) even when a lexical nominal object is present, that is, they must be inflected with the oblique object personal prefixes which, with one exception (see under the postposition *-ja* below), are identical to the possessive personal prefixes; on the other hand, some postpositions cannot take a pronominal object. Those that can, also have a plural marking of the pronominal object that is distinct from that of the nominal and verbal paradigms, and distinct from that of the possessive prefixes; the prefixes and their plural formation are given in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: The postpositional pronominal paradigm

|       |       | Plural suffix |
|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1     | ji-   | -             |
| 2     | ë/:   | :-ne          |
| 1+2   | kī-   | :-ne          |
| 3     | i-/∅  | :-ne          |
| coref | tī-   | :-ne          |
| 1+3   | ainja | -             |

The allomorphy of the personal prefixes is identical to that found when the prefixes are marked on nouns in possessive constructions, that is, the final vowel of the prefix is retained before C-initial postpositions, and dropped before V-initial postpositions; in the second person *ë* occurs before C-initial and non-*a*-initial postpositions, thus if the postposition-initial vowel is *a* there is gemination of that vowel, that is, *aa*, in the second person; the third person *i-* is found before C-

initial postpositions and has  $\emptyset$ -realization before vowel-initial postpositions. Person 1+2 and the third person coreferential prefix do not cause any change in the initial vowel of the postposition. As shown above in section 3.2.1, a postposition that begins in  $\ddot{e}$  or in the structure  $\ddot{e}C\ddot{e}$  undergoes a change of the initial vowel, that is,  $\ddot{e}$  becomes  $e$  and  $\ddot{e}C\ddot{e}$  becomes  $aC\ddot{e}$  when combined with first, second, and non-coreferential third persons. Note that there are no  $o$ -initial postpositions. Some paradigms are given in (6.1) followed by a few examples (6.2a-d).

(6.1) -ekatao ‘beside’

|        |                           |                          |
|--------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1      | j-ekatao                  |                          |
| 2      | $\ddot{e}$ -ekatao        | $\ddot{e}$ -ekatao-:ne   |
| 1+2    | k- $\ddot{e}$ ekatao      | k- $\ddot{e}$ ekatao-:ne |
| 3      | $\emptyset$ -ekatao       | $\emptyset$ -ekatao-:ne  |
| 3coref | t- $\ddot{e}$ ekatao      | t- $\ddot{e}$ ekatao-:ne |
| 1+3    | ainja $\emptyset$ -ekatao |                          |

-war $\ddot{e}$  ‘know/known to’

|        |                                     |                                   |
|--------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1      | ji-war $\ddot{e}$                   |                                   |
| 2      | $\ddot{e}$ -war $\ddot{e}$          | $\ddot{e}$ -war $\ddot{e}$ -:ne   |
| 1+2    | k $\ddot{i}$ -war $\ddot{e}$        | k $\ddot{i}$ -war $\ddot{e}$ -:ne |
| 3      | i-war $\ddot{e}$                    | i-war $\ddot{e}$ -:ne             |
| 3coref | t $\ddot{i}$ -war $\ddot{e}$        | t $\ddot{i}$ -war $\ddot{e}$ -:ne |
| 1+3    | ainja $\emptyset$ -i-war $\ddot{e}$ |                                   |

-aw $\ddot{e}$  ‘inside’

|        |                                  |                                 |
|--------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1      | j-aw $\ddot{e}$                  |                                 |
| 2      | a-aw $\ddot{e}$                  | a-aw $\ddot{e}$ -:ne            |
| 1+2    | k- $\ddot{e}$ w $\ddot{e}$       | k $\ddot{e}$ -w $\ddot{e}$ -:ne |
| 3      | $\emptyset$ -aw $\ddot{e}$       | $\emptyset$ -aw $\ddot{e}$ -:ne |
| 3coref | t- $\ddot{e}$ w $\ddot{e}$       | t- $\ddot{e}$ w $\ddot{e}$ -:ne |
| 1+3    | ainja $\emptyset$ -aw $\ddot{e}$ |                                 |

(6.2)a  $\ddot{e}$ mu-me w-a- $\emptyset$ -e  $\ddot{e}$ -p $\ddot{e}$

sad-FACS 1 $\rightarrow$ 3. 1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2-CONTACT.LOC

I am sad about you

b injetun n-a- $\emptyset$ -i j-aw $\ddot{e}$

illness 3 $\rightarrow$ 3. 1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-INT.LOC

I am ill (an illness is inside me)

- c        *ji-karakuri w-ekarama-∅ i-ja:-ne*  
 1POSS-money 1→3-give-I.PST 3-GOAL-PL  
 I gave them money
- d        *ě-j-apo\_ro\_pa n-a-∅-i*  
 2-EU-like \_ASSERT\_CYC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 she is just like you

Only one postposition, namely *apo* ‘like’ undergoes the insertion of an epenthetic glide *-j-*, glossed here as EUphonic, when marked by a personal prefix, as shown in (6.2d) above. This postposition generally combines with a full pronoun in the third person and no glide insertion occurs; for the glide insertion across word classes, see section 3.2.2.

Many of the postpositions can take a reflexive prefix, some of the resulting meanings are idiosyncratic, these are given in the relevant section below. The rules for the form of the reflexive prefix with the postpositions are given in Table 6.4 – not all stem-initial elements occur in the postpositions (for example there are no *u-* or *o-* initial postpositions).

Table 6.4: Allomorphy of the reflexive prefixes

|            |                                   |   |
|------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>ě-</i>  | <i>e</i> -initial postposition    | → <i>ě-epoe</i> ‘above one another’             |
| <i>ět-</i> | <i>a</i> -initial postposition    | → <i>ět-akěř</i> ‘with each other’              |
| <i>ěi-</i> | <i>C</i> -initial postposition    | → <i>ěi-pěkě</i> ‘on each other’                |
| <i>ěis</i> | <i>-j-</i> inserting postposition | → <i>ěis-apo-ro</i> ‘like each other, the same’ |

### 6.1.3 Morphotactic restrictions

With the exceptions given above in section 6.1.1, which combine a locative and directional, the postpositions do not allow combinations with each other unless there is an intervening non-postpositional morpheme, see, for example, the complex postposition *enpatarasaporo* ‘opposite’ where the diminutive clitic *\_sa* occurs between the postposition *-ra* ‘in line with’ and the locative *-po*, as shown in (6.3a). Most of the derived postpositions are derived from body parts or are opaque in their origin. They do, however, combine with clitics such as the assertive *\_rě*, as shown in (6.2d) above and (6.3a) (having undergone vowel assimilation to *o*); the cyclic *\_pa*, as shown in (6.3b); the clitic *\_rěken* ‘only’ (6.3c); the diminutive *\_sa* (6.3d), the clitic *\_rěn(ne)* ‘totally, truly, forever’ (6.3e), and the corrective clitic *\_hkasán* (6.3f). Most of the postpositions can also be nominalized for person by means of the nominalizer *-n(o)* (6.3g), and a few take the nominalizer *-to*, which in turn can take most of the derivations that nominals can including additional postpositional marking (6.3h-i).

- (6.3)a *ë-pakoro Ø-enpata-ra\_sa-po\_ro n-a-Ø-i ji-pakoro*  
 2POSS-house 3-face-in.line\_DIM-LOC\_ASSERT 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-house  
 my house is opposite your house (parallel and facing)
- b *Tëpu-pona\_pa nī-të-Ø-n*  
 Tëpu-DIR\_CYC 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he's going back to Tëpu
- c *irë-tao\_rëken wī ahtao*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-CONT.LOC\_only 1PRO when  
 if I'm only in that (thing)
- d *kaikui i-hpīti kī-wein-je\_sa tīri-Ø*  
 jaguar 3POSS-anus 1+2-side.NOM-LOC\_DIM do-IMP  
 set the dog's backside towards us.<sup>3</sup>
- e *ë-parī-npë-kon-pona\_rën*  
 2POSS-grandchild-PST-PSR.PL-DIR\_forever  
 right up as far as your grandchildren
- f *owa, se-n-po\_hkasan*  
 NEG.P DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-LOC\_instead  
 no, it is here (here instead) as opposed to somewhere else
- g *Tëpu-po-n n-a-Ø-i mēe*  
 Tëpu-LOC-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is a Tëpu person
- h *Tëpu-po-n-tomo-ja w-ekarama-Ø*  
 Tëpu-LOC-NOM-PL-GOAL 1→3-give-I.PST  
 I gave it to the Tëpu people
- i *pīi-ka-to-npë*  
 shame-INST-NOM-PST  
 the one who was ashamed

Some of the postpositions can be followed by other derivations such as nominalization and past tense marking, others may not. As regards the order of morphemes, when postposed to a noun or nominalized verb which is marked with a plural possessor, then the postpositional marking follows the number marking, as can be seen in (6.3e) above. Since some of the postpositions have several mean-

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3 The word *kaikui* is used to refer to both jaguar and dog (but never a hunting dog). In order to retain the same gloss throughout, I am using 'jaguar' as the gloss and translating it as jaguar or dog according to the context. The term for hunting dog, on the other hand, is *eki* '(poss) pet', which can also be used to refer to a pet such as a monkey or a bird. These 'pets' are well taken care of and in the case of a hunting dog, they are always tied up, pampered and have their own little platforms close to the owner's house. The Trio are renowned for their well-trained hunting dogs and they are quite a lucrative source of income since they are sold to other Amerindians and to Creoles.

ings or have become grammaticalized, or inversely some concepts have several means of expression, they are repeated below where necessary.

## 6.2 Locatives and directionals

Trio has several locative postpositions. They all situate an object in or at a given place or time. Location and direction must be specified as to whether they are general or in what is perceived as a flat or spread out space (6.4a-c); inside a contained space (6.4d-e); in liquid (6.4f); in fire (6.4g), or in contact (6.4h).

|       |   |             |                                    |
|-------|---|-------------|------------------------------------|
| (6.4) | a | ji-pata-po  | in my village                      |
|       | b | poto-po     | in Paramaribo (Lit.: in town)      |
|       | c | pau-po      | on the island                      |
|       | d | itu-(h)tao  | in the forest                      |
|       | e | enī-tao     | in the container                   |
|       | f | tuna-hkao   | in the river/water                 |
|       | g | mahto-renao | in the fire (also around the fire) |
|       | h | itu-pě(kě)  | on the branch                      |

While it is semantically determined which locative marker a given noun will take, there are certain cultural contexts which allow a seeming deviation from the norm, compare, for example, (6.5a-c) all of which carry the meaning ‘in the sky.’ Example (6.5a) shows the general locative *-po*. Example (6.5b) is used by shamans who traverse the celestial world and are thus ‘inside’ the sky (and since evangelization of the Trio those who have died and gone to heaven), – similarly the dead and those who move in the spirit underworld are *nono-tao* ‘in the ground’; other humans can only move *nono-po* ‘on the ground’. Example (6.5c) refers to the location of the moon, on the surface of the sky whereby the sky is conceived as a flat surface.

|       |   |          |  |
|-------|---|----------|--|
| (6.5) | a | kapu-po  | general location, in the area of the sky (but not necessarily visible) |
|       | b | kapu-tao | non-visible, on the other side of what we perceive as the sky          |
|       | c | kapu-pě  | visible, on this side of the sky, touching its surface                 |

That animacy, found with the pronouns (see section 5.3), plays a role too with the locative postpositions is evidenced by the fact that with the exception of the inside locative *-awě*, only few of the locative postpositions can be inflected for person, and then only with specialized meanings. Compare the examples in (6.6):

|       |              |    |           |    |                      |             |
|-------|--------------|----|-----------|----|----------------------|-------------|
| (6.6) | kapu-tao     | vs | j-awě     | vs | i-ropī-tao           | *ji-tao     |
|       | sky-CONT.LOC |    | 1-INT.LOC |    | 3POSS-chest-CONT.LOC | *1-CONT.LOC |
|       | in the sky   |    | in me     |    | in his chest         | *in me      |

The postpositions in Table 6.1, are taken in turn below. The categories dealt with are location, motion towards, where relevant, motion past, and motion from.

### 6.2.1 General locative *-po* ‘in, at’

The suffix *-po* is a general locative marker that expresses ‘situated at/in/on horizontal or spread out space’. When the noun to which it is suffixed is vowel-final, then that vowel immediately preceding *-po* is lengthened. Some examples are given in (6.7)-(6.10). The locative postposition *-po* can be followed by the clitics, that is, the cyclic clitic *\_pa*; the clitic *\_rēken* ‘only’ and the assertive clitic *\_rē*, the latter but not the former of which, due to the vowel harmony rule assimilates to *-ro* (see 2.5.3). It can also be followed by the negation marker *-ta*. The postposition *-po* can be nominalized by the nominalizer *-n(o)*. This locative cannot be inflected, that is, it does not take the personal prefixes. The directional counterpart of *-po* is *-pona* as shown in (6.11).

(6.7)      *wei-po\_rēken t-otī t-onoka-e i-ja*  
 sun-LOC\_only 3COREF-meat COREF-roast-NF 3-GOAL  
 he only roasted his meat in the sun (because he had no fire)

(6.8)      *Tēpu-po n-a-Ø-i*  
 Tēpu-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is in Tēpu (Trio village on the Tapanahoni River)

(6.9)      *ji-pata-po\_ro*  
 1POSS-village-LOC\_ASSERT  
 right in my village

(6.10)     *se-n-po-ta n-a-Ø-i*  
 DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-LOC-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is not here (not here he is)

(6.11)     *tī-pata-pona\_pa nī:-tē-Ø-n*  
 3COREF.POSS-village-DIR\_CYC 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he’s going home to his village

With one lexeme, namely *wēitapi* ‘hammock (unpossessed)’ elision of the final syllable takes place when suffixed by *-po* resulting in *wēitapo* which is preferred over the form *wēitapi-po*. The phrase *wēitapo nai* ‘he is in the hammock’, is also said of someone who is ill and has to lie in his hammock for a longer period. When used with *kapu* ‘sky’, however, *-po* indicates general location, for example an airplane in the sky is *kapu-po*, whereas *\*wei kapu-po* and *\*nunnē kapu-po* meaning ‘the sun is in the sky’ and ‘the moon is in the sky’ respectively, are not allowed, since their specific location is seen as them being adhered to the outer surface of the sky, in other words, the contact locative *-pē(kē)* must be used to indicate their location, as shown in (6.5) above.

Locative adverbials are formed by means of adding *-po* to the demonstrative pronouns. When used with the inanimate anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *irē* ‘that’ and the inanimate proximal demonstrative *serē* ‘this’, and the inanimate

medial demonstrative *mërë* ‘that’ *-po* expresses general non-specific location, that is, *irë-po* ‘there, around there, that place already/to be mentioned’; *serë-po* ‘around here, in this area’, and *mërë-po* ‘around there’. Specific location, on the other hand, which can only be specified for the proximal demonstrative, is expressed by means of the nominalized demonstrative pronoun *sen* ‘this one’, resulting in *sen-po* ‘here (specific), at this place’. Their usage is shown in examples (6.12) - (6.14).

(6.12) Tëpu-po n-a-Ø-i meinjarë,  
Tëpu-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT now

kure n-a-Ø-i irë-po  
good 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

he is in Tëpu now, he is fine there

(6.13) kwama wa\_ken n-a-Ø-i serë-po  
bamboo NEG\_DUR 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.PROX.INAN-LOC  
there is no bamboo in this vicinity

(6.14) se-n-po\_ro\_ken eh-kë  
DP.PROX.INAN-NOM-LOC\_ASSERT\_DUR be-IMP  
stay right here!

The postposition *-po* is also used in the locative question word *a-n-po* ‘where?’ which is made up of the general question formative *a-* followed by the nominalizing suffix *-n* plus the locative *-po*, as in (6.15); *j-ekī* ‘my pet’ in this example usually refers to a hunting dog that the owner has trained or is training. If another pet is intended then it is mentioned after *ekī*, for example, *j-ekī parawa* ‘my pet parrot’.

(6.15) a-n-po n-a-Ø-i j-ekī  
Q-NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-pet  
where is my dog?

The postposition *-po* allows the nominalizer *-n* which expresses ‘someone’, as shown in the (b) examples of (6.16) and (6.17), whereby in (6.17b), the nominalized form results in a general term for ‘tree animals’ or ‘ones in the trees’.

(6.16)a pau-po (n-a-Ø-i) ji-pata  
island-LOC (3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT) 1POSS-village  
my village (is) on an island

b pau-po-n wī  
island-LOC-NOM 1PRO  
I am an islander

- (6.17)a wewe-po n-a-Ø-i  
tree-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
it is in the trees
- b wewe-po-n n-a-Ø-i mēe  
tree-LOC-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
this one is a tree-dwelling animal

Likewise *Tēpu-po-n* ‘one in Tēpu’ refers to an inhabitant of Tēpu, a Tēpu person. Once nominalized in this manner, the inflections and derivations allowed with nominalizations are allowed here too (see also 9.4).

Location in time is in some instances also expressed by means of the postposition *-po*, namely when temporal specifiers such as the days of the week or the months of the year are used (these are borrowings from Dutch and/or Sranan-tongo), as in (6.18a-c). Other temporal expressions are by means of the container locative postposition *-tao* and the temporal locative *-mao* as given in section 6.2.11 below. For a list of temporal expressions, see 10.4.

- (6.18) a sonri-po on Sunday  
b tureoroko-po on Tuesday  
c juuri-po in July

A common way of expressing ‘when, on which day?’ is now with the question word *ati-po* which is made up of the question formative *a* plus the inanimate marker *-ti* plus the locative *-po*, as shown in (6.19), (see also section 6.2.11).

- (6.19) a-ti-po mi:-tē-Ø-n pa  
Q-INAN-LOC 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
when (what day) are you leaving?

With three verbs of bodily functions the postposition *-po* has become grammaticalized to an aspect marker with the meaning ‘have the urge to’. Only the three verbs given in (6.20a-c) have been attested thus far with the postposition *-po* and this meaning.

- (6.20)a ēēni-po w-a-Ø-e  
sleep-LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I am sleepy (I have the urge to sleep)
- b suhta-po w-a-Ø-e  
urinate-LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I have to pee (I have the urge to urinate)
- c koeka-po w-a-Ø-e  
defecate-LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I have to defecate (I have the urge to defecate)

## 6.2.2 Directional *-pona*

The ‘motion towards’ counterpart of *-po* is *-pona* and as a directional is used with verbs of motion, as shown in (6.21) - (6.23). As a derivative of *-po*, the postposition *-pona* causes lengthening of the final vowel of a vowel-final word. The postposition *-pona* can also be used with temporal reference meaning ‘up to a given point in time’ as shown in (6.24)- (6.25).

- (6.21) poto-pona wī:-të-Ø-e  
town-DIR 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
I am going to town (i.e. Paramaribo)
- (6.22) ji-pata-pona pa ji:-të-se w-a-Ø-e  
1POSS-village-DIR\_CYC 1POSS.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I want to go home to my village
- (6.23) t-ītunta-e se-n-pona rë  
COREF-arrive-NF DP.PROX.INAN-NOM-DIR\_ASSERT  
(they) arrived right here
- (6.24) ë-parī-npë-kon-pona rën  
2POSS-grandchild-PST-PSR.PL-DIR\_forever  
right up as far as your grandchildren
- (6.25) koko nkërë achi juru-pëe kokoinje peihpi juru-pona  
night\_PERSIST eight hour-SOU afternoon.LOC five hour-DIR  
  
oroko-me n-a-Ø-i  
work-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
  
he works from eight in the morning till five in the afternoon

## 6.2.3 Interior location *-(h)tao*, *-hkao*, and *-awë*

The first two postpositions to indicate interior location that are given in the following have their locative ending in *o* (*-(h)tao* and *-hkao*) and their directional counterpart ending in *a* (*-(h)ta* and *-hka* respectively). The former refers to interior location in an enclosed space, for example, a house, the forest, or in a demarcated area such as field, whereas the latter refers to interior location in liquid, for example, water, juice, beer. A third postposition used to express interior location is *-awë* which is generally interchangeable with *-(h)tao* except for the fact that *-(h)tao* is not usually inflected for person whereas *-awë* is (however, see section 6.2.4 below). Compare the examples in (6.26) and (6.27) below:

- (6.26)a ji-pun Ø-awë  
1POSS-body 3-INT.LOC  
inside my body

- b           ji-pun-*tao*  
 1POSS-body-CONT.LOC  
 inside my body
- (6.27)a   j-awě  
 1-INT.LOC  
 inside me
- b           \*ji-(h)*tao*

#### 6.2.4 Container locative *-(h)tao*

The postposition *-(h)tao* is a containment locative and is used to express the concept ‘located inside an enclosed or demarcated space’, some examples are given in (6.28a-f). Extended meanings of the container locative are ‘covered in’ as in (6.28e), and when used with animate concepts, ‘among, in the middle of’ as in (6.28f) below. The phonetic realization of the postposition *-(h)tao* was discussed in short in section 2.4.2 where I stated that in the western dialect its realization is generally *-htao*, as in *itu-htao*, with a clearly audible glottal fricative, whereas in the eastern dialect it is realized as either *-:tao* with a lengthened preceding vowel or as *-htao*, thus the same as in the western dialect. In fact, the realization of often speaker-dependent. It is unclear as to what causes the *h*-insertion since some nouns and nominalized verbs are only found marked with the *-htao* variant whereas others are realized with or without the *h*. Meira (1999:391) postulates that the *h* in the *-htao* variant is a reflex ‘coda grade’ of the possessive suffix *-rĩ* while at the same time pointing out that this analysis does not work for most of the examples he has since they are not possessed forms. In fact the nominalized forms that are possessed and take *-htao* in its grammaticalized meaning of ‘during’, obligatorily also take the *-rĩ* possessive suffix. On the basis of these anomalies, Meira (1999:387) claims there to be two different postpositions *-tao* and *-htao*, whereby *-htao* expresses the concept ‘surrounded by’, and *-tao* the concept ‘in(side) container’. This seems unlikely given that the semantics ‘inside’ and ‘surrounded by’ are two sides of the same coin and the fact that there is a lot of speaker variation; ‘in the forest’, for example, can be realized by one speaker as *itu:-tao* and by another as *itu-htao*, again with no possession involved. Until a better analysis or explanation can be found, this postposition is written as *-(h)tao* in the text and as *-htao* or *-tao* in the examples depending on the source of the example.

- (6.28)   a       pakoro-*tao*       in the house  
           b       i-waku-*tao*      in its stomach  
           c       pakara-*tao*      in the box  
           d       tĩpitě-*tao*       in the field  
           e       meenu-*tao*       decorated, covered in designs  
           f       tarěno-*tao*       among the Trio

Note that there is another postposition, namely *-ro-wë* [ːro:wə] that expresses the notion of ‘be in the middle of’ in the concrete spatial sense rather than in the more abstract sense of ‘among’ as can be seen in the comparison of (6.29) and (6.30). The postposition *-ro:-wë* is dealt with in section 6.2.24 below.

(6.29) *kaikui-ton i:-ro:-wë n-a-Ø-i*  
 jaguar-PL 3-chest-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 it (the pig) is (standing) in the middle of the dogs (surrounded by the dogs)

(6.30) *Mawayana-tomo-htao\_rëken n-a-Ø-i meinjarë*  
 Mawayana-PL-CONT.LOC\_only 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT today  
 she is only (working) among the Mawayana these days

Conceptually enclosed or demarcated spaces are *itu* ‘forest’: *itu-(h)tao* ‘in the forest’; *tüpütë* ‘field (unpossessed)’: *tüpütë-tao* ‘in the field’, with its possessed counterpart *ji-tupi-tao* ‘in my field’; *kapu* ‘sky’: *kapu-tao* ‘in the sky’ with the meaning of ‘on the other side of what is visible to us’; *pepei* ‘air, wind’: *kapu-rutu pepei-htao* ‘the clouds are in the air/sky’; *rario* ‘radio’ as in (6.31); *awain-tao* ‘in the open’, from the verb *awaina* ‘to dawn’, in the sense of something that has become ‘known, clear’ or out in the open (see the ‘outside’ locative in section 6.2.12 below). Most body fluids such as *munu* ‘blood’, *epa eeku* ‘(one’s) vaginal fluid’, *(i)kuru* ‘(one’s) sperm’ as given in (6.32) and *(i)susu* ‘(one’s) breast-milk’ (6.33) all take the container locative rather than the liquid locative, presumably because these body fluids are seen to be inherently limited, or enclosed in veins or a body, and possibly also because these are not prototypical liquids since, for example, blood in Trio is not drunk but eaten.

(6.31) *rario-tao-n apo n-i-pono-ja-n*  
 radio-CONT.LOC-NOM like 3→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT  
*i:-të-to-pë\_pa Tarëno*  
 3POSS.1TR-go-TMP.NOM-CONTACT.LOC\_CYC Trio  
 like someone on the radio he tells about their going back, the Trio

(6.32) *ë-munu-tao*  
 2POSS-blood-CONT.LOC  
*ë-pun i-j-akërëu i-moto-ton n-a-Ø-i*  
 2POSS-body 3POSS-EU-disease 3POSS-bacteria-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
*ë-kuru-tao marë n-a-Ø-i,*  
 2POSS-sperm-CONT.LOC also 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
*ë-epa Ø-eeku-tao marë*  
 2POSS-vagina 3POSS-juice-CONT.LOC also  
 the bacteria of your body’s disease are in your blood, and in your sperm, and in your vaginal fluid too.

- (6.33)    *ě-susu-tao*  
           2POSS-breast.milk-CONT.LOC  
           in your breast-milk

The postposition *-(h)tao* is also used (with some illnesses) to express the concept of having an illness; some illnesses are seen as encompassing the human body. However, note that not all illnesses are expressed in this manner since some take the instrumental postposition (see sections 6.3.2 and 11.5). Compare the question and answers given in (6.34).

- (6.34)a    *a-tī-tao m-ana-∅-n*  
           Q-INAN-CONT.LOC 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
           what's ailing you? (what are you in?)
- b            *otono-tao w-a-∅-e*  
           cough-CONT.LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
           I have a cold
- c            *otono-imě-tao w-a-∅-e*  
           cough-AUG-CONT.LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
           I have tuberculosis
- d            *HIV ěkěřeu-tao-n-ton*  
           HIV disease-CONT.LOC-NOM-PL  
           people who have the HIV virus

While *-(h)tao* is not usually inflected for person to result in the meaning ‘in a person’, it can take the personal prefixes to mean ‘among’ as in (6.35).

- (6.35)    *serě-po n-a-∅-i ki-htao\_rě:-ne wītoto*  
           DP.INAN.PROX-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+2-CONT.LOC\_ASSERT-PL human  
           the people are here right among us (pl)

The postposition *-(h)tao* can be nominalized by *-n(o)* as shown in (6.34d) above and (6.36a-b).

- (6.36)a    *kapu-tao-n*  
           sky-CONT.LOC-NOM  
           one in the sky, a sky-dweller (spirit)
- b            *i-htao-no-npě*  
           3-CONT.LOC-NOM-PST  
           a former one among them

### 6.2.5    Motion towards container *-(h)ta(ka)*

Motion towards interior is expressed by means of *-(h)ta(ka)* the directional counterpart of the container locative *-(h)tao*, and carries the meaning ‘into’. While the full form of the postposition is *-(h)taka* the most frequently used form

is *-(h)ta*; examples are given in (6.39a-b). The directional *-(h)ta* is used for all those concepts that take the container locative, as shown in (6.37) and (6.38).

(6.37) *ji-pakoro-ta\_pa wī:-të-Ø-e*  
 IPOSS-house-CONT.DIR\_CYC 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I'm going home (back to my house)

(6.38) *itu-ta nī:-të-Ø-n*  
 forest-CONT.DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going to the forest

(6.39)a *t-ënee-se wī serë-pona Tarëno-taka*  
 COREF-bring-NF IPRO DP.INAN.PROX-DIR Trio-DIR  
 I was brought here to (among) the Trio

b *pīi-taka\_rën wī:-të-Ø-e*  
 mountain-CONT.DIR\_forever 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I am going into the mountains

Motion within a contained space is expressed as a locative with movement being expressed in the verb, for example, (6.40):

(6.40) *itu-tao nī:-të-Ø-n*  
 forest-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is walking through the forest

#### 6.2.6 Motion through: *-tahkarë*

‘Motion through’ is expressed by means of the postposition *-ta-hkarë*, as shown in (6.41a-b). It is derived from the container directional *-(h)ta* in combination with the clitic *\_hkarë* which is a counterexpectation marker. The use of this postposition entails motion into a container-like object or a demarcated space without the intention of stopping there, rather, with the intention of coming out the other side. The idea behind using the counterexpectational or surprise particle here is presumably that if one goes into the forest, mountains or the like but doesn't stay there then it doesn't count as going into since one is already coming out the other side. Compare the examples in (6.42) where (6.42a) entails going into the middle of the animals whereas (6.42b) entails walking through a group of animals without stopping among them.

(6.41)a *itu-ta\_hkarë nī:-të-Ø-n*  
 forest-CONT.DIR\_C.EXP 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 they are going through the forest (to get to the savanna)

b *pīi-ta\_hkarë wī:-të-Ø-e*  
 mountain-CONT.DIR\_C.EXP 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I am going through the mountains

- (6.42)a oto-tomo-ta nī:-të-∅-n  
ground.animal-PL-CONT.DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
he goes to the animals (stays among them)
- b oto-tomo-ta hkarë nī:-të-∅-n  
ground.animal-PL-CONT.DIR\_C.EXP 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
he is walking through the animals

### 6.2.7 Interior liquid locative *-hkao*

The locative *-hkao*, which causes lengthening of the preceding vowel unless the stem ends in a consonant, is used to express location in liquid such as water, beer, juice etc. as shown in (6.43a-c):

- (6.43)a tuna-hkao  
water-LIQ.LOC  
in the water
- b sipariwini-hkao  
Sipaliwini-LIQ.LOC  
in the Sipaliwini River
- c t-ëñi-se-n-hkao  
COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM-LIQ.LOC  
in the beer (in the one to be drunk)

The postposition *-hkao* can likewise be nominalized by means of *-n(o)* meaning ‘one in the (liquid)’, for example (6.44).

- (6.44) tuna-hkao-n  
water-LIQ.LOC-NOM  
a water-dweller (one in the water)

### 6.2.8 Motion towards liquid interior *-hka*

The directional counterpart motion towards water is expressed by *-hka* as in (6.45):

- (6.45) tuna-hka nī:-të-∅-n  
water-LIQ.DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
he is going into the water (for example, to bathe)

Motion within liquid is expressed by means of the locative in conjunction with a verb of motion as shown in (6.46).

- (6.46) tuna-hkao nī:-të-∅-n ariwe  
water-LIQ.LOC 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT caiman  
the caiman is moving through the water

### 6.2.9 Interior locative *-awë*

The postposition *-awë* [*< ëwë*] is used to express the meaning ‘inside’ and in principle it carries the same semantics as the container locative *-(h)tao*. Structurally, however, *-awë* must always be inflected for person, as in (6.47) - (6.49) (as shown above *-(h)tao* cannot always take the personal prefixes), thus unlike *-(h)tao*, the postposition *awë* cannot be suffixed directly to a noun (cf. example (6.47)), and hence it is the only one of the two that can be used when the GROUND, that is, the noun to which it is attached, is animate, as can be seen in (6.48) and (6.49). The underlying non-person-marked form is *ëwë* and in accordance with the rule given in 3.2.1, the sequence *ëCë* changes the first vowel to *a*, resulting in *aCë*, before person marking can be added. This rule does not hold for the prefixes of person 1+2, *kĩ-* and the third person coreferential prefix *tĩ-*, thus in these persons, one gets the forms *k-ëwë* ‘inside the two of us’ and *t-ëwë* ‘inside him’ respectively. The directional is formed by means of the directional suffix *-na* as shown in (6.50). Meira (1999:395) also gives a directional *-aka* which he says is falling into disuse now.

- (6.47) Ø-apëri-npë mëe Ø-awë  
 3POSS-limbs-PST 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3-INT.LOC  
 his limbs were inside him (monster) (said of someone deceased)
- (6.48) a-ti-hpe n-a-Ø-i j-awë \*ji-tao  
 Q-INAN-INDEF.SPEC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-INT.LOC  
 what on earth is inside me?
- (6.49) a-ti n-a-Ø-i eni Ø-awë  
 Q-INAN 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT container 3-INT.LOC  
 what is in the container?
- (6.50) j-awë-na ni:-të-Ø-n  
 1-INT.LOC-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 it (medicine) is going inside me

### 6.2.10 Location in fire: *-renao*

Location in fire is expressed by means of the postposition *-renao*. According to younger informants this postposition also means ‘near, at’ the fire, an example is given in (6.51). The context from which this example was taken was such that someone was dreaming he was in the fire, unable to do anything about it, hence the durative marker following the postposition. It is unclear whether the use of the postposition *-renao* is an older way of expressing ‘in fire’ since it is also possible to say *mahto-po* ‘in/on the fire’.

- (6.51) mahto-renao\_ken t-ee-se  
 fire-FIRE.LOC DUR COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he was in the fire

6.2.11 Location in time: *-po*, *-(h)tao*, *-mao*

Location in time is expressed by means of the two spatial locative postpositions *-po* and *-(h)tao*, and the temporal locative postposition *-mao*. The postposition *-po* is used for punctual time expression, namely ‘at, in’ with hours, days, and months of the year, all of which are loans from Sranantongo and/or Dutch, some examples are given in (6.52) - (6.54). Past time as expressed by the temporal adverb *pena* ‘long ago’ is seen as a containment area or demarcated space in time and so can take the postposition *-(h)tao* with no apparent difference in meaning between the adverb on its own and that marked with the postposition, see (6.55a-b). Alternatively, for the same meaning, *pena* can be followed by the subordinating particle *ahtao* ‘when, if’ which contains the container locative *-(h)tao* as shown in (6.55c). Location in time with a durative meaning is expressed by means of the temporal locative postposition *-mao*, for example with the Dutch loan, *negentiennegentig-mao* ‘in/during 1990’ and with nominalized verbs as shown in (6.56).

- (6.52)a a-ti juru-po n-e:-ja-n  
 Q-INAN hour-LOC 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 at what time is he coming?  
 b een juru-po  
 one hour-LOC  
 at one o'clock
- (6.53)a a-ti-po mi:-të-Ø-n\_pa  
 Q-INAN-LOC 2→3.1TR-go-PRES\_CYC  
 when are you going back?  
 b monre-po w-ekanī-ja-e  
 Monday-LOC 1→3-think-PRES-CERT  
 on Monday, I think
- (6.54) a-n-mao m-ene-ne  
 Q-NOM-TEMP.LOC 2→3-see-NR.PST  
 when did you see him?  
 b risenpë-po w-ene-ne  
 december-LOC 1→3-see-NR.PST  
 I saw him in December
- (6.55)a irë apo t-ee-se Përëpërëwa pena:-tao  
 DP.INAN.ANA like COREF.1TR-be-NF proper.name long.ago-CONT.LOC  
 that's how Përëpërëwa was long ago

- b eek-*apo-n apo n-a-Ø-i* pena wītoto?  
 how-like-NOM like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT long.ago human.being  
 what were people like long ago?
- c pena ahtao tapīime-ta serē apo-n-ton t-ee-se  
 long.ago when many.ANIM.FACS-NEG DP.INAN.PROX like-NOM-PL COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 long ago there were not many like the people here
- (6.56) i-injo-nna manko i-w-eh-to-mao-no-npë  
 3POSS-husband-LESS 1POSS.mother 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-TEMP.LOC-NOM-PST  
 when my mother didn't have a husband (during the time when my  
 mother was one without a husband)

The postposition *-mao* in combination with the inanimate proximal demonstrative pronoun *serē* to give *serē-mao*, results in the meaning ‘now, nowadays’, which is almost synonymous with the adverb *meinjarē* ‘now, today, nowadays’.

Contrasting with the notion ‘during’ given above with *-mao* in (6.56), a grammaticalized function of the postposition *-(h)tao* is that of an aspect marker to indicate durative aspect, to be translated as ‘while’. The postposition is marked on a possessed nominalized verb after the possessive suffix *-rī* (see section 9.2.1) and expresses the notion ‘while doing X’, as shown in (6.57).

- (6.57) ji:-të-rī-h tao  
 1POSS.1TR-go.NOM-POSS-CONT.LOC  
 while I was going (during my going)

#### 6.2.12 ‘Outside’ locative *awaintao*

The concept ‘outside’ is expressed by means of the lexical item *awaintao* which is derived from the verb root *awaina-* meaning ‘dawn’ plus the container locative *-(h)tao*. In its usage *awain-tao* is not a prototypical postposition as such since it generally does not combine with an object to form a postpositional phrase, although some examples of a preceding object are given in (6.59a-c). In general, *awain-tao* is more adverbial than postpositional, and it is used with the general meaning of outside, as shown in (6.58). The directional ‘to outside of’ is given in (6.59c):

- (6.58) awain-tao pitë eh-kë  
 dawn-CONT.LOC while be-IMP  
 wait outside a minute!
- (6.59)a ji-pakoro awain-tao n-a-Ø-i kīrī  
 1POSS-house dawn-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 the man is outside my house

- b            *kī-w-ë-epo-to awain-tao eh-kë*  
 1+2.POSS-1TR-REFL-meet-TMP.NOM outside-CONT.LOC be-IMP  
 wait outside our meeting place!
- c            *kī-w-ë-epo-to awain-ta të-kë*  
 1+2.POSS-1TR-REFL-meet-TMP.NOM outside-CONT.DIR go-IMP  
 go to outside our meeting place!

*Awain-tao* is also used to mean that something is clear or that one has understood, that is, that ‘the penny has dropped’, see example (6.60).

- (6.60)      *awain-tao n-a-Ø-i meinjarë*  
 dawn-CONT.LOC 3→3-be-PRES-NCERT now  
 now I get it!

### 6.2.13 Contact locative *-pë(kë)*

Location ‘on, at’ or ‘at the edge of’ a designated solid boundary as opposed to ‘in’ is expressed with the postposition *-pëkë*. Contact is a central part of the locative meaning of *-pëkë*., see for example, (6.62) and (6.63). Some of the extended meanings of *-pëkë* are ‘about, concerned with’ and ‘busy with’. This postposition is usually but not obligatorily shortened to *-pë*, compare (6.61a-b). It is found in its full form when other morphological material is added, such as the plural marker *-ne*, which causes lengthening of the preceding vowel, as shown in (6.61c); the durative aspectual clitic *\_ken(e)* (6.61d), and the nominalizing suffix *-n(o)* (6.61e). Some examples of usage are given in (6.62)-(6.65).

- (6.61)a      *ëmu-me w-a-Ø-e ë-pëkë*  
 sad-FACS 1→3. 1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2-CONTACT.LOC  
 I am sad about you
- b            *n-ët-uru-ja-n ë-pë*  
 3↔3-REFL-talk-PRES-NCERT 2-CONTACT.LOC  
 they are talking about you
- c            *ë-pëkë:-ne n-ët-uru-ja-n*  
 2-CONTACT.LOC-PL 3↔3-REFL-talk-PRES-NCERT  
 he is talking about you (pl)
- d            *i-pëkë \_ken tīi-ka-se i-ja*  
 3-CONTACT.LOC\_DUR COREF. 1TR-weave-NF 3-GOAL  
 he kept weaving (at) that
- e            *ëpi-pëkë-n n-a-Ø-i mēe*  
 medicine-CONTACT.LOC-NOM 3→3. 1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 s/he is a (male) nurse/herbalist

- (6.62) kapu-pë n-a-Ø-i sirikë  
 sky-CONTACT.LOC 3→3. ITR-be-PRES-NCERT stars  
 the stars are in the sky
- (6.63) itu-pë ewahtë-kë  
 forest-CONTACT.LOC tie-IMP  
 tie it onto a branch!
- (6.64) Ø-arokī-pë t-ëpë-se i-ja  
 3POSS-tail-CONTACT.LOC COREF-take-NF 3-GOAL  
 he caught him by the tail
- (6.65) wīise i-pun-pë i-w-eh-tuwë  
 paint 3POSS-body-CONTACT.LOC 3POSS-ITR-be.NOM-ANT  
 after the paint had been applied to his body (he died)

One of the extended meanings of *-pë(kë)* is ‘about, concerning, busy with’ as in (6.61a-c, e) above and (6.66a-c) below; these meanings are similar to those of English ‘about’. Example (6.66d) shows an unusual complex form with the nominalized postposition as the pivot of the possessed construction *tī-N-ke*.

- (6.66)a wëri-pë n-a-Ø-i  
 woman-CONTACT.LOC 3→3. ITR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is (running) after women, he is womanizing
- b kana-pë n-a-Ø-i  
 fish-CONTACT.LOC 3→3. ITR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is looking for fish (hunting fish)
- c mahto-pë m-ët-uru-Ø-ti  
 fire-CONTACT.LOC 2↔-REFL-talk-LPST-PL  
 you were talking about fire
- d tī-pëkë-n-ke t-ee-se masowë  
 COREF-CONTACT.LOC-NOM-INST COREF. ITR-be-NF fish.trap  
 someone had always been tampering with the fish trap (the fish trap had someone at it)

In its non-nominalized form, as shown in example (6.66a-b) above, the postposition *-pë(kë)*, has become grammaticalized to a marker of continuous aspect to express an on-going action, compare the question and answer below in (6.67a) and (6.67b). The question given in (6.67a) is fully equivalent to the question in (6.67c). Only the full form of the postposition, *-pëkë* can be nominalized, namely to *-pëkë-n*, and unlike the aspectual meaning seen above with the short form *-pë*, it expresses someone’s profession as in examples (6.68) and (6.69a-b) below – the word *ëkëi-pëkë-n* given in (6.69b) is also the general term for an animal trader. Compare examples (6.67a), with the aspectual meaning, with (6.69a) where the speaker is asking about a person’s profession or business.

- (6.67)a a-tī-pě m-ana-Ø-n  
Q-INAN-CONTACT.LOC 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
what are you doing?
- b ji-panpira-pě w-a-Ø-e  
1POSS-book-CONTACT.LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I'm reading (I'm at my books)
- c a-tī mī-rī-ja-n  
Q-INAN 2→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
what are you doing?
- (6.68) wewe-pěkě-n  
tree-CONTACT.LOC-NOM  
a lumberer, employee of a lumber company (one concerned with trees)
- (6.69)a a-tī-pěkě-n ěmě  
Q-INAN-CONTACT.LOC-NOM 2PRO  
what is your business?/ what are you about? (you are one concerned with what?)
- b ěkěi-pěkě-n wī  
snake-CONTACT.LOC-NOM 1PRO  
I am a snake-catcher (or trader)

#### 6.2.14 Postpositions derived from *-pě(kě)*

When two vertical objects are side-by-side and in contact with each other, the derived postposition *i-pana-pě* [3POSS-ear-CONTACT.LOC] ‘beside’, literally ‘at each other’s ear’, is used, as shown in (6.70).

- (6.70) i-pana-pě tī-re-e i-ja turi-ke  
3POSS-ear-CONTACT.LOC COREF-do-NF 3-GOAL wax-INST  
he put (the birds) side by side with the wax

A lexicalized form of this derived postposition is found to express the concept ‘co-wives’ given in its nominalized form in (6.71). Thus this nominalized form cannot be used to express any two humans or animate creatures that are side by side in contact. Compare the explanation of this postposition in (6.72) given by a Trio woman.

- (6.71) ěi-pana-pěke-n-ton n-a-Ø-i  
REFL-ear-CONTACT.LOC-NOM-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
they are co-wives
- (6.72) wēri-ton tuwee-me ahtao, ěi-pana-pě\_to n-a-Ø-i  
woman-PL TWO-FACS when REFL-EAR-CONTACT.LOC\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
when there are two women, they are co-wives

Also derived from *-pě(kě)* is the postposition *-pěkě\_rě* meaning ‘following’. It is made up of the postposition *-pěkě* plus the assertive clitic *\_rě*. This postposition is used to express the notion ‘following (chronologically)’ as in (6.73) and (6.74), and ‘next one’ when giving a list, or as in children in a family, for example (6.75).

- (6.73)    *wei i-pěkě\_rě wī:-tě-ne*  
 sun 3-CONTACT.LOC\_ASSERT 1→3.1TR-go-NR.PST  
 I followed the sun (I went following the sun)
- (6.74)    *ma i-pěkě\_rě tuwee-me i-w-eh-to*  
 DISC 3-CONTACT.LOC\_ASSERT two-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM  
 well, following on this, there are two ways (to operate)
- (6.75)    *ji-pěkě\_rě n-a-∅-i mēe*  
 1-CONTACT.LOC\_ASSERT 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he comes after me (in the family)

### 6.2.15 General directional *-pona*

Movement ‘to, as far as, up to, to the edge of’ as opposed to ‘into’ is expressed by means of the general directional *-pona*, compare the following examples where (6.76) and (6.78) show direction ‘up to’ as opposed to ‘into’ which would be expressed by *-ta* (6.77) and *-hka* (6.79) respectively for direction to container and liquid reference points.

- (6.76)    *ji-pakoro-pona nī:-tě-∅-n*  
 1POSS-house-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going up to my house
- (6.77)    *ji-pakoro-ta nī:-tě-∅-n*  
 1POSS-house-CONT.DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going to (and into) my house
- (6.78)    *tuna-pona nī:-tě-∅-n*  
 water-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going to the river (without the intention of going into it)
- (6.79)    *tuna-hka nī:-tě-∅-n*  
 water-LIQ.DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going to the river (to bathe)

### 6.2.16 Anterior locatives

Anterior location ‘in front of’ is expressed by means of the postposition *wapo*, meaning ‘first’ which is always marked for person, as in (6.80). The postposition *-wapo* forms the root of the verb *i-wapo-n-ka* ‘overtake’, literally ‘un-first person s/one’ as shown in (6.81a-b).

(6.80) kusi mēe i-wapo n-a-Ø-i  
 domestic.pig 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3-IN.FRONT 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 the pig is in front of him (the man)

(6.81)a w-i-wapo-n-ka-Ø  
 1→3-TR-IN.FRONT-NOM-REVERS-I.PST  
 I overtook him (in a race)

b k-ī-wapo-n-ka-Ø-e  
 1→2-TR-IN.FRONT-NOM-REVERS-PRES-CERT  
 I am overtaking you

In a temporal context *wapo* can stand on its own as an adverb meaning ‘first’ as shown in (6.82).

(6.82) wapo Kwamara-pona, irē-npē-pēe Tēpu-pona wī:-tē-Ø  
 IN.FRONT Kwamala-DIR 3PRO.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU Tēpu-DIR 1→3.1TR-go-I.PST  
 First I went to Kwamala, after that I went to Tēpu

The postposition *wapo* can be nominalized to *wapon* (6.83b) or *wapono* (6.84). The word *wapono* ‘the first one’ has the higher degree of definiteness of the two nominalized forms and is now used to refer to the first-born in a family. For most speakers it has replaced the older term for first-born *ikētē*.

(6.83)a a-kī wapo, kaikui  
 Q-ANIM IN.FRONT, jaguar  
 who is in front, the dog?

b kaikui wapo-n  
 jaguar IN.FRONT-NOM  
 the dog is in front (is the one in front)

(6.84) wapo-no wī  
 IN.FRONT-NOM IPRO  
 I am the first-born

When inanimate objects are the Ground in a locative expression, then some salient feature of the object, such as ‘door’ in example (6.85) may be taken as the reference point and the Figure is placed in relation to that feature by means of the postposition *weinje* /we<sup>1</sup>jɛ/ ‘side (non-anatomical)’, which is marked for person, as in (6.85) and (6.86). It is this construction that is used to express the possessive notion of ‘having something with one’ as in (6.86). The postposition *weinje* is related to two other locative expressions, namely /se<sup>1</sup>jɛ/ and /mō<sup>1</sup>jɛ/ represented orthographically to reflect the palatalization of the nasal as *seinje* ‘this side’, and *mēinje* ‘other side, far side’. Since the use of ‘side’ in the expressions ‘this side’ and ‘that side’ are general in both Suriname (for example, in Dutch, *deze kant* ‘this side’) and neighbouring Guyana as locative expressions meaning ‘here’ and ‘there’, (possibly related to the topographical feature of these coun-

tries having extensive river systems) I use the word ‘side’ as the translation of ‘here’ with these locatives, and as the gloss for the element *wein-*, the meaning of which is unclear. The nominalized forms of the demonstrative formatives *se-* (nominalized: *sen*) for proximal distance, and *mē* (nominalized: *mēn*) for medial distance are evident in these locative expressions, whereby the *-je* element carries the meaning ‘located at (source)’ (see also the interrogative *ainje* in Chapter 7). Unlike *-weinje*, these latter two expressions *seinje* and *mēinje* cannot be marked for person. In addition, they can stand alone as locative adverbs. Compare the examples in (6.87) and (6.88). The notion ‘this side’ is also expressed in a more transparent way by means of the proximal demonstrative inanimate pronoun *serē* followed by *weinje*, as shown in (6.89). When cardinal directions, including loanwords from Sranantongo and/or Dutch, are given, they are usually with *weinje*, as in (6.90a) where *soirē* is from the Dutch *zuiden* ‘south’.

- (6.85) *ji-pakoro Ø-ota Ø-wein-je n-a-Ø-i kaikui*  
 1POSS-house 3POSS-hole 3-side.NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT jaguar  
 the jaguar is in front of my house (is at the door-side of the house)
- (6.86) *kaikui i-jerī-npē i-wein-je t-ee-se*  
 jaguar 3POSS-teeth-PST 3-side.NOM-LOC COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he had jaguar’s teeth on him (jaguar was dead, teeth extracted)
- (6.87) *sein-je t-ēnee-se manko*  
 DP.INAN.PROX.NOM-LOC COREF-bring-NF 1POSS.mother  
 my mother brought me this side (here) (when I was a child)
- (6.88) *Sipari Ø-eekuru-npē mēin-je n-a-Ø-i ji-pata-hpē*  
 sipari 3POSS-creek-PST DP.MED.NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-village-PST  
 I’m from the other side of the Sipari creek (my former village is on the other side of the Sipari)
- (6.89) *serē wein-je t-ēnee-se*  
 DP.INAN.PROX side.NOM-LOC COREF-bring-NF  
 (he) brought it here (as opposed to bringing it to town)
- (6.90) *soirē wein-je n-a-Ø-i pata*  
 south side.NOM-LOC 3→3-be-PRES-NCERT village  
 there is a village in the south

The directional counterparts of *weinje*, *seinje*, and *mēinje* are formed by means of the suffix *-nakii*, for example, (6.91).

- (6.91) *serē wein-je-nakii n-e:-ja-n*  
 DP.INAN.PROX side.NOM-LOC-DIR 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 he’s coming (to) this side

All three, *weinje*, *seinje*, and *mēinje* can be nominalized by *-n(o)*, whereby the final vowel changes to *a* (see sections 2.5.3 and 9.4) resulting in *weinja-n*,

*seinja-n*, and *mëinja-n*, to which the general locative postposition *-po* can be added, see example (6.92).

- (6.92) *mëin-ja-n-po n-a-Ø-i nërë i-pata*  
 DP.MED.NOM-LOC-NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA 3POSS-village  
 his village is (one) over there (on the far side)

The notion ‘in front of’ meaning ‘in the way of’ where Figure and Ground are in alignment, is expressed by means of the postposition *-pato* as shown in (6.93a-b). An extended meaning of *-pato* is ‘for nothing, for no good reason’ as shown in (6.94) where the storyteller tells the listeners that the original storyteller had a purpose in telling the story, namely to warn them not to be like the protagonist. I give the relevant excerpt in (6.94). When inflected by the reflexive prefix *ëi-*, the resultant meaning is ‘in a line with itself’ as shown in (6.93c).

- (6.93)a *kure n-a-Ø-i se-n-po ji-pato-ta*  
 good 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-LOC 1-ALIGN.LOC-NEG  
 it’s all right here, it’s not in my way
- b *Ø-ekun-ë\_rë tiri-Ø kau i-hpîtiki pato\_ro*  
 3-hip-LOC\_ASSERT do-IMP cow 3POSS-anus ALIGN.LOC\_ASSERT  
 put it beside it, in a line with the cow’s rear end
- c *ëi-pato\_ro\_mo apêh-kë*  
 REFL-ALIGN\_ASSERT\_MOD take-IMP  
 grab it by the two ends (so it’s in a line with itself)
- (6.94) *irë apo-ta-mo eh-kë*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like-NEG-MOD be-IMP
- irë-pë n-i-pono-ja-n irë-to-me*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-CONTACT.LOC 3→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-NOM-FACS
- n-a-Ø-i serë, i-pato-ta*  
 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX 3-ALIGN.LOC-NEG
- so please don’t be like that, he tells about that, this (story) is for that purpose, it’s **not for nothing** (that he tells it) [Keisi 1984: 78; my translation, E.B.C.]

## 6.2.17 Posterior locatives

Trio distinguishes posterior location between upright (including human) referents, whereby the postposition *-nka-e* is used, and non-upright animal referents for which the postposition *-wena-e* is used. The concept ‘behind’ is relative to the configuration of the Ground and is in some cases better translated as ‘opposite’ as is shown later in this section. The postposition *-nka-e*, derived from the

bodypart (*mi*)ka ‘back’ which is marked with the locative/perlative marker *-e*. It is used to indicate a position at rest behind human and inanimate referents (6.97) in an upright position. The postposition *-nka-e* must always be marked for person. Compare the examples in (6.95) - (6.97). The postposition *-nka-e* is also used to indicate temporal reference, namely ‘after’ as shown in (6.98a); this form is used mainly by younger speakers and is synonymous with the form used by older people given in (6.98b).

- (6.95)a    *ji-nka-e*  
               1-back-LOC  
               behind me
- b            *ë-nka-e*  
               2-back-LOC  
               behind you
- c            *ë-nka-e:-ne*  
               2-back-LOC-PL  
               behind you (pl)
- (6.96)      *kīri i-nka-e n-a-Ø-i poinjēke*  
               man 3-back-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT pig  
               the (wild) pig is behind the man
- (6.97)      *pakoro i-nka-e n-a-Ø-i kaikui*  
               house 3-back-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT jaguar  
               the jaguar is behind the house
- (6.98)a     *tuwee wei i-nka-e ainja nī:-të-Ø-e*  
               two day 3POSS-back-LOC 1+3PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
               in two day’s time we are leaving
- b            *tuwee wei i-w-eh-tuwë ainja nī:-të-Ø-e*  
               two day 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-ANT 1+3PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
               in two day’s time we are leaving

For most animal referents that are not in an upright position the postposition *-nka-e* cannot be used, rather the postposition *-wena-e* is used, as shown in (6.99). The postposition *-wena-e* is derived from the root *wena* which carries the meaning ‘trace, track, (foot)print’. When used as a lexeme it occurs, for semantic reasons, obligatorily marked both for person and for past tense, that is in the form (POSS)-*wena-hpë* ‘(s.o.’s) footprints’, as shown in (6.100). This postposition can also be used with human referents but only in the sense of ‘being on someone’s heels’ in a pursuit, as shown in (6.101). Similar to the anterior postposition *wapo* shown above, *-wena-e* can be nominalized by *-n(o)*, whereby the final vowel of the nominalizer cannot be dropped, and the resulting word refers to either the last person in a row or the last-born in a family (6.102).

- (6.99) kusi i-wena-e n-a-Ø-i wītoto  
 pig 3-trace-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT person  
 the (Amerindian) person is behind the pig
- (6.100) ji-wena-hpë i-kuruma-kë  
 1POSS-trace-PST 3.TR-wipe.out-IMP  
 cover up my footprints!
- (6.101) kīrī i-wena-e n-a-Ø-i kaikui  
 man 3-trace-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT jaguar  
 the jaguar is after the man, pursuing him (\*the jaguar is behind the man)
- (6.102) wena-e-no n-a-Ø-i nērë  
 trace-LOC-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he (the one we're talking about) is the last-born in the family

In Trio some objects of nature such as trees and mountains are perceived as having an inherent front, back, or side, the front being generally the way the tree or mountain is inclined. When locating an object relative to something that has such an inherent front or back, such as a tree or say a building, then the position of the object is relative to that inherent front or back, that is to say, rather than having *hic* as the vantage point, the relation is purely between the Figure and the Ground, thus the sentence in (6.103) entails that the man is standing (from our point of view) in front of the tree facing the same direction as the tree, thus in Trio he is at the tree's back. In order to express the English notion of someone being 'behind' the tree, then either he is facing the tree, that is, example (6.104) expresses that the man is standing behind the tree facing it, using the postposition *enpatarasaporo* meaning 'facing' (6.104), or he is standing parallel to it, compare (6.104b) using hospital as the Ground. The postposition *enpatarasaporo* is derived from the noun *enpata* 'face (possessed)', followed by the element *-ra* which is related to the postposition *-ra(to)* meaning 'in a (parallel) line with', followed by the diminutive *\_sa*, the locative *-po*, and the assertive *\_rë* which becomes *\_ro* conditioned by the *o* vowel in *-po*, thus giving the meaning 'at a bit in line with, facing'. Compare the postposition *-ra(to)* meaning 'in a parallel line with', as shown in (6.105) and (6.106), see also section 6.2.21 below). The element *-ra* is also found in the positional adverb *tirapo* meaning 'broadways', used, for example, when someone uses a (canoe) paddle the wrong way.

- (6.103) kīrī n-a-Ø-i wewe i-nka-e  
 man 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT tree 3-back-LOC  
 the man is in front of the tree

(6.104)a kīrī n-a-∅-i wewe ∅-enpata-ra\_sa-po\_ro  
 man 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT tree 3POSS-face-IN.LINE\_DIM-LOC\_ASSERT  
 the man is behind the tree with his face to the back of the tree

b ěpi-pakoro ∅-enpata-ra\_sa-po\_ro  
 medicine-house 3-face-IN.LINE\_DIM-LOC\_ASSERT

n-a-∅-i ji-pakoro  
 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-house

my house is opposite the hospital (i.e. facing the front of the hospital)

(6.105) ěpi-pakoro i-rato n-a-∅-i winkeri  
 medicine-house 3-IN.LINE 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT shop  
 the shop is opposite the hospital (in a parallel line with the hospital)

(6.106) ěi-rato-n-po n-a-∅-i pata Albina St. Laurent  
 REFL-IN.LINE-NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village Albina St. Laurent  
 the towns Albina and St. Laurent are opposite each other (parallel  
 on opposite sides of the river)

The postposition *-hpītinao*, which ends in the locative morpheme *-nao*, is restricted in its use and is used to express the notion of ‘at a pointed rear end’ of such objects as boat or airplane, as shown in (6.107). I have only been able to find the postposition used with these two objects which have an intrinsic pointed protruding part at the front and the back; it is, for example, not possible to use it to refer to the rear end of a house. It is derived from the body part *hpīti(ki)* ‘tailbone, anus’. That the protruding tailbone, rather than anus is the basic meaning of this word is likely since the other protruding bone in our bodies, namely the elbow which is *ěpēritiki*, derived from *ěpē* ‘arm’ is similar in form which as pointed out in section 4.2 is suggestive of a nominal class system wherein *(ti)ki* may have been a classifier for protruding objects or bones..

(6.107) kanawa-imē i-hpīti-nao n-a-∅-i  
 boat-AUG 3-anus-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he’s in the rear of the plane

#### 6.2.18 Superior contact locative *-juwē*

The postposition *-ju-wē* /ju:wə/ expresses location ‘on top of’ a horizontal surface whereby there is contact between the figure and the ground, as in (6.108) and (6.109a). The directional counterpart with *-na* is given in (6.109b). As with many of the postpositions, the reflexive is used to indicate the position of several objects relative to each other, compare example (6.110).

- (6.108) tafra i-ju-wë n-a-Ø-i (moi)  
table 3-SUP.CONTACT-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT (spider)  
it (the spider) is on the table
- (6.109)a j-apë-ju-wë n-a-Ø-i  
1POSS-arm-SUP.CONTACT-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
it's on my arm
- b j-apë-ju-wë-na tiri-kë  
1POSS-arm-SUP.CONTACT-LOC-DIR do-IMP  
put it on my arm!
- (6.110) ëi-ju-wë n-a-Ø-i peresina  
REFL-SUP.CONTACT-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT oranges  
the oranges are piled up on top of each other

### 6.2.19 Superior non-contact locative –epoe

The postposition –epoe expresses superior location without contact, as shown in (6.111a). The directional counterpart is formed by the suffix –nakii, as shown in (6.111b)

- (6.111)a wewe Ø-epoe ni:-të-Ø-n kanawa-imë  
tree 3-SUP.LOC 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT boat-AUG  
the plane is above the trees
- b wewe Ø-epoe-nakii n-aun-ja-n tonoro  
tree 3-SUP.LOC-DIR 3→rise-PRES-NCERT bird  
the birds are flying up to above the trees

### 6.2.20 Inferior non-contact locative -epinë ‘under’

The postposition –epinë is used to express location beneath or under an object without contact, see example (6.112a-b) – many Trio houses are built on stilts. The directional counterpart with the suffix –nakii is given in (6.112c).

- (6.112)a ji-pakoro Ø-epinë n-a-Ø-i kurairu  
1POSS-house 3-INF.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT chicken  
the chickens are under my house
- b irë apo n-a-Ø-i wītoto k-ëpinë-:ne  
DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT person 1+2-INF.LOC-PL  
that's what the people under us (in the ground) are like
- c ji-pakoro Ø-epinë-nakii ni:-të-Ø-n  
1POSS-house3-INF.LOC-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
it's going under my house

## 6.2.21 ‘Beside’ –*ekatao*, –*ekunë*, –*ekunme*

There are several postpositions that express the concept ‘beside’, namely *ekatao*, *ekunë*, and *ekunme*. Both *ekunë* and *ekunme* are derived from the bodypart noun *ekun* meaning ‘hip’, with the latter suffixed by the facsimile marker *-me*. I have not been able to find a synchronic source for *ekatao* that would explain the parts of the word (it clearly contains the container locative *-tao*, and there is a noun *eka* but it means ‘name’). While all three seem to be interchangeable for the most part — examples (6.113b-c) were accepted as functional and semantic equivalents of (6.113a) — it is the case that *ekatao* and *ekunë* are more frequently used. However, when motion is involved, only *ekunë* and *ekunme* can be used to express ‘past’ when the object is inanimate as shown in (6.114a-b). These contrast with the postposition *-ra-n-me* used to express motion past a human referent, whereby motion past entails coming into a parallel line with the Ground, as shown in (6.115). Motion to ‘beside’ a human referent is expressed by the directional counterpart of *ekatao*, namely *ekata* as shown in (6.116a). Note that this contrasts with the expression to go ‘to’ the man as shown in (6.116b). The postposition *ekatao* also expresses the concept of being ‘at someone’s place’, for example, (6.117).

- (6.113)a nunnë Ø-ekatao n-a-Ø-i sirikë  
 moon 3-BESIDE.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT stars  
 that stars are beside the moon
- b nunnë ekunë nai sirikë
- c nunnë ekunme nai sirikë
- (6.114)a poto Ø-ekunë nī:-të-Ø-n  
 town 3-hip.LOC 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is passing by town (without going into town)
- b jī-pata Ø-ekun-me nī:-të-Ø-n  
 1POSS-village 3-hip-FACS 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is travelling near my village
- (6.115) kīrī i-ra-n-me nī:-të-Ø-n  
 man 3-IN.LINE-NOM-FACS 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is walking past the man (as one parallel to the man)
- (6.116)a kīrī Ø-ekata nī:-të-Ø-n  
 man 3-BESIDE.DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going to beside the man (perhaps with no particular intention)
- b kīrī-ja nī:-të-Ø-n  
 man-GOAL 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going to the man (to see him about something)

- (6.117) j-ekatao n-a-Ø-i  
 1-BESIDE.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is at my place (chez moi)

The nominalized form *-ekatao-n* refers to either ‘the person beside one’ or ‘someone’s neighbour’, for example, (6.118).

- (6.118) j-ekatao-n n-a-Ø-i nĕrĕ  
 1-BESIDE.LOC-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 that one is my neighbour

When long objects, such as poles or bananas are standing or lying side-by-side, then shape and configuration are more salient than proximity and the postposition *-ra(to)* ‘in a (parallel) line with’ is used, as shown in (6.119) in its nominalized form followed by the facsimile marker *-me*. The expression *iratonpo* is the general term for something located on the other side of the river (6.120).

- (6.119) ěi-ra-n-me n-a-Ø-i paruru-ton  
 REFL-IN.LINE-NOM-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT banana-PL  
 the bananas are beside each other (lying as parallel to each other)

- (6.120) i-rato-n-po n-a-Ø-i nĕrĕ i-pakoro  
 3-IN.LINE-NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA 3POSS-house  
 his house is on the other side of the river (from the village)

## 6.2.22 Specific location: *-ena*, *-npo*, *warunao*

There are a number of postpositions, both simplex and derived, to express specific location. The postposition *ena*, from the bodypart *eena* ‘neck’ expresses ‘at one’s breast’ in the sense of the way a mother holds her child, that is, tied in a woven cloth around her neck, lying at the breast, and by extension it expresses the idea of a lover’s embrace. It must be marked for person as shown in examples (6.121a-c). The directional counterpart is *ena* as shown in (6.122).

- (6.121)a moi tĭrĭ-Ø ě-ena-o  
 spider do-IMP 2-neck-LOC  
 embrace the spider (said as a joke)
- b mure wĕri Ø-ena-o n-ě-ĕnĭ-ja-n  
 child woman 3-neck-LOC 3↔3-REFL-sleep-PRES-NCERT  
 the child is sleeping in the woman’s arms
- c j-ena-o\_mo oh-kĕ  
 1-neck-LOC\_MOD come-IMP  
 come to me! (sexual connotations)

- (6.122) Ø-ena tĭ:-tĕ-e  
 3-neck.DIR COREF.1TR-go-NF  
 he went to her (into the hammock to her (sexual connotations))

The postposition *-npo* expresses ‘on someone’s back’ as shown in (6.123a-b). It is not clear what this postposition is derived from since it does not seem to be derived from a bodypart, however, its reference point on the back is the upper back but not the shoulders.

- (6.123)a *ji-npo a-arë-e-wa w-a-Ø-e*  
 1-BACK.LOC 2O-take-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I’m not taking you on my back
- b *ë-npo\_pa k-ërë-kë*  
 2-BACK.LOC\_CYC 1+2-take-IMP  
 take me on your back again!

While not a postposition as such, *warunao* designates specific location of a shaman in his darkened hut in the physical sense as well as in the more abstract sense of ‘in a state of trance or transportation to the spirit world.’ A shaman describes this states as an active one, of becoming (one with) the dark of our world which facilitates his trip to the spirit world. The expression a shaman uses is given in (6.124). The noun *waru*, is otherwise always found marked with the facsimile marker *-me*, means ‘dark’, *warume* being ‘darkness, night’ or ‘the state of being dark’.

- (6.124) *waru-nao w-ee-ja-e*  
 dark-LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am practising shamanism (right now)

## 6.2.23 Other locative and directional postpositions

The other postpositions dealt with here express specific location such as ‘at the tip of, on top of, in the middle of,’ and ‘through’.

The postposition *-pohtë* expresses the notion ‘at the tip/edge of’. It is derived from the noun *poti* ‘beak (of bird), snout (of animal)’, or ‘the protruding part at the front’. It is used to express (location at) the edge or tip of an object, for example, the point of a pencil, but also for the forest (6.125a), a boat (6.125b), and a village (6.125c). It is also used with nominalized verbs to indicate that the event is imminent, as in (6.125d). The directional counterpart of *-pohtë* is *-pohkii* or *-pohtë-na(kii)*, as in (6.125b-c).

- (6.125)a *itu i-poh-të n-a-Ø-i*  
 forest 3-tip-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is at the edge of the forest
- b *kanawa i-poh-të-na nī:-të-Ø-n*  
 boat 3-tip-LOC-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 she’s going to the front of the boat

- c            pata i-poh-të-na tī-w-ëe-se  
 village 3-tip-LOC-DIR COREF-1TR-come-NF  
 they came to just outside a village (the edge of the village)
- d            awaina-to i-poh-të  
 dawn-TMP.OM 3-tip-LOC  
 nearly 6 o'clock (towards dawn)

A postposition, or perhaps locative adverb, that seems to be derived from *-poh-të* is *anpoh-të* as shown in (6.126). It is unclear what the initial *an* is derived from. This is the only occurrence of this element in the corpus, used with *apëi* which is the possessed form of *ëpëi* meaning ‘seat’ or ‘table’.

- (6.126)    wewe-to Ø-apëi Ø-an-poh-të  
 tree-NOM 3-POSS.seat 3-?-tip-LOC  
 at the edge of the table

The postposition *-rehtë*, which is derived from the noun *retī* ‘horns (on top of head)’, is used to express location ‘on the top of’. Examples are given in (6.127a-b). The directional counterpart of *-rehtë* is *-rehkū* or *-rehtë-na(kū)* as shown in (6.127c). The postposition *-rehkū* does not seem to be used with the name of a mountain itself as shown in (6.127d) where the container directional is used with *Makuiwaka*, the name of the mountain. The use of the container directional here leaves us to assume that *Makuiwaka* was surrounded by other mountains, although the storyteller also makes it clear that the mountain was surrounded by forest, and that there was no path to the village since the trees ‘touched’ the warriors as they made their way there. For the use of the clitic *-rën(ne)* ‘completely, totally, forever’ as found in (6.127d), see section 10.14.2.

- (6.127)a    pī-reh-të n-a-Ø-i jī-pata  
 mountain-horn-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-village  
 my village is on the top of the mountain
- b            wei i-reh-të n-a-Ø-i  
 sun 3-horn-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 it is noon (the top of the sun, day)
- c            pī-reh-kū wī:-të-Ø-e  
 mountain-horn-DIR 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I am going to the top of the mountain
- d            tī-w-ëe-se mērë\_rë makuiwaka-ta\_rën  
 COREF-1TR-come-NF DP.INAN.MED\_ASSERT Makuiwaka-CONT.DIR-forever  
 i-pata i-reh-kū\_rën  
 3POSS-village 3-horn-DIR-forever  
 they came there right to Makuiwaka, all the way to their village at the top

#### 6.2.24 In the middle of: *-rowë*; *-rawë*

The notion ‘in the middle of, between’ without implying linearity, is expressed by means of the postposition *-ro-wë* [-:rɔ:wə]. The vowel immediately preceding the postposition is lengthened. The long vowel of the postposition itself - not reflected in the orthography - as well as the lengthening of the preceding vowel, may be due to the fact that this postposition is derived from the bodypart *pìropì* ‘chest’, as pointed out by Meira (1999:403), whereby the reduction of the initial and final syllables results in lengthening the vowels. Although the semantic motivation of this option may not be immediately obvious, the bodypart term *pìropì* is in fact used to refer to the Trio who live in the middle of the forest (see also Carlin 1998). When the Ground referent is plural, either it is pluralized by means of the nominal plural marker *-ton*, or else the person is pluralized on the postposition itself by means of the postpositional plural marker *:-ne*, these alternatives are shown in (6.128a-b). When the Ground referents are not of the same category, and the meaning of the postposition is ‘(somewhere) between’, then the two elements are juxtaposed and the postposition is placed after the second, as shown in (6.129).

(6.128)a *kìrì-ton i-ro-wë n-a-Ø-i kaikui*  
 man-PL 3-chest-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT jaguar  
 the jaguar is in between the men (they are surrounding it)

b *poinjekë i-ro-wë:-ne n-a-Ø-i kîrî*  
 peccary 3-chest-LOC-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT man  
 the man is (standing) in the middle of the peccaries

(6.129) *poinjêke kaikui i-ro-wë n-a-Ø-i kîrî*  
 peccary jaguar 3-chest-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT man  
 the man is (standing) between the peccary and the dog

The directional counterpart of *-rowë* is, *-rohkîi*, from *-rowë-nakî* or *-rowë-na* as shown in (6.130).

(6.130) *poinjêke i-ro-wë-na nî:-të-Ø-n*  
 peccary 3-chest-LOC-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he’s going into (the middle of) the peccaries

The postposition *-ra-wë* expresses the notion ‘in the middle of’ something that is seen as long and linear such as a boat as in (6.131a), or a stretch of terrain from A to C as in (6.131b) where the ‘middle’ where they built a house was a point (B) between where the shot game was (A) and the village (C) to which they had to take the game, hence towards the middle.

- (6.131)a kanawa i-ra-wë n-a-Ø-i  
 boat 3-MIDDLE-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he's in the middle of the boat
- b i-ra-wë-na pa irë-po tī-rë-e i-ja:ne pakoro  
 3-MIDDLE-LOC-DIR\_CYC DP.INAN.ANA-LOC COREF-do-NF 3-GOAL-PL house  
 they made a house there on the way (towards the middle between the  
 two points)

#### 6.2.25 Environment-specific location

As stated in the introduction, the Trio live in the rainforest on the river banks. Rivers have the anthropomorphic features ‘chest’ *pīropī*, for example, the statement ‘the river is broad’ is expressed as ‘the river’s chest is broad’ as shown in (6.132), and ‘arm’ *ipëri* related to *apë* ‘s/one’s arm’ and *apëritiki* ‘s/one’s elbow’ to express a creek. The locative and directional terms relating to rivers do not, however, contain any reference to anthropomorphic features, these are given in (6.133), followed by some examples in (6.134) - (6.136), see also the section on the perlatives in 6.2.26. The locative *antīnao* ‘deep’, which like the darkness/shamanistic locative *warunao* and the *-hpītīnao* postposition ‘at the rear of’ ends in the locative *-nao*, is used to express location deep in water, or deep in the ground. Its directional counterpart is *antīna* though this is not attested frequently in the corpus, rather a locative is used even where the verb is a verb of motion (see (6.137a)) and where one would thus expect a directional, perhaps the logical reasoning behind this is that in order to be ‘deep’ one has to already get there first. In addition, *antīnao* has as extended meanings ‘difficult’ as shown in (6.137b), and ‘unfathomable or intricate’ to refer to, for example cultural phenomena that are not easily understood by foreigners; likewise the ceremonial dialogue that was used by the Trio until about the 1960s is regarded as *antīnao* ‘deep and pure’ in the sense of the Sranantongo (reduplicated) word *dipi dipi* which is used to refer to a ‘purer’ form of Sranantongo that is not riddled with Dutch and which is difficult for most urban Creoles. Meira (1999:421) gives an almost synonymous form *-enkume* meaning ‘difficult to understand’.

- (6.132) Suriname apun mono-me i:-ropī  
 Suriname river big-FACS 3POSS-chest  
 the Suriname River is broad (the Suriname River, its chest is big)

- |         |           |                  |                               |
|---------|-----------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (6.133) | Locative  |                  | Directional                   |
|         | amohhtë   | upstream         | amohkii (against the current) |
|         | arenae    | downstream       | arena (with the current)      |
|         | tuna etao | on the riverbank | tuna etae along the riverbank |
|         | antīnao   | deep             | antīna to the deep            |

- (6.134)a amoh-tē n-a-∅-i i-pata  
 upstream-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-village  
 he lives upstream (his village is upstream)
- b amoh-kīi wī:-tē-∅-e  
 upstream.DIR 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I'm going upstream
- (6.135)a arena-e n-a-∅-i kanpo  
 downstream-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT camp  
 the camp is downstream
- b arena tē-kē pitē  
 downstream.DIR go-IMP while  
 go downstream a while!
- (6.136)a tuna ∅-eta-o n-a-∅-i nērē i-pakoro  
 water 3-bank-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA 3POSS-house  
 his house is on the banks of the river
- b tuna ∅-eta-e nī:-tē-∅-n  
 water 3-bank-PERL 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he's walking along the bank of the river
- (6.137)a tī:-tē-e tuna antīnao\_pa ěema-tae\_pa  
 COREF.1TR-go-NF water deep.LOC\_CYC path-PERL\_CYC  
 he went in the deep water back along the path
- b antīnao wī-ja oransi i-jomi  
 deep.LOC 1-GOAL Holland 3POSS-EU-language  
 the Dutch language is difficult for me

Towards the south of Suriname there is a low mountain range. The Trio do not distinguish between hills and mountains, both are referred to by the term *pīi*. Like trees, mountains are assigned anthropomorphic features, that is, they have an inherent face *enpata*, back *mika*, and outline or side *aoti* literally 'ribcage'. The foot of the mountain is expressed by the term *entu* (possessed) which also has the meaning 'trunk (of tree), owner, boss, source'. Note that the verb 'to come down' the mountain – but not 'go up' - is also derived from *enpata* 'its face', see (6.138g). The locative and perlocative postpositions in combination with terms of locative reference relating to land elevation are given in examples (6.138a-f).

- (6.138)a pīi ∅-entu-tao  
 mountain 3-POSS.owner-CONT.LOC  
 at the foot of the mountain
- b pīi ∅-aoh-po  
 mountain 3POSS-ribcage-LOC  
 on/at the side of the mountain

- c pīi Ø-enpata-e  
mountain 3-POSS.face-LOC  
on the slope of the mountain
- d pīi anposikī-po  
mountain SIDE.OF-LOC  
at the side (end) of the mountain
- e pīi i-nka-e  
mountain 3-back-LOC  
behind the mountain
- f pīi-reh-tē  
mountain-horn-LOC  
on the top (peak) of the mountain
- g pīi w-enpata-ma-Ø-e  
mountain 1→3-face-INCH.STAT-PRES-CERT  
I am going down the mountain

#### 6.2.26 Perlatives *-tae*; *-awēe*: *-etae*

The postpositions that express ‘movement along’ end in *e*, seen above also as a locative marker (posterior locatives *-wenaē*, *inkae* etc.) and seem to be derived from the container directional *-ta* and the interior locative *-awē* respectively; nevertheless both are glossed in this work as units, namely [perlative] *-tae* and [hang.over.PERL] *-awēe* respectively. Meira (1999:398) gives a less frequent perlativ *-ae* that is not found in my corpus. The postposition *-tae* expresses direction along a specific path or route, see (6.139). It is this specificity that disallows its use as an answer to the question with *a-ja* ‘whither?’. The question word counterpart of *-tae* likewise requires specific grounding and has the form *antae* ‘along where?’, which is made up of the question formative *a* plus the nominalizer *-n(o)* plus *-tae*. Two possible answers to the question with *antae* as shown in (6.140) are given in (6.141a-b). Other examples of the perlativ usage of *-tae* are given in (6.142)-(6.144).

- (6.139) maaru ēmein-kē akusa Ø-ota-tae  
cotton insert-IMP needle 3POSS-hole-PERL  
put the thread through the eye of the needle
- (6.140) a-n-tae wī:-tē-Ø-nē  
Q-NOM-PERL 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
which way should I go?
- (6.141)a se-n-tae  
DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-PERL  
this way (along this path)

- b sein-je  
DP.INAN.PROX.NOM-LOC  
this way
- (6.142) ěema-tae j-arě-Ø-n  
path-PERL 3→1-take-PRES-NCERT  
he takes me along a path
- (6.143) tí:-tě-e Ø-eema-hpě-kon-tae\_rě  
COREF.1TR-go-NF 3-POSS.path-PST-PSR.PL-PERL\_ASSERT  
they went right along their former path
- (6.144) t-íranta-e tuwee-me t-íranta-e ěema-tae  
COREF-year-NF two-FACS COREF-year-NF path-PERL  
a year passed, two years passed (they yearned twice while they were)  
on the path

One of the extended meanings of the postposition *-tae* is ‘according to’ as in (6.145) - (6.146):

- (6.145) irě apo n-a-Ø-i tarěno i-j-omi-tae  
DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Trio 3POSS-EU-language-PERL  
that’s the way it is in Trio (in the Trio language)
- (6.146) tí-w-ět-amore-htě-hpě-tae\_rě tí:-tě-e  
COREF-1TR-REFL-spirit-BEN.NOM-PST-PERL\_ASSERT COREF.1TR-go-NF  
he followed his dream (went according to what he had dreamed)

A further extension of the meaning of *-tae* is illustrated in examples (6.147) - (6.149) where a specific path, namely the direct genealogical line is referred to. The referent of the nominalizer *-n(o)* in these examples refers to the child who was born and not to the bearer.

- (6.147) ainja i-mama i-wěi-tae-no-npě něřě  
1+3PRO 3POSS-mother 3POSS-older.sister-PERL-NOM-PST 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
that one was our mother’s older sister’s child who’s now deceased  
(deceased one born of our mother’s older sister)
- (6.148)a j-akěmi-tae-n měe  
1POSS-younger.sibling-PERL-NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
he is my younger sister’s child (said by woman)
- b ji-wěri-tae-n  
1POSS-woman-PERL-NOM  
my younger sister’s child (said by man)
- (6.149) j-akěmi-tae-no-npě  
1POSS-younger.sibling-PERL-NOM-PST  
child (now deceased) born of my younger sister

The perlative *-awēē*, the form but not the semantics of which is similar to the interior locative *-awē* discussed above, has only been attested once in my corpus, with the meaning of ‘hanging over’ (6.150). For other examples see Meira (1999:399).

- (6.150) pakoro i-mota Ø-awēē tī-rē-e i-ja  
 house 3POSS-post HANG.OVER.PERL COREF-do-NF 3-GOAL  
 he put it hanging over the post of the house

A further perlative postposition, with restricted use, is *-etae* which expresses ‘along the bank of the river’, as shown in (6.151).

- (6.151) tuna etae nī:-tē-Ø-n  
 river bank.PERL 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is walking along the bank of the river

### 6.2.27 Source postposition *-pēē*

The source marker *-pēē* is suffixed to a noun to indicate where something originates from or is coming from. In form the postposition *-pēē* is similar to the perlative forms in that it too ends in *e*, it is glossed here as a discrete unit [SOURCE]. As can be seen in (6.152) the source postposition *-pēē* makes no distinction in concept type, unlike the locative postpositions that distinguish between general, container, liquid container, fire locative. This postposition is not usually found marked for person, although example (6.153) has been found in the corpus, uttered by a young man. Some examples are given in (6.152) - (6.155).

- (6.152)a kapu-pēē from the sky  
 itu-pēē from the forest  
 tuna-pēē from the river

- (6.153) tē\_pa ji-pēē\_pa mama-tomo-ja\_pa  
 go\_CYC 1-SOU\_CYC mother-PL-GOAL\_CYC  
 go away from me back to (your) own people!

- (6.154) ainja i-pakoro rī-to itu-pēē\_rē  
 1+3PRO 3POSS-house do-TMP.NOM forest-SOU\_ASSERT  
 the materials for making our houses are from the forest

- (6.155) a-kī-pēē-hpe kīn-eta-Ø nērē  
 Q-ANIM-SOU-INDEF.SP 3→3.PST-hear-NR.PST 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 who on earth did that one hear it from (he heard it from somebody)

While most instances of the use of this postposition have spatial meaning, *-pēē* can refer to posterior temporality in the organization of discourse when used with the inanimate anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *irē* ‘that’, which must be marked for past since the point of time being spoken about has conceptually

passed as soon as it is marked with the source postposition, for example (6.156). This contrasts with the spatial meaning of the source postposition whereby the demonstrative pronoun is not marked for past, as in (6.157). An apparently synonymous form with the form *irë-npë-pëe* ‘after that’ given in (6.156) is the form *irë-npë-pëe-no-npë* ‘after that’ which is used in the same context; it is possible that definiteness plays a role, that is, in (6.158) that the meaning is ‘after this particular business’; however, both forms were considered acceptable in this context. The postposition *-pëe* is also used to express the notion of ‘taking after someone’ as shown in (6.159).

(6.156) *irë-npë-pëe kure\_rëken\_pa n-e:-ja-n*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU good\_only\_CYC 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 after that (from then on) he will just get better (again)

(6.157) *t-ítunta-e tuna i-w-ë-tihka-to-pona,*  
 COREF-arrive-NF water 3POSS-1TR-REFL-finish-TMP.NOM-DIR

*irë-pëe tí:-të-e kapu-ta*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-SOU COREF.1TR-go-NF sky-CONT.DIR

They arrived at the water’s edge, from there they went into the sky

(6.158) *owa, ainja t-ëmami-ne pitë tíi-ka-e*  
 NEG.P 1+3PRO COREF-business-EMANATE while COREF.1TR-say-NF

*ma irë-npë-pëe-no-npë*  
 DISC DP.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU-NOM-PST

*ë-j-apëkën-ma-e-wa ainja n-eh-ta-e*  
 2-EU-neglect-INCH.STAT-NF-NEG 1+3PRO 3→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT

no we’re busy now for a while, (they) said, but after that we’ll take care of you (won’t be neglecting you any more)

(6.159) *kuure mure meenu-tao\_ken i-mama-pëe\_re*  
 good.INTENS child design-CONT.LOC\_DUR 3POSS-mother-SOU\_FRUST  
 the child was covered in designs, it took after its mother (from its mother)

In order to express the spatial notion ‘from here’, the inanimate proximal demonstrative pronoun *serë*, is generally marked for past, as shown in (6.160a). In fact, there is some variation here, younger speakers tend to mark the demonstrative for past and do not accept it without that marker, whereas in texts of older speakers, it is found without the past marker with the same meaning (6.160b). One might expect a locative marker on the demonstrative, - *serë-po* is the expression for ‘here’ - yet this is not allowed (6.160c).

- (6.160)a serë-npë-pëe ëpi-pakoro-ta wī:-të-Ø-e  
 DP.INAN.PROX-PST-SOU medicine-house-CONT.DIR 1→3.1TR-go-PRES.CERT  
 from here I'm going to the hospital
- b serë-pëe ainja nī:-të-Ø-e  
 DP.INAN.PROX-SOU 1+3PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 we are leaving from here
- c \*serë-po-pëe

Other temporal uses of the postposition *-pëe* are shown in (6.161) where the postposition is added to a nominalized verb marked for past with the meaning ‘from the time of the event onwards’ and forms an embedded clause, the matrix clause of which indicates that some state of affairs holds.

- (6.161) siminatë-me t-ee-se Ø-erikī-hpë-pëe  
 liana.sp-FACS COREF.1TR-be-NF 3POSS-perish.NOM-PST-SOU  
 after he died he became a liana (from the time when he died) (Keisi  
 1984:146)

The postposition *-pëe* can be nominalized by the person nominalizer *-n(o)* as shown in (6.162a-b).

- (6.162)a itu-pëe-n apo tī-w-ëe-se  
 forest-SOU-NOM like COREF.1TR-come-NF  
 he came like one from the forest
- b itu-pëe-no-npë n-a-Ø-i mëe  
 forest-SOU-NOM-PST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is one formerly from the forest

In summary, the locational/directional postpositions that have been grammaticalized are given in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Grammaticalized locational postpositions

| Locative | Meaning           | Grammaticalized meaning                 |
|----------|-------------------|---|
| -po      | general direction | aspect: having urge to                  |
| -(h)tao  | contained area    | aspect: durative                        |
| -pë      | contact           | concerned with/about/busy with          |
| -tae     | perlative         | according to, from genealogical line of |
| -pëe     | source            | aspect: from then on                    |

### 6.3 Non-locative postpositions

The non-locative postpositions that are dealt with in the following sections are those given in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Non-locative postpositions

| Postposition | Gloss | Meaning /Translation |
|--------------|-------|----------------------|
| -akërë       | COM   | with                 |
| -ke          | INST  | with, by means of    |
| -poke        | SENS  | taste or smell of    |
| apo          | LIKE  | like, as             |
| -se (-je)    | DESID | wanting              |
| -ja          | GOAL  | to, for, by          |

### 6.3.1 Comitative postposition *-akërë*

The notion comitative ‘with’ is expressed by means of the postposition *-akërë*. It must be marked for person, as shown in (6.163) - (6.165). The underlying, non-person-marked form of *-akërë* is *ëkërë*, that is, it has an *ëCë* structure that preceding person marking fronts the first vowel to *e* (see section 3.2). When prefixed by the 1+2 personal prefix *k(i)-* (and the third person coreferential *t(i)-*), the initial vowel of the postposition is retained, see example (6.165). The notion ‘together’ is expressed by means of the comitative marked with the reflexive prefix, in this case *ët-*, as shown in (6.166). The postposition *-akërë* is not used with inanimate objects since animacy and volition seem to be essential.

(6.163) oh-kë j-akërë  
 come-IMP 1-COM  
 come with me

(6.164) tí:-të-se n-a-Ø-i a-akërë:-ne  
 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2-COM-PL  
 he wants to go with you (pl) (he is wanting his going with you (pl))

(6.165) k-ëkërë:-ne nī:-të-Ø-n<sub>pa</sub>  
 1+2-COM 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT<sub>CYC</sub>  
 he is going (back) with us

(6.166) ët-akërë tí:-të-e  
 REFL-COM COREF.1TR-go-NF  
 they left together

Another comitative suffix, *-nete*, that is no longer used and is now only known to older speakers (±60) was used to express ‘with’ or ‘in addition to’ such as in the example ‘the man went with his wife and the dog too’, where the second, non-human referent, in this case dog, is marked with the postposition *-nete*, as shown in (6.167). The morpheme *nete* seems to have had the function of characterizing two referents that were carrying out some action together but that were different in kind, for example, human versus animal, or when describing a football match characterizing the fact that the two teams wore different-coloured shirts, as shown by the sentence in (6.168) from Sanëpë et al. (1977:32).

- (6.167) kīrī, i-pī marē tī:-tē-e, Ø-ekī nete  
 man 3POSS-wife also COREF.1TR-go-NF 3POSS-pet COM  
 the man and his wife left, and their dog too.
- (6.168) irē-mao kīn-pitē\_to Paruru nete  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3→3.PST-begin.PST\_PL proper.name COM

t-ami-re-n i-po-me  
 COREF-ripen-HAVE.PART-C.NOM 3POSS-clothes-FACS

ma pakoko-ma-n-tao nete  
 disc cricket.sp-FACS-NOM-CONT.LOC COM

they started playing, the Paruru team in red shirts, and the other team  
 in green shirts (the red shirts with the green shirts)

### 6.3.2 Instrumental postposition *-ke*

Instrumental case is marked by the postposition *-ke*. The instrumental-marked noun is never an agent but only an oblique argument expressing ‘by means of’. The postposition *-ke* cannot be marked for person, rather it is suffixed directly to a noun or nominalized verb (given under REASON in section 6.3.3 below). When marked on a noun, the meaning of *-ke* is purely instrumental ‘by means of’, and when marked on a nominalized verb the meaning is that of REASON ‘because’. Some examples of the instrumental on nouns are given in (6.169)-(6.172). This postposition is also normally found after verbs that contain the benefactive verbalizers *-htē* and *-ntē*, with the meaning ‘to Noun-provide X by means of X’ as shown in (6.173)-(6.175).

- (6.169) kana t-ēma-e i-ja pijana-roi-ke  
 fish COREF-catch-NF 3-GOAL eagle-claw-INST  
 he caught fish by means of the *pijanaroi* liana sp. (liana used for poisoning rivers)
- (6.170) wewe-ke wa-tī-rē-e i-ja  
 tree-INST NEG-COREF-do-NF 3-GOAL  
 he killed him with a stick
- (6.171) ratara j-i-suka-Ø-n tuna-ke\_rēken awain-tao\_rēken  
 doctor 3→1-TR-wash-PRES-NCERT water-INST\_only dawn-CONT.LOC\_only  
 the doctor only washes me with water, only on the outside (as opposed to spirit helper who washes the spirit)
- (6.172) kī-n-muku pokīn-ke w-ene-Ø  
 1+2.POSS-3O-bear.NOM smell-INST 1→3-see-I.PST  
 I saw it by the smell of our son (recognized a liana because it had the same smell as her son) (Tēmenta in Keisi 1984: 145)

- (6.173) parata-imë Ø-arī-htë-Ø-n eeku-ke  
 rubber-AUG 3→3-contents-BEN-PRES-NCERT juice-INST  
 she is filling the bucket with juice (contents-providing bucket by  
 means of juice)
- (6.174) irë-ke w-i-j-oroko-ntë-Ø-e  
 DP.INAN.ANA-INST 1→3-TR-EU-work-BEN-PRES-CERT  
 by (doing) that I am providing her with work (work-providing her by  
 means of that)
- (6.175) t-ipīti-ntë-e\_to pījai-ja tarëno-ke  
 COREF-wife-BEN-NF\_PL shaman-GOAL Trio-INST  
 the shaman provided them with Trio wives

The postposition *-ke* is obligatorily used with the reflexive verb *ë-eweto* ‘eat’ which has the meaning ‘nourish oneself by means of’, as in (6.176):

- (6.176) nërë-ke n-a-Ø-i ë-ewee-se-wa  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT REFL-eat-NF-NEG  
 mēhparë-ke\_rëken mami-ke ooko-ke  
 tree.animals-INST\_only trumpeter.bird-INST bush.turkey-INST  
 they don’t eat that one (fish), just tree animals, trumpeter bird, bush  
 turkey

The instrumental *-ke* is found marked on some nouns such as fear and shame to express the state of being afraid, ashamed or embarrassed, and as such these are lexicalized forms, as shown in (6.177) and (6.178); see also 11.5.

- (6.177) nari-ke w-a-Ø-e  
 fear-INST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am afraid
- (6.178) pīi-ke w-a-Ø-e  
 shame-INST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am ashamed

The instrumental in expressions such as those given in (6.177) and (6.178) can be nominalized by means of the nominalizer *-to*, which causes assimilation in backness of the vowel of the postposition, resulting in *-kato*, for example, *pīi-kato* ‘a shy person’. While the expression for having a disease can be formed by means of the container locative *-(h)tao* as seen in section 6.2.4, at least one type of diseased physical state is expressed by means of the postposition *-ke*, namely that of having a temperature as shown in (6.179):

- (6.179) kēi-ke n-a-Ø-i  
 fever-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he has fever

### 6.3.3 REASON meaning with *-ke*

As stated above, the postposition *-ke* has become grammaticalized to indicate REASON. It can be marked on a nominalized verb also marked for past, as shown in (6.180)-(6.181). The clauses marked by the instrumental are subordinate clauses and are given in these examples with the main clause. When the agent of the REASON clause is present, it is expressed on the goal postposition *-ja*, as shown in (6.180).

- (6.180) *tī-karau-ta-e\_to t-okono-kon i-j-omi*  
COREF-angry-TERM-NF\_PL 3COREF-brother.in.law-PSR.PL 3POSS-EU-language

*Ø-eta-hpě-ke i-ja:-ne*  
3POSS-hear.NOM-PST-INST 3-GOAL-PL

they got really angry because they heard what their brother-in-law was saying

- (6.181) *j-imoitī-me eh-těkě ji-je ě-w-ei-hpě-kon-ke*  
1POSS-family-FACS be-IMP.PL 1-DESID 2POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PST-PSR.PL-INST  
 be as my family, because you wanted me (because of your (pl.) former wanting me)

In order to express REASON meaning in the non-past tenses, a subordinate construction *i-w-ei-ke* is used which is the possessed nominalized form of the verb ‘be’ suffixed by *-ke*, literally, ‘because of its being’ as shown in (6.182)-(6.185). For the exceptional nature of *iweike* as a subordinate clause marker, see section 12.3.1. The possessor of the clause *i-w-ei-ke* must be appropriately marked as can be seen in the examples below; that is, the instrumental is marked after the nominalized verb has been marked for person and number, as shown in (6.185).

- (6.182) *i-wame n-a-Ø-i serě,*  
3-not.know 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX

*tamutupě-me i-w-ei-ke*  
old.man-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST

he doesn’t know this thing because he is an old man

- (6.183) *m-ěs-ina-Ø-e, wěri ě-w-ei-ke*  
2↔REFI-cry-PRES-CERT woman 2POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
 you are crying because you are a woman

- (6.184) *pěera ji-w-ei-ke*  
stupid 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
 because I am stupid

(6.185) irë apo mēe-san i-w-eh-to  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM

wītoto-se i-w-ei-kon-ke  
 person-DESID 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PSR.PL-INST

That's how those ones are, because they want (Trio) women

It is not possible to express the idea 'because of me' in this manner, that is, by means of the possessed nominalized verb 'be' *ji-w-ei-ke* on its own without an adjectival adjunct, rather, either one has to state 'because of my doing X, or being X' or one has to use another derived reason marker based on the goal postposition *-ja* followed by the nominalizer *-n(o)* and the facsimile *-me* as shown in (6.186a), see also section 7.7 This last form is often found in the negative to mean 'it's not X's fault', as shown in (6.186b).

(6.186)a ě-ja-n-me se-n-po n-a-Ø-i  
 2-GOAL-NOM-FACS DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he's here because of you (because of your doing)

b owa wī-ja-n-me-ta  
 NEG.P 1-GOAL-NOM-FACS-NEG  
 no, it's not my fault

The postposition *-ke* is used in combination with the semantically bleached coreference personal prefix *tī-* to express the notion 'have' as shown in (6.187). A more detailed analysis of this construction is given in Chapter 11.

(6.187)a t-ēhke-ke m-ana-Ø-n  
 COREF-hammock-INST 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 have you got a hammock?

b aha t-ēhke-ke w-a-Ø-e  
 yes COREF-hammock-INST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 yes, I have a hammock

#### 6.3.4 The postposition *-poke* 'with taste, with smell'

The postposition *-poke* is a postposition that is highly restricted in its use, and it expresses the notion of having a particular taste or smell, here glossed as SENSORY postposition whereby the only senses involved are those of smell and taste, that is, both the gustatory and olfactory senses are perceived as one. It is suffixed directly to a concrete noun that inherently has a strong taste, such as some foods, medicine, soap, and the like. Phonologically the postposition *-poke* causes lengthening of the word-final vowel of the noun. The postposition itself is made up of a root *-po-* that expresses an olfactory or gustatory sensation plus the in-

strumental postposition *-ke*, that is, literally ‘have (exude) taste or smell sensation by means of X or X-wise, whereby X is the noun that has an inherent smell or taste. When it expresses ‘taste of’ the subject is the noun *mīta* ‘mouth’ which reduces to *-nta* when possessed, see example (6.188) which literally means ‘my mouth is in a fish-taste (fish-wise)’, said for example, after one has eaten fish. When used to mean ‘with smell’ then the intransitive verb *-ponë-* ‘sense olfactorily’ is used and what it smells of is encoded on the postposition *-poke*, as shown in (6.189a-b). Thus the English expression ‘you smell like a fish’ cannot be translated literally as (6.190a) since this would mean ‘you smell in the same way that a fish transitively smells something’ rather the intransitive verb must be used in combination with the smell-exuding noun as in (6.190b) to mean ‘you smell fish-wise’.

(6.188) *kana-poke n-a-Ø-i ji-nta*  
 fish-SENS 3→3.1 TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-mouth  
 I have a fish-taste in my mouth

(6.189)a *rosijon-poke ë-ponë-Ø-e*  
 perfume-SENS 2→sense-PRES-CERT  
 you smell of perfume

b *sopu-poke ni-ponë-Ø-n ë-einja*  
 soap-SENS 3→sense-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-hand  
 your hands smell of soap

(6.190)a *kana apo mi-pokīnta-Ø-e*  
 fish like 2→3-sense-PRES-CERT  
 you smell (it) the way a fish does

b *kana-poke ë-ponë-Ø-n*  
 fish-SENS 2→sense-PRES-NCERT  
 you smell of fish

### 6.3.5 The postposition *apo* ‘like’

The postposition *apo* ‘like’ is used to express that an object is like another in manner or behaviour, and only marginally in appearance (compare this with the facsimile marker *-me* given in section 4.8.5). When inflected for person, this postposition undergoes glide-insertion, that is, a *-j-* is inserted between the person marker and the postposition (see section 3.2.2). The third person is not inflected on the postposition *apo*, rather, one of the third person pronouns is used instead, as can be seen in the paradigm in (6.191); Meira (1999:376) gives the inflected form *i-j-apo* which is probably logically possible but it generally does not occur. Examples (6.192a-e) illustrate the use of *apo* with nouns, example (6.192d) with the postposition followed by the cyclic clitic *\_pa*, and example

(6.192e) with the negative marker *-ta* meaning ‘not like’. Example (6.193) shows *apo* nominalized by means of *-n(o)*, followed by the container locative *-(h)tao* and the cyclic *\_pa*, meaning ‘in s/thing like a plane’; the context was that the shaman’s spirit helper Akaraman ‘Leader of the vultures’ was transporting the shaman between worlds, and the shaman was describing the manner in which he did so in terms that he thought I (the non-shaman) would understand, hence the analogy with the airplane.

|         |     |                           |          |
|---------|-----|---------------------------|----------|
| (6.191) | 1   | ji-j- <i>apo</i>          | like me  |
|         | 2   | ě-j- <i>apo</i>           | like you |
|         | 1+2 | kī-j- <i>apo</i>          | like us  |
|         | 3   | měe/měerě/nērě <i>apo</i> | like him |
|         | 1+3 | ainja <i>apo</i>          | like us  |

(6.192)a tī-tamu-ke pananakiri *apo*  
 COREF-leader-INST whiteman like  
 (he) has a leader, like (in the way that) white people do

b e-tapaka-e-wa n-a-∅-i sikoutu *apo*  
 MID.1TR-sit-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT police like  
 they don’t sit, they’re like policemen (talking about people who can’t bend their knees, who can only stand up straight)

c tonoro *apo* serě-pona *\_pa* n-e:-ja-n  
 bird like DP.INAN.PROX-DIR\_CYC 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 he comes back here like a bird (i.e. flying)

d t-ī-sika-e i-ja i-po-npě  
 COREF-TR-extract-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-clothes-PST

tiu waruma kapī-hpě *apo* *\_pa* t-ee-se  
 IDEO.pull leaf.sp weave.NOM-PST like\_CYC COREF-be-NF

he pulled off its clothes, which, he became like a woven basket again

e ikomain-je-wa n-a-∅-i pata  
 dusk-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village

irě-po serě *apo*-ta  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC DP.INAN.PROX like-NEG

the place (village) there doesn’t have night, (it’s) not like here

(6.193) kawě *\_pa* j-enee-ne kanawa-imě *apo*-n-tao *\_pa*  
 high\_CYC 3→1-bring-NR.PST boat-AUG like-NOM-CONT.LOC\_CYC

Akaraman i-kanawa  
 Akaraman 3POSS-boat

he brought me back up in something like an airplane, Akaraman’s boat (means of transport)

Example (6.194) shows yet another complex construction with the postposition *apo* whereby the postposition modifies the dependent argument in a possessive construction, namely *kanawa-imē* ‘plane’, thus splitting a construction that otherwise does not allow anything to occur between the Head *arē-to* ‘its taking’ and the Dependent *kanawa-imē* ‘plane’. The literal meaning of the sentence is something like ‘he knows how he should handle the taking (driving) of plane-like (thing)’; note that the postposition *apo* is not nominalized here. Example (6.195) shows the use of *apo* ‘like’ modifying the nominalized postposition *i-warē-to* ‘expert’.

(6.194) i-warē n-a-Ø-i kanawa-imē apo Ø-arē-to i-ja  
 3-know 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT boat-AUG like 3POSS-take-TMP.NOM 3-GOAL  
 he knows how to drive something like a plane

(6.195)a owa n-ka-Ø-n kure-ta Pērēpērēwa  
 NEG.P 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT good-NEG Pērēpērēwa

i-warē-to apo t-ee-se  
 3-know-NOM like COREF.1TR-be-NF

no he said, that’s not good, as if he was an expert

The postposition *apo* is fundamentally different in meaning from the facsimile suffix *-me* as described in section 4.8.5. Whereas the postposition *apo* expresses ‘like in behaviour or appearance’, the facsimile *-me* is used to indicate that the referent to which it is suffixed is not intrinsically that referent but that it has the outward appearance of being that object, compare the postposition *apo* in (6.196a) where the protagonist was behaving in the way caterpillars do by eating the same food as a caterpillar, that is, the reference is to the kind of food he was eating rather than the amount, and the facsimile *-me* in (6.196b) where the woven basket may have looked like a jaguar (it was manifestly a jaguar) but it was not inherently so.

(6.196)a erepa-me t-ēna-se i-ja ērukē apo  
 3POSS.food-FACS COREF-eat-NF 3-GOAL caterpillar like  
 (for his food) he ate like a caterpillar (i.e. he ate leaves)

b kaikui-me t-ēne-Ø i-ja ti-pipi i-n-kapī-hpē  
 jaguar-FACS COREF-see-NF 3-GOAL 3COREF-older.brother 3POSS-3O-weave.NOM-PST  
 he saw it as a jaguar, the thing his older brother had woven

### 6.3.6 Desiderative *-se* (*-je*)

The desiderative marker *-se* is used to express the notion ‘want, desire’. It is suffixed directly to the noun stem (6.197a-c) or to a nominalized verb which must

be possessed (6.198a-c). The example in (6.197b) shows that the scope of the desiderative postposition is the entire noun phrase. That the person marking on the nominalized *-se* marked verbs is a possessor rather than an object is borne out by the plural marking for the possessor, *-komo* (*-kon*), and in the third person where the object marker *in-* is not allowed, see (6.198) and (6.200). With nouns denoting the staple food and drink of the Trio, and with the noun for water, the noun must be possessed, as shown in (6.199a-e); the cultural context in which such an utterance occurs is that of asking someone for something; thus rather than saying ‘can you give me some X?’, the Trio way is to say ‘I want (my) X’. Among the Trio, if it is clear that a person has enough food or drink to give others, then he is also obliged to do so if asked. When used with a plural noun, *-se* follows the plural marker which can be *-ton* or equally acceptably its allomorph *-tomo* (6.197c).

- (6.197)a *iimo-se w-a-Ø-e*  
eggs-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
I want egg(s)
- b *kainan pakoro-se w-a-Ø-e*  
new.NOM house-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
I want a new house
- c *parata-imē-ton-se w-a-Ø-e* OR *parata-imē-tomo-se w-a-Ø-e*  
rubber-AUG-PL-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
I want (the) buckets
- (6.198)a *Ø-eta-se n-a-Ø-i*  
3-POSS.hear.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he wants to hear it
- b *wapo Ø-ene-se w-a-Ø-e*  
in.front 3POSS-see.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
first I want to see it
- c *ē-ene-se w-a-Ø-e*  
2POSS-see.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
I want to see you
- (6.199)a *j-uru-se w-a-Ø-e*  
1POSS-cassava.bread-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
I want some cassava bread
- b *ji-jokī-se w-a-Ø-e*  
1POSS-drink-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
I want something to drink
- c *tī-jokī-se n-a-Ø-i*  
3COREF-drink-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-pres-NCERT  
he wants something to drink

- d           ji-na-se w-a-Ø-e  
 1POSS-water-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
 I want some water (for myself)
- e           j-otī-pisi-se w-a-Ø-e  
 1POSS-meat-DIM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
 I want a piece of meat

When the possessor of a desiderative marked noun or nominalized verb is plural, then the plural marker *-kon* is generally fused with the desiderative *-se* resulting in *-koe*, as shown in (6.200a-c), however, the fused form *-koe* and the discrete counterpart *-kon-se* are both used with no difference in meaning, see (6.200d).

- (6.200)a    ë-jokī-koe m-ana-Ø-ti  
 2POSS-drink-PSR.PL.DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL  
 do you (pl) want something to drink?
- b           oroko-me ë-w-ei-koe m-ana-Ø-ti?  
 work-FACS 2POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PSR.PL.DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL  
 do you (pl) want to work (are you wanting your being working)
- c           tī:-të-koe pa\_to t-ee-se  
 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-PSR.PL.DESID\_CYC\_PL COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 they wanted to go home (they were wanting their own going back)
- d           tī-pakoro-kon-se pa\_to n-a-Ø-i  
 3COREF-house-PSR.PL-DESID\_CYC\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they want their house back

The desiderative has the allomorph *-je* when inflected for person, as shown in (6.201a). The second person has a slightly deviant form, namely *ëi-je*, rather than *ë-je*, which can mean ‘I want/need you’ or ‘I desire you (sexually)’, (6.201b).

- (6.201)a    ji-je ëmë ahtao  
 1-DESID 2PRO when  
 if you want me ...
- b           pananakiri-se-ta n-a-Ø-i ainja? owa, ëi-je:-ne  
 whitepeople-DESID-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO NEG.P 2-DESID-PL  
 is it that we don’t want white people? No, we *do* want you (pl).

The desiderative clause with *-se* can be negated by means of the negative marker *-ta*, as shown in (6.201b) and (6.202a-d).

- (6.202)a    kurairu-se-ta w-a-Ø-e  
 chicken-DESID-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
 I don’t want (a) chicken
- b           i-je-ta w-a-Ø-e  
 3-DESID-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
 I don’t want him/her/it

- c            Ø-ene-se-ta w-a-Ø-e  
 3POSS-see.NOM-DESID-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES.CERT  
 I don't want to see it
- d            tī:-të-koe-ta\_pa\_to n-a-Ø-i  
 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-PSR.PL.DESID-NEG\_CYC\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they don't want to go back (not wanting their own going back)

It is not possible to add the desiderative *-se* directly to adverbials, including nominals suffixed by the facsimile marker *-me*, or directly to other postpositional phrases, rather in such cases the desiderative must be marked on the nominalized verb 'be', as shown with the adverbials in (6.204a-c) and with postpositional phrases in (6.203) with *apo* 'like' and with *-warë* 'know' in (6.204d).

- (6.203)    pananakiri apo tī-w-ei-kon-se i-w-ei-ke  
 whitepeople like 3COREF-1TR-be.NOM-PSR.PL-DESID 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
 because they wanted to be like white people (because of their being wanting their being like whites)
- (6.204)a    ëmu-me i-w-ei-se m-ana-n  
 sad-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 do you want him to be sad? (are you wanting his being sad)
- b            ëinjenë ji-w-ei-se-ta w-a-Ø-e, kure-ta wī-ja  
 hungry 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-DESID-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT good-NEG 1-GOAL  
 I don't want to be hungry, I don't like that
- c            oroko-me tī-w-ei-se n-a-Ø-i ainja  
 work-FACS 3COREF-1TR-be.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO  
 we want to work (we are wanting our being working)
- d            ji-warë i-w-ei-se w-a-Ø-e  
 1-know 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want to know (I am wanting its being known to me)

The desiderative can also take the nominalizer *-n*, in which case the vowel of the desiderative changes to *a* according to the morphophonological rule given in section 2.5.3, as shown in (6.205a-c).

- (6.205)a    tī-të-sa-n-ton mēe-san  
 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID-NOM-PL 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL  
 they want to go/ they are ones who want to go
- b            tī-të-sa-n-ta-ton mēe-san  
 3COREF-go.NOM-DESID-NOM-NEG-PL 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL  
 they don't want to go/ they are the ones who don't want to go
- c            t-ëreta-sa-n-ta mēe  
 3COREF-rest.NOM-DESID-NOM-NEG 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is one who doesn't want to rest

When used with nominalized verbs, an external agent can be introduced by means of the goal postposition *-ja*. Compare the example (6.206a) where the subject and agent are identical (that is, he who wants, buys), with (6.206b-c) where the subject and agent are different, that is, the subject wants and the agent of buy is the person marked on the postposition *-ja*. See also the goal postposition in the following section.

- (6.206)a *ji-mēnparē ∅-epekātī-se w-a-∅-e*  
 1POSS-things 3-buy.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want to buy some things
- b *ji-mēnparē ∅-epekātī-se w-a-∅-e Pokari-ja*  
 1POSS-things 3-buy.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT Pokari-GOAL  
 I want Pokari to buy my things
- c *j-akoroma-se w-a-∅-e ě-ja*  
 1POSS-help.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2-GOAL  
 I want you to help me

### 6.3.7 The goal postposition *-:ja*

The goal postposition *-ja* can be marked for person but it differs from the other postpositions in that it requires the pronominal *wī* in the first person, rather than the prefix *ji-*. This postposition marks plural number of person by means of the suffix *-:ne*. The list of prefixes that can be marked on *-ja* are given in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Personal Prefixes on Postposition *-ja*

|     |     |
|-----|-----|
| 1   | wī- |
| 2   | ě-  |
| 1+2 | kī- |
| 3   | i-  |

Semantically and syntactically, the postposition *-:ja* has several related functions. I gloss all occurrences of this postposition as GOAL. Its basic function is to encode its argument as an experiencer or an affected participant, the semantic role of which can be any one of the following:

- a recipient (goal or dative object)
- an experiencer
- an active performer
- a causee
- an external causer

These functions are determined for the most part by the semantic and syntactic context. One of the functions is to encode an oblique animate object as a goal, as

in (6.207). The postposition *-ja* has in this context the same meaning as the directional *-pona*, described above, their difference lying in the fact that *-ja* is used with animate objects whereas *-pona* is used with inanimate objects, as shown in (6.208). Further, *-ja* is used to encode a dative object of *verba dicendi* as shown with the verb *ka* ‘to say’, in (6.209), and verbs of giving, as in (6.210). The argument marked on the postposition *-ja* can also be an experiencer, as shown in (6.211a-b). Again an experiencer role, is found with the *-ja*-marked argument in certain non-finite verb constructions, as shown in (6.212a-b). It is this usage of the *-ja*-marked argument as a syntactic Agent that has been termed ergative-marking in other Cariban languages; a functional and syntactic explanation - including semantic restrictions with the verb *ka* ‘say’- of this construction is given in 8.14.4. Finally, the postposition *-ja* is used in causative constructions to encode a (human) causee, as shown in (6.213a). In (6.213b) *wewe* ‘stick’ is both the causee and the agent, with the external causer marker in the same way as the causee, namely with the postposition *-ja*. For more details on the syntactic role of arguments marked by the the postposition *-ja*, see Chapter 12.

- (6.207) Pokari-*ja* wī:-të-Ø-e  
 Pokari-GOAL 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I am going to Pokari
- (6.208) poto-pona wī:-të-Ø-e \*poto-*ja*  
 town-DIR 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I am going to Paramaribo
- (6.209) irë apo wī:-ka-Ø-e ë-*ja*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 1→3.1TR-say-PRES 2-GOAL  
 that’s what I say to you
- (6.210) n-ekarama-Ø wī-*ja*  
 3→3-give-I.PST 1-GOAL  
 he gave it to me
- (6.211)a tī-poin-je n-a-Ø-i wī-*ja*  
 COREF-sense-NF 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-GOAL  
 (delicious it is to me)  
 I like the taste (or smell) of it
- b kure-ta wī-*ja*  
 good-NEG 1-GOAL  
 (it’s) not all right with me (I don’t like that)
- (6.212)a kana t-ënee-se i-*ja*  
 fish COREF-bring-NF 3-GOAL  
 he brought fish

- b            *ë-ene-kon-me wī-ja*  
 2POSS-see.NOM-PSR.PL-FACS 1-GOAL  
 I see you (pl)
- (6.213)a    *ë-mēnparē wī-rī-po-∅ notīpē-ja*  
 2POSS-things 1→3-do-CAUS-I.PST old.woman-GOAL  
 I got the old woman to make your stuff
- b            *wewe-ja wa-tīrī-po-e i-ja*  
 tree-GOAL NEG-do-CAUS-NF 3-GOAL  
 he caused the stick to kill him

Thus regardless of the syntactic role of the argument that is encoded on the *-ja*, whether the apparent A of a verb phrase or a dative object, its semantics highlight the affectedness of that argument, that is, the argument marked by *-ja* is always seen as being affected by the action or event.

#### 6.4 Postpositions of cognition and perception

The postpositions dealt with in this section, summarized in Table 6.8 are those relating to cognition and perception and express among others the notions ‘know’, ‘not know’, ‘fear’, and ‘love’. They are taken in turn below.

Table 6.8: Postpositions of cognition and perception

| Postposition | Plural     | Gloss                | Status of argument on PostP. |
|--------------|------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| -warē        | -warē:ne   | know                 | experiencer                  |
| -wame(ke)    | -wameke:ne | not.know             | experiencer                  |
| -no          | -no:ne     | be afraid            | stimulus                     |
| -pīnē        | -pīnē:ne   | love                 | stimulus                     |
| -eire        | -eire:ne   | danger to, scared of | experiencer                  |
| -epo         | -epo:ne    | fitting              | experiencer                  |
| -epona       | -epone:ne  | believing            | stimulus                     |
| -wae         | -wae:ne    | more than            | object of comparison         |

##### 6.4.1 The cognizers *-warē* and *-wame(ke)*

The cognizer postpositions *-warē* [waarə] and *-wame(ke)*, which are always obligatorily marked for person, expresses the notion ‘know, be aware of’ and ‘not know, not be aware of’ respectively. The argument marked as person on these postposition is an experiencer argument so that the construction is better literally translated as ‘(not) known to X’ or alternatively ‘(not) of X’s knowledge’. The stimulus, that is, what is known or not known, is encoded as the subject of the verb ‘be’ as shown in (6.214a-e). The plural of person is formed by means of the postpositional plural marker *-:ne* as shown in (6.214c). The postpo-

sition *-wame(ke)* is only found with the final syllable *ke* when followed by the plural marker *-.ne*, as in (6.214e). Some examples with the subject marked on the verb ‘be’ are given in (6.214a-c), and with the nominal stimuli ‘year’ and ‘start’ in (6.214d-e). That the stimulus can also be a subordinated clause is shown in (6.215).

- (6.214)a *ë-warë w-a-Ø-e*  
 2-know 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 you know me (also: do you know me?)
- b *ji-wame n-a-Ø-i serë*  
 1-not.know 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX  
 I don’t know this
- c *mëe kure ji-warë (n-a-Ø-i)*  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX good 1-know (3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT)  
 I know him well (him, I know him well)
- d *iranta-to marë i-warë-.ne t-ee-se*  
 year-TMP.NOM also 3-know-PL COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 they knew about years too (about the way of counting years)
- e *a-n-po-hpe i-pitë-topo-npë*  
 Q-NOM-LOC-INDEF.SP 3POSS-begin-TMP.NOM-PST  
*kī-wameke-ne n-a-Ø-i*  
 1+2-not.know-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 we don’t know where on earth it started
- (6.215) *këpëewa ji-warë j-ahkëtë-ma-htao*  
 however 1-know 1-cut-INCH.STAT-CONT.LOC  
*ji-kë-ji-këtun-tahken\_mo\_ro wī-ka-Ø*  
 1→-REDUPL-1→-scream-maybe\_MOD\_ASSERT 1→3.1TR-say-1.PST  
 but if I were to be aware of my operation (my being cut) maybe I  
 would scream, I said

Regardless of whether the postposition has an overt nominal object or not, person must be marked on the postposition by means of the third person prefix *i-* (see (6.216a)). When the overt nominal object of the postposition is marked for plural, then the postposition itself is not marked for number, as shown in (6.217). When the postpositional phrase includes a question word which is marked by the indefinite specific marker *-hpe*, then the indefinite specific marker is postposed to the entire postpositional phrase rather than being marked on the question word itself, compare (6.216a-b), see also 7.9.

- (6.216)a a-kī i-warë n-a-Ø-i irë  
 Q-ANIM 3-know 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA  
 who knows this?
- b a-kī i-warë-hpe in-eta-e-wa w-a-Ø-e  
 Q-ANIM 3-know-INDEF.SP 3O-hear-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 who on earth knows this, I haven't heard
- (6.217) wītoto-ton i-wame n-a-Ø-i  
 human-PL 3-not.know 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 people don't know

The postpositional phrase with *-warë* is also used intersententially in discourse, much as the English, 'you know?' to ensure that the listener is following the line of argument, as shown in (6.218).

- (6.218) irë-mao tahken irë wa-nī-rī-ta-n  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP.LOC maybe DP.INAN.ANA NEG-3→3-do-FUT-NCERT
- Ø-ka-Ø-n\_to ë-warë  
 say-PRES-NCERT\_PL 2-know
- mono-me n-e;-ja-n i-w-ei-ke ooni-po  
 big-FACS 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT 3-1TR-be.NOM-INST DP.INAN.DIST-LOC
- then maybe this will kill him they said, you know, because it will get bigger there

When prefixed by the reflexive marker *ëi-*, that is, *ëiwarë* and *ëiwame*, the meanings are 'to be very knowledgeable' as in the German *sich auskennen*, and 'to know nothing' respectively as shown in (6.219a-b). When prefixed by the (semantically bleached) coreferential personal prefix *tī-* the postposition *-warë* expresses the notion 'be aware, be worried' (6.220a-b) or in combination with the imperative, the notion 'beware!' as in (6.220c).

- (6.219)a nari-ke-ta t-ee-se Përëpërëwa kure ëi-warë t-ee-se  
 fear-INST-NEG COREF.1TR-be-NF proper.name good REFL-know COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 Përëpërëwa wasn't afraid, he knew everything
- b kutuuma ëi-wame t-ee-se  
 INTENS REFL-not.know COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he knew absolutely nothing (he was very ignorant)
- (6.220)a tī-warë\_ken t-ee-se wëri  
 COREF-know\_DUR COREF.1TR-be-NF woman  
 his sister was aware of him (i.e. wasn't asleep)<sup>4</sup>

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4 *Wëri* means both 'woman' and 'sister' to a male ego: I have translated this example according to the context.

- b            *tīwērē-no\_ro tī-warē t-ee-se*  
 other-NOM\_ASSERT COREF-know COREF.1TR-BE-NF  
 others were worried
- c            *tī-warē eh-kē*  
 COREF-know be-IMP  
 beware! (watch out!)

The postposition *-warē* is also the basis of the concept ‘remember’ which is made up of the postposition plus the cyclic clitic *\_pa*; the verb obligatorily occurs in the past tense, the literal meaning is ‘to know again’. The stimulus of ‘remember’ is encoded as a personal pronoun or a noun, as shown in (6.221).

- (6.221) *ji-warē\_pa n-e-Ø mēe*  
 1→know\_CYC 3→3.1TR-be-I.PST 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 I remember him (he has become known to me again)

#### 6.4.2 The postposition *-no* ‘shiver from fear or cold’

The postposition *-no* is derived from the root *-no* expressing the notion of ‘an unpleasant sensation of cold or fear’ glossed here as ‘shiver (from fear or cold)’. Other derivatives of *-no-* are the noun *tīnotī* ‘cold’ as in (6.222a), the verb *:inopamī* ‘to feel cold’ which is made up of the verbalizer *-pamī* which reduces its final syllable to *n*, and in the orthography acquires a prenasal *i* to mark the palatalization of the *n* before the glide, as in (6.222b-c). There is also a transitive verb ‘to fear’ with apparently a reduplicated stem, as in (6.222d-e). When used as a postposition *-no* has the meaning ‘be afraid of X’, see examples (6.223a-c). The postposition *-no* is obligatorily inflected for person, which is pluralized by means of the plural marker *-:ne*, that is, it must always have an object. In this respect it contrasts with the instrumental-marked nominal root *nari*, *nari-ke* ‘afraid’ which cannot take an object but which simply expresses that someone is afraid, compare the examples in (6.223) and (6.224). In contrast to the cognizer postpositions shown above, the experiencer is encoded as subject on the verb ‘be’ and the stimulus itself is the object of the postposition.

- (6.222)a *ē-po tīri-se w-a-Ø-e kari-me*  
 2POSS-clothes do.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT strength-FACS
- tīnotī kari-me i-w-ei-ke*  
 cold strength-FACS 3-1TR-be.NOM-INST

I want to make your clothes strong because it's very cold (the cold is strong)

- b irë-mao tī-noh-pain-je  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP.LOC COREF-shiver-SENS.STAT-NF  
then it got cold
- c ë-noh-pain-ja-e  
2→shiver-SENS.STAT-PRES-CERT  
you are (feeling) cold
- d k-ī-:no-no-ja-e  
1+2-TR-shiver-shiver-PRES-CERT  
I am afraid of you
- e w-ī-:no-no-ja-e  
1→3-TR-shiver-shiver-PRES-CERT  
I am afraid of him
- (6.223)a kaikui i-:no w-a-Ø-e  
jaguar 3-shiver 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I am afraid of the dogs
- b ji-:no tahken n-a-Ø-i  
1-shiver maybe 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
maybe he's afraid of me
- c ë-:no-:ne n-a-Ø-i  
2-shiver-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
she's afraid of you (pl)
- (6.224) nari-ke w-a-Ø-e  
fear-INST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I am scared

#### 6.4.3 The postposition *-pīnē* 'love'

The postposition *-pīnē* [pɪ:nə] expresses the notion 'love, feel compassion for'. It must always be inflected for person. The object of the postposition is the object of 'love' and the subject is expressed on the verb 'be', as in (6.225a-c).

- (6.225)a ji-njo i-pīnē w-a-Ø-e  
1POSS-husband 3-love 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I love my husband
- b tī-n-muku i-pīnē t-ee-se  
3COREF-3O-bear.NOM 3-love COREF.1TR-be-NF  
he loved his child
- c ji-pīnē n-a-Ø-i namo-ro  
1-love 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT  
j-akoro-ma-Ø-n\_to  
3→1-help-INCH.STAT-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
those ones love me, they help me

#### 6.4.4 The postposition *-eire* ‘dangerous to, angry at’

The postposition *-eire* expresses the notion ‘dangerous to’ or ‘angry at’. It is derived from the unpossessed form *ëire* meaning ‘dangerous, wild’ which can be used, for example, to refer to dangerous shamans, people who have a grudge, wild animals, and ethnic groups against whom the Trio have waged wars. When used as a postposition, it must always be inflected for person, the subject is expressed on the verb ‘be’ as shown in (6.226a-b). The object of the anger is the object of the postposition. Given that in Trio society someone’s anger poses a very real danger to whomever might be the object of that anger, a more fitting translation of this postpositional phrase as given in (6.226) is ‘he is a danger to me’. The term *ëire* is a strong one – it is usually spoken with reverence, and generally with a lengthening of the diphthong - and if someone is angry at a person and the appropriate term used is *ëire*, then this is not a desirable state to be in since it is quite possible that death will ensue; an example of the unpossessed form is given in (6.227) where the context is that the younger brother had turned into a jaguar and was trying to attack his older brother.

(6.226)a j-eire n-a-Ø-i  
 1-dangerous 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is angry with me

b ë-eire n-a-Ø-i  
 2-dangerous 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 is he angry with you?

(6.227) ëire t-ee-se Ø-akëmi  
 dangerous COREF.1TR-be-NF 3POSS-younger.brother

tĩ-pipi Ø-apëi-se t-ee-se  
 3COREF-older.brother 3POSS-take.NOM-DESID COREF.1TR-be-NF

(his) younger brother was wild, he tried to grab his older brother

#### 6.4.5 The postposition *-epo* ‘fitting’

The postposition *-epo* is used to express the idea of an object being ‘fitting’, that is, either that it fits in the concrete physical sense as with clothes, shoes, or the like as shown in (6.228a-b). It is also used to mean ‘enough’, that is, a fitting number or amount, as shown in (6.229). The subject, that is, that which fits is encoded on the verb ‘be’ and whom it fits is the object of the postposition. The phrase *epo* is also used in discourse to indicate that something is ‘all right’ and that the listener shouldn’t worry.

- (6.228)a *ë-epo n-a-Ø-i serë po*  
 2-fitting 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX clothes  
 does this blouse fit you?
- b *j-epo-ta (n-a-Ø-i) w-ekani-ja-e*  
 1-fitting-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1→3-think-PRES-CERT  
 I don't think it does (it is not fitting I think)
- (6.229) *tapiime n-a-Ø-i ainja epo-ta serë*  
 many.ANIM.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO 3-fitting-NEG DP.INAN.PROX  
 there are many of us, this (food, money) is not enough

#### 6.4.6 The postposition *-epona* 'believing'

The postposition *-epona* is used to express belief or trust in the object of the postposition as shown in (6.230a-c). The postposition must always be inflected for person. It forms its negative with *-ta* and the plural with *-.ne* as shown in (6.230b-c).

- (6.230)a *Kan Ø-epona n-a-Ø-i ainja meinjarë*  
 God 3-believing 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO now  
 we believe in God now
- b *j-epona-ta m-ana-Ø-n*  
 1-believing-NEG 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 don't you trust me?
- c *k-ëpona-:ne n-a-Ø-i*  
 1+2-believing-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 she trusts us/believes (in) us

#### 6.4.7 The comparative postposition *-wae* 'more than'

The postposition *-wae* expresses the notion of comparison, as shown in (6.231a-c). It must always be inflected for person, regardless of whether there is an overt nominal or not. Some examples are given in (6.231a-c). When there is only the default third person person marking on the comparative postposition, then the meaning is either 'worse' or understood from the context, as shown in examples (6.232a-c).

- (6.231)a *kari-me n-a-Ø-i ë-wae*  
 strength-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2-COMP  
 he is stronger than you
- b *ji-pata pau-po mono-me n-a-Ø-i Curaçao i-wae*  
 1POSS-village island-LOC big-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Curaçao 3-COMP  
 my island country (country on the island) is bigger than Curaçao

c kawë n-a-∅-i Wajana kī-wae-:ne  
high 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+2-COMP-PL  
the Wayana are taller than us (pl)

(6.232)a Tëpu-po\_pa i-w-eh-tuwë  
Tëpu-LOC\_CYC 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-ANT

irë-mao i-wae kutuma n-eh-ta-n i-ja  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP.LOC 3-COMP INTENS 3→3.1TR-be-FUT-NCERT 3-GOAL

after he's back in Tëpu it will get worse for him

b irë-mao i-wae marë ∅-ahkë-to n-eh-ta-n  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP.LOC 3-COMP too 3POSS-cut-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-FUT-NCERT  
then his operation will be more difficult too

c i-wae\_rëken n-eh-ta-n tahken ∅-ka-n\_to  
3-COMP\_only 3→3.1TR-be-FUT-NCERT maybe 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
maybe it will just get worse, they say

## 7 Interrogatives and question words

Questions in Trio can be divided into three groups, namely polar questions eliciting a yes or no answer, alternative questions, and those that are the equivalent of *wh*-questions in English. The first group is not marked morphologically but only suprasegmentally in the form of rising intonation; alternative questions are indicated by means of a pause as well as by rising intonation. The *wh*-question group consists of a lexical category of interrogative words, both simplex and derived. The three groups are dealt with in turn below.

### 7.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are formed by means of a declarative sentence marked with final rising intonation (indicated in the examples by means of the question-mark symbol). With non-past finite verbs the non-certainty evidential suffix  $-n(\ddot{e})$  is required for all persons (in declarative sentences the first, second, persons 1+2 and 1+3 take the certainty suffix  $-e$ , see section 8.9). The full form of the non-certainty suffix  $-n(\ddot{e})$  is usually, but not only, found when followed by further morphological material, such as the durative clitic  $ken(e)$  in example (7.1g). This non-certainty suffix  $-n(\ddot{e})$  is the suffix that is found on all third person finite verbs in the non-past both in the declarative and in questions, for an analysis of the evidentiality markers relating to third and non-third persons, see section 8.9. These polar questions are answered by the particles *aha* ‘yes’ or *owa* ‘no’ (see also sections 10.10.5 and 10.10.7). The particle *owa* is a general negative particle and also means ‘no-one, nowhere, nothing’ (see below). The answer to a polar question generally includes an elaboration, that is, while it does not seem to be obligatory, the verb is usually repeated in the answer sometimes with extra information. Examples (7.1a-f) illustrate the declarative versus the interrogative forms for the SAPs, with the evidential markers given in bold. Examples (7.2a-c) show some questions in the past where an evidentiality suffix is not possible and the question is only understood as a question from the rising intonation contour and the context. For the difference in usage between the two verb forms given in the negative answer (7.2b-c), see the section on evidentiality in 8.9 and 8.14.4. Example (7.3a) shows a postpositional phrase being questioned, followed by two possible answers in (7.3b-c). Polar questions are often used rhetorically when asked in the first or 1+2 person, hence the possible alternative translations

(‘should I/ we?’) in examples (7.1b,f); with the second and third persons polar questions are usually information questions as shown in the examples below.

- (7.1)a    **kokoro wī:-të-Ø\_pa-e**  
 tomorrow 1→3.1TR-go-PRES\_CYC-CERT  
 I’m going back tomorrow
- b        **meinjarë-hkasan wī:-të-Ø-n?**  
 today-instead 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 Am I going today instead? (Or: should I go today instead?)
- c        **irë apo m-i-pono-ja-e**  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 2→3-TR-tell-PRES-CERT  
 that’s what you’re telling
- d        **irë apo m-i-pono-ja-n?**  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 2→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT  
 Is that what you’re telling?
- e        **k-urakana-Ø-e**  
 1+2→stroll-PRES-CERT  
 you and I are going for a walk
- f        **k-urakana-Ø-n? ma, npa!**  
 1+2→stroll-PRES-NCERT DISC HORT.go  
 are you and I going for a walk? Well, let’s go! (Or: should we go for a walk?)
- g        **nī:-të-në\_kene?**  
 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT\_DUR  
 does he just keep going?
- (7.2)a    **kawë-no m-ene-Ø?**  
 high-NOM 2→3-see-I.PST  
 did you see the tall one (person)?
- b        **aha, w-ene-Ø kokoinjarë w-ene-Ø**  
 yes 1→3-see-PST yesterday 1→3-see-I.PST  
 yes, I saw him, I saw him yesterday
- c        **owa, t-ëne-Ø-ta wī-ja    OR    in-ene-Ø-wa w-a-Ø-e**  
 NEG.P COREF-see-NF-NEG 1-GOAL        3O-see-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 no, I didn’t see him                        no, I didn’t see him
- (7.3)a    **nërë ë-warë (n-a-Ø-i)?**  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA 2-know (3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT)  
 do you know him? (is he known to you?)
- b        **aha, ji-warë (n-a-Ø-i)**  
 yes, 1-know (3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT)  
 yes, I know him (he is known to me)

- c owa, ji-wame (n-a-Ø-i)  
 NEG.P, 1-not.know (3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT)  
 no, I don't know him (he is unknown to me)

## 7.2 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are formed by a question, for example, ‘which?’ or ‘how?’ as shown in (7.4a-b) and (7.5), and a postposed choice of the alternatives separated by means of the negative particle *owa* ‘no’ which is preceded by a pause - indicated by a comma -, as shown in (7.4a-b); the questioned alternatives are given in bold. The two elements in question do not necessarily have to be juxtaposed, rather there can be adjuncts and even a sentence intervening between the two as illustrated in (7.5) where in addition to the pause, the new-topic discourse marker *ma* is used; the questioned alternatives are given in bold.

- (7.4)a aa-no-se m-ana-Ø-n, **sen, owa serë?**  
 Q-NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX.NOM NEG.P DP.INAN.PROX  
 which one do you want, this one or this (other) one?
- b a-ja itu Ø-enpata, **sarë, owa mijaja**  
 Q-GOAL tree 3POSS.face hither NEG.P thither  
 which way is the front of the tree facing, towards this way or away?
- (7.5) eeke n-a-Ø-i t-ëhkëtë-se a-ti e-nari-me  
 how 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3COREF-cut.NOM-DESID Q-INAN MID-scare-FACS
- aene-me Ø-ahkë-to** mée Ø-ahkëtë-hpë apo  
 alive-FACS 3POSS-cut-TMP.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3POSS-cut.NOM-PST like
- ma, **owa i-w-ënih-to**, aa-no kure i-ja  
 DISC NEG.P 3POSS-1TR-sleep-TMP.NOM Q-NOM good 3-GOAL
- how is the operation he wants (which operation does he want), what scares him? an operation where he's conscious (alive), like this one's operation referring to another man), or sleeping (under a general anesthetic), which does he find all right?

## 7.3 General wh- questions

There are two roots by which *wh*- questions can be formed, namely *a*- and *eeke*. What is to be questioned is then derived by means of suffixation, for example, for time, place, reason, source etc. There are four interrogative stems, namely those that are formed by means of class-forming suffixes such as *-ki* for animate referents and *-ti* for inanimate referents, a nominalizer *-n(o)*, and the stem *eeke* meaning ‘how?’. Question words are defined by their restricted inflectional possibilities and their syntactic behaviour; they always occur in focus position which

is generally clause-initially. Question words are the only word category in Trio that can take the indefinite specific suffix *-hpe*. The syntactic characteristics of the suffix *-hpe* within the interrogative phrase are dealt with in a separate section below.

As can be seen from Table 7.1 below, there are four basic interrogatives from which many others are derived, namely:

|          |                   |
|----------|-------------------|
| akī      | who? (animate)    |
| atī      | what? (inanimate) |
| a(a)n(o) | which?            |
| eeke     | how, what?        |

Both *akī* and *atī* are nominal interrogatives and while they are generally found in the singular, they can take the nominal plural markers *-jamo* (*-jan*) for animate, or *-tomo* (*-ton*) for inanimate if the referent is understood to be plural, compare the singular form in (7.6a) and the plural forms in (7.6b-c) (for the lack of number agreement on the verb, see section 8.7.2). In fact the animate question word *akī* ‘who?’ has been found in the corpus marked with the inanimate plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*), and is given in (7.9a) below, but it is not clear if this is younger people’s speech or not. What the four basic question words have in common is that they, as well as their derivatives, are the only word category that can be marked with the indefinite specific marker *-hpe*, resulting in the meaning ‘who-, what-, how on earth’ if a question is involved (7.7a-c): the resulting question is, however, not a leading question, rather the speaker’s attitude is one of wonderment rather than irritation that might be suggested by the English translation. Although marked on question words, the suffix *-hpe* also functions as an indefinite-specific pronoun with the meaning ‘someone, something, somewhere, something, somehow’ or ‘who-, what-, where-, however’ as illustrated by (7.8).

- (7.6)a    a-kī n-e:-ja-n  
           Q-ANIM 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
           who is coming?
- b            a-kī-jan n-e:-ja-n?  
           Q-ANIM-PL 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
           who is coming? (plural answer expected)
- c            a-tī-ton t-ēnee-se?  
           Q-INAN-PL COREF-bring-NF  
           what (things) did he bring?
- (7.7)      a        akī-hpe            who on earth?  
           b        atī-hpe            what on earth?  
           c        eeke-hpe          how on earth?

- (7.8) *ji-waku i-konka-të a-tĩ-hpe n-a-Ø-i j-awë*  
 1POSS-belly 3O.TR-pierce-IMP.PL Q-INAN-INDEF.SP 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-INT.LOC  
 pierce my belly, whatever (no matter what) is inside me!

When suffixed to a complex question word, *-hpe* usually, but not always, occurs as the final element in the string, that is after a postposition (7.9a-b) and after the aspectual markers (7.9c-d), and after the desiderative and an aspectual marker as in (7.9e); however, both *a-kĩ-hpe-ja* and *a-kĩ-ja-hpe* ‘to whom on earth?’ were acceptable to informants.

- (7.9)a *a-kĩ-tomo-ja-hpe ji-karakuri m-ekarama-Ø*  
 Q-ANIM-PL-GOAL-INDEF.SP 1POSS-money 2→3-give-I.PST  
 who on earth did you give my money to?
- b *a-kĩ-pëe-hpe kìn-eta-Ø nërë*  
 Q-ANIM-SOU-INDEF.SP 3→3.PST-hear-NR.PST 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
  
*irë apo n-i-pono-ja-n*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT  
 whoever he heard it from, that’s how he tells it
- c *a-tĩ\_ñkërë-hpe m-ene-Ø*  
 Q-INAN\_PERSIST-INDEF.SP 2→3-see-I.PST  
 what on earth else did you see?
- d *a-ja:-ne\_ken-hpe nĩ:-të-Ø-n*  
 Q-GOAL-PL\_DUR-INDEF.SP 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 where on earth does he keep going to?
- e *a-tĩ-se\_ñkërë-hpe m-ana-Ø-n*  
 Q-INAN-DESID\_PERSIST-INDEF.SP 2→3.1TR-be.PRES.NCERT  
 what on earth else do you want ?

The occurrence of the postpositional plural marker *:-ne* in example (7.9d) is very unusual here; *:-ne* usually marks a plural object of a postposition that is marked for one of the person markers. As stated above, the question word *aja* has a lesser degree of definiteness than its nominalized counterpart *a-n-pona* ‘whither?’ ‘to what place?’, but given the context of the person in question going to several different places it does seem to pluralize this indefinite question word, giving the meaning ‘to what different places does he keep going?’.

As can be seen in (7.9c and e) the interrogatives can also take the clitic *ñkërë*, which is used as an aspectual marker (glossed here as PERSISTIVE) with the meaning ‘still’, (see section 10.17.4), for example, *akĩ\_ñkërë* and *atĩ\_ñkërë* to express ‘who else?’ and ‘what else?’ respectively. In this respect these more nominal question words that take the persistive clitic *ñkërë* ‘still’ differ from the rest of the nominal word class in that nouns and nominalizations must be

marked with the facsimile marker *-me* before they can take the aspectual marker *-nkërë*. The interrogatives, a list of which is given in Table 7.1, are discussed below, showing their derivational possibilities.

Table 7.1: Question words

| Question word | Morphological analysis | Gloss                  | Translation               |
|---------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| ahtarë        | a-htarë                | -QUANT                 | how many?                 |
| aja           | a-ja                   | -GOAL                  | whither? (indefinite)     |
| ajahkatë      | a-ja-hkatë             | -GOAL-RESPONS          | whither?                  |
| ajahpe        | a-ja-hpe               | -GOAL-INDEF.SP         | whither on earth?         |
| akī           | a-kī                   | -ANIM                  | who? (animate)            |
| akīhpe        | a-kī-hpe               | -ANIM-INDEF.SP         | who on earth?             |
| akīpëe        | a-kī-pëe               | -ANIM-SOU              | from whom?                |
| akīja         | a-kī-ja                | -ANIM-GOAL             | to whom?                  |
| akījana       | a-kī-jana              | -ANIM-COLL             | who? (ethnic group)       |
| aano          | aa-no                  | -NOM                   | which one?                |
| ainje         | a-(i)n-je              | -NOM-LOC               | from where?               |
| anmao         | a-n-mao                | -NOM-TEMP.LOC          | when?                     |
| anpëe         | a-n-pëe                | -NOM-SOURCE            | from where?               |
| anpo          | a-n-po                 | -NOM-LOC               | where?                    |
| anpona        | a-n-pona               | -NOM-DIR               | whither, to which place ? |
| antae         | a-n-tae                | -NOM-PERL              | along where?              |
| atī           | a-tī                   | -INAN                  | what? (inanimate)         |
| atīhpe        | a-tī-hpe               | -INAN-INDEF.SP         | what on earth?            |
| atījanme      | a-tī-ja-n-me           | -INAN-GOAL-NOM-FACS    | for what reason/why?      |
| atīkae        | a-tī-kae               | -INAN-PURP             | why?                      |
| atīpëkë       | a-tī-pëkë              | -INAN-LOC              | busy with what?           |
| atīpo         | a-tī-po                | -INAN-LOC              | where?; when? which day?  |
| atīpona       | a-tī-pona              | -INAN-DIR              | to what, up till when?    |
| atītao        | a-tī-tao               | -INAN-LOC              | in what?                  |
| atītome       | a-tī-to-me             | -INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS     | for what purpose, why?    |
| eeke          |                        | how                    | how?                      |
| eekanmao      | eeke-n-mao             | -NOM-TEMP.LOC          | when?                     |
| eekanmaohpe   | eeke-n-mao-hpe         | -NOM-TEMP.LOC-INDEF.SP | when on earth?            |
| eekano        | eeke-no                | -NOM                   | one like what?            |
| eekehpe       | eeke-hpe               | -INDEF.SP              | how on earth?             |

### 7.3.1 Who, whom, whose?

The interrogative ‘who?’ is *akī* and is used to refer to animate referents. This question word pronoun can be a subject (7.10); an object (7.11)-(7.12), and an oblique object (7.13)-(7.15). The (b) examples give possible answers to the questions.

- (7.10)a a-kī n-e:-ja-n  
Q-ANIM 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
who is coming?
- b pahko n-e:-ja-n  
1POSS.father 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
my father is coming
- (7.11)a a-kī m-ene-Ø  
Q-ANIM 2→3-see-I.PST  
whom did you see?
- b owa  
NEG.P  
no-one
- (7.12)a a-kī mī-wē-Ø  
Q-ANIM 2→3-shoot-I.PST  
whom/what game did you shoot?
- b arimi\_rēken wī-wē-Ø  
spider.monkey\_only 1→3-shoot-I.PST  
I just shot a spider-monkey
- (7.13)a a-kī-ja m-ekarama-Ø ji-maja  
Q-ANIM-GOAL 2→3-give-I.PST 1POSS-knife  
to whom did you give my knife?
- b mēe-ja w-ekarama-Ø  
3PRO.ANIM.PROX-GOAL 1→3-give-I.PST  
I gave it to him
- (7.14)a a-kī akērē mī:-tē-Ø-n  
Q-ANIM COM 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
with whom are you going?
- b owa, wī\_rēken wī:-tē-Ø-e  
NEG.P 1PRO\_only 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
with no-one, I’m going alone
- (7.15)a a-kī-pēe m-apē-i  
Q-ANIM-SOU 2→3-take-I.PST  
from whom did you take (get) it?
- b pananakiri-pēe w-apē-i  
whiteman-SOU 1→3-take-I.PST  
I took (got) it from a towns person

The interrogative pronoun *akī* can take the human-group marker *-jana* resulting in an ‘ethnic group identification question word “who”’, as in (7.16).

- (7.16) a-kī-jana ěmě  
 Q-ANIM-PL 2PRO  
 to whose (ethnic) group do you belong? (what tribe are you?)

### 7.3.2 What/Why?

The question word ‘what’ is *atī* and is used for inanimate referents. It can act as a subject (7.17a); an object (7.17b); as an oblique object marked for location (7.17c-e), direction (7.17f), reason (7.17g), instrumental (7.17h), and purpose (7.17i-j). As is evident from some of the examples below, *atī* acquires derived (‘where?’, ‘why?’) or specialized meanings which are treated below in the relevant sections.

- (7.17)a a-tī n-a-Ø-i parata-imě-tao?  
 Q-INAN 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT rubber-AUG-CONT.LOC  
 what is in the bucket?
- b a-tī mī-rī-ja-n?  
 Q-INAN 2→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
 what are you doing?
- c a-tī-tao n-a-Ø-i?  
 Q-INAN-CONT-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 where is it?(in what is it?) / What's wrong with him?
- d a-tī-po mī:-tĕ-Ø-n pa?  
 Q-INAN-LOC 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
 when are you going back?
- e a-tī-pĕ m-ana-n  
 Q-INAN-CONTACT.LOC 2→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT  
 what are you doing?
- f a-tī-pona nī:-tĕ-Ø-n?  
 Q-INAN-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 where is he going?
- g a-tī-ja-n-me nī:-tĕ-Ø-n?  
 Q-INAN-GOAL-NOM-FACS 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 for what reason is he going?
- h a-tī-ke t-ī-konka-e i-ja  
 Q-INAN-INSTR COREF-TR-pierce-NF 3-GOAL  
 what did he stab him with?
- i a-tī-to-me irĕ apo m-i-pono-ja-n?  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS DP.INAN.ANA like 2→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT  
 why are you telling (about him like) that?

- j a-tī-kae irē apo m-i-pono-ja-n?  
 Q-INAN-PURP DP.INAN.ANA like 2→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT  
 why are you telling (about him like) that?

The question word *atī* ‘what’ when combined with the persistive clitic *\_nkērē* ‘still’ has the meaning ‘what else?’, as shown in (7.18a-b). The form *atīnkērē* can also be marked with the cyclic clitic *\_pa* with the same meaning, namely ‘what else?’, although it is often used when the speaker is thinking aloud, see 10.13.2, where the cyclic clitic *\_pa* is also used as a marker of taking turns. In (7.18c) I give an example of the question word ‘what else?’ followed by the desiderative postposition *-se* in final position.

- (7.18)a a-tī\_nkērē m-apē-i  
 Q-INAN\_PERSIST 2→3-take-I.PST  
 what else did you get ?
- b a-tī\_nkērē\_pa?  
 Q-INAN\_PERSIST\_CYC  
 what else now?
- c a-tī\_nkērē-se n-a-Ø-i  
 Q-INAN\_PERSIST-DESID 3→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT  
 what else does s/he want ?

The combination of the question word plus the contact locative postposition *-pē(kē)* (see sections 6.2.13 and 6.2.14) when it occurs with the verb ‘be’ expresses imperfective aspect, that is, an ongoing action, as in (7.19a) and answered by (7.19b), and contrasts with the nominalized form in a zero-copular identificatory construction which expresses a general question as to one’s profession as in (7.20a) which is answered by (7.20b):

- (7.19)a a-tī-pēkē m-ana-n  
 Q-INAN-CONTACT.LOC 2→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT  
 what are you doing (right now)?
- b ji-panpira-pē w-a-Ø-e  
 IPOSS-book-CONTACT.LOC 1→3.1TR-be.PRES-CERT  
 I’m (working) at my books
- (7.20)a a-tī-pēkē-n ēmē  
 Q-INAN-CONTACT.LOC-NOM 2PRO  
 what do you do (profession-wise)?
- b omi-pēkē-n wī  
 language-CONTACT.LOC-NOM 1PRO  
 I am a linguist

The question word *atītao* has the literal meaning ‘inside what?’ and is also generally used to ask about an illness (7.21a); example (7.21b) gives a possible an-

swer. As is the case with the other question words, *atītao* can combine with the aspect marker *\_nkērē* as in (7.22), the context of which is, in this bank, in that bank etc.

(7.21)a a-tī-tao n-a-Ø-i mēe  
 Q-INAN-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 what (illness) has he got? (in what (disease) is he?)

b otono-tao n-a-Ø-i  
 cough-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he has a cold (he is in a cold)

(7.22) a-tī-tao *\_nkērē* n-a-Ø-i karakuri  
 Q-INAN-CONT.LOC\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT money  
 where else is there money?

Many derived question words such as ‘where,’ ‘when,’ and ‘why’ are based on the interrogative *atī* plus a postposition expressing location, direction or reason, compare (7.23a-f). While some informants claimed that there is no difference in meaning between *atītome* and *atījanme* in (7.23d-e), they are not always interchangeable, since the former more often than not encodes a purpose reading and the latter a reason reading. The facsimile *-me* on the interrogative form *atījanme* ‘for what reason?’ is found here in its function as a marker of transient state, and this form has the literal meaning of its parts [what-GOAL-TMP.NOM-FACS], namely ‘being one towards what end?’ or ‘being a reason for’. The facsimile can only be marked on nouns or nominalized forms. Its occurrence in the form *atītome* [atitō:mē] is in a grammaticalized construction with purposive meaning, and is dealt with in section 7.7 below. For the characteristics and grammaticalized functions of the facsimile marker *-me* see section 4.8.6.

(7.23)a a-tī-po-hpe n-a-Ø-i meinjarē  
 Q-INAN-LOC-INDEF.SP 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT today  
 where on earth is it today? (what (place) is it at today?)

b a-tī-po mī:-tē-Ø-n *\_pa*  
 Q-INAN-LOC 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
 when are you going back? (what day exactly are you leaving?)

c a-tī-pona j-arē-ne  
 Q-INAN-DIR 3→1-take-NR.PST  
 to what (place) did he take me?

d a-tī-ja-n-me poto-po n-a-Ø-i granman  
 Q-INAN-GOAL-NOM-FACS town-LOC 3→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT granman  
 why is the granman (paramount chief) in Paramaribo?

- e a-tĩ-to-me mĩ:-të-Ø-n\_pa  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
 why (for what purpose) are you going back?
- f a-tĩ-ja-n-me mĩ:-të-Ø-n\_pa  
 Q-INAN-GOAL-NOM-FACS 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
 why are you going back?

### 7.3.3 Question-related fillers

Related to these question words, there are two fillers, namely the animate filler *naana* ‘whatyemacallim’ and the inanimate filler *atĩna* ‘whatyemacallit’, that are used as a substitute when the speaker cannot recall the name or word he is looking for; while these fillers are not question words as such, although they do have a clear interrogative intonation contour (see polar questions in section 7.1), the inanimate form *atĩna* ‘whatyemacallit’ is clearly based on the inanimate question word *atĩ* ‘what?’. It is not clear what the element *na* is in either of the fillers, but it would not be inconceivable if it were originally a reduced form of the verb ‘be’ in the third person present, *nai*, thus resulting in *atĩna* < *atĩ nai* ‘what is it?’. However, considering that these fillers can be the object of a postposition, and thus can have the derivations that are found with the question words, this element *na* is no longer a verbal element. Irrespective of their origin, in this work I gloss the fillers *atĩna* and *naana* as whatyemacallit and whatyemacallim respectively. Some examples of usage of the two fillers are given in (7.24a-c) and (7.25a-c). Both syntactically and semantically, these words do not behave as question words, since semantically they are not asking a question; they are seldom in focussed position in the sentence; they do not form a paradigm with the question words; they are always preceded and/or followed by a pause (short pauses are indicated here by a comma).

- (7.24)a itu n-a-Ø-i t-ĩnka-e, naana ... kaikui  
 tree 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3COREF-back-LOC whatyemacallim dog  
 the tree is behind the whatyemacallim, the dog
- b serë\_rë, atĩna ... samuwaka apo  
 DP.INAN.PROX\_ASSERT whatyemacallit proper.name like  
 this is, whatyemacallit, like Samuwaka (Trio village)
- c nërë-ja w-ekarama ... naana-ja  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-GOAL 1→3-give-I.PST whatyemacallim-GOAL  
 I gave it to him, to whatyemacallim
- (7.25)a ... atĩna-pona, marawuni-pona  
 whatyemacallit-DIR proper.name-DIR  
 to whatyemacallit, to Marawuni (River)



c a-n-po-hpe wī ahtao  
 Q-NOM-LOC-INDEF.SP 1PRO if  
 wherever I am

When marked with the durative clitic *\_ken(e)*, the question word *anpo* expresses surprise or slight irritation, as for example in (7.27).

(7.27) a-n-po\_ken m-ana-n  
 Q-NOM-LOC\_DUR 2→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT  
 where have you been (all this time)?  
 OR: Where have you been, I've been waiting for you

The locative *antao* is made up of the nominalized question element plus the container locative *-tao* and expresses the meaning 'inside where?'. This question word presupposes container location and is a specifying question as in (7.28).

(7.28) a-n-tao n-a-Ø-i?  
 Q-NOM-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 pakara-tao? i-waku-tao?  
 box-CONT.LOC 3POSS-stomach-CONT.LOC

where is it? in the box? in his stomach?

The locative-marked question word *ainje* [a<sup>h</sup>jɛ] 'from where?' is made up of the question formative *a* plus the nominalizer *-n(o)* plus a locative suffix *-je*. The insertion of the *i* before the nasal is a spelling convention and reflects the palatalization of the nasal before the glide. The locative suffix *-je* is also found on the nominalized forms of the demonstrative formatives *se* and *më*, as *seinje* 'here, this side' and *mëinje* 'there, that side' respectively and in the related locative word whose source is not known, namely *weinje* which I gloss as 'side.NOM-LOC (non-anatomical)' in this work and which is used to express immediate possession. For these locative demonstratives, see 6.2.16, and for the use of *weinje* in expressions of immediate possession, see 11.2. While the question word *ainje* is locative in form, its meaning is actually source, and specifically, immediate source, as shown in (7.29a-b). This question word is more often used with the verb 'go' than with 'come'; in fact, it is used with the verb 'go' to express that one is moving away from one place to another, along the lines of 'I can see you're going somewhere and I want to know what your starting point was.'

(7.29)a a-in-je mī:-të-Ø-n  
 Q-NOM-LOC 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 where are you going away from?

- b a-in-je m-ënee-Ø  
 Q-NOM-LOC 2→3-come-I.PST  
 where have you come from (now)?

#### 7.4.2 Source

Although there are two source question words, namely *ainje* and *anpëe*, because of its formal locative marking the question word *ainje* is dealt with in the section 7.4.1. As stated above, the question word *ainje* focusses on immediate source as in (7.29a-b), the question word *anpëe*, which is made up of the nominalized question formative *a* plus the source postposition *-pëe*, expresses general or generic source as shown in (7.30a-b).

- (7.30)a a-n-pëe m-ënee-Ø  
 Q-NOM-SOU 2-come-I.PST  
 where have you come from?

- b a-n-pëe-n ëmë  
 Q-NOM-SOU-NOM 2PRO  
 where are you from? (you are s/one from where?)

#### 7.4.3 Directional

The directional questions use the directional postpositions *-ja*, *-pona* and the perlocative *-tae*. Note that while Trio has two further directional postpositions, *-ta* and *-hka*, container and liquid directionals respectively, these cannot be combined with the interrogative *a-* to form question words. As can be seen above in Table 7.2, *aja* is the only question word in the series of ‘where?’ that does not take the nominalizer *-n(o)*. One reason for this may be that *aja* is an indefinite question word, that is, *aja* is used with verbs of motion to express the general idea of ‘where to?’ and contrasts with *anpona* which could be translated as ‘to which place?’ Apart from the indefinite-specific marker *-hpe*, the directional questions words can also take the persistive aspect clitic *\_nkërë* ‘still’ resulting in the meaning ‘(to) where else’. Examples are given in (7.31a-e) below; example (7.31b) gives a possible answer to (7.31a).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(7.31)a a-ja mī:-të-Ø-n<br/>         Q-GOAL 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT<br/>         where are you going?</p>     | <p>b owa, j-urakana-Ø-e<br/>         NEG.P 1→-stroll-PRES-CERT<br/>         nowhere, I’m strolling around</p> |
| <p>c a-ja-hpe tī:-të-e<br/>         Q-GOAL-INDEF.SP COREF.1TR-go-NF<br/>         where on earth did he go?</p> |   |

- d a-ja\_nkērē nī:-tē-Ø-n  
 Q-GOAL\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 where else is he going?

According to informants example (7.31d) is synonymous with (7.31e):

- e a-n-pona\_nkērē nī:-tē-Ø-n  
 Q-NOM-DIR\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 where else is he going?

The question word *aja* (but not *anpona*) is also used with a stationary object if it is to express the direction in which the object or a part of it is facing, as in (7.32a), or when one has lost something, much as in English ‘where has my book gone (gotten to)?’ as in (7.32b) where the question word is marked by the modal responsibility clitic *hkatē*, optionally followed by the indefinite specific *-hpe*, see example (7.32c) which was uttered about someone who had got lost in the forest.

- (7.32)a a-ja itu Ø-enpata  
 Q-GOAL tree 3POSS-face  
 towards which direction is the front (face) of the tree (facing)?

- b a-ja-hkatē n-a-Ø-i ji-panpira?  
 Q-GOAL\_RESPONS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-book  
 where is my book? Where has my book gone?

- c a-ja\_hkatē-hpe tī:-tē-e  
 Q-GOAL\_RESPONS-INDEF.SP COREF.1TR-go-NF  
 where on earth is he (did he get to)?

The question word *anpona* ‘where to’ is also used with verbs of motion as shown in (7.33) but in contrast to *aja* described above, never with the verb ‘be.’ The question word *anpona* has more definite reference and presupposes an answer such as *poto-pona* ‘to town’, or *tī-pata-pona\_pa* ‘back to his village’, whereas the question with *aja* leaves it open.

- (7.33) a-n-pona nī:-tē-Ø-n  
 Q-NOM-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 where is he going?

However, examples (7.34a-b) show that *aja* and *anpona* are interchangeable to a certain extent, that is, I could not ascertain any difference in meaning between the two and both were perfectly acceptable to informants, as were examples with the desiderative marker *-se* (7.35a-b).

- |         |   |   |  |
|---------|---|---|--|
| (7.34)a | a-ja nī:-tē-Ø-n<br>Q-GOAL 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT<br>where is he going? | b | a-n-pona nī:-tē-Ø-n<br>Q-NOM-DIR 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT<br>where is he going? |
|---------|---|---|--|

- (7.35)a a-n-pona tī:-të-se n-a-Ø-i  
 Q-NOM-DIR 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 where does he want to go? (to where is he wanting his own going?)
- b a-ja tī:-të-se n-a-Ø-i  
 Q-GOAL 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 where does he want to go?

#### 7.4.4 Perlative

The interrogative *antae* is used with verbs of motion to express the notion of ‘along where’ and again is specific in that it means along a route or path, that is, example (7.36) below could be translated as ‘along which path should I go?’

- (7.36) a-n-tae wī:-të-Ø-në  
 Q-NOM-PERL 1→3.1TR-go-PRES.NCERT  
 along where should I go?

#### 7.4.5 Which?

The ‘which’ interrogative is expressed by *aano* and *eekano*, both of which are used for animate and inanimate referents alike. Both words are based on the interrogative bases *a* and *eeke* respectively, followed by the nominalizer *-n(o)* ‘one’, with the meaning ‘which one?’ The nominalizer is always found in its full form with these two question words. Note that the *a-* root is lengthened, which may indicate an originally longer root (see section 2.3.1). When nominalized to express ‘which?’, *eeke* ‘how?’ becomes *eekano*, following the general morpho-phonological rule that *e* changes to *a* before the nominalizer *-n(o)*, (for which see section 2.5.3). These interrogative words cannot cooccur with their object, rather if necessary, the choice is given either before or after the interrogative clause as illustrated by (7.37a-b). Their meaning is always partitive, that is, ‘which out of a set of possible known or given referents?’, compare the examples in (7.37a-d).

- (7.37)a sen, owa serë, aa-no-se m-ana-n  
 DP.INAN.PROX.NOM NEG.P DP.INAN.PROX Q-NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT  
 this one, or this (other) one, which one do you want?
- b eeka-no-se m-ana-n mī-ka-e mēe-ja  
 Q-NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT 2→3.1TR-say-HAB 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-GOAL  
 ‘which one do you want?’, you would say to him
- c aa-no m-ene-Ø, kawë-no  
 Q-NOM 2→3-see-IPST high-NOM  
 which one did you see, the tall one?

- d aa-no kure i-ja  
 Q-NOM good 3-GOAL  
 which one is all right with him?

## 7.5 How?

‘How’ is expressed by means of *eeke* and its derivative *eekapon apo*. The question word *eeke* can be used with almost any verb. It is always used with the verb *ka* ‘say’ in order to express the meaning ‘what?’ as shown in (7.38a). The question word *eekapon apo* is made up of the base *eeke*, plus the nominalized particle *apo-n* ‘like’ (*eeke* drops its final vowel before *apo*) then followed again by *apo*. The two forms are to some extent interchangeable, although younger informants claim that *eekapon apo* is more often used by older speakers, as is also corroborated by its high statistical occurrence in oral texts, compare examples (7.38b-e) – for the plural marking on the question word in (7.38d-e) see the plural clitic *\_to* in 8.7.2. Both forms, *eeke* and *eekapon apo* are used to question the manner in which something is done or to make an inquiry as to the nature of a being, as in ‘what is X like?’, see (7.38f-g). However, there are some restrictions in that only *eeke*, but not *eekapon apo*, is used to inquire after someone’s health (7.38f).

- (7.38)a *eeke n-ka-Ø-n*  
 how 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
 what is he saying?
- b *eeke tuna Ø-itin-ja-n Tarëno*  
 how water 3→3-poison-PRES-NCERT Trio  
 how do the Trio poison the river?
- c *eek-apo-n apo tuna Ø-itin-ja-n Tarëno*  
 how-like-NOM like water 3→3-poison-PRES-NCERT Trio  
 how do the Trio poison the river?
- d *eek-apo-n apo\_to arimi wa-Ø-rī-ja-n*  
 how-like-NOM like\_PL spider.monkey NEG-3→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
 how do they kill spider monkeys?
- e *eeke\_to arimi Ø-wë-Ø-n*  
 how\_PL spider.monkey 3→3-shoot-PRES-NCERT  
 how do they shoot spider monkeys?
- f *eeke n-a-Ø-i*  
 how 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 how is he (his health)?/ what is he like (as a person)?
- g *eek-apo-n apo n-a-Ø-i nërë*  
 how-like-NOM like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 what is he like (as a person)?

Whenever habitual activities are involved, such as poisoning the rivers and shooting spider monkeys, the question word is usually marked with the durative clitic *\_ken(e)* as in (7.39).

- (7.39) *eeke\_ken\_to* arimi wa-Ø-rī-ja-n  
 how\_DUR\_PL spider.monkey NEG-3→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
 how do they kill spider monkeys?

## 7.6 When, what time?

The two question words *anmao* and *eekanmao* both mean ‘when,’ their difference being dialectal rather than semantic. In the eastern dialect, that is, in the villages of Palumeu and Tēpu, *anmao* is used more often, certainly by older speakers; younger speakers use either the one or the other with a slight preference for *anmao*, and in the villages Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini speakers predominantly use *eekanmao*. Both words are made up of the nominalized interrogative roots (see above) *a-* and *eeke* respectively, followed by the temporal suffix *-mao*. They both refer to general, not specific, time. Examples are given in (7.40a-c) below.

- (7.40)a *eeka-n-mao* // *a-n-mao* mī:-tē-Ø-n\_pa  
 how-NOM-TEMP.LOC/Q-NOM-TEMP.LOC 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
 when are you going back?
- b *eeka-n-mao/a-n-mao* m-ene-Ø  
 how-NOM-TEMP/Q-NOM-TEMP.LOC 2→3-see-I.PST  
 when did you see him?
- c *a-n-mao ē-n-muku* Ø-enuh-topo-npē  
 Q-NOM-TEMP.LOC 2POSS-3O-bear.NOM 3POSS-be.born-TMP.NOM-PST  
 when was your son born?

It is becoming increasingly common now in Tēpu and Palumeu to use the derived question word *atipo* [*a-ti-po* = Q-INAN-LOC] which can also mean ‘where?’ to express ‘when?’ in the meaning of ‘when exactly, which day?’ as shown in (7.41):

- (7.41) *a-ti-po* mī:-tē-n\_pa, monri-po  
 Q-INAN-LOC 2→3.1TR-go.PRES-NCERT\_CYC Monday-LOC  
 on which day (exactly) are you leaving? On Monday?

### 7.6.1 Specific time

The question ‘what time is it?’ is expressed by means of the question word *a-ti* ‘what?’ plus loanword *juru* [ju:ɾu] ‘hour’ followed by the third person present inflected form of verb ‘be’, literally meaning ‘what hour is it?’ as in (7.42a) below.

The question ‘when, at what time?’ is expressed likewise but with the locative marker *-po* marked on *juru*, as in (7.42b) below. The word *juru* is a loan from Sranantongo or possibly already from early encounters with Ndyuka Maroons, and is ultimately from Dutch *uur* ‘hour’. For time references and temporal expressions, see also 10.4.

- (7.42)a    a-tī juru n-a-Ø-i  
                   Q-INAN hour 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
                   what time is it?
- b            a-tī juru-po n-e:-ja-n\_pa ratara  
                   Q-INAN hour-LOC 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT\_CYC doctor  
                   at what time is the doctor coming back?

## 7.7        Why?

There are several ways of expressing ‘why’, all based on the inanimate question word *atī* ‘what’, namely *atītome*, *atijanme*, *atikae*, and increasingly among younger people, *atipona*. With the exception of *atijanme*, which expresses ‘for what reason?’ – *atijanme* and *atītome* are dealt with separately below – these question words are for the most part interchangeable, compare the sentences in (7.43a-c) which all have the same meaning. The morphological make-up of the ending *-kae* in *atikae* is unclear but may be based on the verb root *ka* ‘say’ plus the purpose of motion (supine) non-finite marker *-e*. The question word *atipona* is made up of the inanimate *atī* ‘what?’ plus the directional postposition *-pona*. The word *atītome* [atr̩t̩:me̩], with a long ante-penultimate and a long penultimate vowel, is quite remarkable in that it has the following morphological make-up: *a-tī-to-me*, whereby *-to-me* is a complex disjoint purposive marker usually found only on verbs to express ‘in order to’; the *-to* is the short form of the time, manner, place nominalizer *-to(po)*, and *-me* is the facsimile marker (see sections 9.2.4 and 4.8.5). Compare the examples with this purposive marked on verbs given in (7.44a-b) given here in both the singular and the plural; when marked for plural possessor, the plural marker *-kon* comes between the nominalizer and the facsimile as shown in (7.44b). We can assume from the fact that the ante-penultimate vowel is long and from data on related languages (e.g., Waiwai, Wayana) that the verb root (possibly *ka* ‘say (do)’ to which *-to-me* was attached has been dropped, and that the purposive was reanalyzed as a unit and marked on the question word *atī*. In order to show the actual make-up of this question word, and notwithstanding the fact that the ending *-to-me* is a disjunctive purposive marker that is seen as a unit marked on *atī* ‘what?’, I gloss the parts as TMP.NOM-FACS.

(7.43)a a-tī-to-me irë apo n-a-Ø-i ainja  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO  
 why are we like that?

b a-tī-pona irë apo n-a-Ø-i ainja

c a-tī-kae irë apo n-a-Ø-i ainja  
 why are we like that?

(7.44)a Ø-ene-to-me w-ëe-Ø  
 3POSS-see-TMP.NOM-FACS 1→3.1TR-come-I.PST  
 I have come (in order) to see him

b Ø-ene-to-kon-me w-ëe-Ø  
 3POSS-see-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL-FACS 1→3.1TR-come-I.PST  
 I have come to see them

The question word *atitome* is used to express general purpose, that is, ‘for what purpose, to what end’ as shown in (7.43a) above and (7.45). The word *atijanme* is made up of *atī* plus the reason suffix *-janme*, which is made up of the goal postposition *-ja*, nominalized by *-n*, followed by the facsimile marker *-me* (for the facsimile, see section 4.8.5) and is used in a context of ‘for what reason?’ or ‘because of what?’ see (7.46a) with the reply in (7.46b) – for restrictions in using the reason suffix *-janme* and the animacy feature of *-ja* as a directional, see 6.3.7. Both *atitome* and *atijanme* are, however, often interchangeable in their usage.

(7.45) a-tī-to-me poto-pona ti:-të-se n-a-Ø-i  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS town-DIR 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT  
 why does he want to go to town?

(7.46)a a-tī-ja-n-me poto-pona kin-ne-Ø granman  
 Q-INAN-GOAL-NOM-FACS town-DIR 3→3.PST.1TR-come-NR.PST granman  
 ranti-tomo-ja-n-me  
 government-PL-GOAL-NOM-FACS

why did the granman come to Paramaribo, because of the government people?

b aha, namo\_ro-ja-n-me  
 yes, 3PRO.PL.ANIM.ANA\_ASSERT-GOAL-NOM-FACS  
 yes, because of those ones

The reason suffix, *-janme*, can also be suffixed to the animate question word *akī* ‘who?’, resulting in the specific question *akījanme* ‘because of whom?’ which is asked if one assumes that a person is responsible for X rather than a thing or an event, see example (7.47a-b). The question ‘whose fault is this?’ is also formed by means of this reason suffix *-janme* as shown in the question in (7.48).

(7.47)a a-kī-ja-n-me mī:-tē-n\_pa  
 Q-ANIM-GOAL-NOM-FACS 2→3.1TR-go.PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
 because of whom are you leaving?

b mēe-ja-n-me  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-GOAL-NOM-FACS  
 because of him

(7.48)a a-kī-ja-n-me serē, ē-ja-n-me  
 Q-ANIM-GOAL-NOM-FACS DP.INAN.PROX 2-GOAL-NOM-FACS  
 whose fault is this? Yours?

## 7.8 How much, how many?

‘How much’ and ‘how many’ are both expressed by *ahtarē*, again based on the *a* interrogative. The meaning of *-htarē* is that of a quantifier but it is not found independently of the *a*-interrogative. Note that although not represented as such in the orthography, the vowel *a* of the suffix *-htarē* is long phonetically [ta:ɾə]. Examples are given in (7.49a-c) below. Example (7.49c) shows the use of *ahtarē* with the indefinite specific marker *-hpe* in a non-interrogative sentence.

(7.49)a a-htarē ē-n-muku  
 Q-QUANT 2POSS-3O-bear.NOM  
 how many children have you got? (how many born ones)

b a-htarē m-apē-i  
 Q-QUANT 2→3-take-I.PST  
 how much (money) did you get (take)?

c a-htarē-hpe Ø-irepe, Ø-epeka-kē-kahta  
 Q-QUANT-INDEF.SP 3POSS-price 3O-buy-IMP-MOD  
 whatever it costs, make sure you buy it!

Non-countable nouns cannot combine with *ahtarē*, rather the question is formed with the question word *eeke* ‘how’, with or without the assertive clitic *\_rē*, compare (7.50a-b).

(7.50)a eeke tuna wī-rī-ja-n, mono-me, owa pija\_sa  
 how water 1→3-do-PRES-NCERT big-FACS NEG.P little\_DIM  
 how much water should I put in? a lot or a little?

b eeke\_rē m-ana-n tuna-se, mono-me owa pija\_sa ?  
 how\_ASSERT 2→3.1TR.be.PRES-NCERT water-DESID big-FACS NEG.P little\_DIM  
 how much water do you want, a lot or a little?

## 7.9 The suffix *-hpe*

As noted above, only pure interrogative words can take the indefinite specific suffix *-hpe*, thus the fillers *naana* and *atīna* cannot take this suffix. Whenever the

suffix *-hpe* is marked on a question word which is not in clause- or sentence-initial position but which follows the word order of a declarative sentence, then the meaning of the *-hpe* marked element is that of an indefinite-specific pronoun meaning ‘somewhere, someone, something’ or alternatively ‘wherever, whoever, whatever’, as illustrated in (7.51a-b).

(7.51)a a-kī-hpe, wīrīpē tahken j-emeta-nī-ne-npē ji-wame  
 Q-ANIM-INDEF.SP spirit maybe 1POSS-change-CAUS-NOM-PST 1-not.know

a-kī-hpe, kan tahken  
 Q-ANIM-INDEF.SP God maybe

someone, maybe a spirit transformed me, I don’t know, someone (did), maybe God

b ji-waaku i-konka-tē a-tī-hpe n-a-Ø-i j-awē  
 1POSS-belly 3O.TR-pierce-IMP.PL Q-INAN-INDEF.SP 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-INT.LOC  
 pierce my belly whatever (no matter what) is inside me!

The interrogative phrase can consist of the question word only, as in the examples given above, or it can consist of a question word and a modified nominalized verb. In the latter case, the indefinite specific marker is not marked on the question word itself, rather it is marked on the final element in the interrogative phrase, as in (7.52a-b) where it occurs following the desiderative marker *-se*:

(7.52)a a-tī rī-se-hpe ěmē ahtao  
 Q-INAN do.NOM-DESID-INDEF.SP 2PRO when

irē-mao i-munkē-ton apēh-kē ěkēnē tīi-ka-e i-ja  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3POSS-son-PL 3O-take-IMP two COREF.1TR-say-NF 3-GOAL

if you want to do something (i.e. the only thing you can do is to), then take two of his sons, they told him

b a-tī ekarama-se-hpe ěmē ahtao, ěmē\_hkatē  
 Q-INAN give.NOM-DESID-INDEF.SP 2PRO when 2PRO\_RESPONS  
 if you want to give something, it’s up to you

## 7.10 The syntax of questions

Since alternative sentences were described in 7.2 above, this section deals with the syntax of polar and *wh-* questions. Polar questions are indicated solely by means of sentence-final rising intonation, that is, the word order of the constituents is the same as that in the declarative sentence equivalent. The questions that are marked intonationally are information questions, the speaker is asking his interlocutor to affirm or negate his question. There are no expectations on the part

of the speaker for an answer that is negative or affirmative. The examples given in (7.53) and (7.54) show the difference in intonation between a declarative sentence (a) and a polar question (b), where sentence-final rising intonation in these examples is indicated by the question mark (?).

- (7.53)a    *ë-n-muku w-ene-Ø*  
 2POSS-3O-bear.NOM 1→3-see-I.PST  
 I saw your son
- b            *ë-n-muku w-ene-Ø?*  
 2POSS-3O-bear.NOM 1→3-see-I.PST  
 Did I see your son?
- (7.54)a    *samura wa\_ken ooni-po ë-pata-po*  
 beads NEG\_DUR DP.INAN.DIST-LOC 2POSS-place-LOC  
 there are no (coloured) beads in your country
- b            *samura wa\_ken ooni-po ë-pata-po?*  
 beads NEG\_DUR DP.INAN.DIST-LOC 2POSS-place-LOC  
 are there no coloured beads in your country?

Leading questions that expect a negative answer are formed by posing the question in the negative, as in (7.55a) of which (7.55b) is the negative reply, the particle *aha* means ‘yes’ and expresses agreement with the questioned clause whether it is asked in the negative or not (for details about this and the negative particle *owa*, see 10.10.7).

- (7.55)a    *in-ene-Ø-wa m-ana-n*  
 3O-see-NF-NEG 2→3.1TR-be.PRES-NCERT  
 don’t you see him (also: did you not see him)?
- b            *aha, in-ene-Ø-wa w-a-Ø-e*  
 yes, 3O-see-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be.PRES-CERT  
 no, I don’t see him/ I didn’t see him
- c            *owa, w-ene-Ø*  
 NEG.P 1→3-see-PRES.CERT  
 yes, I see him

While the answer to a polar question can be simply *aha* ‘yes’ or *owa* ‘no’, the verb phrase is usually repeated since that is where any modifications in the answer, as to for example, aspect, and/or specifications within the evidential system, can be made. Possible answers to the question ‘did you see him?’ could be (7.56a-b). Compare also the question and possible answers given in (7.57a-c).

- (7.56)a    *aha, w-ene-Ø*  
 yes 1→3-see-I.PST  
 yes, I saw him

- b owa, in-ene- $\emptyset$ -wa w-a- $\emptyset$ -e // owa, t- $\ddot{e}$ ne- $\emptyset$ -ta wī-ja  
 NEG.P 3O-see-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be.PRES-CERT // NEG.P COREF-see-NF-NEG 1-GOAL  
 no, I didn't see him // no I didn't see him (through no fault of my own)
- (7.57)a tī:-tē-e\_pa wītoto?  
 COREF.1TR-go-NF\_CYC human.being  
 did the people go back?
- b aha, tī:-tē-e\_pa  
 yes, COREF.1TR-go-NF\_CYC  
 yes, they did
- c owa, tē-e-wa\_nkērē\_pa\_to n-a- $\emptyset$ -i  
 NEG.P, go.1TR-NF-NEG\_PERSIST\_CYC\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 no, they didn't go back yet

There are a few counter-expectation particles (see 10.10), which are not restricted to interrogative clauses, that can be used to indicate whether one expects an affirmative or negative answer, namely *-hkanarē/hkanara*, *-hkarē/hkara* and *tahkarē/tahkara*. It is not clear what the difference in meaning between these forms is (however, see also 10.17). Younger speakers insist that the forms *-hkanarē/hkanara* are only used by older speakers now, and that the more common form replacing it is *-hkarē/-hkara*. In general the forms ending in *a* are suffixed to verbal forms, those ending in *ē* are suffixed to non-verbal forms, although there is some variation. Compare the examples in (7.58a-e). While the form *\_tahkarē* in the (e) example has counter-expectational meaning here, it is also used in other contexts with concessive meaning, for which see section 10.17.3.

- (7.58)a mēe\_hkarē m-ene- $\emptyset$   
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX\_C.EXP 2→3-see-I.PST  
 so it was *him* you saw? (affirmative answer expected)
- b n-ee- $\emptyset$ \_hkara  
 3→3.1TR-come-PST\_C.EXP  
 so he came after all? (surprise because you didn't think he would)
- c irē apo\_hkarē kī-rī-ja-ti mēe-san  
 DP.INAN.ANA like\_C.EXP 1+2-do-PRES-PL 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL  
 so *that's* what they are doing to us? (who would have thought that?)
- d ē-injo\_hkanarē tī-w-ēe-se  
 2POSS-husband-C.EXP COREF-1TR-come-NF  
 so *your husband* came ? (s/one else was expected)
- e irē\_tahkarē i-sika- $\emptyset$ -se m-ana-ti  
 DP.INAN.ANA\_CONCES 3POSS.TR-extract.NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be.PRES-PL  
 is *that* what you want to take out?

### 7.10.1 WH-questions

While the preferred order of constituents in a declarative sentence is OVA and VS, in interrogative clauses question words are in focus position and thus tend to come sentence-initially regardless of their role in the clause, that is, whether the question word is a subject (7.59a) or an object (7.59b). With the exception of the verb, any constituent can be replaced by a question word. When a postpositional phrase is the questioned element, the entire phrase is fronted to sentence-initial position (7.59c). Examples (7.59d-e) show a purpose and a temporal question respectively.

- (7.59)a a-kī n-i-pono-ja-n  
Q-ANIM 3→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT  
who is telling it?
- b a-kī m-ene-Ø  
Q-ANIM 2→3-see-I.PST  
whom did you see?
- c a-ti-ke wa-ti-rē-e i-ja  
Q-INAN-INST NEG-COREF-do-NF 3-GOAL  
with what did he kill him?
- d a-ti-tome irē apo n-ka-Ø-n pahko wī-ja?  
Q-INAN-PURP DP.INAN.ANA LIKE 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT my.father 1-GOAL  
why is my father saying this to me?
- e eeka-n-mao kumu Ø-ene mi:-tē-Ø-n  
Q-NOM-TEMP.LOC *kumu* 3-see.NOM 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
when are you going to look at the *kumu* (fruit)?

In the answer to the (7.59e) above, the temporal adverb can either fill the slot taken up in the question by the question word, or alternatively, it can come after the verb phrase, depending on its degree of focus. Compare examples (7.60a-b):

- (7.60)a kokoro kumu Ø-ene wī:-tē-e                      b kumu ene witēe kokoro  
tomorrow *kumu* 3-see.NOM 1→3.1TR-go.PRES-CERT  
I'm going to look at the *kumu* (fruit) tomorrow

Whenever some other element in the clause is in focus or topicalized, then that element comes sentence-initially regardless of whether it is an interrogative clause or not. Thus the question 'who did you give my book to?' could have any one of the following possible word orders (7.61a-c):

- (7.61)a a-kī-ja ji-panpira m-ekarama-Ø  
Q-ANIM-GOAL 1POSS-book 2→3-give-I.PST  
to whom did you give my book?

- b       ji-panpira a-kī-ja m-ekarama-∅  
I POSS-book Q-ANIM-GOAL 2→3-give-I.PST  
my book, to whom did you give it?
- c       ji-panpira m-ekarama-∅ a-kī-ja  
I POSS-book 2→3-give-I.PST Q-ANIM-GOAL  
my book, you gave it *to whom?*

## 8 Verbal morphology

### 8.1 Verbs as a word class

In addition to their semantic content of expressing dynamic and stative events and their syntactic properties, verbs as a word class in Trio are defined on the basis of the form of the plural markers, and the distinct tense and modality markers that they take. Further evidence for verbs as a word class is found in the use of some derivational morphemes, such as causative marking, which is exclusive to verbs. This chapter starts with some general remarks on the phonological form of verbs, followed by verb types and verb formation. Then follows a section on the inflectional verb morphology, followed by the derivational morphology.

### 8.2 General remarks on the phonological form of verbs

Verb roots can begin in a consonant or in *a*, *o*, *u* or *ě*, but not in *i*, *ĩ*, or *e*. Vowel-initial stems that begin in *ě* are those that have no person marking (or an indefinite object) and that lower the vowel to *e* as soon as person marking is added (see section 3.2). In addition, as shown for all word classes in section 3.2, the stem alternation rule, repeated in (8.1) below, also holds for verbs; some examples are given in (8.2a-c). The rules are repeated below where applicable. Statistically very few non-derived verbs begin with *u* or *o*. Regardless of lexical class *ĩ*-initial roots do not occur in Trio.

- (8.1)  $\text{ě} \rightarrow \text{e} / \text{person-marking}$   
 $\text{ěCě} > \text{aCě} / \text{\_person-marking for 1,2,3 only}$   
 $\text{oCo} > \text{aCo} / \text{\_person-marking for 1,2,3 only}$

- (8.2) a *ěreta* rest > *j-ereta* I rested  
b *ěřě* take > *w-arě* I took it  
c *onota* fall > *j-anota* I fell

### 8.3 Verb types

There are three morphophonological verb classes, namely (a) those verbs that truncate the final syllable of the stem (CV whereby V is *ĩ*, *u* or *ě*) under certain conditions, for example, when conjugated and marked for present tense by the morpheme *-ja-*; (b) those verbs that end in the vowels *e*, *ě*, and *a*, (that is, including those that are formed by means of a verbalizer as the final syllable thus end-

ing in *Ca* and *-htē* and *-ntē*), and (c) those transitive verbs that have an initial *t(i)* syllable in the absence of a person marker. The verb classes are conditioned by certain morphophonological processes that occur in tense and aspect marked conjugations.

When the truncated syllable is *mī* or *mu*, it is replaced by the alveolar nasal *n*, which before the glide of the present marker *-ja* becomes palatalized to */ɲ/*, and this is usually represented orthographically by inserting an *i* before the nasal; all other truncated syllables have either *h* insertion or compensatory lengthening of the root-final vowel. Examples of the reducing verb class (a) are given in (8.3a-g) below in their citation form followed by a conjugated form in the present (imperfective) tense marked by the suffix *-ja* and followed by the evidential certainty marker for speech act participants *-e* (CERT), or by the evidential marker for the third person *-n(ē)* (NONCERTainty). All non-reducing stems have zero realization of the present tense. In addition, those verbs that end in a final vowel *e* also have zero realization of the SAP evidential certainty marker which is also *-e*; the evidential marking for the third person is marked by *-n(ē)* and is marked on these verbs too. Examples of verb class (b) and (c) with zero marking for tense (and if *e*-final, evidentiality) are given in (8.4a-d). Example (8.4d) shows the irregular verb *ka* ‘say’ which has no vowel in the prefix in the third person. Verb class (c), that is, those verbs which have an initial prefix *t(i)-*, is discussed below, and only one example is given in (8.5). Details of transitivity, tense, aspect and mood are given in later relevant sections. The reducing verbs that have compensatory lengthening of the vowel are reproduced in the Trio orthography which does not mark long vowel in these cases; however, for the purposes of this section I write the compensatory length with a double vowel symbol, aa, ee oo etc. In addition, the palatalized nasal before present marking with *-ja* is reproduced with a preceding *i* as is accepted in Trio orthography, thus, for example, I write *ni-komain-ja-n* rather than *ni-koman-ja-n* ‘it is getting dark’.

(8.3) Truncation of the final syllable *-pī*, *-tī*, *-tē*, *-kī*, *-ku*, *-mī*, *-mu*

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| a | ene(pī)<br>w-enee-ja-e<br>n-enee-ja-n       | bring s/thing<br>I am bringing it<br>he is bringing it |
| b | epeka(tī)<br>w-epekaa-ja-e<br>n-epekaa-ja-n | buy s/thing<br>I am buying it<br>he is buying it       |
| c | ahkē(tē)<br>w-ahkēē-ja-e<br>n-ahkēē-ja-n    | cut s/thing<br>I am cutting it<br>he is cutting it     |

|       |   |  |  |
|-------|---|--|--|
|       | d | eno(kī)<br>w-enoo-ja-e<br>n-enoo-ja-n        | send s/one (animate object)<br>I am sending him<br>he is sending it            |
|       | e | ku(ku)<br>w-i-kuu-ja-e<br>n-i-kuu-ja-n       | try s/thing<br>I am trying it / I am singing<br>he is trying it/ he is singing |
|       | f | koma(mī)<br>ji-komain-ja-e<br>ni-komain-ja-n | spend night<br>I am spending the night<br>he is spending the night             |
|       | g | iitu(mu)<br>ni-ituin-ja-n                    | bark (whine?, of dog)<br>it is whining   |
| (8.4) |   | Verb roots ending in <i>e</i> :              |  |
|       | a | ene<br>w-ene-∅-∅<br>n-ene-∅-n                | see s/thing<br>I see it<br>he sees it  |
|       | b | aame<br>w-aame-∅-∅<br>n-aame-∅-n             | taste s/thing<br>I taste (try) it<br>he tastes it                              |
|       |   | roots ending in <i>a</i> :                   |  |
|       | c | eta<br>w-eta-∅-e<br>n-eta-∅-n                | hear s/thing<br>I hear it<br>he hears it                                       |
|       | d | ka<br>wī-ka-∅-e<br>n-ka-∅-n                  | say s/thing<br>I say (it)<br>he says it  |
|       |   | roots ending in <i>ë</i> :                   |  |
|       | e | amë<br>w-amë-∅-e<br>n-amë-∅-n                | plant s/thing<br>I am planting it<br>he is planting it                         |
|       | f | i-po-ntë<br>w-i-po-ntë-∅-e<br>n-i-po-ntë-∅-n | provide clothes / dress<br>I am dressing him<br>he is dressing him             |
| (8.5) |   | tīrī<br>wī-rī-ja-e<br>nī-rī-ja-n             | do / make<br>I am doing it / making it<br>he is doing it / making it           |

The verbs that end in *a* and *ë* are for the most part, but not exclusively, those that are formed by means of a nominal root and one of the non-reducing verbalizers, for example, *-ma*, *-ta*, *-ka*, *-pa*, *-wa*, and *-htë*, *-ntë*. (see 8.13 below for a discussion of the verbalizers). The verbs formed by these verbalizers have zero realization of the present imperfective morpheme *-ja-*, as shown in (8.6). The initial *i* on the stem *i-pana-ma* is a transitive diathesis prefix (see 8.5 below).

|       |                 |                       |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (8.6) | pana            | ear                   |
|       | i-pana-ma       | turn (tr.)            |
|       | w-i-pana-ma-Ø-e | I am turning him over |

A small number of transitive verbs, given in Table 8.1 below, have an additional prefix *t(i)-*, (*t-* before V-initial stems and *tī-* before C-initial stems) which is found when there is an indefinite (non-specific) object or no other person marking on a verb; the conditions under which the prefix is required are given in the following, although there are some inconsistencies in its distribution. The prefix *t(i)-* is found on these verbs when the non-finite verb is marked for the negative as in (8.7a) where the meaning is ‘I can’t shoot’ as opposed to ‘I can’t shoot the monkey’. The prefix *t(i)-* is also found with the bare nominalization as in (8.7b), where the bare nominalization is required before the desiderative marker *-se*, and with the person-focussed nominalizer *-ne* as in (8.7c). Example (8.7d) shows the same nominalized verb with a lexical object where the prefix *t(i)-* is not added, whereas example (8.7e) which is structurally the same, idiosyncratically does have the prefix. The prefix is also required in the irrealis mood as in (8.7f), and on imperatives, again when the object is indefinite as in (8.7g-i).

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| (8.7)a | tīwē-e-wa ji-w-ei-ke<br>shoot-NF-NEG 1POSS-I TR-be.NOM-INST<br>because I didn’t (can’t) shoot (anything)            |
| b      | tīwē-se ēmē ahtao<br>shoot.NOM-DESID 2PRO when<br>if you want to shoot  |
| c      | tika:-ne-npē<br>weave-A.NOM-PST<br>the old weaver   |
| d      | waruma ka:-ne-me<br>basket weave-A.NOM-FACS<br>a basket-weaver  |
| e      | Ø-erepa tīrī-ne-nna t-ee-se<br>3POSS.food do-A.NOM-LESS COREF. I TR-be-NF<br>he was without a cook (his food-maker) |
| f      | tīwē-i_mo<br>shoot-IRR_MOD<br>he would have shot  |
| g      | tīwē-kē<br>shoot-IMP<br>shoot!  |

- h            tĕnĕ-tĕkĕ  
eat.meat-IMP.PL  
eat (you pl)!
- i            tĭka:-kĕ  
weave-IMP  
weave (something)!

As such, the prefix would seem to fill the object slot on a verb in the absence of a definite object. The distribution of the prefix is somewhat irregular and inconsistent, the discrepancy between the structurally comparable forms in (8.7c-e) was pointed out above. Furthermore, the *t(i)-* does not always occur in the negated forms, as shown in (8.8) where one would expect to have the prefix since the negated non-finite verb form is the same as that in (8.7a) above.

One reason for analyzing this *t(i)-* as a prefix rather than the base (citation) form of the verb which then drops the initial syllable before definite person marking, is that it does not occur where other verbs have only the base (i.e. non-person-marked) form and thus where the *t(i)-* would be expected. One instance of a lack of definite person marking on a verb is found with the de-verbal adverbializer *-tĕ* which expresses the notion ‘skilled in Xing’; when this suffix is found on a verb, the verb cannot take person marking, that is, those verbs that begin in *ĕ* do not change their initial vowel to *e* as they would before person marking. To illustrate this point I take the verb *ĕnpa* ‘teach’ which before person marking changes the initial vowel to *e* as in *w-enpa-Ø-e* ‘I am teaching him’ (literally: I am insight-providing him); when adverbialized by means of the suffix *-tĕ*, the initial vowel remains the same, that is, *ĕnpa-tĕ* ‘skilled in teaching’ where the object is neither definite nor specific. As soon as it is marked for a (definite) person, however, the vowel changes to *e* as in the forms *enpa-ne* ‘his teacher’, *j-enpa-ne* ‘my teacher’, and *mure enpa-ne* ‘the child’s teacher’ where the object of the verb in these cases is encoded as possessor. If the sole function of the prefix *t(i)-* were to mark an indefinite non-specific object, then one would expect the prefix to occur in this context in combination with the suffix *-tĕ*, but it does not, as shown in the examples in (8.9a-b), which would otherwise be *\*tĭwĕ-tĕ* ‘skilled in shooting’ and *\*tĭkahtĕ* ‘skilled in weaving’ which, however, are not correct forms. Although it is not constant in its usage, the prefix *t(i)-* seems to fill the person slot on the verb, marking the verb as having an indefinite object in some contexts only.

- (8.8)        wĕ-e-wa nĕrĕ  
shoot-NF-NEG 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
he didn’t shoot (in general)

- (8.9)a wě-tě t-ee-se  
 shoot-SK.ADV COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he was skilled in shooting (a good shot)
- b kah-tě t-ee-se  
 weave-SK.ADV COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he was a skilled at weaving

While stated above that the *t(i)-* is probably not a part of the base (citation) form of the verb, at least if it is, then synchronically it is undergoing change, there are a few further idiosyncrasies that these verbs exhibit with regard to person marking that would plead for the *tī-* as part of the root analysis. When marked for person, the final vowel of the prefix is *ī* and not *i* as is the case with other verbs (see paradigms below), as shown in the third column of Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Transitive verbs with initial *t(i)-* prefix

| Verb       | Meaning           | 1→3-√-PRES-CERT | Meaning                   |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| (tī)pī     | bathe             | wī-pī-ja-e      | I am bathing (it)         |
| (tī)je     | boil              | wī-je-∅         | I am boiling (it)         |
| (tī)kī     | grate             | wī-kī-ja-e      | I am grating cassava      |
| (tī)wě     | shoot             | wī-wě-∅-e       | I am shooting (it)        |
| (tī)papo   | throw away        | wī-papo-∅-e     | I am throwing (it) out    |
| (tī)pě(tī) | gather fruit      | wī-pěě-ja-e     | I am gathering fruit      |
| (tī)ka(pī) | weave             | wī-kaa-ja-e     | I am weaving (it)         |
| (tī)rī     | do, make          | wī-rī-ja-e      | I am making (it)          |
| (t)ěu      | take out          | w-ěu-ja-e       | I am taking it out        |
| (t)ěně     | eat meat          | w-ěně-∅-e       | I am eating meat          |
| (t)ě(ku)   | eat cassava bread | w-ěě-ja-e       | I am eating cassava bread |
| (t)urě     | light fire        | w-urě-∅-e       | I am lighting the fire    |

In the negative (with a definite object) and in possessed and object-marked nominalized forms, most of the *tī-* adding verbs drop the entire syllable, as shown in the examples in (8.10a-e). However, the verb *tīrī* ‘do, make’ retains the vowel, as shown in (8.10d-e).

- (8.10)a ě-n-kapī-hpě  
 2POSS-3O-weave-NOM-PST  
 the things you wove
- b in-ka:-se-wa w-a-∅-e  
 3O-weave-NF-NEG 1→3-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am not weaving it
- c in-je-∅-wa w-a-∅-e  
 3O-boil-NF-NEG 1→3-be-PRES-CERT  
 I’m not boiling it

- d            i-n-ĩrĩ-∅-hpě  
               3POSS-3O-do-NOM-PST  
               the things he made (things of his former making)
- e            in-ĩrě-e-wa n-a-∅-i  
               3O-do-NF-NEG 3→3-be-PRES-NCERT  
               he isn't doing it

#### 8.4        Verb formation and noun incorporation

Verbs can be monomorphemic or derived. By far the most productive means of deriving a verb is by adding a verbalizer to a noun or nominal, as shown, for example, in (8.11a-b) with the benefactive and reversative verbalizers *-ntě* and *-ka* respectively. In principle any noun root can take a verbalizer. Trio has nine more or less productive verbalizers, four of which form transitive verbs, the other five form intransitive verbs, given in Table 8.2 and Table 8.3 respectively; the verbalizers are treated in more detail in sections 8.13 - 8.13.9 below.

- (8.11)a    n-i-pĩtĩ-ntě-∅-n Tarěno-ke  
               3→3-TR-wife-BEN-PRES-NCERT Trio-INST  
               he provides them with Trio wives (he is wife-providing them)
- b            s-e-po-ka-∅-e  
               1▷-MID-clothes-REVERS-PRES-CERT  
               I am undressing

Table 8.2: Transitive verbalizers

| Transitive | Meaning                 | Gloss     |
|------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| -ka        | reversative (un- / de-) | REVERS    |
| -htě/-ntě  | benefactive (concrete)  | BEN       |
| -pa        | providative (abstract)  | PROVID    |
| -ma        | inchoative stative      | INCH.STAT |

Table 8.3: Intransitive verbalizers

| Intransitive | Meaning                | Gloss     |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------|
| -pa(mĩ)      | sensory stative        | SENS.STAT |
| -ta          | inchoative terminative | TERM      |
| -wa          | stative                | STAT      |
| -na          | producing              | PRODUCE   |
| -ke(pĩ)      | cessative              | CESS      |

There are several verbs, namely those that are based on the noun *ěre* ‘liver’, given in (8.12) and (8.13), that are complex forms, the verbal(izing) element of which is no longer transparent, the resultant forms now being lexical verbs. Culturally, the body-part *ěre* ‘liver’ constitutes the ‘life-source’ or the ‘seat of emo-

tions’, and verbs based on this body part express emotions such as anger, worry, and fear, many of them having very similar meanings; for this reason I have added a context in the examples in (8.12a-g) and (8.13a-b) where necessary. After each of the entries I give an inflected example of the first person as experiencer for the intransitive verbs, and for the transitive verbs I give an example of verb inflected for a first person agent third person object, as well as a first person experiencer (reflexive). The intransitive verb in (8.12a) ends in the verbalizer *-na*, the meaning of which is unclear although on from other stems it seems to have the meaning ‘producing’ or ‘busy with’; it is not known what the morpheme *wae* in this word is (there is a verb *i-wae* meaning ‘look for’ but this is an unlikely candidate for being verbalized since it already is a verb). The verb *ërekopami* ‘be restless’ is made up of the word *ëre* ‘liver’ followed by an unidentified morpheme *ko* plus the verbalizer *-pa(mi)*, which is used to express a physical or mental sensation of restlessness. The meaning of the morphemes *kīnapī* and *kīnē* in examples (8.12c-d) respectively that occur after the noun *ëre* ‘liver’ is not known, nor do these morphemes occur elsewhere in the grammar, to my knowledge. The form in (8.12c) is a perfective form meaning ‘I have come into a state of anxiety’. The examples in (8.13a-b) show transitive (and reflexive) verb stems based on the noun *ëre* ‘liver’. The meaning of the element *jaka* in (8.13a) is not known. Example (8.13b) contains an element *ko(n)* that is often heard without the nasal as *ko* which is found also in the verb *ërekopa(mi)* ‘be restless’ in (8.12b).

- |         |  |  |
|---------|--|--|
| (8.12)a | ërewaena<br>j-ere-waena-Ø-e                                | be afraid<br>I am afraid, e.g., the fear and shock one feels when one has stolen something and the police come to one’s house looking for one, also amazement. Perhaps this could be characterized as fear through threat. |
| b       | ërekopa(mi)<br>j-ere-kopain-ja-e                           | be restless<br>I am restless   |
| c       | ëre-kīna(pī)<br>j-ere-kīnapī                               | be anxious<br>I am (have become) anxious   |
| d       | ëre-kīnē(pī)<br>j-ere-kīnē-ja-n<br>stomach, hurts to cough | I have shortness of breath<br>I have shortness of breath, pressure on upper  |
| (8.13)a | ërejaka<br>t-ë-ere-jaka-Ø-e<br><br>w-ere-jaka-Ø-e          | get a fright / be afraid<br>I got a fright, e.g., the fear one feels in the airplane when it suddenly jolts<br><br>I gave him a fright   |

- |   |                     |                                 |
|---|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| b | äre-ko(n)ma         | be worried, confused            |
|   | t-ë-ere-ko(n)ma-Ø-e | I am worried, confused, annoyed |
|   | w-ere-ko(n)ma-Ø-e   | I am annoying him               |

Other complex verbal stems are formed by means incorporating a noun into a verb root, some examples are given in (8.14a-e) -(8.17). Noun incorporation is not a productive process in Trio and generally only occurs with body-part nouns. In addition to the list of *äre* ‘liver’-based verbs given above, some cases of incorporation of the noun *äre* are given in (8.14b-e). As can be seen from this list, the noun-incorporated verbs are transitive. One example was found in the corpus where a postpositional phrase (in this case an instrumental-marked complex noun was suffixed by the reversative verbalizer *-ka*, as shown in (8.17).

- (8.14)a n-e-hpu-pahka-Ø  
 3▷-MID-foot-break-I.PST  
 he broke his leg (foot) (he leg-broke himself)
- b t-ë-ere-kuika-Ø-e  
 1↔-REFL-liver-swallow-PRES-CERT  
 I am extremely angry inside (boiling inside) (I am liver-swallowing myself)
- c t-ë-ere-tëu-ja-e  
 1↔-REFL-liver-take.out-PRES-CERT  
 I am angry (also: worried, disappointed)
- d t-ë-ere-tihka-Ø  
 1↔-REFL-liver-scare-I.PST  
 I was scared to death (I got the fright of my life)
- e w-ere-tihka-Ø  
 1→3-liver-scare-I.PST  
 I scared the wits out of him
- (8.15) ratara-ja n-ë-einja-pokinta-hpo-Ø  
 doctor-GOAL 3↔3-REFL.hand-smell-CAUS-I.PST  
 the doctor made him<sub>i</sub> smell his<sub>i</sub> hand
- (8.16) wanë ji-nta-poinë-Ø-n  
 honey 3→1-mouth-taste-PRES-NCERT  
 I taste honey, I like the taste of honey (honey mouth-tastes me in a pleasant way)
- (8.17) ji-nta-poin-ke-ka-Ø-n  
 3→1-mouth-SENS-INST-REVERS-PRES-NCERT  
 it makes me lose my sense of taste<sup>1</sup>

---

1 The liana used for river-poisoning, *ineku*, has this effect when it is being pounded.

## 8.5 Verb valence

In Trio verbs can be divided into two main classes based on their transitivity status, that is, according to how many arguments a verb requires. Since person marking on a finite verb encodes all verbal arguments in the form of a prefix, the transitive verbs mark both subject and object in a single portmanteau prefix (see (8.18)), and intransitive verbs mark only the subject, again in the form of a prefix (see (8.19)). In addition, the transitive class of verbs can be subdivided into those that have two non-identical arguments (transitive) and those that have two arguments that have identical reference (middle and reflexive verbs), the latter of which are slightly lower on the transitivity scale than a fully transitive verb. The intransitive verbs can also be divided into two classes, those that assign person marking from the intransitive set of markers, and those that mark person by means of the transitive set of markers, a phenomenon referred to below as split intransitivity. The valency of a verb can be increased or decreased by means of suffixes attached to the verb stem, these are dealt with in sections 8.12ff. below. The intransitive and transitive verbs are taken in turn below.

(8.18) w-ene:-ja-e  
1→3-bring-PRES-CERT  
I am bringing it

(8.19) j-anota-∅-e  
1→fall-PRES-CERT  
I am falling (or: I nearly fell)

### 8.5.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs have only one core argument which is the subject. Most intransitive verbs in Trio are denominal verbs derived by means of a number of verbalizers, (for example, *-ta*, *-na*, *-pa(mi)*); in fact there are significantly fewer non-derived intransitive verbs than derived ones. Some examples of the derived intransitive verbs are given in Table 8.4. While in many cases the nominal is synchronically still found as an independent noun, in many other cases it is not. This, however, does not take away from the fact that these verbs all seem to end in the same verbalizer, and all of which have related aspectual meanings, such as for example, the inchoative terminative verbalizer *-ta* which is seen as entry into a state whereby the endpoint of the state is in focus; the aspectual meanings of the verbalizers are given in the relevant verbalizer section in 8.13.1 - 8.13.9. Some non-derived intransitive verbs are given in Table 8.5. Those intransitive verbs that are C-initial insert an *i-* before the consonant in some contexts, such as when the verb is negated, as shown in (8.20a-c).

Table 8.4: Derived intransitive verbs

| Verb         | Meaning   | Nominal<br>(if known)                      | Meaning                                       |
|--------------|---|--|---|
| ēre-ta       | rest  | ēre  | liver   |
| suh-ta       | urinate   | suku                                       | urine   |
| (j)omi-ta    | speak (have acquired ability to)                      | (j)omi                                     | language, word                                |
| (i)pokīn-ta  | smell   | (i)pokīn                                   | smell   |
| waku-ta      | get fat belly   | waku                                       | belly   |
| ēn-ta        | wake up   | ēnu (?)                                    | eye   |
| aami-ta      | blush, ripen (of fruit)                               | aami                                       | ?   |
| ēramuh-ta    | sweat   | ēramuku                                    | sweat   |
| ēnu-ta       | remember  | ēnu  | eye   |
| karau-ta     | get really angry                                      | karau                                      | anger   |
| potī-na      | whistle   | potī                                       | beak  |
| iranta       | year  |  |   |
| ēremi-na     | sing spirit-song                                      | ēremi                                      | spirit-song                                   |
| karau-wa     | get angry   | karau                                      | anger   |
| :no-pa(mī)   | feel cold   | tīnotī                                     | unpleasant sensation<br>(fear, cold)          |
| (i)ko:ma(mī) | dusk (get dark, spend the night)                      | koko                                       | night   |
| ēnuru        | come to surface, give birth, be born                  | ēnu  | eye   |
| anota        | fall  |  |   |
| (i)tunta     | arrive  | sound symbolic,<br>cf. <i>tun</i> ‘arrive’ |   |
| akuta        | dissolve  |  |   |
| anihta       | grow (up)   |  |   |
| wenah-ta     | vomit   | ena  | throat  |
| ēmamina      | be busy with (archaic meaning), play (modern meaning) | ēmamin                                     | object of being busy<br>or at play with (toy) |
| urakana      | stroll, walk around                                   |  |   |
| ēerana       | laugh   |  |   |
| wejahta      | fart  | Sound symbolic                             |   |
| ahpota       | burp  | Sound symbolic                             |   |
| tētē-pa(mī)  | tremble, shiver                                       | Sound symbolic                             |   |

Table 8.5: Non-derived intransitive verbs

| Verb         | Meaning                                   |
|--------------|---|
| (i)ta(tī)    | get lost                                  |
| (i)kēhtu(mu) | shout                                     |
| ēmī(tī)      | dive                                      |
| wa           | dance                                     |
| ke(pī)       | stop                                      |
| ja(tu)       | burn                                      |
| akī(pī)      | harden, become stiff                      |
| (i)mīrī      | choke (e.g., on fishbone stuck in throat) |
| (i)mēmē(tī)  | boil                                      |
| ēri(kī)      | perish (die)                              |
| iitu(mu)     | bark (of dog)                             |
| au(mu)       | get up, rise                              |
| ēmere(pī)    | be dizzy                                  |

|        |   |                   |                  |
|--------|---|-------------------|------------------|
| (8.20) | a | i-ko:-ma-in-je-wa | not getting dark |
|        | b | i-tunta-e-wa      | not arriving     |
|        | c | i-ke:-se-wa       | not stopping     |

### 8.5.2 Intransitive verbs and split intransitivity

There are two classes of intransitive verbs, those that mark the subject in a more patientive role, with the personal prefixes that are almost identical to the object prefixes on transitive verbs, such as those in (8.21a-f), and those that mark the subject in a more active agentive role using the prefixes of the transitive agent set. The latter group contains a small set of verbs, one unifying factor being that of subject animacy; these verbs are given in (8.22a-e). With the exception of the verbs *e(i)* ‘be’, which has a suppletive form *a* in the present (and in the past imperfective tense), and *ka* ‘say’, the remaining verbs are verbs of motion, requiring an animate subject. In addition, these verbs of motion all take an implicit or explicit directional object, as an oblique object; logically speaking the verb ‘say’ is not a prototypical intransitive since one always says something, as opposed to the verb ‘speak’ in English which does not require an object. Like the other verbs, the verb *ka* ‘say’ cannot take an object person marker, that is, it cannot take a direct object as such, nor does it combine with the question word *atī* ‘what’ which would be an object in a sentence like ‘what did he say?’, rather this question is posed with the manner interrogative *eeke* ‘how?’ as in (8.23). However, when direct speech precedes the verb *ka* ‘say’ in the third person, as given in (8.24), then the third person prefix is generally dropped which is exactly what happens with transitive verbs when an overt direct object precedes a third person

marked verb, as shown in (8.25a,b). That said, it is not possible to say that dropping the prefix before direct speech is a hard and fast rule with the verb *ka* ‘say’, rather there is a lot of fluctuation as can be seen in the two instances of the *ka* in (8.24). In this grammar, verbs of the former, patientive set are glossed by the arrow → to indicate ‘subject acting’, that is, either volitionally or non-volitionally, and the latter set, since these verbs use the morphemes of the transitive verbs, are glossed as the transitive verbs are, that is, as 1→3 for the first person *w-*, 2→3 for the second person *m-*, etc. In fact although it may seem intuitive to label these verbs intransitive since they do not allow an overt object, they seem to form a subgroup of the transitive verbs since in their non-finite and nominalized forms, they behave just as the reflexive and middle verbs in that they are required to mark their one-argument status by means of the morpheme *-w-* (or its length allomorph) which occurs between the person-marking prefix and the verb. To exemplify, the past non-witnessed finite verb forms of these verbs are given in (8.26a-e); for the non-witnessed past, see 8.14.4.

- (8.21)
- |   |          |               |   |               |                         |
|---|----------|---------------|---|---------------|-------------------------|
| a | ëreta    | rest          | > | j-ereta-Ø-e   | I am resting            |
| b | onota    | fall          | > | j-anota-Ø-e   | I am falling            |
| c | (i)tunta | arrive        | > | ji-tunta-Ø-e  | I am arriving           |
| d | ëmamina  | be busy, play | > | j-emamina-Ø-e | I am busy, I am playing |
| e | ënta     | wake up       | > | j-enta-Ø      | I am awake (1.PST)      |
| f | eerana   | laugh         | > | j-eerana-Ø-e  | I am laughing           |

(8.22) Intransitive verbs that take the transitive prefixes.

- |   |        |         |   |             |                 |
|---|--------|---------|---|-------------|-----------------|
| a | e(i)   | be      | > | w-a-Ø-e     | I am            |
| b | ka     | say     | > | wi-ka-Ø-e   | I say           |
| c | të(mi) | go      | > | wi-të-Ø-e   | I go            |
| d | ëe(pī) | come    | > | w-ëe-ja-e   | I am coming     |
| e | ihhtë  | go down | > | p-ihhtë-Ø-e | I am going down |

- (8.23) eeke n-ka-Ø-n  
 how 3→3.1tr-say-PRES-NCERT  
 what did he say?  
 \*atī n-ka-Ø-n

- (8.24) irë wanīritan kanto nkan  
 irë wa-nī-rī-ta-n Ø-ka-Ø-n\_to  
 DP.INAN.ANA NEG-3→3-do-FUT-NCERT 3→3-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
  
 n-ka-Ø-n  
 3→3-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL

“‘[then maybe] that will kill him’ they said,” she says

- (8.25)a j-injo n-ene-Ø-n  
 1POSS-husband 3→3-see-PRES-NCERT  
 my husband sees him

b j-injo Ø-ene-Ø-n  
 1POSS-husband 3→3-see-PRES-NCERT  
 he sees my husband

|        |          |         |                    |           |
|--------|----------|---------|--------------------|-----------|
| (8.26) | Verb     | Meaning | Past non-witnessed | Meaning   |
|        | a e(i)   | be      | t-ee-se            | was       |
|        | b ka     | say     | tī:-ka-e           | said      |
|        | c tē(mī) | go      | tī:-tē-e           | gone      |
|        | d ēe(pī) | come    | tī-w-ēe-se         | come      |
|        | e ihtē   | go down | tī-w-ihhtë-e       | gone down |

### 8.5.3 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs form by far the largest verb class in Trio. All verbs are inherently transitive or intransitive, and often two different stems are used for a transitive and intransitive counterpart, for example, *ēerana* is the intransitive verb stem ‘laugh’ whereas its transitive counterpart ‘laugh at someone’ is the stem *eenē(pī)*.

As stated above, only a few verb roots begin in an initial *u* or *o*, or *a*, the majority of verbs are either *ē*-initial, or consonant-initial. Once person-marked, however, an *ē*-initial verb root becomes either *e* or *a* thereby creating an *e*- or *a*-initial stem (see section 3.2). All consonant-initial transitive verbs mark their diathesis by means of the prefix *i-* for two non-identical arguments, for example, *w-i-pono-ja-e* ‘I tell (about) it’. Within the class of transitive verbs additional marking is required to indicate the level or type of transitivity if the verb is reflexive or middle, that is, when the two arguments are identical. The diathesis-marking prefix is closest to the verb root, “preceding” person marking (going from right to left), and in the first person a three-way distinction is made in the transitive/reflexive/middle person markers. Not all verbs require a diathesis marker, rather the form and distribution of these markers is as follows: consonant-initial verbs mark transitivity by means of the prefix *i-*, for example, *-suka-* > *i-suka* ‘wash (it)’ as opposed to the middle-marked stem *e-suka* ‘wash oneself’. Vowel-initial stems do not require the transitive prefix *i-*, for example, *ēne* ‘see’ and *ainka* ‘kidnap, grab s/one and run off with them’ are already transitive verbs. The remaining two prefixes *ē-* (allomorphs *ēt-*, *ēs-*) and *e-* (*et-*, *es-*) mark reflexive and middle respectively. As stated above, few verbs begin in an initial *u* or *o*, and those that do take the reflexive prefix, no *o-* or *u-*initial verb has been found to take a middle-marking prefix. The distribution of the diathesis markers is given in (8.27).

- (8.27) Distribution of diathesis markers
- |             |           |  |
|-------------|-----------|--|
| Transitive: | i-        | with C-initial stems                                     |
| Reflexive:  | ë-        | with <i>e</i> -initial stems                             |
|             | ët-       | with <i>a-</i> , <i>o-</i> , and <i>u</i> -initial stems |
|             | ëës-/ëis- | with <i>j</i> -inserting stems                           |
| Middle:     | e-        | before C-initial stems                                   |
|             | et-       | before <i>a</i> -initial stems                           |

Although it is lexically determined whether a given verb will take reflexive- or middle-marking, there is in addition a semantic component involved in that those verbs that belong to the domain of body posture and transmotion are almost without exception middle-marked. Those verbs that are middle-marked are distinguished by the fact that the resultant action seems to have an affect on the entire body or mind of the subject/object. Some examples of reflexive and middle-marked verbs are given in Table 8.6 and Table 8.7 respectively. Where relevant a morpheme analysis of some of these verbs has been provided to show the transitive active status of these verbs, for example, the verb ‘dream’, which is typically an intransitive verb in our Standard Average European languages, is formed by means of the noun *amore* (< *omore*) plus a benefactive transitive verbalizer *-htë*, with the literal meaning ‘to spirit-provide someone’, and in its reflexive meaning ‘to spirit-provide oneself’.

Table 8.6: Reflexive verbs

| Transitive stem | Gloss                                      | Reflexive stem | Gloss                          |
|-----------------|--|----------------|--------------------------------|
| amore-htë       | dream (of someone), [spirit-provide s/one] | ët-amore-htë   | dream (spirit-provide oneself) |
| apëi            | grab, take                                 | ët-apëi        | grab oneself, each other       |
| emeta-nī        | transform (+CAUS)                          | ë-emeta-nī     | transform oneself              |
| ene             | see  | ë-ene          | see oneself                    |
| en-pa           | teach (insight-provide) s/o                | ë-en-pa        | learn                          |
| epo-ka          | shave (de-hair s/o)                        | ë-epo-ka       | shave oneself                  |
| ereko-ma        | annoy, confuse (s.o.)                      | ë-ereko-ma     | be annoyed, confused           |
| erejaka         | surprise (unpleasant)                      | ë-erejaka      | be surprised                   |
| -iwa            | fetch, go get                              | ë-iwa          | hunt                           |
| -jahpë-ntë      | help (provide s/o with help)               | ëës-ahpë-ntë   | help oneself                   |
| ona(mī)         | bury                                       | ët-ona(mī)     | bury oneself, hide             |
| uru             | talk business, do barter                   | ët-uru         | talk <sup>2</sup>              |

2 Note that in order to say ‘talk to oneself’ the reflexive/reciprocal particle *ëikarë* is necessary, for example, *ëikarë nëturujan* ‘he is talking to himself’.

Table 8.7: Middle verbs

| Transitive | Gloss                        | Middle   | Gloss                                      |
|------------|------------------------------|----------|--|
| i-suka     | wash                         | e-suka   | wash one's whole body                      |
| ī-pī       | bathe                        | e-pī     | bathe oneself                              |
| i-po-ntē   | dress (clothes-provide s/o)  | e-pontē  | dress oneself                              |
| i-panama   | turn                         | e-panama | turn oneself                               |
| i-juka     | bend                         | e-juka   | bend oneself down                          |
| ainka      | kidnap, grab s/o and run off | et-ainka | run (away)                                 |
| i-pahka    | break, snap                  | e-pahka  | break oneself, sprain an ankle, wrist etc. |
| i-parima   | bend                         | e-parima | buckle up one's body                       |

## 8.6 Overview of verbal morphology

Inflectional morphology is marked on the outer edges of the verbal word. In this section only the finite form of the verb is dealt with. All non-finite forms of the verb are nominalized forms whereby there are different degrees of 'nominality'. At the end of the section on the finite verbs, there follows a description of the least nominal of the non-finite verb forms, for example, those that express negation, supine 'purpose of motion', and the non-finite expression of non-witnessed events. The more 'nominal' nominalizations are dealt with in Chapter 9.

The core of the verbal word may be either a verb or a noun, thus apart from lexical verb roots, a minimal verb stem may consist of a noun followed by a verbalizing suffix. There are also compound verb stems, namely those that incorporate a bare noun into the verb stem. Derivational affixes are placed closest to the root and the inflectional affixes occur around these on the outer edges of the word. The prefix closest to the verb root is one of a number of prefixes that indicate whether the verb is transitive *i-*; reflexive *ē-* (*ēt-*, *ēs*); or middle *e-* (*et-*, *es*). The diathesis prefix conditions the choice of personal prefix which immediately precedes the diathesis prefix. The suffixes that occur on verb stems are, in the case of a nominal root, one of a number of verbalizers, or in the case of a verbal or verbalized stem, tense and aspect marking suffixes, causative suffixes, and number suffixes, in that order. The minimal obligatory marking on a finite verb is given in Table 8.8. The maximal marking on a finite verb is given in Table 8.9 below.

Table 8.8: Minimal marking on finite verb

|        |                |             |       |        |            |
|--------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------|------------|
| person | valency prefix | <b>root</b> | tense | number | evidential |
|--------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------|------------|

Table 8.9: Maximal marking on a finite verb

| STEM   |           |   |       |      |                         |            |
|--------|-----------|---|-------|------|-------------------------|------------|
| Person | Diathesis | verb root<br>noun + verb<br>root<br>noun root +<br>verbalizer | Trans | Caus | Tense/Aspect/<br>Number | Evidential |

### 8.6.1 Prefixes

The prefixes found closest to the verb root are a set of diathesis markers, namely *i-* for transitive, *e-* (*et-*) for middle, and *ë-* (*ët-*) for reflexive. The only other prefixes found in Trio are person markers: all verbs in Trio, regardless of whether they are nominalized or not, must be marked for person by means of a personal prefix. Since the person markers of the intransitive verbs have been dealt with in Chapter 3, only the transitive verb person markers are dealt with in detail in this chapter. In addition, there is one affix that is usually suffixed to the non-finite verb, the negation marker *-wa* which is prefixed to the stem of two verbs resulting in lexicalized meanings ‘die’ and ‘kill’, namely *wa-w-eh-to* ‘die = un-be’ and *wa-tiiri-to* ‘kill = un-do’. This ‘prefix’ acts as a pre-prefix since it occurs before the personal prefixes. The prefixes are taken in turn below, starting from the outer left edge of the verbal word, namely, with the personal prefixes.

### 8.6.2 Person marking on verbs

Trio distinguishes four sets of personal prefixes marked on the verb that are used to encode participants, that is, the grammatical subject and object of a verb. As stated in section 3.2, Trio distinguishes four exponents of the category of person, namely first (1), second (2), first and second (1+2), and third (3) (see also the pronouns in Chapter 5). With transitive verbs both subject and object are marked on the verb in portmanteau morphemes. The first major division that has to be made in the person marking is that between speech act participants (SAPS), that is, first, second, and 1+2 persons, and non-speech act participants, that is, the third person. Evidence for the distinction is found in the plural marking, and in an evidential suffix on the verb, as well as in their behaviour when an overt object is present (the third person prefix is dropped if the verb is preceded by an overt object, see section 8.6.9). The personal prefixes found on verbs are given in Table 8.10 and are dealt with in turn below. The symbols used in Table 8.10 are to be read as follows:  $\rightarrow$  = acting (intransitive)/ acting on (transitive);  $\leftrightarrow$  = acting on reflexively (refl);  $\supset$  = middle, i.e. affecting self/own body (mid). Plural marking on verbs is dealt with in sections 8.7.1 and 8.7.2 below.

Table 8.10: Personal prefixes

| Person | Prefix   | Meaning                                  |
|--------|----------|--|
| 1      | w-       | 1→3                                      |
| 1      | t-       | 1↔1                                      |
| 1      | s-       | 1⊃                                       |
| 1      | j-       | 1→; 3→1                                  |
| 2      | m-       | 2→3; 2↔2; 2⊃                             |
| 2      | ẽ-/:     | 2→; 3→2                                  |
| 1+2    | k(i(t))- | 1+2→; 1→2; 2→1; 1+2↔; 1+2⊃; 1+2→3; 3→1+2 |
| 3      | n-       | 3→; 3→3; 3↔3; 3⊃                         |

Table 8.10 is to be read as follows, where the terms A, S, and O refer to the three primitive relations transitive subject, intransitive subject, and transitive object respectively as given in Dixon (1994:6). The prefixes are determined also by the diathesis of the verb as explained above. The prefix *w-* indicates the first person subject of a transitive verb, A, acting on a third person object, O, *wene:jae* ‘I am bringing it’. The prefix *t-* indicates a first person acting reflexively on itself, *tēene* ‘I see myself’, and *s-* indicates a first person affecting itself, that is, middle-marking, *sepontēe* ‘I am dressing’. The prefix *j-* encodes a first person intransitive subject, S, *jurakanae* ‘I am strolling around’ and also a first person O of a transitive verb with a third person subject, *jenen* ‘he sees me’. The prefix *m-* encodes either a second person A acting on a third person O, *menejae* ‘you are bringing it’; acting reflexively on itself, *mēenen* ‘do you see yourself?’; or affecting itself, *mepontē* ‘you dressed’. The prefix *ẽ-/:* encodes a second person either acting, i.e. as an intransitive S, *ẽurukanae* ‘you are strolling around’ or being acted upon by a third person A, *ẽenen* ‘he sees you’. The prefix *k(i(t))-* encodes several combinations of the person 1+2; in this person, when the verb begins in *ẽ*, and the *k-* encodes first and second persons, that is, ‘I X you’ or ‘you X me’ or ‘he Xes you and me’ the initial vowel remains unchanged; when the *k-* encodes first and second person acting on a third person, the *ẽ* is fronted to *e* and is lengthened, for example with the verb *eta* ‘hear’: *kētae* ‘I hear you/ you hear me’; *keetae* ‘we hear him’; for verb stems that are C-initial or begin in other vowels, see below. The prefix *n-* encodes a third person A acting on a third person O, *nenejan* ‘he is bringing it,’ or as S, *nurakanan* ‘he is strolling around’; reflexively acting on itself, *nēenen* ‘he sees himself’; and affecting itself, *nepontēn* ‘he is dressing’. Details of each person as regards any morphophonological conditioning and/or syntactic restrictions are given below.

As was stated above, a major division is made in the marking of person between speech act participants and the third person; this distinction is crucial for the marking of the personal prefixes since there exists in Trio a person hierarchy such that a speech act participant takes precedence over a non-speech act partici-

pant, that is, the third person. Thus while the prefixes encode both A and O on a transitive verb, regardless of whether the role of the speech act participant is A or O, that is the participant that will be marked; for example, when a third person is the A argument, and the O argument is a SAP, it is the SAP rather than the third person that is marked in the prefix on the verb. Compare the examples in (8.28a-d) where in (8.28a) a SAP agent is acting on a third person and in (8.28b-d) a third person agent is acting on a SAP object.

- (8.28)a    w-eta-∅  
             1→3-hear-I.PST  
             I heard him
- b            j-eta-∅  
             3→1-hear-I.PST  
             he heard me
- c            ë-eta-∅  
             3→2-hear-I.PST  
             he heard you
- d            k-ëta-∅  
             3→1+2-hear-I.PST  
             he heard us

### 8.6.3 The verb paradigms: Transitive

The transitive verb paradigms encode both subject and object in the personal prefix. I distinguish here between those where the subject and object are non-coreferential as given in Table 8.11, with the transitive verbs *i-suka* ‘wash’ and *ene* [ <ëne ] ‘see’; and those where the subject and object are identical as in the reflexive (*ë-ene* ‘see o/self’) and middle paradigms (*e-suka* ‘wash o/self’), as given in Table 8.12 and Table 8.13 respectively. All the forms in the tables below are singular and are given in the present (imperfective) tense. As stated above, verbs ending in a verbalizer *Ca* as in *-suka* ‘wash’ have zero marking for the present (the final element *-ka* in *-suka* is the reversative verbalizer); verbs ending in *e*, as with *ene* ‘see’ have zero marking for both present and the certainty marker *-e*, marked in this section by one zero symbol for both. The plural forms are given later since plurality is marked independently in suffixes after the TAM marking. The final elements *-e* and *-n* in the paradigms below are evidentiality markers that are used in conjunction with the person markers in the non-past tenses. The evidential marker *-e* expresses certainty in the speaker’s mind that an action is being carried out, whereas the evidential that is found here in the third person, *-n(ë)* expresses uncertainty that the action will be carried out (for a more detailed analysis of these evidential markers, see section 8.9). Even though the personal

prefix encodes both subject and object on a transitive verb, an overt object may occur, usually before the verb, as shown for a first person agent acting on a third person object in (8.29).

Table 8.11: Transitive paradigm

|         |             |                                      |
|---------|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1→3     | w-i-suka-e  | I am washing it                      |
| 1+2→1+2 | k-i-suka-e  | you are washing me/ I am washing you |
| 1+2→3   | k-i:-suka-e | you and I are washing it             |
| 2→3     | m-i-suka-e  | you are washing it                   |
| 3→3     | n-i-suka-n  | he is washing it                     |
| 1→3     | w-ene-∅     | I see it                             |
| 1+2→1+2 | k-ëne-∅     | I see you / you see me               |
| 1+2→3   | k-e:ne-∅    | you and I see him                    |
| 2→3     | m-ene-∅     | you see it                           |
| 3→3     | n-ene-n     | he sees it                           |

Table 8.12: Transitive paradigm subject = object: reflexive

|         |           |   |
|---------|-----------|---|
| 1↔1     | t-ë-ene-∅ | I see myself  |
| 1+2↔1+2 | k-ë-ene-∅ | we see ourselves<br>(we see each other recip: kī-t-ë-ene) |
| 2↔2     | m-ë-ene-∅ | you see yourself  |
| 3↔3     | n-ë-ene-n | he sees himself   |

Table 8.13: Transitive paradigm subject = object: middle

|      |            |   |
|------|------------|---|
| 1⊃   | s-e-suka-e | I am washing myself (soaping myself up) |
| 1+2⊃ | k-e-suka-e | you and I are washing                   |
| 2⊃   | m-e-suka-e | you are washing yourself                |
| 3⊃   | n-e-suka-n | he is washing himself                   |

The intransitive verb paradigm with the verb *ereta* (< *ëreta*) ‘rest’ is given here in Table 8.14 to complete the picture (see also 3.2).

Table 8.14: Intransitive paradigm

|      |           |                       |
|------|-----------|-----------------------|
| 1→   | j-ereta-e | I am resting          |
| 1+2→ | k-ëreta-e | you and I are resting |
| 2→   | ë-ereta-e | you are resting       |
| 3→   | n-ereta-n | he is resting         |

(8.29) kana w-ema-∅-e  
 fish 1→3-catch-PRES-CERT  
 I am catching fish

Each of the four exponents of the category of person is dealt with in turn below.

#### 8.6.4 Categories of person: speech act participants

The speech act participants (SAPS) are the first, first plus second (1+2), and second persons.

#### 8.6.5 The first person subject with transitive verbs

In the first person a four-way distinction is made depending on the diathesis and valency of the verb, that is whether the verb is transitive, (reflexive and middle) or intransitive. The person marking on transitive verbs encodes both the subject and the object in a portmanteau prefix, namely *w-* as shown in (8.30a,b). When the subject and object referents of the transitive verb are identical, either the reflexive- (*t-*) or the middle-marking (*s-*) prefixes are used, see (8.31a) and (8.31b) respectively. While the choice would seem to be a lexical one, middle-marked verbs are more often used to encode those actions that affect the mind or body or express a change of body posture (also translational). In addition, some verbs which have an incorporated body-part are reflexive or middle-marked.

(8.30) a      *w-i-pahka-e*      I am breaking it  
      b      *w-enee-ja-e*      I am bringing it

(8.31) a      *t-ët-amore-htë-e*      I am dreaming  
      b      *s-e-suka-e*      I am washing myself

#### 8.6.6 First person object of a transitive verb

Since a person hierarchy exists in Trio, whereby a SAP takes precedence over a third person regardless of whether it is an agent or an object, when both SAP and third person are involved, it is always the SAP that is marked in the prefix. A first person object of a third person agent is expressed by means of the prefix *j(i)-* as shown in (8.32a,b). Note that the same prefix *j(i)-* is used to encode the first person subject of an intransitive verb *j-eranae* ‘I am laughing’; *j-eretae* ‘I am resting’, as well as a first person possessor on nominals: *ji-pakoro* ‘my house’.

(8.32) a      *j-i-suka-n*      he is washing me  
      b      *j-ene-n*      he sees me

#### 8.6.7 Person 1+2

The forms (*k-*, *kī-* *kīt-*) encode a combination of first and second persons as agent and object. The 1+2 personal prefix causes some morphophonological changes in the verb stem depending on the syllable structure of that stem. On the other hand,

the number of participants and their grammatical roles are important in the choice of prefix. When the prefix refers to first and second (1+2) interacting, that is, ‘I Verb you’ or ‘you Verb me’ or when a third person agent is acting on a 1+2 object, that is, ‘he Verbs us’, then the distribution of the prefixal forms is that given in (8.33) and exemplified in (8.34a-e) and (8.35a-e) respectively. Before verbs that are prefixed with the transitive diathesis prefix *i-* the prefix is *kī-*. This fact may be an indication that the basic prefix is *kī-* which drops its vowel before an *a*, *o*, *u*, and *ē* initial root, but which causes centralization of the vowel *i* to *ī*.

- (8.33) 1+2 (A) and (O)  
*k-* before *a*, *o*, *u* *ē* and *i* initial stems  
*k-ī-* before *i*-initial stems, that is, the vowel *i* is centralized to *ī*
- (8.34) a k-apuru-ja-e I am locking you in / you are locking me in  
b k-onan-ta-e I will bury you / you will bury me  
c k-uru-ja-e I am arranging with you / you are arranging with me (talking business)  
d k-ēne-∅ I see you / you see me  
e k-ī-konka-∅-e I pierce you/ you pierce me
- (8.35) a k-apuru-ja-n he is locking us in  
b k-onan-ta-n he will bury us  
c k-uru-ja-n he is arranging with us  
d k-ēne-∅-n he sees us  
e k-ī-konka-∅-n he pierces us

As is the case with nominal and postpositional roots, as described in section 3.2, polysyllabic verb roots that have *o* or *ē* in each of the first two syllables retain these vocalic qualities when marked by the 1+2 personal prefix as shown in the (a) and (b) examples in (8.36) and (8.37); these vowels are also retained after the coreferential prefix *tī-* that is found in the non-witnessed past construction, see section 8.14.4). As stated above, the first, second, and non-coreferential third persons cause lowering of the *o* and *ē* to *a* in the first syllable under these conditions, as shown in the (c) examples of (8.36) and (8.37).

- (8.36) arē [ērē] take  
a k-ērē-∅-e I am taking you / you are taking me  
b k-ērē-∅-n he is taking us  
c w-arē-∅-e I am taking it
- (8.37) akoroma [okoroma] help  
a k-okoroma-∅-e I am helping you / you are helping me  
b k-okoroma-∅-n he is helping us  
c w-akoroma-∅-e I am helping him

Before C-initial verbs that are prefixed with the transitive marker *i-* the vowel is centralized to *ī*; compare the 1+2 form of the verb *isuka* ‘wash (it)’ in (8.38a-b) and the first person form in (8.38c).

- |        |                        |                                       |
|--------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (8.38) | <i>isuka</i> [-suka]   | wash (it)                             |
|        | a <i>k-ī-suka-∅-e</i> | I am washing you / you are washing me |
|        | b <i>k-ī-suka-∅-n</i> | he is washing us                      |
|        | c <i>w-i-suka-∅-e</i>  | I am washing him                      |

When the prefix expresses person 1+2 as the agent with a third person object, then the inclusion of the object is marked by *-t-* before *a*, *o*, and *u* initial verbs, and by length before *i-* and *e-*initial stems. As stated above, all *ē-*initial verbs lower the initial vowel to *e* before person marking. The distribution of the 1+2→3 prefix is summarized in (8.39), and is exemplified in (8.40) and (8.41). The length allomorph of the prefix *kī̄t-* is not represented orthographically.

- |        |  |  |
|--------|--|--|
| (8.39) | 1+2 (A) and 3 (O)  |  |
|        | <i>kī̄t-</i> before <i>a</i> , <i>o</i> , <i>u</i> initial stems                             |  |
|        | <i>k:</i> before <i>i</i> and <i>e</i> -initial stems (i.e. the initial vowel is lengthened) |  |
| (8.40) | a <i>kī̄t-apuru-ja-e</i>   | you and I are closing it up/ damming it up |
|        | b <i>kī̄t-onan-ta-e</i>  | you and I will bury him                    |
|        | c <i>kī̄t-uru-ja-e</i>   | you and I are dealing with him             |
| (8.41) | a <i>k-i:-konka-∅</i>  | you and I pierced him                      |
|        | b <i>k-e:ne-∅-∅</i>  | you and I see him                          |

With those verbs whose stem is of the form *ēCē* or *oCo*, the first vowel must first be lowered to *a* which creates an *a*-initial stem, after which it takes the prefix *kī̄t-*, as shown in (8.42a,b).

- |        |  |                           |
|--------|--|---------------------------|
| (8.42) | <i>akoroma</i> [ <i>&lt; okoroma</i> ]: <i>arē</i> [ <i>&lt; ērē</i> ] |                           |
|        | a <i>kī̄t-akoroma-∅-e</i>  | you and I are helping him |
|        | b <i>kī̄t-arē-∅-e</i>  | you and I are taking him  |

### 8.6.8 The second person

The second person prefixes are *m-* for transitive, middle, and reflexive verbs as shown in (8.43a-c), and *ē-* for intransitive verbs (8.44). The latter also encodes a second person object of a third person agent as shown in (8.45).

- |        |                        |                          |
|--------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (8.43) | a <i>m-i-suka-∅-e</i>  | you are washing him      |
|        | b <i>m-e-suka-∅-e</i>  | you are washing yourself |
|        | c <i>m-ēēs-ina-∅-e</i> | you are crying (refl.)   |
| (8.44) | <i>ē-urakana-∅-e</i>   | you are strolling around |
| (8.45) | <i>ē-ene-∅-n</i>       | he sees you              |

With intransitive verb stems that are vowel-initial, adding the prefix results in a diphthong as shown in (8.46a,b), unless that vowel is *a* or *o*, in which case the length allomorph of the prefix is used, that is, that vowel is simply lengthened as shown in (8.46c,d), see also section 3.4.2).

- |        |   |               |                                   |
|--------|---|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| (8.46) | a | ë-urakana-Ø-e | you are strolling around          |
|        | b | ë-ereta-Ø-e   | you are resting                   |
|        | c | a-anota-Ø-e   | you are falling (you nearly fell) |
|        | d | o-onan-ta-n   | (they) will bury you              |

### 8.6.9 The third person

Person marking for the third person differs in many respects from the marking of the speech act participants, one being that there is only one prefix form to cover all the valency and diathesis functions, that is, the third person prefix is *n-* for both intransitive and transitive subject (including the reflexive and middle) in the affirmative. In other words, S and A are treated equally in the third person. The object prefix for the third person, which is described below under the object prefixes, is a prefix (*i*)*n-*, thus in contrast to the speech act participants as seen above, there is no discrete S/O grouping in the third person, rather S, A and O are all marked by the alveolar nasal *n*. Compare the following examples where (8.47a) illustrates an intransitive subject S and example (8.47b) shows a transitive subject A acting on a third person O. Examples (8.47c,d) show the prefix before a reflexive and middle verb respectively. As stated above, the person hierarchy obtaining in Trio gives precedence to a SAP over a third person, thus it is the SAP that occurs in the prefix if it is the object of a third person rather than the third person A, as shown in (8.48a,b). Whenever a verb marked for a third person agent is immediately preceded by a lexical object, the subject marking prefix is dropped as shown in (8.49a,b). However, if for reasons of focus the object is postposed to the verb, then the third person prefix is obligatory, and there a perceptible pause before the object noun, see (8.50). Note that in (8.50) if the noun *wëri* ‘woman’ preceded the verb and the third person prefix were not omitted, then the noun *wëri* would be the agent, not the object, as shown in (8.51).

- |        |   |                    |                    |
|--------|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| (8.47) | a | n-anota-Ø-n        | he is falling      |
|        | b | n-ene-Ø-n          | he sees him        |
|        | c | n-ët-amore-htë-Ø-n | he is dreaming     |
|        | d | n-et-ainka-Ø-n     | he is running away |
| (8.48) | a | j-ene-Ø-n          | he sees me         |
|        | b | ë-ene-Ø-n          | he sees you        |

- (8.49)a wēri Ø-ene-Ø-n  
 woman 3→3-see-PRES-NCERT  
 he sees the woman
- b tuna-rēken Ø-eni-ja-n  
 water-only 3→3-drink-PRES-NCERT  
 he is drinking (only) water<sup>3</sup>
- (8.50) n-ene-Ø-n, wēri  
 3→3-see-PRES-NCERT woman  
 he sees the woman
- (8.51) wēri n-ene-Ø-n  
 woman 3→3-see-PRES-NCERT  
 the woman sees him/her/it

### 8.6.10 Person 1+3 *ainja*

Person 1+3 is the only person that is obligatorily expressed at all times by means of a pronoun, namely *ainja* [a<sup>1</sup>ɲa], as well as by a prefix on the verb. The letter *i* found in *ainja* is the orthographical representation of palatalization of the nasal preceding the glide. The meaning expressed is that of first person plus a third person or persons, that is, first person plus a third meaning ‘we’, but excluding the addressee. As with person 1+2 *k(i)-*, this person too is formally singular and whereas the former can be pluralized, person 1+3 cannot be pluralized. The potential conflict involved in combining persons 1 and 3 with regard to the choice of prefix (first or third?) and the evidential marker (*-e* for SAP declarative or *-n(ə)* for the third person?) is resolved by taking the prefix of the third person, and the evidential suffix of the SAP. Compare the form of the verb marked for person 1+3 in example (8.52a) with that marked for the third person only in (8.52b) and with the verb marked for first person (SAP) in example (8.52c). Examples (8.53a-c) show an intransitive, reflexive, and middle-marked verb respectively marked for person 1+3. Person 1+3 as an object of a third person, whereby the pronoun has the position of a lexical object thus causing the prefix on the verb to be dropped, is shown in (8.54).

- (8.52)a *ainja nī*: -tē-Ø-*e*  
 1+3PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 we are going

---

3 Note that this sentence was elicited as the translation of ‘the man is drinking water’. The Trio do not generally drink water, rather they drink their cassava drink, which is translated by *-jokī*; it’s a poor man indeed who is reduced to drinking water. The culturally appropriate sentence would be *ti-jokī Ø-eni-ja-n kirī* ‘the man is drinking his drink’.

- b        **nī:-të-∅-n**  
           3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
           he is going
- c        **wī:-të-∅-e**  
           1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
           I am going
- (8.53)a    **ainja n-ere-ta-∅-e**  
           1+3PRO 3→i-liver-TERM-PRES-CERT  
           we are resting
- b        **ainja n-ët-uru-ja-e**  
           1+3PRO 3↔3-REFL-talk-PRES-CERT  
           we are talking (doing business)
- c        **ainja n-e-suka-∅-e**  
           1+3PRO 3↷-MID-wash-PRES-CERT  
           we are washing
- (8.54)    **ainja ∅-arë-ne mēe-san**  
           1+3PRO 3→3-take-NR.PST 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL  
           they took us

### 8.6.11 Object prefixes

The transitive verbs in the affirmative use portmanteau morphemes to encode both subject and object, with the subject being the dominant participant in the person hierarchy. Object marking, however, is obligatory in the affirmative when the subject is a third person and the object is a speech act participant. Other instances of obligatory object marking on the verb are found in non-finite constructions such as negated forms which are given in sections 8.14ff. below.

The object prefixes that encode SAPs are identical to the S (intransitive subject) prefixes found above in Table 8.14 and repeated here in Table 8.15. Some examples are given in (8.55a-f).

Table 8.15: Object prefixes for SAPs

|        |                 |                   |
|--------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1      | j-              |                   |
| 2      | ë-/-:           |                   |
| 1+2    | k(i)-           |                   |
| (8.55) | a j-ene-∅-n     | he sees me        |
|        | b ë-ene-∅-n     | he sees you       |
|        | c a-arë-∅-n     | he takes you      |
|        | d o-onan-ta-n   | he will bury you  |
|        | e k-ëne-∅-n     | he sees us        |
|        | f k-ī-konka-∅-n | he is piercing us |

The third person object prefix is  $-(i)n-$ . This object prefix is never found on conjugated verbs, rather, it is obligatorily marked on the non-finite negated form of the verb, as shown in (8.56), and discussed further in 8.14.2.

- (8.56) in-pono:-se-wa n-a-Ø-i  
 3O-tell-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he isn't telling it (he won't tell)

## 8.7 Verbal inflectional suffixes

The inflectional suffixes are those that express tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality, and number. The inflectional category closest to the stem is tense/aspect, that is to say, any derivational processes occur before and other inflectional marking (generally) occurs after the tense/aspect marking. Some morphological conditions hold with regard to verb stems and tense/aspect marking. As stated above in section 8.3, reducing verbs drop their final syllable  $-pV$ ,  $tV$ ,  $kV$ ,  $rV$  and  $mV$ , where the  $V$  quality is  $i$  or  $u$ , before tense-marking (hereafter termed reducing stems). Those verbs that end in  $a$  and  $o$  are generally complex verb stems with a stem-final verbalizer or causative ( $-pa$ ;  $-ma$ ;  $-ta$ ;  $-po$  etc., see verbalizers and causative below). These stems cannot reduce.

### 8.7.1 Number: plural marking

Number marking for person is in the form of suffixes to the verb. Again a general distinction is made between speech act participants, the plural suffixes of which are given in Table 8.16 below, and the third person. Note that the first person does not have a derived plural marking, rather either person 1+2  $k(i)-$  or person 1+3  $ainja$  must be used. Plural marking in person 1+2 has the meaning 'I and you (pl.)' In the non-past tenses the plural marking follows the tense marking  $-ja$  (present) and  $-ta$  (future) as shown in (8.57) and (8.58) respectively (see sections 8.7.4ff.) The certainty evidential marker for SAPS,  $-e$ , that follows the tense marker in the singular, is dropped before the plural marking. In the immediate past, which has zero marking in the case of non-reducing stems and which is the reduced form of the reducing stems, the plural marker is the same as in the present, namely  $-ti$ , as shown in (8.59a,b). The plural marker for the third person regardless of tense is the clitic  $_to$ .<sup>4</sup> Ideally the clitic  $_to$  is cliticized to the element immediately preceding the verb, unless that element is a bare noun (see the following section).

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4 When both the A and O participants are third person the plural marker  $-ti$  is used to indicate the O, see below.



- (8.61) *kokoinjarë\_to n-ët-uru-∅ ëikarë*  
 yesterday\_PL 3↔-REFL-talk-I.PST RECIP  
 they spoke to each other yesterday
- (8.62) *sehken\_pa mēe-san\_rë wa-nī-rī:-∅-ti\_pa\_to*  
 also\_CYC 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL\_ASSERT NEG-3→3-do-IRR-PL\_CYC\_PL  
 it's also the case that those ones would kill you all
- (8.63) *pëetome marë\_to kīn-ei-∅*  
 beautiful.FACS also\_PL 3→3.PST.1TR-be-NR.PST  
 they were beautiful too

### 8.7.3 Combinations of plural markers

With intransitive verbs the plural markers for present and immediate past, past, and future, *-ti*, *-të* and *-hki* respectively, refer to a speech act participant that is the intransitive subject of the verb since that is the only argument available, see examples (8.64a-c). Note that the  $\emptyset$  in example (8.64b) can be either present or immediate past.

- (8.64)a *ë-ere-ta-ta-hki*  
 2→liver-TERM-FUT-PL  
 you (pl.) will rest
- b *ë-urakana-∅-ti*  
 2→stroll-PRES/I.PST-PL  
 you (pl.) are strolling around OR: you (pl.) strolled around
- c *a-akinma-të-ne*  
 2→bored-PL-NR.PST  
 were you (pl.) bored?

With transitive verbs, however, these suffixes can refer to either the agent (A) or the object (O) argument of the verb if that argument is a speech act participant, that is, as we saw above with the person marking, in plural marking as well, speech act participants take precedence over the third person. Compare the following examples of transitive verbs where examples (8.65a,b) show a SAP agent, and example (8.66) shows a SAP object of a third person agent.

- (8.65)a *m-ekarama-∅-ti*  
 2→3-give-PRES-PL  
 you (pl.) are giving it (*-ti* refers to A)
- b *k-e:ne-∅-ti*  
 1+2→3-see-I.PST-PL  
 I and you (pl.) saw it (*-ti* refers to A)

- (8.66)    *ë-epo-Ø-ti*  
           3→2-find-I.PST-PL  
           he found you (pl.)            (-*ti* refers to O)

When the object of a transitive verb is a plural animate object, its number is usually marked as the final element on the conjugated verb, as in (8.67a,b). If both the agent and the object are plural, the clitic comes last, that is, the agent plural marker precedes the third person plural clitic, as shown in (8.68a,b). Example (8.66c) shows a third person plural agent and a plural SAP object, whereby plurality of the SAP is marked on the verb before the tense marker and the third person agent plural marker is encoded in the clitic. Whenever any other clitics occur on the verb, for example, the cyclic *\_pa* in (8.69), and a series of clitics in example (8.70) below, this clitic comes between the SAP plural marker and the third person plural clitic *\_to*, again leaving the final position for the plural clitic *\_to*.

- (8.67)a    *w-epo-ja-e\_to* *meinjarë*  
           1→3-meet-PRES-CERT\_PL now  
           I am meeting them today
- b            *w-epo-Ø\_to*  
           1→3-meet-I.PST\_PL  
           I met them
- (8.68)a    *m-epo-ja-ti\_to*  
           2→3-meet-PRES-PL\_PL  
           you (pl.) are meeting them
- b            *m-apëh-të-ne\_to*  
           2→3-take-PL-NR.PST\_PL  
           did you (pl.) take (grab) them?
- c            *a-apëh-të-ne\_to*  
           3→2-take-PL-NR.PST\_PL  
           did they grab you (pl.)?
- (8.69)    *meinjarë\_pa ë-epo-Ø-ti\_pa\_to*  
           today\_cyc 3→2-meet-I.PST-PL\_CYC\_PL  
           did they meet you (pl.) just now?

When both actants are third person, the plural marker *-ti* is used to refer to the object, and the clitic *\_to* encodes the agent, as shown in (8.70a,b). There are some attestations of a double plural marking with the clitic *\_to*, on a finite verb preceded by a lexical object, as shown in (8.71); this was also attested on a non-finite verb, said by the same speaker. This is quite unusual and I do not at present have any explanation for such an occurrence since the same speaker often had the third person object form as *-ti* in other sentences (sentence (8.70) is also from that speaker). It is, however, unlikely that a restriction exists that the third

person object must be human, since Trio generally only distinguishes between animate and inanimate.

(8.70)a wa-nĩ-rĩ-Ø-ti\_nkērē\_pa\_to  
 NEG-3→3-do-I.PST-PERSIST\_CYC\_PL  
 they kept on killing them

b kokonjarē n-i-kuhtuntē-Ø-ti\_to  
 yesterday 3→3-TR-count-I.PST-PL\_PL  
 they (started to) count(ed) them yesterday

(8.71) a-ja-hpe ainja i-moitĩ-rĩ  
 Q-GOAL-INDEF.SPEC 1+3PRO 3POSS-kin-POSS

mĩjarē\_rē\_pa\_to tēmĩ-i kaikui Ø-arē-Ø\_pa\_to\_to  
 thither\_ASSERT\_CYC\_PL go-IRR dog 3→3-take-I.PST\_CYC\_PL\_PL

a-ja-hkatē kaikui-rĩ  
 Q-GOAL-MOD dog-POSS

where on earth are our relatives? They should have gone back there  
 (to village), they took the dogs, where did they leave the dogs?

#### 8.7.4 Tense, aspect and modality

The tense, aspect and modality system as encoded on the verb is dependent in part on the aspectual meaning of the verbalizers, that is, the derived stems, and in part on the base form of the verb itself. In principle, Trio distinguishes three time frames, past, present and future. The present tense almost always has imperfective meaning. The future tense is unmarked as to aspectual distinctions. Concomitant with the TAM marking is evidentiality marking which in the non-past tenses is encoded as a suffix, namely *-e* for SAPs in the declarative mode and *-n(ē)* for the third person declarative and for all persons in the interrogative mode whereby *-n* is found word-finally and *-nē* is usually only found immediately preceding an *r*-initial suffix, clitic, or particle. The verb ‘be’ takes an irregular evidential suffix for the third person in the present tense, namely *-i*, which is identical to the irrealis marker. The evidentiality markers for SAPs in the declarative are glossed in this work as CERT (certainty) and the gloss NCERT (noncertainty) is used for the third person and for SAPs in the interrogative mode. More details on the evidentiality system are given in section 8.9. The past and the future each have a form which is found in the speech of older people but which have fallen into disuse nowadays; since these forms give us an indication of a fuller tense/aspect system than is found today, they are treated in section 8.7.11 below.

### 8.7.5 Non-past tenses: present $-\emptyset$ or $-ja$ ; future $-ta$

The non-past tense markers are  $-ja$ - or  $\emptyset$  for the present, and  $-ta$ - for the future. Present tense, glossed in this grammar as PRES, is realized as zero-marked on non-reducing stems (8.72a,b), and as  $-ja$ - on reducing stems, whereby with syllable-reducing stems, the final syllable is dropped and there is compensatory lengthening of the stem-final vowel before the marker  $-ja$ - (8.73a,b). If the reducing syllable is *mī* or *mu*, then it is replaced by the alveolar nasal /n/ which assimilates in palatalization to the initial *j* of the suffix becoming /j/; for example,  $-:no-pa(mi) > ji:-no-pan-ja-e$  ‘I feel cold’; this is written orthographically as *in*, that is, *jinopainjae*. The present tense is used to indicate that an event is an ongoing process, that is, it generally has an imperfective reading. The event/action is contiguous to the moment of speech. It is used for ongoing events/actions, as seen in the question ‘what are you doing?’ and the answer in (8.74); for events/actions that are habitual (8.75); and for future events/actions that are (almost) certain, much as the English usage in ‘I’m going to town tomorrow’ as in (8.76). With verbs that have an inherent endpoint of an action or state in their meaning (for example, those with the terminative verbalizer  $-ta$ ) the present indicates non-completion of the event/action, see example (8.77). While Meira (1999) analyzes this tense as imperfective aspect only, I prefer a tense analysis here since the present can also have a present perfect reading, a fact which is more compatible with a tense analysis and less so with an imperfective analysis. Thus a verb marked for present, while it generally has imperfective meaning, can also be used to express perfect meaning with present relevance as shown in (8.78); whenever the addressee is not certain as to which reading, an imperfective or present perfect, is meant, then the temporal adverb *meinjarë* ‘now’ is often added and is heavily emphasized. While the context will often give a clue as to which reading is intended, a degree of ambiguity still remains.

(8.72)a    w-i-pīi-ma- $\emptyset$ -e  
           1→3-TR-shame-INCH.STAT-PRES-CERT  
           I am embarrassing him (I embarrass him)

b            s-e-po-ka- $\emptyset$ -e  
           1▷-MID-clothes-REVERS-PRES-CERT  
           I am undressing (I undress)

(8.73)a    w-ene:-ja-e        <        ene(pī) bring  
           1→3-bring-PRES-CERT  
           I am bringing it (I’ll bring it) (I bring it)

b            wī-ka:-ja-e        <        tīka(pī) weave  
           1→3-bring-PRES-CERT  
           I am weaving it (I weave)

- (8.74) a-tĩ mĩ-rĩ-ja-n owa, j-ere-ta-Ø-e  
 Q-INAN 2→3-do-PRES-NCERT NEG.P 1→-liver-TERM-PRES-CERT  
 what are you doing? nothing, I'm resting
- (8.75) wei wararē s-e-pĩ-ja-e  
 day every 1☐-MID-bathe-PRES-CERT  
 I bathe every day
- (8.76) kokoro wĩ:-tē-Ø-e poto-pona  
 tomorrow 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT town-DIR  
 I'm going to Paramaribo tomorrow
- (8.77) j-anota-Ø-e  
 1→fall-PRES-CERT  
 I am falling (or: I almost fell)
- (8.78) meinjarē ĕpi-pakoro-pona anja nĩ:-tē-Ø-e  
 now medicine-house-DIR 1+3PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 we've just been to the hospital, just now (also: we're going to the hos-  
 pital now)

In the present the verb *e(i)* 'be' has two forms, namely one with a suppletive root *-a-* that has existential or locative meaning, and a root *-ee-* which can take the imperfective suffix *-ja* and which has imperfective meaning, that is, 'become', for example, the form *wae* in (8.79) has the meaning 'I am' and the form *weejae* in (8.80a-b) has the meaning 'I am becoming', for irregularities in the paradigm of the verb 'be', see section 8.11.

- (8.79) ĕmume w-a-Ø-e  
 sad.FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am sad
- (8.80a) ĕmume w-ee-ja-e  
 sad.FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am becoming sad
- b wa-w-ee-ja-e  
 NEG-1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am dying (I am un-becoming)

The future tense marker (FUT) is *-ta* for all verbs, some examples are given in (8.81a-d). With reducing verbs it is added to the reduced stem, as shown in (8.82). As with the present tense, the future tense also requires evidential marking, namely *-e* for SAPs and *-n(ē)* for the third person and for SAPs in the interrogative. When used in questions together with the modal clitic *\_mo*, which is also always used in combination with the irrealis mood (see section 8.8.1 below and the modal clitic *\_mo* in 10.14.4), the meaning of the sentence acquires an irrealis reading, namely 'how/what am I supposed to X?', as in (8.83a-b). While it



- b            *nĩ-h-ta-n*  
               3→3.1TR-go-FUT-NCERT  
               he will go

As stated above, there is an old future marker, namely *-(ja)kē(mi)*, glossed here as FUTure.PERfective and given in (8.85), which has now been replaced by an expression formed by the verb in the present, in combination with the particle *pitē* ‘a bit, a while’ as shown in (8.86). See section 8.7.11 for the old future marker.

- (8.85)      *oroko-me wĩ:-tē:-kēn*  
               work-FACS 1→3.1TR-go-FUT.PERF  
               I’m going to work for a while
- (8.86)      *oroko-me pitē wĩ:-tē-∅-e*  
               work-FACS while 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
               I’m going to work for a while (see you later)

The present and future, besides both taking evidential marking, have in common that they both allow the cyclic clitic *\_pa* to be inserted between the tense and the evidential marker, as shown in (8.87a-c).

- (8.87)      a *w-ēe-ja \_pa-e* [wəɛja:ɸæ]      I’m coming back  
               b *wĩ-tē-∅ \_pa-e*                    I’m going back  
               c *w-ekarama-ta \_pa-e*                I’ll give it back

### 8.7.6 The past tenses

Two distinctions are made in the past tense, namely immediate past which is zero-marked and non-recent past marked with the suffix *-ne*; as stated above, a distal (imperfective) past marker *-(ja)kēn* is found in the speech of older speakers but is generally no longer used. This old marker is dealt with in section 8.7.5 below. Both the immediate and the non-recent past have perfective meaning, whereby the immediate past encodes the pastness of a few days ago, yesterday, or this morning, and the non-recent past, any pastness before that. Evidentiality is not overtly marked in the past tenses, rather, the use of a finite, tense-marked verb form indicates a witnessed action, whereby the speaker is understood as having been a witness to an event or state, and the use of the non-finite verb form of the type *tĩ-√se* indicates a non-witnessed past, that is, its use indicates that the speaker was not witness to the action or state expressed by the verb (for the non-witnessed non-finite verb form, see section 8.14.4 below). The latter differs somewhat from a finite verb in its predicational status since it expresses an event as having taken place, rather than being predicational of one or other actant as such, I treat the non-witnessed form below as an event-centralthetic expression.

The finite forms of the past are those that mark both person and tense on the verb. The past tense markers are summarized in Table 8.17.

Table 8.17: Past tense markers

| Meaning           | Form     | Gloss    |
|-------------------|----------|----------|
| Immediate         | ∅        | I.PST    |
| Non-recent        | -ne      | NR.PST   |
| Far, imperfective | -(ja)kën | DIST.PST |

### 8.7.7 Immediate past

The immediate past expresses perfective aspect, that is, an event is seen as having occurred at a particular point in time in the past, usually not earlier than yesterday, and depending on the context may have present relevance, as in ‘to have just done something’. With the reducing stems, the immediate past can be either the full non-reduced stem as in (8.88a,b) or alternatively the reduced stem as in (8.89a-c). For verbs that do not truncate the final syllable, the immediate past is the basic or derived stem as shown in (8.90a-f). The immediate past, that is, the unmarked verb stem is used to indicate that an event has just been completed. The use of this tense with a SAP agent and a third person object indicates that the event was witnessed by that SAP, otherwise a past non-witnessed non-finite construction is used (see 8.14.4). In the plural, the SAPs take the suffix *-ti*, which is also found in the present tense, as shown in (8.91a,b); the resultant form is homophonous with the present.

(8.88)a w-i-ponopī-∅  
 1→3-TR-tell-I.PST  
 I told (about it) just now

b j-enokī-∅  
 3→1-send-I.PST  
 he sent me

(8.89)a w-i-pono-∅  
 1→3-TR-tell-I.PST  
 I told (about it)

b j-eno-∅  
 3→1-send-I.PST  
 he sent me

c n-i-pono-∅  
 3→3-TR-tell-I.PST  
 he told (about it)

- (8.90)a w-eta-Ø  
1→3-hear-I.PST  
I heard it
- b m-ene-Ø  
2→3-see-I.PST  
you saw it
- c k-ëta-Ø  
1+2→1+2-hear-I.PST  
I heard you / you heard me
- d n-ene-po-Ø  
3→3-see-CAUS-I.PST  
he showed it
- e n-anota-Ø  
3→fall-I.PST  
he fell
- f t-ët-amore-htë-Ø  
1↔-REFL-spirit-BEN-I.PST  
I dreamt
- g w-irî-Ø  
1→3-do-I.PST  
I did it
- (8.91)a m-ene-Ø-ti  
2→3-see-I.PST-PL  
did you (pl.) see him? (also: do you see him?)
- b k-ëta-Ø-ti  
1+2→1+2-hear-I.PST-PL  
did you (pl.) hear me? (also: do you hear me?)

### 8.7.8 Non-recent past

The non-recent past is formed by means of the suffix *-ne*. It is perfective in meaning and refers to an event or state that took place in the past generally before yesterday or last week stretching back to a pastness of years ago. The past-marked clause is often accompanied by the temporal adverbial *pena* ‘long ago’ which can refer to something from last week or a remote past of many years ago, but still in the speaker’s lifetime, since any point of reference outside of the speaker’s lifetime requires a non-witnessed past, that is, the non-finite form of the verb (see 8.14.4). The adverbial *pena* ‘long ago’ can be intensified to express a very long time ago which, again, is usually outside of the speaker’s experience and thus used with the non-finite form of the verb, by lengthening the first vowel and producing it on a high pitch, or alternatively by inserting a glottal stop and

holding it for several seconds immediately after the first vowel; the longer the temporal distance in the past, the longer the vowel and the hold on the glottal stop respectively. This latter strategy is always accompanied by a sharp downward then upward movement of the head. The suffix *-ne* is attached to the reduced form of the reducing stems as shown in the paradigm in (8.92). In the non-recent past, the suffix *-ne* is not used with the third person and the third person prefix is *kīn-* and not the usual prefix *n(i)-* as it is in the other tenses. Furthermore, there is a general rule in all tenses that when an overt lexical object occurs in the immediate position before the verb in the third person, the personal prefix is dropped, and in the case of the non-recent past tense, the prefix *kīn-* is dropped and the tense marker is retrieved, as shown in (8.93a,b). With all other verbs, the suffix is attached to the stem as shown in the examples in (8.94a-f); with the verb *tīri* ‘do’, the prefix has the form *kīni-*, as shown in (8.94c). The SAP plural marker *-tē* occurs before the tense marker as shown in (8.95). The plural marker for the third person is the clitic *\_to* which occurs ideally cliticized to an immediately preceding constituent if this is not a bare noun, see (8.93a), cf. 8.7.2.

|        |     |                |                                      |
|--------|-----|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| (8.92) |     | i-pono(pī)     | tell (about s/thing)                 |
|        | 1   | w-i-pono:-ne   | I told about it                      |
|        | 2   | m-i-pono:-ne   | you told about it                    |
|        | 1+2 | k-i:-pono:-ne  | we told about him                    |
|        | 1+2 | k-ī-pono:-ne   | I told about you / you told about me |
|        | 3   | kīn-pono       | he told about him                    |
|        | 1+3 | ainja kīn-pono | we told about him                    |

(8.93)a kīn-ne-∅ tajaja ∅-i-ku:-ne\_to  
 3→3.PST.1TR-come-NR.PST k.o.spirit.song 3→3.PST-try-NR.PST\_PL  
 they came, they sang *tajaja* (a kind of spirit song)

b irē apo ainja ∅-arē-ne mēe-san  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 1+3PRO 3→3-take-NR.PST 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL

kīn-ka wēri-ton wī-ja  
 3→3.PST.1TR-say woman-PL 1-GOAL

‘that’s how they took us’ the women said to me

(8.94)a w-ene-ne  
 1→3-see-NR.PST  
 I saw it

b j-arē-ne  
 3→1-take-NR.PST  
 he took me

c ainja kīni-rī-∅  
 1+3PRO 3→3.PST-do-NR.PST  
 I did it

- d            k-e:ne-po-ne  
               1+2→3-see-CAUS-NR.PST  
               we showed it
- e            w-i-pakoro-ntë-ne  
               1→3-TR-house-BEN-NR.PST  
               I provided him with a house (house-provided him)
- f            kīn-eta-po-∅  
               3→3.PST-hear-CAUS-NR.PST  
               he told it (caused it to be heard)
- (8.95)     m-arë-të-ne  
               2→3-take-PL-NR.PST  
               did you (pl) take it?

### 8.7.9     Habitual past

The habitual past, while not a frequent tense marker, expresses the notion ‘used to’, that is, habitual action in the past. This tense differs from the other tenses in that it is not formed by means of a finite verb, rather it is formed by a verb stem suffixed by the non-finite marker *-se* (allomorphs *-e*, *-je*); for semantic reasons I am including this tense here rather than in the section on non-finite verb forms in 8.14 below. The subject of the non-finite verb in the habitual past is expressed as a noun or pronoun, which is generally postposed to the verb, as shown in (8.96) and (8.97). The only person that can be marked on the verb is an object which is obligatory, see example (8.97). Those *t(i)*-adding stems require the initial *t(i)*-prefix, as shown in (8.96a). See section 8.7.11 below for an old form of the past habitual that has now fallen into disuse. The habitual past is identical in form with the ‘purpose of motion’ supine verb form, for which see 8.14.1.

- (8.96)a    irë apo tika:-se Mawayana pena  
               DP.INAN.ANA like weave-NF.HAB Mawayana long.ago  
               that’s the way the Mawayana used to weave long ago
- b            irë apo ka-e pahko wī-ja  
               DP.INAN.ANA like 1.TR.say-NF.HAB 1POSS.father 1-GOAL  
               that’s what my father used to say to me
- c            ji-tupi-ta tē-e wī  
               1POSS-field-CONT.DIR 1.TR.go-NF.HAB 1PRO  
               I used to go to my field
- (8.97)     irë apo ainja inī-rë-e Okomoyana  
               DP.INAN.ANA 1+3pro 3O-do-NF.HAB Okomoyana  
               that’s how the Okomoyana used to treat us

### 8.7.10 Irregular verbs in the past

Besides the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ (see 8.11) there is one verb *apë* (<*ëpë*) ‘take’ which is irregular in the past tense in that in the immediate past it ends in *-i* in the singular forms, as shown in the paradigm in (8.98). In the plural, the final *i* is dropped, except in the third person where the plural clitic *\_to* does not affect the stem-final vowel. The non-person-marked form of this verb is *ëpë*, and the initial vowel changes to *a* before person-marking.

|        |       |             |                   |             |                    |
|--------|-------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (8.98) |       | Sg          |                   | Pl          |                    |
|        | 1→3   | w-apëi      | I took it         |             |                    |
|        | 2→3   | m-apëi      | you took it       | m-apë-ti    | you took it        |
|        | 1+2→  | k-ëpëi      | I took you /      | k-ëpë-ti    | I took you (pl.) / |
|        |       |             | you took me       |             | you (pl.) took me  |
|        | 1+2→3 | kī-t-apëi   | you and I took it | kī-t-apë-ti | you (pl.) and      |
|        |       |             |                   |             | I took it          |
|        | 3→3   | kīn-apëi    | he took it        | kīn-apëi_to | they took it       |
|        | 1+3→3 | ainja napëi | we took it        |             |                    |

### 8.7.11 Little-used tense/aspect markers

There are two verbal markers indicating tense and aspect which are found in the speech of old people but which are no longer used by younger speakers although the generation of 40+ still know the forms which are almost identical, namely the future *-(ja)kë(mi)*, and the past *-(ja)kën(e)*. In each case the full marker *-jakë(mi)*, which word-finally has the form *-jakën*, occurs with reducing verbs, whereas the form *-kën* occurs with non-reducing verbs. These are taken in turn below.

The future marker *-(ja)kë(mi)*, glossed here as FUTURE.PERFECTIVE, has a bounded time frame, that is, it expresses that an event will take place ‘for a while’ or ‘in a while’. Compare the examples (8.99a), where it expresses that an action will take place for the duration of a certain period, after which something else will happen, and examples (8.100a,b) where the action will take place ‘in a while’.<sup>6</sup> Example (8.99b) gives the modern way of expressing the sentence in (8.99a), namely with the verb in the present tense preceded by the particle *pitë* ‘a while, a bit’. The suffix *-(ja)kë(mi)* is often found in its reduced form as *-jakën* which is identical to the reduced form of distant past marker which in its full form is *-jakëne*. As is the case with the future marker, the distant past marker has now fallen into disuse and is generally only used by older speakers. However, given a verb form marked with *-(ja)kën*, without any indication of the context, speakers consistently interpreted the verb as being marked for past tense.

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6 Examples (8.100a,b) are taken from Keisi (1984:108).

- (8.99)a oroko-me wī:-tē-kēn  
 work-FACS 1→3.1TR-go-FUT.PERF  
 I'm going to work for a while (and I might see you later when I'm finished)
- b oroko-me\_pitē wī:-tē-∅-e  
 work-FACS\_bit 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I'm going to work for a while (see you later)
- (8.100)a irē-me ēwē wa-w-e-jakēmī  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS bit NEG-1→3-1TR-be-FUT.PERF  
 so I'm going to die soon (I'll be dead in a short while)
- b ēwē t-ē-ekeima-kēmī  
 bit 1↔1-REFL-kill.by.curse-FUT.PERF  
 I'll be dead in a minute

The meaning of the past marker *-(ja)kēn(e)* is imperfective. It expresses habituality or an event or state that took place in the distant past over a period of time. The full form of the past marker generally only occurs when other morphological material is added, such as the persistive clitic *\_nkērē* 'still', as shown in (8.102b). In the corpus two forms occur most frequently, namely those of the first and the third persons of the verb *e(i)* 'be', namely *w-ah-kēn* 'I was, used to be' and *kīn-ah-kē* 's/he/it was, used to be' respectively; the verb *e(i)* 'be' has a suppletive root *a(h)* in the past as well as in some present forms of the verb (see the irregular paradigms of 'be' in 8.11). Some examples of the past *-(ja)kēn(e)* are given in (8.101) - (8.103). The construction that has replaced this past imperfective in its habitual reading is the non-finite non-person marked habitual construction as shown in (8.104).

- (8.101) irē-po kīn-ah-kē tuna-imē  
 DP.INAM.ANA-LOC 3 →3.PST.1TR-be-DIST.PST water-AUG  
 there used to be a lake there
- (8.102)a pēera-rēken w-ah-kēn  
 stupid-only 1→3.1TR-be-DIST.PST  
 I used to be just stupid (unknowledgable)
- b pēera w-ah-kēne\_nkērē  
 stupid 1→3.1TR-be-DIST.PST\_PERSIST  
 I still used to be stupid (unknowledgable)
- (8.103) serē ahken kīn-unu-jakē jī-n-muku  
 DP.INAN.PROX like 3→3.PST-make.nauseous-DIST.PST 1POSS-3O-bear.NOM  
 that's how my son used to make (people) nauseous

- (8.104) t-ëpī-re w-a-Ø-e ka-e wī i-ja  
 COREF-white.hair-POSS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 1TR.say-NF.HAB 1PRO 3-GOAL  
 ‘[I’m not lying] I have white hair [i.e. I’m an old man],’ I would say to him

The plural marker for SAPs in both the future perfective and the distant past is *-të* which is the same plural marker for the non-recent past in *-ne* (see 8.7.8). With the non-reducing verbs with a plural SAP, the plural marker precedes the tense marker, but with those verbs that take the full form *-jakën* the plural marker occurs between the elements *-ja* and *-kën* as shown in (8.105a,b) for the future perfective and in (8.106a,b) for the distant imperfective past.

- (8.105)a k-e:ne:-të-kën  
 1+2→3-see- FUT.PERF-PL-FUT.PERF  
 we will look at it for a moment
- b m-i-pono:-ja-të-këmī  
 2→3-TR-tell-FUT.PERF-PL-FUT.PERF  
 you will tell about him for a moment
- (8.106)a k-e:ne:-të-kën  
 1+2→3-see- DIST.PST -PL-DIST.PST  
 we used to look at it
- b irë apo m-i-pono:-ja-të-këne  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 2→3-TR-tell-DIST.PST-PL-DIST.PST  
 that’s the way you (pl.) used to tell it

The similarity between the two forms and the fact that they seem to be made up of two discontinuous elements, one of which is identical to the present (imperfective) marker *-ja*, begs the question as to what the semantic common denominator is. Since one form expresses perfective aspect and the other imperfective, it cannot be aspectual, and the only other element in common is their possible relative distance from the moment of speech, that is, both express distance, one in the past, and the other in the future; and it is perhaps for this reason that the plural marker is that of the non-recent past tense. It seems, however, that this question will have to be resolved in future work on Trio.

## 8.8 Modal categories

While, with the possible exception of the future tense, the tense distinctions discussed above generally express realis categories, Trio has three different ways of expressing irrealis categories, namely the prototypical irrealis ‘I would X if ...’ which is encoded on the verb by means of the suffix *-i* in combination with the modal clitic *\_mo*; the hypothetical *-je*, and the warning *-nen*. The latter two take the plural marker *-të*, which is also used in the non-recent past tense.

### 8.8.1 Irrealis *-i*

The irrealis is formed by means of the suffix *-i* for all persons and the clitic *\_mo* which can be marked on the verb itself, although preferably it is marked on a preceding element if this is not a bare noun. Reducing stems do not reduce before the irrealis suffix *-i*, as shown in (8.107a,b). The third person prefix *n-* is not allowed on the irrealis verb form, rather the prefix *i-* or its zero allomorph is used. With *t(i)*-adding verbs, the *t(i)* is inserted in the third person, as shown in (8.110); for the *t(i)*-adding verbs, see section 8.3. In person 1+3 the clitic *\_mo* must be cliticized to the pronoun *ainja* which precedes the verb, and never to the verb itself. Plurality of SAPs is marked by means of the suffix *-ti* which occurs before the irrealis marker resulting in a geminate vowel *ii*. Plurality of the third person is by means of the clitic *\_to* which, if marked on the verb follows the irrealis marker *i-*. Compare the following paradigms in (8.108) and (8.109) where in the transitive paradigm with the verb *ekarama* [*<ëkarama*] ‘give’ a goal-marked person, for example, *wī-ja* ‘to me’, has been added. With those verb stems that end in the vowel *i*, the irrealis suffix fuses with that vowel without gemination taking place, see examples (8.111) and (8.112).

- |         |            |   |                                       |   |
|---------|------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| (8.107) | a          | k-ī-ponopī-i                                    | I would tell about you                |   |
|         | b          | m-enepī-i                                       | would you bring it?                   |   |
| (8.108) |            | Transitive                                      |                                       |   |
|         | 1→3        | w-ekarama-i <sub>mo</sub> ë-ja                  | I would give it to you (if I had it)  |   |
|         | 2→3        | m-ekarama-i <sub>mo</sub> wī-ja                 | you would give it to me               |   |
|         | 1+2→1+2    | k-ëkarama-i <sub>mo</sub> i-ja<br>(as his wife) | I would give you to him               |   |
|         | 1+2→3      | k-e:karama-i <sub>mo</sub> i-ja                 | you and I would give her to him       |   |
|         | 3→3        | ∅-ekarama-i <sub>mo</sub> wī-ja                 | he would give it to me                |   |
|         | 1+3→3      | ainja <sub>mo</sub> ∅-ekarama-i i-ja            | we would give it to him               |   |
|         | <b>Pl.</b> | 2→3   | m-ekarama-ti-i <sub>mo</sub> wī-ja    | you (pl) would give it to me                                    |
|         |            | 1+2→1+2   | k-ëkarama-ti-i <sub>mo</sub> i-ja     | I would give you (pl) to him/<br>you (pl.) would give me to him |
|         |            | 1+2→3   | k-eekarama-ti-i <sub>mo</sub> i-ja    | we all would give it to him                                     |
|         |            | 3→3   | ∅-ekarama-i-to <sub>mo</sub> kī-ja    | they would give it to us  |
| (8.109) |            | Intransitive                                    |                                       |   |
|         | 1→         | j-ereta-i <sub>mo</sub>                         | I would rest                          |   |
|         | 2→         | ë-ereta-i <sub>mo</sub>                         | you would rest                        |   |
|         | 1+2→       | k-ëreta-i <sub>mo</sub>                         | we would rest                         |   |
|         | 3→         | ∅-ereta-i <sub>mo</sub>                         | he would rest                         |   |
|         | 1+3→       | ainja ∅-ereta-i <sub>mo</sub>                   | we (ex.) would rest                   |   |
|         | <b>Pl.</b> | 2→  | ë-ereta-ti-i <sub>mo</sub>            | you would rest  |
|         |            | 1+2→  | k-ëreta-ti-i <sub>mo</sub>            | we would rest   |
|         |            | 3→  | ∅-ereta-i <sub>to</sub> <sub>mo</sub> | they would rest   |

- (8.110) kure\_mo tēnē-i  
 good\_MOD meat.eat-IRR  
 he would eat well (if he were a good shot)
- (8.111) a w-apēi\_mo I would take (I would have taken)  
 b w-ei\_mo I would be (I would have been)
- (8.112) irē-me ainja pētome  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FAC 1+3PRO beautiful.FACS
- irē-mao\_mo m-e-pītī-ka-i  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP\_MOD 2⇨-MID-wife-REVERS-IRR
- pena\_mo ē-injo-me w-ei-∅  
 long.ago\_MOD 2POSS-husband-FACS 1→3.1TR-be-IRR
- so (if) we were beautiful, you would have left your husband and I  
 would have been your husband long ago already

Note that the verb stem *epītīka* is made up of the middle diathesis marker, the nominal stem *pītī* ‘wife’ plus the reversative verbalizer *-ka* meaning in this case ‘you would have un-wifed yourself’. This word is rather idiosyncratic since it can be used both by men and by women although the effect it has on the experiencer of either sex is quite different. For women, it means to ‘de-wife oneself, undo one’s state of being a wife, i.e. get divorced’, whereas for men it means ‘to un-wife oneself, to leave one’s wife’.

The hypothetical *-je* is used in combination with the irrealis *-i*. It is often used to express disbelief or impossibility, or annoyance, as in (8.113). Compare the slight difference in meaning between the usage of the hypothetical *-je* in (8.114a) expressing disbelief as in ‘why do you think I might not have a husband?’ and the usage of the irrealis in (8.114b).

- (8.113)a eeke m-i-ponopī-i-je serē  
 how 2→3-TR-tell-IRR-HYP DP.INAN.PROX  
 how can you tell (about) this? (e.g., it’s not true / it’s a secret)
- (8.114)a a-tī-to:-me i-njo-nna w-ei-∅-je  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS 3POSS-husband-LESS 1→3.1TR-be-IRR-HYP  
 why couldn’t I have a husband (am I not pretty enough?)
- b a-tī-to:-me i-injo-nna w-ei-∅,  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS 3POSS-husband-LESS 1→3.1TR-be-IRR
- ē-injo-pē ji-w-eh-to-me  
 2POSS-husband-CONTACT.LOC 1POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-FACS
- why wouldn’t I have a husband, so I can be after yours?

The suffix *-nen*, which is suffixed to the verb stem, can be used to warn someone about potential danger, and is often heard as a warning not to fall in the mud in the village after the rain, see (8.115) and (8.116). The plural marker *-të*, precedes the suffix *-nen*, as shown in (8.115b). The example in (8.117) is unusual in this context since it is more similar in meaning to the hypothetical *-je* suffix ‘I can’t possibly not be getting pregnant!’

(8.115a) a-anota-nen  
 2→fall-WARN  
 watch you don’t fall! (it’s very slippery)

b a-anota-të-nen  
 2→fall-PL-WARN  
 watch you don’t fall!

(8.116) ë-ene-nen  
 3→2-see-WARN  
 watch out, he might see you!

(8.117) a-ti-to:-me w-a-nen\_pa ët-anëhka-e-wa  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS 1→3.1TR-be-WARN\_CYC REFL-conceive-NF-NEG  
 how can I not conceive?

## 8.9 Evidentiality and the finite verb

In order to understand the linguistic aspects of evidentiality marking in Trio, some background information on Trio society and culture are necessary. As with many Amazonian peoples, there is a high degree of individualism in Trio society. This is not to say that there is no collective, rather an individual’s rights and responsibilities are reflected and replicated in the collective. However, since the world as we know it is vastly greater for a people such as the Trio since it is a synthesis of the visible and the invisible, the real in this world and in the ‘other’ world of spirits and the like, claiming certainty about the state of the (whichever) world can be a hazardous affair. One of the most important elements in the Trio world is that we are constantly living in a state of flux, few things being constant. In the words of Rivière (1994), the Trio live in a transformational world where nothing is as it appears to be, where appearances are deceptive, and everything can change. One means of encoding this state of flux grammatically is found with the facsimile marker *-me* which was dealt with in section 4.8.5. So how can one then talk of truth and reality when different world truths and realities exist? For the Trio, egocentric knowledge and one’s ‘insight’ are central in successful communication. In fact, the Trio have an almost solipsistic worldview where egocentric knowledge is about as close as one can come to certainty about a given state of affairs. Egocentric knowledge can be gained on the one hand from

introspection (a term B.J. Hoff (1968) used to describe part of the evidential system of Kari'na, a language related to Trio, though his use of the term may differ slightly from mine here), and on the other hand from apprehension by the senses or the intellect, which one could subsume under the term 'insight'. These two do not necessarily overlap, rather they are found on different levels of the spectrum of grasping, conceptualizing, and relating the worlds. On the linguistic level, egocentric knowledge is regarded as a 'state' of knowledge that the self is in or of an activity the self is carrying out.

To exemplify this point, let's take the first person of a finite verb. A first person conjugated verb of state or action also expresses the 'state' of a speaker. A statement such as *wīṭē* 'I am going', given in (8.118a) below contains a degree of particular egocentric knowledge for the speaker that a statement such as *nīṭēn* 'he is going' in (8.118b) does not. Taking as a premise Russell's (1995:204) definition of the three purposes of language as '(1) to *indicate* facts, (2) to *express* the state of the speaker, (3) to *alter* the state of the hearer', then a statement of the kind 'he is going' can only express the state of the speaker in the sense that the speaker is being affected by an observation, and indicate the state of, in this case, the goer, thus there is no overlap of egocentric knowledge, that is, *I* cannot know what state *he* is in while *he* doing something. This fact is encoded in Trio by means of an evidential marker after a non-past tense marker, namely *-e* for a speech act participant and *-n(ē)* for a third person. In this work these markers are glossed as CERTainty and Non-CERTainty markers. In a normal declarative sentence the speech act participants, that is, first, second, 1+2, and the combined SAP and non-SAP 1+3 persons all mark evidentiality in the non-past tenses by means of the suffix *-e*. The lack of certainty about anyone else's state, and also one's own in interrogative clauses, is always indicated by *-n(ē)*, the non-certainty marker which is always used for the third person, and in questions for all persons, as shown in (8.119a,b).

- (8.118)a *wī:-tē-Ø-e*  
 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I am going
- b *nī:-tē-Ø-n*  
 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going
- (8.119)a *a-n-tae wī:-tē-Ø-nē?*  
 Q-NOM-PERL 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 which path should I go along?
- b *a-ja mī:-tē-Ø-n?*  
 Q-GOAL 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 where are you going?

Now the question arises why, if the philosophy is built on that of egocentric introspective knowledge, is the second person treated in the same way as the first as regards the certainty marker *-e*? In fact it is not essentially the same: speaking *of* a second person entails that one is speaking *to* that second person, the addressee, the interlocutor who is present before the speaker, that is, the speaker again is expressing his/her state as affected by an observation of the visible facts. In Trio, when speaking to a second person one more often uses an interrogative than a declarative statement, that is, one asks him/her rather than tells him/her what state s/he is in or what action s/he is carrying out. Even during fieldwork when trying to elicit verb paradigms, speakers continually would automatically give the non-certainty marker on the second person forms, thus posing a question as in (8.120a) rather than making a statement and stating the (apparent) obvious as in (8.120b).

- (8.120)a    *ë-n-muku m-i-suka-Ø-n?*  
                   2POSS-3O-bear.NOM 2→3-TR-wash-PRES-NCERT  
                   are you washing your son?
- b            *ë-n-muku m-i-suka-Ø-e*  
                   2POSS-3O-bear.NOM 2→3-TR-wash-PRES-CERT  
                   you are washing your son

While the two evidentiality markers mentioned above are one way of stating egocentric knowledge as opposed to uncertainty, a different strategy is used in the past tenses. When a speaker is reporting about an action that took place in the past, the speaker has to indicate the evidence s/he has for claiming that action to have taken place. In Trio, when a speaker was a witness to the event, then s/he uses a finite, tense-marked verb; if the speaker was not a witness to the event, then s/he focusses on the event as having taken place and uses a non-finite form of the verb, namely the *tī-√se* form of the verb (see sections 8.14.4 and 8.14.5 below) thereby indicating that s/he was not an eye-witness to that event. The speaker using this strategy is making what I call here an event-centralthetic statement, that is, rather than making a predication about someone, the speaker is making a statement about an event taking place, compare the examples in (8.121a,b) which are both answers to the question ‘did he get his letter?’.

One might think that use of the (non-witnessed) non-finite form would exclude its use with the first person since one is always present with oneself, but this is not the case: the *tī-√se* construction can and is used with the first person whereby using this form expresses that the first person was not in control of the action, for example, if one laughs in one’s sleep or if one does something when intoxicated, as shown with verbs ‘fall’ and ‘sleep’ in (8.122a-b) where the speaker was drunk and fell in the first, and where he couldn’t help falling asleep

in the second. Thus the *tī-√se* form of the verb is often found with the first person or a SAP also in the negative, as shown in (8.123a-b), to indicate that one couldn't have carried out that action because one was not present at the time or not in control of the situation. An analysis of the structure and the origin of the *tī-√se* construction is given in 8.14.5.

(8.121)a n-apë-i  
 3→3-take-I.PST  
 he got (took) it (and I was there and witnessed this)

b t-ëpë-se i-ja  
 COREF-take-NF 3-GOAL  
 he got (took) it (I didn't see it myself)

(8.122)a t-onota-e w-a-Ø-e  
 COREF-fall-NF 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I fell (I was drunk at the time)

b tī-w-ë-ëni-se w-a-Ø-e  
 COREF-1TR-REFL-sleep-NF 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I couldn't help it, I fell asleep

(8.123)a t-ëta-e-ta wī-ja  
 COREF-hear-NF-NEG 1-GOAL  
 I didn't hear him (I wasn't there so I couldn't have)

b t-ëne-Ø-ta ainja-ja  
 COREF-see-NF-NEG 1+3PRO-GOAL  
 we didn't see him (due to circumstances beyond our control)

## 8.10 Imperatives

The imperative is formed by means of suffixing the imperative marker *-kë* in the singular and *-të(kë)* in the plural to a verb stem. In addition, there is a dislocative marker that is combined with the imperative to give a command to carry out an action somewhere else, for example, *suhta-ta-kë!* 'urinate over there!' The dislocative is often confused with the itive found in many languages, however, in Trio the form is a pure dislocative in that its central meaning is not 'movement away from', rather it is locative in that it states that an action should be carried out somewhere else. Thus the example given above is simply stating that urination should take place at another location and at the same time implying that the addressee will have to move in order to get to the other location. Trio also has an imperative suffix *-emii* in the singular, and *emii-kon* in the plural which is used to express the notion 'X here!'; as such it seems to be the spatial counterpart of the dislocative suffix *-ta*, although formally it forms a non-finite type of construction. In this work, for lack of a better gloss, I gloss this morpheme as VEN-

tive.<sup>7</sup> Trio also distinguishes a hortative form, *-ne* in the singular and *-tē-ne* in the plural, to express the notion ‘let’s X’. The general prohibitive is expressed by means of a non-finite verb marked for negation followed by the imperative form of the verb *e(i)* ‘be’, literally meaning ‘be not Xing’, for example, *ka-e-wa eh-kē* ‘don’t be saying it!’ A second prohibitive is formed by means of the cessative suffix *-ke(pī)* in combination with the modal clitic *\_mo* to express the notion ‘stop Xing!’ In addition, the Trio imperative combines with two modality suffixes and a modal clitic to express the speaker’s attitude to the command and the addressee. The imperative types are summarized in (8.124), followed by the modals that are used in combination with the imperative in (8.125a-c).

Imperatives are characterized by restricted person marking, that is, intransitive verbs are only marked for the second person (*ē-/o-/a-*); transitive verbs can be overtly marked for a third person by means of the prefix *i-* or its zero allomorph, or for person 1+2 with the meaning ‘X me!’ Object marking is obligatory with the prohibitive, which is discussed in 8.10.5. Each of the imperative types is dealt with separately in the following sections.

(8.124) Imperative types and forms

| Type          | Sg.                 | Pl.                    | Meaning      |
|---------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| a general     | -kē                 | -tē-kē                 | X!           |
| b dislocative | -ta                 | -ta-tē-kē              | X there!     |
| c ventive     | -emīi               | -emīi-kon              | come X here! |
| d hortative   | -ne                 | -tē-ne                 | let’s X!     |
| e prohibitive | [V-NF-NEG]<br>eh-kē | [V-NF-NEG]<br>eh-tē-kē | don’t X!     |
| f cessative   | -ke(pī)(_mo)        | -ke-tē-kē              | stop Xing!   |

(8.125) Modal suffixes/clitics used with imperatives

|                            |        |                      |
|----------------------------|--------|----------------------|
| a urging clitic            | _kahta | be sure to X!        |
| b impatience suffix        | -sanpa | X for goodness sake! |
| c attitudinal modal clitic | _mo    | please X! Do X!      |

### 8.10.1 General imperative

The general imperative is marked on a verb stem by means of the suffix *-kē* for the singular and *-tē-kē* for the plural; the plural marker *-tē* always precedes the imperative suffix *-kē*. The imperative suffix must occur immediately after the verb stem, and does not allow any intervening elements between it and the verb stem, apart from the plural marker. With reducing stems the final syllable must be dropped and is replaced by the syllable closure *h* or length. In the western dia-

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7 Unfortunately the terms ventive and cislocative both have movement towards the speaker as their central meaning and neither of them do justice to the locative nature of this morpheme.

lect the phonetic realization of the imperative marker *-kë*, regardless of whether there is a preceding syllable closure with *h* or not, is usually [h] whereas the plosive *k* is generally distinctly heard in the eastern dialect, thus, for example, *arë-kë* ‘take it!’ is realized as [a'ɾəhə] in Kwamalasamutu and [a'ɾəkə] in Tëpu. A list of examples of transitive verbs marked for the imperative with a third person object is given in (8.126a-g), all of which have the meaning ‘X it!’ In (8.127) I give some examples of transitive verbs marked for person 1+2 with the meaning ‘X me!’ Within the transitive subclasses reflexive and middle no person-marking is allowed, and the imperative is simply suffixed to the stem as shown in the examples in (8.128a-d). Likewise with the small group of one-argument transitive verbs person cannot be marked, some examples are given in (8.129a-c). The intransitive verbs take a second person marked on the imperative verb as shown in (8.130a-c). With the imperative, the plural marker always refers to the addressee, it is not possible to mark a plural object.

(8.126) Transitive Verbs (3<sup>rd</sup> person object)

|   | Verb       | Imp.Sg        | Imp.Pl.         |                    |
|---|------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| a | i-ku(ku)   | i-kuh-kë      | i-kuh-të-kë     | try it!            |
| b | ëni(kī)    | ënih-kë       | ënih-të-kë      | drink it!          |
| c | i-pono(pī) | i-ponoh-kë    | i-ponoh-të-kë   | tell (about) it!   |
| d | ëpëi       | apëh-kë       | apëh-të-kë      | take it!           |
| e | i-ponoh-po | i-ponoh-po-kë | i-ponohpo-të-kë | ask it!            |
| f | ërë        | arë-kë        | arë-të-kë       | take it, carry it! |
| g | i-panama   | i-panama-kë   | i-panama-të-kë  | turn it around!    |

(8.127) Transitive verbs (person 1+2)

|   | Verb   | Imp.Sg.     | Imp.Pl.        |             |
|---|--------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| a | ëpëi   | k-ëpëh-kë   | k-ëpëh-të-kë   | take me!    |
| b | ërë    | k-ërë-kë    | k-ërë-të-kë    | carry me!   |
| c | i-suka | k-ï-suka-kë | k-ï-suka-të-kë | wash me!    |
| d | ëne    | k-ëne-kë    | k-ëne-të-kë    | look at me! |

(8.128) Reflexive and middle verbs (no person)

|   | Imp.Sg.      | Imp.Pl.         |                 |
|---|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| a | e-suka-kë    | e-suka-të-kë    | wash yourself!  |
| b | et-ainka-kë  | et-ainka-të-kë  | run!            |
| c | e-panama-kë  | e-panama-të-kë  | turn around!    |
| d | ë-ekurima-kë | ë-ekurima-të-kë | comb your hair! |

(8.129) Transitive one-argument verbs (no person)

|   | Verb   | Imp.Sg | Imp.Pl   |       |
|---|--------|--------|----------|-------|
| a | ëe(pī) | oh-kë  | oh-të-kë | come! |
| b | të(mī) | të-kë  | të-të-kë | go!   |
| c | e(i)   | eh-kë  | eh-të-kë | be!   |

(8.130) Intransitive verbs (2<sup>nd</sup> person)

|   | Verb   | Imp.Sg     |               | Imp.Pl.  |
|---|--------|------------|---------------|----------|
| a | ëreta  | ë-ereta-kë | ë-ereta-të-kë | rest!    |
| b | ënta   | ë-enta-kë  | ë-enta-të-kë  | wake up! |
| c | wa(to) | ë-wa-kë    | ë-wa-të-kë    | dance!   |

With some frequently used verbs of more than one syllable, such as *ene* ‘look’, *eta* ‘listen’, *ekarama* ‘give’ the imperative suffix can be omitted and the imperative meaning is understood from the context. Monosyllabic stems require the suffix, as shown in the examples in (8.129) above, however, the form *të* ‘go!’ is frequently heard but never *oh* ‘come!’ or *eh* ‘be!’ In the plural, which can only refer to the addressee, the imperative suffix *-kë* itself is optionally dropped as shown in (8.131). With the monosyllabic stems in the plural the full form is generally required, that is, *të-të-kë* ‘go!’ and not *të-të*; however, *eh-të* ‘be!’ is more commonly found than *eh-të-kë*. If additional morphology is added, however, the imperative *-kë* is obligatory, as shown with the persistive ‘still’ and cyclic clitics in example (8.132).

(8.131) j-ehketi-npë Ø-arë-të  
 1POSS-hammock-PST 3O-bring-IMP.PL  
 bring my hammock here (after I have died)!

(8.132) ji-mënpärë Ø-eneh-të-kë\_nkërë\_pa  
 1POSS-things 3O-bring-PL-IMP\_PERSIST\_CYC  
 bring my stuff back again!

Those irregular verbs that have an initial *t(i)* that is dropped before person marking require their initial syllable in the imperative whenever there is an indefinite object; compare example (8.133a) with an overt object and example (8.133b) with an indefinite unspecified object and the initial *t(i)*. The verb *(ti)ri* ‘do, make’, however, always has the initial *t(i)* in the imperative when there is a third person object, compare (8.135a) with an overt object and (8.135b) with the 1+2 person where the initial *ti* is dropped.

(8.133)a waruma kah-kë<sup>8</sup>  
 basket weave-IMP  
 weave a basket!

b tīkah-kë  
 weave-IMP  
 weave something!

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8 The word *waruma* refers to both weaving material as well as the finished product. The translation here as basket is context-dependent.

(8.134)a o-otī-pisi ēnē-kē  
 2POSS-meat-DIM eat-IMP  
 eat your piece of meat!

b tēnē-kē  
 eat (meat)-IMP  
 eat some meat!

(8.135)a moi Ø-tīrī ē-ena-o  
 spider 3O-do 2-neck-LOC  
 embrace a spider! (put a spider to your breast!)

b kure kī-rī-kē  
 good 1+2O-do-IMP  
 treat me well!

### 8.10.2 Dislocative *-ta*

The dislocative *-ta* is used to give a command to carry out an action elsewhere, that is, as explained above, the dislocative has locative rather than itive or directional meaning. The suffix *-ta* cannot be combined with the imperative *-kē* in the singular, but in the plural it is required to take the imperative suffix, compare the examples in (8.136a-d), which are followed by a contextual example in (8.137). Since another location is involved it is logical that part of the meaning is translocative, however, the essential meaning of this suffix is locative, as can be seen by comparing the examples in (8.138a-c) where in (8.138a-b) a verb of motion *tē-kē* ‘go!’ is used in combination with a non-finite form of the verb with ‘purpose of motion’ (supine) meaning, and in (8.138c-d) there is no movement as such involved but the act of seeing and buying is at another location.

|         |              |                  |                     |
|---------|--------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (8.136) | Sg.          | Pl.              |                     |
|         | a ene-ta     | ene-ta-tē-kē     | look at it there!   |
|         | b eta-ta     | eta-ta-tē-kē     | listen to it there! |
|         | c ekarama-ta | ekarama-ta-tē-kē | give it there!      |
|         | d ē-suhta-ta | ē-suhta-ta-tē-kē | pee there!          |

(8.137) k-ēne-ta\_pa\_mo ji-jētīpē\_pa\_mo Ø-ene-ta  
 1+2-see-DISLOC.IMP-CYC-MOD 1POSS-bones-CYC-MOD 3O-see-DISLOC  
 see me over there, go there to see my bones! (Tēmenta in Keisi 1984:145)

(8.138)a epeka:se tē-kē  
 3O-buy-NF.SUP go-IMP  
 go (to) buy it! (go in order to buy!)

b Ø-ene-Ø tē-kē  
 3O-see-NF.SUP go-IMP  
 go look! (go in order to see!)

- c            Ø-epeka:-ta  
               3O-buy-DISLOC.IMP  
               (go) buy it there!
- d            Ø-ene-ta  
               3O-see-DISLOC.IMP  
               (go) look there!

### 8.10.3 Ventive imperative

The ventive imperative, is formed by means of the suffix *-mii* in the singular and *mii-komo (-kon)* in the plural. The meaning of the suffix is to ‘come carry out action here.’ Although this is not an imperative in the strict sense of the word, it has been included here since it clearly has imperative meaning. The ventive imperative is a low frequency suffix and is hardly used now by younger informants, rather it is being replaced by the more transparent construction with a verb plus the imperative form *oh-kē* ‘come!’ as shown in (8.140). The ventive suffix cannot co-occur with the imperative suffixes *-kē* or *-tē-kē*. The ventive imperative, in contrast with the other imperative forms given above, does allow other material to occur between it and the verb stem, such as the cyclic clitic *\_pa* and the particle *pitē* translatable as ‘while, bit’ as shown in (8.141a,b). Unlike the other imperative forms, the ventive imperative can only be marked on a non-finite verb form, namely the supine form that is used to express ‘purpose of motion’. Thus the ventive is not a direct symmetrical counterpart of the dislocative; rather than expressing ‘X here!’, which would be the symmetrical opposite of the dislocative ‘X there!’, it expresses the notion ‘come here in order to X’. Given the non-finite state of the verb marked with *-mii*, it must take a nominal plural marker, namely the nominal plural suffix *-komo (-kon)* that on nouns is used to pluralize a possessor. A literal translation of the ventive imperative form with *-mii* would be ‘come here in order for your Xing s/thing’. Although with the imperative forms, the plural marker refers to the addressee, the ventive plural marker *-komo (-kon)* poses a problem since it normally (on nouns and nominalizations) pluralizes the person marked in the prefix on the verb which in the non-finite form would be the possessor, however, in the examples given here the person marked on these transitive verbs is a third person object which is clearly not the element to which the plural marker refers. Unfortunately this ventive suffix occurs only seldom in the corpus and is no longer used as explained above so that it is no longer possible to study this form fully.

- (8.139) a            ene-mii            come look at it!  
               b            eta-e-mii        come hear it!

- (8.140)a ene-Ø oh-kë  
 3O.see-NF.SUP come-IMP  
 come look!
- (8.141)a ene-Ø\_pa-mii-komo  
 3O.see-NF.SUP\_CYC-VEN.IMP-PSR.PL  
 come here to see it again!
- b ë-ewe-se-pitë-mii  
 REFL-eat-NF.SUP-while-VEN.IMP  
 come eat a bit! (spend a while eating!)

#### 8.10.4 Hortative

The hortative expresses the notion of ‘let’s X’. The verb is marked for person 1+2 in a prefix and the hortative suffix is *-ne*. As with the imperative given above, the plural suffix *-të* precedes the hortative suffix. The person marking for transitive verbs in the hortative is as follows:

- kii-* before *a, o, u* initial stems  
*k-* before *i* and *e*-initial stems (i.e. the initial vowel is lengthened)

With transitive verbs the meaning of the hortative is ‘let you (sg. or pl.) and I X it!’, that is, the personal prefix must also refer to a third person object which is marked by the element *t* or its length allomorph, as illustrated by the examples in (8.142a-f). With those verbs whose stem is of the form *ëCë* or *oCo*, the first vowel must first be fronted or lowered to *a* or *o* which creates an *a-* or *o-*initial stem, after which it takes the prefix *kii-*, as shown in (8.142a-c); the *i*-initial verbs take the length allomorph, as do the *ë*-initial verbs after the initial vowel has been lowered to *e*, see (8.142d-f). The middle and reflexive verbs likewise require their transitive status to be marked by means of the element *t* or by its length allomorph, as shown in (8.142g-h); see also 8.6.7. The irregular verbs that take the transitive markers take *ki-* as shown in (8.142i). Intransitive verbs take the prefix *k-* or *ki-* as shown in (8.142j-m). The resultant form of the hortative is homonymous with the past tense form given in 8.7.8 above, but the context will always tell which meaning is intended.

(8.142)

|   | Verb     | Hort.Sg        | Hort.Pl           | Meaning                        |
|---|----------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| a | ërë      | kii-arë-ne     | kii-arë-të-ne     | let’s carry him!               |
| b | ona(mi)  | kii-onan-ne    | kii-onan-të-ne    | let’s bury him!                |
| c | uru      | kii-uru-ne     | kii-uru-të-ne     | let’s barter (about) it!       |
| d | i-konka  | k-i:-konka-ne  | k-i:-konka-të-ne  | let’s pierce him!              |
| e | ipono    | k-i:-pono:-ne  | k-i:-ponoh-të-ne  | let’s tell about him!          |
| f | ene      | k-eene-ne      | k-eene-të-ne      | let’s look at it!              |
| g | e-panama | k-e:-panama-ne | k-e:-panama-të-ne | let’s turn (ourselves) around! |

|   |            |             |                 |                   |
|---|------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| h | ë:nī(kī)   | kīt-ë:nī-ne | kīt-ë:nīh-të-ne | let's sleep!      |
| i | të(mī)     | kī-tën-ne   | kī-të-të-ne     | let's go!         |
| j | ëreta      | k-ëreta-ne  | k-ëreta-të-ne   | let's rest!       |
| k | (tī)ka(pī) | kī-kah-ne   | kī-kah-të-ne    | let's weave (it)! |
| l | (tī)wë     | kī-wë-ne    | kī-wë-të-ne     | let's shoot (it)! |
| m | e(i)       | k-ei-ne     | k-eh-të-ne      | let's be!         |

### 8.10.5 Prohibitive

The prohibitive is formed by means of the imperative-marked form of the verb *e(i)* ‘be’, that is, *eh-kë* in the singular, and *eh-të-kë* in the plural, in combination with the negated form of the verb which is prohibited, and thus could be translated by ‘be not Xing’, or structurally seen [X-NEG be], see examples (8.144a-c). The imperative-marked verb ‘be’ must always follow the negated verb. The verb that is marked for the negative is in the non-finite form, marked with the suffix *-se* (allomorphs  $\emptyset$ , *-e*, or *-je*). The distribution of the non-finite markers is given in short in (8.143), a fuller discussion can be found in section 8.14 below. If the verb is transitive there is obligatory object marking in the form of an object prefix for first and third persons, for third person see (8.144a-c), for first person (8.145a,b), and for person 1+3, which formally takes a third person prefix, see (8.145c). It is not possible to mark person 1+2 in the prohibitive, rather a first person object is marked on the prohibited verb and the addressee is addressed in the imperative ‘be’ form, as shown in (8.145a-b); semantically a second person object of a prohibitive would entail a reflexive or middle. Intransitive and reflexive/middle verbs cannot take object marking, see examples in (8.146a-d). Likewise the one-argument transitive verbs cannot take object marking as shown in (8.147a,b).

- (8.143) Distribution of allomorphs of non-finite *-se*
- |                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| -se                  | reducing stems   |
| -je                  | reducing stems that replace the final syllable with <i>n</i> |
| -e                   | vowel-final stems (except those ending in <i>e</i> )         |
| - $\emptyset$ (zero) | vowel-final stems that end in <i>e</i>                       |
- (8.144)a in-ene- $\emptyset$ -wa eh-kë  
3O-see-NF-NEG be-IMP  
don't look (at it)! (be not looking at it!)
- b in-eta-e-wa eh-të  
3O-listen-NF-NEG be-IMP.PL  
don't you (pl.) listen!
- c in-pono:-se-wa eh-kë tīwërë-no\_ro-ja  
3O-tell-NF-NEG be-IMP other-NOM\_ASSERT-GOAL  
don't be telling (about) it to other people!

- (8.145)a j-enë-se-wa eh-kë  
 1O-laugh-NF-NEG be-IMP  
 don't laugh at me!
- b j-emu-ma-e-wa eh-kë  
 1O-sad-INCH.STAT-NF-NEG be-IMP  
 don't be making me sad!
- c ainja in-pono:-se-wa eh-kë tūwērë-noro-ja  
 1+3PRO 3O-tell-NF-NEG be-IMP other-NOM-GOAL  
 don't be telling other people about us!
- (8.146)a anota-e-wa e-hkë  
 fall-NF-NEG be-IMP  
 don't fall!
- b ereta-e-wa \_nkërë eh-kë  
 rest-NF-NEG \_PERSIST be-IMP  
 don't rest yet!
- c ë-ereko-ma-e-wa eh-të  
 REFL-worry-INCH.STAT-NF-NEG be-IMP.PL  
 don't you (pl.) worry!
- d et-ainka-e-wa eh-kë  
 MID-kidnap-NF-NEG be-IMP  
 don't run away!
- (8.147)a tē-e-wa eh-të  
 1TR.go-NF-NEG be-IMP.PL  
 don't you (pl.) go!
- b ka-e-wa eh-kë  
 1TR.say-NF-NEG be-IMP  
 don't say it!

Intransitive C-initial verbs, such as, for example, *ko:ma(mi)* ‘dusk, spend night’ take an initial *i* before the stem in the negative, see (8.148).

- (8.148)a ikomain-je-wa eh-kë itu-tao  
 dusk-NF-NEG be-IMP forest-CONT.LOC  
 don't be spending the night in the forest!

The prohibitive can also be used in the same way with adverbs and postpositions, that is, the non-verbal element is negated by means of the non-verbal negation marker *-ta*, and is followed by the imperative of the verb ‘be’, resulting in the structure [X-NEG be], compare examples (8.149a-b) where the declarative form is given in (8.149a) and the negative imperative form in (8.149b), and example (8.150) with the negated postposition *apo* ‘like’ followed by the modal clitic *\_mo*; see also 10.14.4. For the use of the modal clitic *\_mo* in combination with imperatives, see section 8.10.10.

(8.149)a nari-ke w-a-Ø-e  
fear-INST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I am afraid

b nari-ke-ta eh-kĕ  
fear-INST-NEG be-IMP  
don't be afraid! (be not-afraid!)

(8.150)a irĕ apo-ta \_mo eh-kĕ  
DP.INAN.ANA like-NEG \_MOD be-IMP  
don't be like that! (you shouldn't be like that)

#### 8.10.6 Cessative *-ke(pi)*

A further expression of the prohibitive is by means of the verbal suffix *-ke(pi)* marked on a finite verb. Formally there is no imperative marked on the verb, nor are there any examples in the corpus that have an imperative marked on the verb form, however, semantically this is an imperative form as shown in (8.151).

(8.151) wa-kĭ-rĭ-ti-ke \_mo  
NEG-1+2-do-PL-CESS \_MOD  
(please) stop killing (hitting) me!

#### 8.10.7 Modality and imperatives

Trio has a range of modal suffixes and/or clitics that encode the speaker's attitude to the utterance, which are often used in combination with the imperative to strengthen the command or to indicate the speaker's wish encoded in the imperative form (more details are given in 10.12). These forms are *\_mo* 'positive attitude, wish'; *-sanpa* 'impatience'; and *-kahta* 'urging'. These modal markers may not be combined with each other. Each is dealt with in turn below.

#### 8.10.8 Imperative with *-sanpa*

The suffix *-sanpa* is used with imperatives to express the speaker's impatience towards the addressee, and is translated here as 'for goodness sake'. The verb to which *-sanpa* is suffixed is generally reduplicated, and if so the suffix occurs on the second form. The verb may or may not be marked with the imperative suffix *-kĕ*, as shown in (8.152a-b). It is possible that this suffix is made up of the diminutive clitic *\_sa* plus the hortative particle *npa* 'let's go', however, it is taken here as one form. This 'impatient' form of the imperative is generally used with people one knows well, such as family members.

(8.152)a oh-kĕ oh-kĕ-sanpa  
come-IMP come-IMP-IMPATIENT  
come on for goodness sake!

- b e-pī e-pī-sanpa  
 MID-bathe MID-bathe-IMPATIENT  
 take a bath for goodness sake!

#### 8.10.9 Imperative with *\_kahta*

A further modal *\_kahta* found with the imperative, is used to urge the addressee strongly to carry out an action. The construction could be translated by ‘X for sure, make sure you X!’ Some examples are given in (8.153a,b). The scope of the modal *\_kahta* is the entire verbal phrase, rather than only the imperative suffix, as is shown in (8.154) where the imperative marked verb *ene(pi)* ‘bring’ is followed by the cyclic marker *\_pa* resulting in the meaning, ‘bring back’ and then is marked with the urging modal. In the negative *\_kahta* is marked on the imperative form of the verb ‘be’ and the verb is marked for negation, as shown in (8.155).

- (8.153)a oh-kē *\_kahta*  
 come-IMP\_URGE.MOD  
 be sure to come!
- b Ø-eneh-kē *\_kahta*  
 3O-bring-IMP\_URGE.MOD  
 be sure to bring it!
- (8.154) Ø-eneh-kē *\_pa kahta*  
 3O-bring-IMP\_CYC\_URGE.MOD  
 be sure to bring it back!
- (8.155) tēe-se-wa eh-kē *\_kahta*  
 come-NF-NEG be-IMP\_URGE.MOD  
 make sure you don’t come!

#### 8.10.10 Modal clitic *\_mo*

When the modal clitic *\_mo*, one of the functions of which is to mark irrealis (see 8.8.1 above and 10.14.4 below), is combined with the imperative, it expresses a wish or positive attitude on the part of the speaker. The clitic *\_mo* cannot be combined with the other imperative modal markers described above. In general giving orders by means of the use of imperative forms in Trio is regarded as ‘strong’ language, it indicates a de facto or perceived position of authority on the part of the speaker. Generally in Trio society this is not a desirous state of affairs. Adding the modal clitic *\_mo* to an imperative form is one way of weakening the command nature of the imperative since its usage indicates a strong wish on the part of the speaker. The addition of the clitic *\_mo* to an imperative sentence is similar to adding ‘please’ or saying ‘I would really like you to X’, or ‘it would be

good if you Xed’. Compare the examples with ‘come’ in (8.156a-b) where the difference is that the form in (8.156a) can be said neutrally or with annoyance ‘come back!’ and the form in (8.156b) has the meaning ‘I’d really like for you to come back’. Thus what the modal *\_mo* marks is the speaker’s attitude to something not yet realized, such as a wish.

- (8.156) a oh-kě\_pa come back!  
 b oh-kě\_pa\_mo please do come back  
 (I’d really like you to come back)

The scope of the the clitic *\_mo* is the entire utterance, and ideally this element is cliticized to the first constituent of the clause as shown in the examples in (8.157a-c); it is only cliticized to the actual imperative form if nothing precedes that, as shown in its second occurrence in (8.157b). Example (8.157b) comes from a text in which the wife is telling her husband what she thinks is very important for him to do when her father arrives, namely grab the boat because it’s full of good things like food.

- (8.157)a ěwě\_mo ene-kě  
 later\_MOD see-IMP  
 look later!
- b pahko i-kanawa\_mo Ø-apěh-kě in-kě\_mo  
 1POSS.father 3POSS-boat\_MOD 3O.take-IMP 3O.tie-IMP\_MOD  
 please grab my father’s boat and tie it!
- c irě-me\_mo aipī-me ě-jomi tīrī i-ja:-ne  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS\_MOD strong-FACS 2POSS-language 3O.do 3-GOAL-PL  
 so speak harshly to them! (the best thing for you to do is speak harshly to them)

## 8.11 Paradigms of the frequent verbs ‘be’ and ‘come’

In this section, the full paradigms of two most frequently used verbs are given, namely, the one-argument transitive verbs *e(i)* ‘be’ and *ěe(pi)* ‘come’. These verbs are somewhat irregular, in the first place because they act like intransitive verbs in that they do not allow an object to be marked yet on the other hand, they take all the person markers of the transitive set of verbs. For other verbs that pattern in the same way, see section 8.5.2. As stated above in 8.5.2, there is in fact an underlying (or implicit) object with these verbs, namely in the case of ‘come’, a directional object, and in the case of ‘be’ a locative or existential object; it is for this reason that I do not consider the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ in Trio to be a copula as such although it does have copular qualities. In addition, the verb ‘be’ generally occupies the second position in the clause.

The verb *e(i)* ‘be’ is irregular in that it has a suppletive vowel in several of its occurrences with nominalizations, tenses, modes etc. A list of the roots is given in (8.158). In the present, the verb *e(i)* consists of the root *-a-*, and like other verbs that end in *a* it has zero marking of the present tense, as shown in the second column of Table 8.18. In the second person the verb root is *-ana-* which seems to be the result of an historical process; most Cariban languages have a form ‘mana’ in the second person present, that is, Kari’na has *ma:na* ‘you are’ (Hoff 1968:212), Wayana has *manai* ‘you are’, and while most researchers to date have taken the deviant form to be a deviation in the personal prefix rather than in the verb ‘be’ it cannot be ruled out that this deviation is a reflex of a mutation in the verb related perhaps to evidentiality. For this reason, I keep the prefix separate and gloss the root in the second person present as *-ana-* while pointing out that this form may be the result of an historical fusion of two different morphemes. In the third person, the form is *nai* ‘s/he/it is’ which is irregular in that it does not have the evidential suffix usually found with the third person, namely the non-certainty marker *-n*; there is a suffix *-i* which has a related function, namely the irrealis marker described in 8.8.1 above. Furthermore, the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ distinguishes between two forms in the present, namely an existential (locative) form based on the root *-a-* and *-ana-* and an imperfective present based on the root *-ee-* which has the meaning ‘become’, see the fourth column of Table 8.18; this aspectual distinction is neutralized in all other occurrences of ‘be’; for example, the past non-witnessed form *t-ee-se* can mean ‘he was’ or ‘he became’ according to the context.

- (8.158) Roots of verb *e(i)* ‘be’
- a-, -ana- present
  - ah- distant past
  - eh- future; I.PST, NR.PST in the plural; imperative; nominalizations (*-topo*)
  - ei- past (I.PST, NR.PST in the singular); nominalizations (bare NOM, G.NOM); irrealis
  - ee- non-finite; present imperfective (‘become’)

Table 8.18: Present tenses

|       |               |                     |                 |                   |
|-------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1     | w-a-∅-e       | I am                | w-ee-ja-e       | I am becoming     |
| 2     | m-ana-∅-e     | you are             | m-ee-ja-e       | you are becoming  |
| 1+2   | kit-a-∅-e     | you and I are       | k-ee-ja-e       | we are becoming   |
| 3     | n-a-∅-i       | he is               | n-ee-ja-n(ë)    | he is becoming    |
| 2pl   | m-ana-∅-ti    | you (pl.) are       | m-ee-ja-ti      | you are becoming  |
| 1+2pl | kit-a-∅-ti    | you (pl.) and I are | k-ee-ja-ti      | we are becoming   |
| 3     | n-a-∅-i_to    | they are            | n-ee-ja-n_to    | they are becoming |
| 1+3   | ainja n-a-∅-i | we (excl.) are      | ainja n-ee-ja-e | we are becoming   |

The root in the future is *-eh-* for all persons, as shown in Table 8.19.

Table 8.19: Future: root *-eh-*, future: *-ta*

|       |                 |                         |
|-------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1     | w-eh-ta-e       | I will be               |
| 2     | m-eh-ta-e       | you will be             |
| 1+2   | k-eh-ta-e       | you and I will be       |
| 3     | n-eh-ta-n(ě)    | he will be              |
| 2pl   | m-eh-ta-hki     | you (pl.) will be       |
| 1+2pl | k-eh-ta-hki     | you (pl.) and I will be |
| 3     | n-eh-ta-n_to    | they will be            |
| 1+3   | ainja n-eh-ta-e | we (excl.) will be      |

In the immediate and non-recent past, the root is *-ei-* in the singular and *-eh-* in the plural, except for the third person which is *-ei-* in both singular and plural, as shown in Table 8.20. The one argument transitive status of the verb ‘be’ is marked by *-w-* for the nominalizations and by length for the non-finite-marked non-witnessed past, as shown in (8.159a-b) respectively.

- (8.159)a ěseně ji-w-eh-to  
 sick 1POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM  
 my being sick
- b ěseně t-ee-se  
 sick COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he was sick

Table 8.20: Past: root *-ei-* in singular, *-eh-* in plural, past  $\emptyset$  or *-ne*

|       | Immediate past | Non-Recent past | Meaning              |
|-------|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1     | w-ei           | w-ei-ne         | I was                |
| 2     | m-ei           | m-ei-ne         | you were             |
| 1+2   | k-ei           | k-ei-ne         | you and I were       |
| 3     | n-ei           | kĭn-ei          | he was               |
| 2pl   | m-eh-ti        | m-eh-tě-ne      | you (pl.) were       |
| 1+2pl | k-eh-ti        | k-eh-tě-ne      | you (pl.) and I were |
| 3     | n-ei_to        | kĭn-ei_to       | they were            |
| 1+3   | ainja n-ei     | ainja kĭn-ei    | we (excl.) were      |

In the distant past, the root is *-ah-* as shown in Table 8.21. This is a seldom used tense nowadays, and one generally only hears the first and the third person forms of this tense used by older speakers.

Table 8.21: Distant past: root *-ah-*, *-anah-*

|       |                 |                      |
|-------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1     | w-ah-kĕ(ne)     | I was                |
| 2     | m-ah-kĕ(ne)     | you were             |
| 1+2   | kĭt-ah-kĕ(ne)   | you and I were       |
| 3     | kĭn-ah-kĕ       | he was               |
| 2pl   | m-ah-tĕ-kĕ(ne)  | you (pl.) were       |
| 1+2pl | kĭt-ah-tĕ-kĕn   | you (pl.) and I were |
| 3     | kĭn-ah-kĕn_to   | they were            |
| 1+3   | ainja kĭn-ah-kĕ | we (excl.) were      |

The verb *ĕe(pi)* ‘come’ also exhibits some irregularities in the root forms; the forms of the root are *-ĕe-*, *-ĕne-*, *-ee-*, *-eh-*, *-ĕeh-*, and *-oh-*. Since the forms often vary within tenses and according to person, I give the full paradigms in the following tables, the present in Table 8.22, the future in Table 8.23 and the past tenses in Table 8.24. Since the verb ‘come’ has a reducing final syllable, the vowel preceding the tense marker *-ja* is generally long. The root for the first person has the form *ĕe* which is the form that would be expected if this were a regular verb. The second person, however, like with the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ given above, has an irregular form, namely *-ĕne-* or *-ĕneh-* that is found in all tenses. In the present, the forms for person 1+2 and the third person have the root *-ee-*, resulting in the forms *k-ee-ja-e* and *n-ee-ja-n* which are homonymous with the imperfective present tense forms of the verb ‘to be’ given above. That some fusion in meaning has taken place would not be surprising given the meanings, for example, ‘we are becoming’ vs. ‘we are coming’. In the future, the form is the same as that of the present plus *h* to replace the reduced syllable; likewise the forms for person 1+2 and the third person are homophonous with the forms of the verb *e(i)* ‘be’, that is, *n-eh-ta-n* ‘he will be’ or ‘he will come’ and *k-eh-ta-e* ‘we will be’ or ‘we will come’.

Table 8.22: Present: root *-ĕe-*, *-ĕne-*, *-ee-*, present *-ja*

|       |                 |                            |
|-------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1     | w-ĕe-ja-e       | I am coming                |
| 2     | m-ĕne-ja-e      | you are coming             |
| 1+2   | k-ee-ja-e       | you and I are coming       |
| 3     | n-ee-ja-n       | he is coming               |
| 2pl   | m-ĕne-ja-ti     | you (pl.) are coming       |
| 1+2pl | k-ee-ja-ti      | you (pl.) and I are coming |
| 3     | n-ee-ja-n_to    | they are coming            |
| 1+3   | ainja n-ee-ja-e | we (excl.) are coming      |

Table 8.23: Future: root *-ëeh*, *-ëneh-*, *-eh-*

|       |                 |                           |
|-------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1     | w-ëeh-ta-e      | I will come               |
| 2     | m-ëneh-ta-e     | you will come             |
| 1+2   | k-eh-ta-e       | you and I will come       |
| 3     | n-eh-ta-n       | he will come              |
| 2pl   | m-ëneh-ta-hki   | you (pl.) will come       |
| 1+2pl | k-eh-ta-hki     | you (pl.) and I will come |
| 3     | n-eh-ta-n_to    | they will come            |
| 1+3   | ainja n-eh-ta-e | we (excl.) will come      |

In the past tenses, the root differs between the singular and plural forms, as can be seen in Table 8.24. In the immediate past either the short or the non-reduced form can be used. The form *k-eh-të-ne* ‘you (pl.) and I came’ is homophonous with the hortative form ‘let’s come!’

Table 8.24: Past: root *-ëe-*, *-ee-*

|       | Immediate past       | Recent past | Meaning              |
|-------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1     | w-ëe (or: w-ëepī)    | w-ëe-ne     | I came               |
| 2     | m-ënee (or: m-ëenpī) | m-ënee-ne   | you came             |
| 1+2   | k-ee (or: k-epī)     | k-ee-ne     | you and I came       |
| 3     | n-ee (n-epī)         | kīn-ne      | he came              |
| 2pl   | m-ëneh-ti            | m-ëeh-të-ne | you (pl.) came       |
| 1+2pl | k-eh-ti              | k-eh-të-ne  | you (pl.) and I came |
| 3     | n-eh_to              | kīn-ne      | they came            |
| 1+3   | ainja n-ee-ja-e      | anja kīn-ne | we (excl.) came      |

The non-finite form of the verb *ëe(pi)* is regular, namely *ëe-se* since the final syllable is a reducing one (for the distribution of non-finite allomorphs, see 8.14). In the non-finite form and in combination with the nominalizations, the verb ‘come’ takes the one-argument transitive marker *-w-*, resulting in the forms given in (8.160a-b) with the past non-witnessed in (8.160a) and the bare nominalization with the desiderative marker in (8.160b). In the negative and with the subject nominalizer *i-V-ke(ti)*, there is an irregular initial *t* as shown in (8.161a-b); for the subject nominalizer, see 9.2.7. In addition the imperative root has the form *-oh-* as shown in (8.162).

- (8.160)a *tī-w-ëe-se soni*  
 COREF-1TR-come-NF vulture  
 a vulture came
- b *ji-w-ëepī-se w-a-∅-e*  
 1POSS-1TR-come-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 I want to come

(8.161)a tēe-se-wa n-a-Ø-i  
come-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he's not coming

b tēeh-ke(tī)  
come-S.NOM  
s/one who comes

(8.162) oh-kē sameken  
come-IMP quickly  
come quickly!

## 8.12 Verbal derivational suffixes

There are several derivational verb suffixes, some pertaining to a change in valency of a given verb (transitivizers, causative), others pertaining to a change in word-class (verbalizers). In the following sections, the transitivizers and the causative marker are dealt with first since they generally combine. These are followed by a description of the verbalizers. Finally the non-finite verb forms are discussed in section 8.14.

### 8.12.1 Valency changing suffixes

There are several valency-changing suffixes, namely the transitivizers *-ka*, *-nē(pi)*, *-nī(pi)*, and *-nīika*, which derive a transitive verb from an intransitive verb, and the causative *-po* which adds an extra argument to a transitive verb. The causative is usually combined with the transitivizers; this section deals first with the transitivizers and then with the causative.

The transitivizing suffixes are *-ka*, *-nē(pi)*, *-nī(pi)*, and the suffix *-nīika* which seems to be a combination of the reduced form of *-nī(pi)* and *-ka*. In most cases the transitivizers are found in combination with the causative suffix *-po*, although they can occur on their own. For this reason, those examples that were found in the corpus with the causative are given here with the causative *-po* in parentheses. In the present tense, the reducing transitivizers reduce and take the suffix *-ja*, and the non-reducing transitivizers, as well as the causative *-po*, have zero realization of the present tense, as shown in examples (8.163a-c). The distribution of the suffixes is given in (8.164). In (8.165a-j) I give some examples of intransitive verbs and their transitivized derivatives. The examples in (8.166) - (8.168) show some contextual examples of the intransitive verb in the (a) examples and the transitivized form in the (b) examples.

(8.163)a j-epi-nē-ja-n ratara  
3→1-medicine-TR.IZER-PRES-NCERT doctor  
the doctor is treating me (with medicine)

b w-eri:-nīika-Ø-e  
 1→3-perish-TR.IZER-PRES-CERT  
 I am killing him (letting him die)

c wi-kēhtun-nē-po-Ø-e  
 1→3-scream-TR.IZER-CAUS-PRES-CERT  
 I am making him scream

(8.164) Distribution of transitivizers  
 -ka reducing stems  
 -ni(pī), nīika non-reducing stems  
 -nē(pī), nīika reducing stems mostly of the type NV (nasal+V)

| (8.165) | Intransitive |               | Transitivized   |                  |
|---------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| a       | ja(tu)       | burn          | i-jah-ka        | burn s/o         |
| b       | ta(tī)       | get lost      | i-tah-ka        | lose             |
| c       | anihta       | grow          | anihta-nīika    | let s/o grow     |
| d       | ēri(ki)      | perish, die   | eri:-nīika      | kill             |
| e       | emeta        | transform     | emeta-nīpī      | transform s/o    |
| f       | anota        | fall          | anota-nī(po)    | drop, let fall   |
| g       | munta        | bleed         | i-munta-nī(po)  | make s/o bleed   |
| h       | kēhtu(mu)    | shout, scream | i-kēhtun-nē(po) | make s/o scream  |
| i       | wanpa(mī)    | sing          | i-wanpan-nē(po) | make s/o sing    |
| j       | suhta        | urinate       | i-suhta-nē(po)  | make s/o urinate |

(8.166)a n-eeku-ta-Ø-n poto  
 3→juice-TERM-PRES-NCERT butter  
 the butter is melting

b poto w-eeku-ta-nī-po-Ø-e  
 butter 1→3-juice-TERM-TR.IZER-CAUS-PRES-CERT  
 I am melting the butter

(8.167)a n-anihta-Ø-n  
 3→grow-PRES-NCERT  
 he is growing

b w-anihta-nīika-Ø-e  
 1→3-grow-TR.IZER-PRES-CERT  
 I am nurturing him (making him grow and mature)

(8.168)a n-anota-Ø-n  
 3→fall-PRES-NCERT  
 it is falling (it almost fell)

b w-anota-nī-po-Ø  
 1→3-fall-TR.IZER-CAUS-I.PST  
 I dropped it

There are a few cases, given in (8.169), where the transitivizers *-nē(pi)* and *-ni(pi)* seem to have the function of a verbalizer since they are suffixed di-

rectly to a noun, *ëpi(tī)* ‘medicine’ in (8.169a), and *ëmamin* ‘toy’ in (8.169b) whereby the intransitive verb ‘play’ or ‘be busy with’ is *ëmamina*. In other cases, such as those given (8.170a-b), there is no clear nominal source, nor an intransitive counterpart to the seemingly transitivized verb. It is possible that the source of *ëkanī(pī)* is the noun *ëka* ‘name (non-possessed)’ and that the concept ‘think’ is seen as ‘naming’.

|         |   |                     |                             |
|---------|---|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| (8.169) | a | <i>ëpi-në(pī)</i>   | medicate, treat             |
|         | b | <i>ëmaminë(pī)</i>  | make s/o play               |
| (8.170) | a | <i>ë-epa-nī(pī)</i> | take revenge                |
|         | b | <i>ëka-nī(pī)</i>   | think ( <i>ëka</i> ‘name?’) |

When a transitivized verb that ends in the reducing syllable *pī* is made non-finite, it takes the non-finite marker *-se* as do other reducing verbs, as shown with the intransitive verb *ëri(kī)* ‘perish, die’ and the transitive reflexive verb *ë-metanī(pī)* ‘transform oneself’ in (8.171a,b).

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| (8.171)a | <i>t-ëri:-se</i>                                    |
|          | COREF-perish-NF                                     |
|          | he died   |
| b        | <i>ë-emeta-nī:-se-wa n-a-Ø-i</i>                    |
|          | REFL-transform-TR.IZER-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT |
|          | they don’t transform (themselves)                   |

### 8.12.2 The causative *-po*

The causative marker *-po* which is phonetically often realized as [Φɔ], especially in Kwamalamamutu, is found on transitive and transitivized verbs. It potentially increases the number of arguments of a verb, and has as its meaning ‘have s/one X, make s/o X, or let s/o X’. The causative *-po* is suffixed directly to the verb stem; with reducing verbs, it is suffixed to the reduced form and occurs in the verb slot before the tense/aspect markers, as shown with the verb *ëne(pī)* ‘bring’ in (8.172a-c); example (8.172a) shows the normal transitive verb, and (8.172b-c) show the causative-marked verb in the present with zero realization of the tense marker, and in the non-recent past respectively. A further example with a derived transitive verb marked with the inchoative stative verbalizer is given in (8.173a) followed by its causative counterpart in (8.173b). In (8.173b) the original agent of the transitive verb becomes the instigator of the action of scaring, whereas the causee is encoded on the goal postposition *-ja* and the object remains the same for both. Stating the causee is optional as shown in (8.174).

(8.172)a *ë-mënparë-kon w-ene:-ja-e* < *ene(pī)* ‘bring s/thg’  
 2POSS-things-PSR.PL 1→3-bring-PRES-CERT  
 I am bringing your things

b *ë-mënparë-kon w-ene:-po-Ø-e*  
 2POSS-things-PSR.PL 1→3-bring-CAUS-PRES-CERT  
 I am having your things brought

c *ë-mënparë-kon w-ene:-po-ne pena*  
 2POSS-things-PSR.PL 1→3-bring-CAUS-NR.PST long ago  
 I had your things brought a while back

(8.173)a *w-enari-ma-Ø-e*  
 1→3-fear-INCH.STAT-PRES-CERT  
 I scare him (I am scaring him)

b *w-enari-ma-po-Ø-e ji-pawana-rī-ja*  
 1→3-fear-INCH.STAT-CAUS-PRES-CERT 1POSS-friend-POSS-GOAL  
 I have him scared by my friend (I have my friend scare him)

(8.174) *t-ënī-se-n wī-rī-po-ne*  
 COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM 1→3-do-CAUS-NR.PST  
 I had drink made

Some causative verbs such as those given in (8.175a-c) require their indirect object to be marked with the goal postposition *-ja*, as shown in (8.176a-c). In such cases the agent is identical to the causee and the goal-marked participant is the indirect object; if an external causee is required that participant too is marked with the goal postposition and both goal-marked participants can occur either after the verb or one, generally the indirect object which is either a noun or a pronoun (but not the inflected postposition) is placed before the verb, as shown in (8.177). There are no attestations of a double-marked causative, for example, it does not seem to be possible to have a double causative on the derived verb *ene-po* ‘show s/thg’, that is *\*ene-po-po*, to express the meaning ‘let/have someone show s/thg’, for example, ‘make him show you the letter!’ In the non-witnessed past construction *tī-√se*, which expresses the underlying agent participant on the goal postposition *-ja*, there are inevitably two goal-marked elements, namely the causee as the agent and the indirect object, as shown in (8.178a-b).

(8.175) a *ene-po* [see-CAUS] show  
 b *eta-po* [hear-CAUS] tell  
 c *i-pono:-po* [tell-CAUS] ask

(8.176)a *w-ene-po-Ø i-ja*  
 1→3-see-CAUS-I.PST  
 I showed it to him

b w-eta-po-∅ i-ja  
1→3-hear-CAUS-I.PST  
I told him

c w-i-pono:-po-∅ i-ja  
1→3-tell-CAUS-I.PST  
I asked him

(8.177) mēe-ja w-i-pono:-po-∅ i-ja  
3PRO.ANIM.PROX-GOAL 1→3-tell-CAUS-I.PST  
I had him (*i-ja*) ask him (*mēe-ja*)

(8.178)a ∅-eetī-ja t-ēne-po-e i-ja  
3POSS-uncle-GOAL COREF-see-CAUS-NF 3-GOAL  
he showed him (the child) to his (the child's) uncle

b irē-mao t-ī-pono-po-e\_re i-ja tamutupē-ja  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-TR-tell-CAUS-NF\_FRUST 3-GOAL old.man-GOAL

a-n-po n-a-i j-eemi-ton  
Q-NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-daughter-PL

then he asked the old man in vain ‘where are my daughters?’

There is at least one verb ‘to turn on the light, to make light’ that is formed by means of the causative suffix *-po* marked directly on the noun *wei* ‘sun, day’, as shown in (8.179).

(8.179) ni-wei-po-∅-n  
3→3-sun-CAUS-PRES-NCERT  
it (the sun, a light) makes everything bright (Also: he lights up everything).

## 8.13 Verb formation from noun

### 8.13.1 The verbalizers

Trio has a range of verbalizers, some with aspectual meanings, that are suffixed to a nominal root. Some of the verbalizers are more productive than others. Some verbalizers result in a transitive verb, others in an intransitive verb. The transitive verbalizers are given in Table 8.25, the intransitive ones in Table 8.26. The non-reducing verbalizers have zero marking for the non-past non-future tense, those that reduce take the present imperfective suffix *-ja*. Only nominals can be marked by a verbalizer, that is, adverbs and postpositions must first be nominalized. Each of the verbalizers are discussed in turn, starting with the transitive verbalizers.

Table 8.25: Transitive verbalizers

| Transitive | Meaning                 | Gloss     |
|------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| -ka        | reversative (un- / de-) | REVERS    |
| -htě/-ntě  | benefactive (concrete)  | BEN       |
| -pa        | providative (abstract)  | PROVID    |
| -ma        | inchoative stative      | INCH.STAT |

Table 8.26: Intransitive verbalizers

| Intransitive | Meaning                | Gloss     |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------|
| -pa(mī)      | sensory stative        | SENS.STAT |
| -ta          | inchoative terminative | TERM      |
| -wa          | inchoative stative     | INCH.STAT |
| -na          | produce from within    | PRODUCE   |
| -ke(pi)      | cessative              | CESS      |

### 8.13.2 Reversative *-ka*

The reversative verbalizer *-ka*, which is derived from the verb *ka* ‘to remove, take away’, can be suffixed to almost any noun root. Its meaning is that of ‘to lose something’ or to un-Verb or de-Verb someone. The resultant verb is transitive as can be seen in examples (8.180a-b) with the noun *po* ‘clothes’, followed by some middle-marked examples in (8.181a-c).

(8.180)a w-i-po-ka-∅-e  
 1→3-TR-clothes-REVERS-PRES-CERT  
 I undress him

b j-i-po-ka-∅-n  
 3→1-TR-clothes-REVERS-PRES-NCERT  
 he undresses me

(8.181)a s-e-po-ka-∅-e  
 1▷-MID-clothes-REVERS-PRES-CERT  
 I am undressing

b s-e-měnparě-ka-∅  
 1▷-MID-things-REVERS-I.PST  
 I lost my things

c s-e-injo-ka-∅  
 1▷-MID-husband-REVERS-I.PST  
 I lost my husband (either through divorce or because he died)

Some resultant verbs acquire specialized meanings, for example, the verb *intaka* ‘translate’ shown in (8.182) is derived from the noun *mīta* ‘mouth’, here in its reduced form *-nta*, plus the reversative verbalizer.

- (8.182) a-kī n-inta-ka-∅-n  
 Q-ANIM 3→3-mouth-REVERS-PRES-NCERT  
 who is translating?

The reversative *-ka* can be combined with the transitive inchoative stative verbalizer *-ma* in the word *jenuhkama* ‘I am confused (de-eyed)’ with the meaning of being in a state of confusion (de-focussed so to speak). An example is given in the negative imperative form in (8.183).

- (8.183) j-enuh-ka-ma-e-wa eh-kē  
 1O-eye-REVERS-INCH.STAT-NF-NEG be-IMP  
 don’t be confusing me!

### 8.13.3 Benefactive *-ntē/-htē*

The benefactive suffixes *-ntē* and *-htē* are suffixed directly to a noun stem, and in principle to any noun stem. The suffix *-ntē* is found more often than *-htē* and is the more productive of the two suffixes, as evidenced by the fact that *-ntē* is the one that is suffixed to recent loanwords such as (*j*)*oroko* ‘work’ from Sranan-tongo (ultimately from English ‘work’) as given in (8.186). The beneficiary of the benefactive suffixes is a direct object. Some derived forms with the benefactive have become lexicalized and are no longer necessarily transparent to all speakers, such as the derived stem *amorehtē* [spirit-provide s/o] meaning ‘dream’. Compare the following examples showing transitive verb stems (8.184a-b) and (8.185a-b) and their middle or reflexive stem formations (8.184c) and (8.185c) respectively, based on the nouns *po* ‘clothes’ and *amore* ‘spirit/shadow’.

- |          |   |   |  |
|----------|---|---|--|
| (8.184)a | w-i-po-ntē-∅<br>1→3-TR-clothes-BEN-I.PST<br>I dressed him (I clothes-provided him)                  | b | j-i-po-ntē-∅<br>3→1-TR-clothes-BEN-I.PST<br>he dressed me          |
| c        | s-e-po-ntē-∅<br>1↷-MID-clothes-BEN-I.PST<br>I dressed (myself)                                      |   |  |
| (8.185)a | w-amore-htē-∅<br>1→3-spirit-BEN-I.PST<br>I dreamt about him<br>(I soul-provided him)                | b | j-amore-htē-∅-n<br>3→1-spirit-BEN-PRES-NCERT<br>he dreams about me |
| c        | t-ēt-amore-htē-∅<br>1↔1-REFL-soul-BEN-I.PST<br>I dreamt (I was dreaming)                            |   |  |
| (8.186)  | w-i-j-oroko-ntē-∅-e<br>1→3-TR-EU-work-BEN-PRES-CERT<br>I am giving him work (creating work for him) |   |  |

In combination with the benefactive verbalizers, some nouns, such as *(j)omi* ‘language, word’, have specialized meanings and/or usage. For example, *(j)omi* plus the verbalizer *-htë* results in the meaning ‘translate’ (synonymous with *intaka* given in (8.182) above) as shown in (8.187). The same noun, however, when suffixed with the providative verbalizer *-pa*, has the meaning ‘speak’ (see section 8.13.4 below on the providative *-pa*). Likewise, the noun *eeku* ‘juice, sap’ can be suffixed by the verbalizer *-htë* with the meaning ‘drink on (to)’ as in (8.188) where the context is that of drinking to a successful barter agreement whereby one participant had bought a hunting dog.

(8.187) w-i-j-omi-htë-Ø  
 1→3-TR-EU-language-BEN-I.PST  
 I translated

(8.188) kaikui Ø-eeku-htë-Ø-n  
 dog 3→3-juice-BEN-PRES-NCERT  
 they drank on the (sale of the) dog

There are a few verbs, given in (8.189a-d) which end in either *-htë* or *-ntë* whereby synchronically the presumed noun no longer exists as an independent word. It is possible that the verb *antë* ‘build a hut’ is based on the same root *ami* (where the final nasal-initial syllable is replaced by the nasal /n/) that occurs with the reversative *-ka* in *amika* ‘open up, unwrap’, meaning to provide a cover or shelter, yet the root *ami* does not, to my knowledge, occur as an independent noun. The root *era* in *era-htë* ‘search for’ may be related to the root *era* in *erama* (see section 8.13.5 below for the inchoative stative *-ma*) ‘return’ but the semantic connection is not immediately obvious.

(8.189) a era-htë search for s/o  
 b a-ntë build a hut  
 c amo-htë call s/o  
 d e-htë plan s/thing, have plans

Whether a noun takes the suffix *-ntë* or *-htë* seems to be a lexical choice since there seem to be no phonological and/or morphological restrictions involved; also, either can be suffixed to animate or inanimate nouns – the noun *ëka* (possessed *eka*) ‘name’ given in (8.190a) below is animate in Trio. Neither is there a discernible semantic difference between the two forms. In practice, however, the verbalizer *-htë* seems to be the less productive of the two. In (8.190a-k) a list is given of some nouns that are known to take the benefactive suffix *-htë*. The list in (8.191a-n) gives some nouns that take the verbalizer *-ntë*.

(8.190) a ëka name > eka-htë name, give a name  
 b menu design, paint > i-menu-htë write, paint s/thing  
 c eeku juice, sap > eeku-htë provide with liquid, drink to

|         |   |          |                         |   |               |   |
|---------|---|----------|-------------------------|---|---------------|---|
|         | d | kari     | strength                | > | i-kari-htë    | provide with strength                     |
|         | e | amoi     | nail, claws             | > | amoi-htë      | provide with claws<br>(e.g. woven object) |
|         | f | enī      | container               | > | enī-htë       | provide with container                    |
|         |   | arī      | contents                | > | arī-htë       | fill, provide with contents               |
|         | g | jara     | shelter                 | > | i-jara-htë    | make a shelter                            |
|         | h | ëwa      | rope                    | > | ewa-htë       | tie, put rope around                      |
|         | i | omore    | spirit, soul, shadow    | > | amore-htë     | dream                                     |
|         | j | tīpī     | beginning, continuation | > | i-tīpī-htë    | begin, continue                           |
|         | k | aeru     | noise                   | > | aeru-htë      | make noise (inanimate subject)            |
| (8.191) | a | pakara   | box                     | > | i-pakara-ntë  | provide with box                          |
|         | b | kairi    | pepperpot               | > | i-kairi-ntë   | provide pepperpot                         |
|         | c | mënparë  | things, stuff           | > | i-mënparë-ntë | provide s/o with things                   |
|         | d | ëpëi     | seat                    | > | apëi-ntë      | provide with seat                         |
|         | e | je(rī)   | teeth                   | > | i-je(rī)-ntë  | put teeth on<br>(e.g., woven object)      |
|         | f | pī(tī)   | wife                    | > | i-pī(tī)-ntë  | provide with wife                         |
|         | g | ëpë(rī)  | arm                     | > | apë(rī)-ntë   | provide with arm<br>(e.g., making toy)    |
|         | h | repe(tī) | payment                 | > | i-repe-ntë    | buy, provide payment                      |
|         | i | ërepa    | food                    | > | erepa-ntë     | provide with food                         |
|         | j | pata     | place, village          | > | i-pata-ntë    | provide with place, village               |
|         | k | wenjepu  | baby holder             | > | i-wenjepu-ntë | provide baby holder                       |
|         | l | ai(ma)   | hotness                 | > | ai-ntë        | make (food) hot (spicy)                   |
|         | m | ëkī      | pet, hunting dog        | > | ekī-ntë       | provide with hunting dog                  |
|         | n | po       | clothes                 | > | i-po-ntë      | dress                                     |

Some nouns have been found in the corpus that can take either of two verbalizers, namely *enī* ‘container’ and *arī* ‘contents’, each of the two forms of which were produced by one and the same speaker.

#### 8.13.4 Providative *-pa*

The providative verbalizer *-pa* is used with only a few nouns;<sup>9</sup> those in my corpus are: *jokī* ‘drink’, *otī* ‘meat’, *ënu* ‘eye’, *(j)omi* ‘language’, and *ëremi* ‘spirit-song’. With the first two of these nouns the final syllable is dropped before the verbalizer *-pa*, resulting in the stems *i-johpa* ‘provide s/o with drink’ and *ohpa* ‘provide s/one with meat’. With the noun *ënu* ‘eye’ the final vowel is dropped

9 Leavitt (ms. 1971:44) also gives the verbs *winjapa* ‘I gave fruit’ and *wekarīpae* ‘I am giving news’. The latter verb is likely derived from the noun *ëka* ‘name’ which in Trio has special status, it is animate and is culturally on a similar status with the other four nouns given above since it forms part of an human being; in this respect, many children are not given names until they are a few months old, since until then they are not regarded as full human beings yet. My informants claimed not to know this verb.



humans and spirits, they live in villages, drink beer etc.; for the jaguar, blood tastes as pineapple does to humans (cf. also the first two shamanic texts in Chapter 13). The fifth noun *ëremi* ‘spirit-song’ likewise facilitates the connection between the visible and the invisible worlds of the Trio since only a shaman can evoke the spirits, and it is the shaman who can see the true essence of animals or spirits by changing his perspective. Thus shamanic ability to change perspective is the ability to ‘see’ through the outer casing of an *anima*. For a discussion of perspectivism in native Amazonia see Rivière (1994), Viveiros de Castro (1998) and others quoted there.

Language, the seat of the soul, is likewise conceived as an indispensable part of being human. Without language (in the abstract sense of faculty of language), there is no human, it is language that distinguishes ‘us’ from ‘the other’; in Trio mythology any animal that has taken on human form is not considered to be truly human, language is the one thing that an animal does not acquire (see Rivière (1994). Speaking amounts to manifesting one’s soul. The way in which one speaks is the way one is, hence as mentioned in the introduction and in Carlin (1998a) speaking harshly or angrily shows a harsh or angry soul. Speaking gently and quietly points to a circumspect person (usually a man!) who is *junme* [juŋ.me] ‘mature, wise’. Thus the verb *ijonpato* ‘speak’ could be understood as ‘give a voice to’. It is in this sense that providing someone with sustenance in the form of meat and drink on the one hand, and spiritual sustenance in the form of insight and language (soul) on the other is seen as having quite a different status from providing someone with a house or money which concepts take one of the other two benefactive verbalizers *-ntë* or *-htë*, as shown in 8.13.3. Note that the noun (*j*)*omi* can also be suffixed by the benefactive *-htë*, that is, *ijomi-htë*, where the resultant verb means ‘translate’, rather than ‘speak’ which is the meaning of *ijon-pa*. Thus the verb *ijomihhtë* provides ‘language’ that is, provides a translation into the Trio (or other) language, whereas the latter ‘gives voice to’ one’s thoughts or inner world.

#### 8.13.5 Inchoative stative *-ma*

The inchoative stative verbalizer *-ma* is used to form transitive verbs that indicate causing someone to enter into or be in a state, that is, it forms an atelic verb. As a transitive verb it is the object of the verb that is in the state or being put into the state, that is, the meaning is that of ‘inducing s/o’s state’, as in example (8.193a) which could be translated as ‘you are putting him into a state of embarrassment’. More so than with the other verbalizers there are several verbs which would seem to be derived from a noun plus the verbalizer *-ma*, although the nominal root of the verb no longer seems to exist as an independent noun. One

reason for claiming this may be that many of the *-ma*-based verbs correspond directly to nominal forms marked with the facsimile marker *-me* (see 4.8.5) to which the verbalizer *-ma* is likely related. Many experiencer states are formed by means of the verbalizer *-ma*. Compare the list in Table 8.27 which is followed by some examples of usage in (8.193a-b).

Table 8.27: Experiencer states

| Root  | Meaning        | In state of | Meaning | Verb      | Meaning      |
|-------|----------------|-------------|---------|-----------|--------------|
| pīi   | shame          | pīi-me      | ashamed | i-pīi-ma  | make ashamed |
| ēmu   | sadness        | ēmu-me      | sad     | emu-ma    | make sad     |
| enari | fear           | nari-me     | scared  | enari-ma  | frighten     |
| sasa  | sound symbolic | sasa-me     | happy   | i-sasa-ma | make happy   |
| wakī  | happiness      | ēi-wakī-me  | happy   | ewakī-ma  | make happy   |
| ase   | happiness      | ēt-ase-me   | happy   | ase-ma    | make happy   |

(8.193)a m-i-pīi-ma-∅-e  
 2→3-TR-shame-INCH.STAT-PRES-CERT  
 you are embarrassing him

b j-emu-ma-e-wa eh-kē  
 1O-sad-INCH.STAT-NF-NEG be-IMP  
 don't be making me sad!

Some body parts that take the verbalizer *-ma* have specialized meanings, as shown in (8.194a-b). Several verbs are based on the body part *ēre* 'liver' where between the root and the verbalizer there is an element that is difficult to determine, such as *-ko-* in (8.195). Whether such elements were once classifying morphemes (or perhaps verb roots) is unclear but not implausible since verbs derived from *ēre* plus *-ko-* carry the meaning 'feeling unease, restlessness' as shown in (8.196).

(8.194)a ji-n-muku w-i-pana-ma-e < pana 'ear'  
 1POSS-3O-bear.NOM 1→3-TR-ear-INCH.STAT-PRES-CERT  
 I am turning my child around

b pīi w-en-pata-ma-∅ < ēnpata 'face (place of eye)'  
 mountain 1→3-eye-place-INCH.STAT-1.PST  
 I went down the (slope of the) mountain

(8.195) n-ē-ere-ko-ma-n  
 3↔3-refl-liver-unease-INCH.STAT-PRES-NCERT  
 he is worried, upset

(8.196) j-ere-ko-pain-ja-e < -pamī [verbalizer, see 8.13.6]  
 1→liver-unease-SENS.STAT-PRES-CERT  
 I am restless

A list of some of some verbs formed by means of the verbalizer *-ma* but without an immediately recognizable or synchronic nominal root is given in (8.197a-h). Some verbs (excluding those experiencer verbs in Table 8.27 above) whose nominal root is attested are given in (8.198a-i).

- |         |   |           |                      |                    |                      |
|---------|---|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| (8.197) | a | ine-ma    | get drunk            |                    |                      |
|         | b | era-ma    | return               |                    |                      |
|         | c | ekei-ma   | kill (by shamanism), | make cassava bread | (middle)             |
|         | d | i-po-ma   | light                |                    |                      |
|         | e | akin-ma   | annoy                |                    |                      |
|         | f | ekara-ma  | give                 |                    |                      |
|         | g | ë-ipī-ma  | be left over (refl)  |                    |                      |
|         | h | pari-ma   | make fist, buckle up |                    |                      |
|         |   |           |                      |                    |                      |
| (8.198) | a | sokii     | boiling water        | sokii-ma           | boil                 |
|         | b | kutu(nu)  | pain                 | i-kutun-ma         | irritate, make worse |
|         | c | ratoe     | enemy                | i-ratoe-ma         | fight                |
|         | d | (wī)karau | anger                | (wī)karau-ma       | make angry           |
|         | e | apoto     | friend               | apoto-ma           | help                 |
|         | f | wapono    | first one            | wapon-ma           | overtake             |
|         | g | nmuku     | bear (child)         | e-muu-ma           | be pregnant          |
|         | h | jara      | shelter              | ara-ma             | put on roof          |
|         | i | (wī)toto  | human being,         | e-toto-ma          | become human,        |
|         |   |           | Amerindian           |                    | Amerindian (middle)  |

Despite the already causative meaning of some of the verbs formed by *-ma*, as exemplified in (8.199a), a *-ma*-marked stem can take the causative marker *-po*, as shown in (8.199b). The participant causing the embarrassment, if explicit, is encoded as an oblique causer on the goal postposition *-ja*, and the instigator of the act of embarrassing is encoded on the verb with the object in the portmanteau prefix (see also section 12.3).

- |          |                                    |                       |
|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (8.199)a | w-i-pīi-ma-ne                      |                       |
|          | 1→3-TR-shame-INCH.STAT-NR.PST      |                       |
|          | I embarrassed him                  |                       |
|          |                                    |                       |
| b        | w-i-pīi-ma-po-ne                   | (mēe-ja)              |
|          | 1→3-TR-shame-INCH.STAT-CAUS-NR.PST | (3PRO.ANIM.PROX-GOAL) |
|          | I had him embarrassed              | (by him)              |

### 8.13.6 Sensory state *-pamī*

The verbalizer *-pamī* is a reducing verbalizer, that is, it replaces its final syllable by the nasal *n* before tense marking, as shown in (8.200), whereby the palatalization of the nasal before the glide *j* is represented orthographically by writing an *i* before the nasal. This verbalizer is not very productive. Its meaning is that of undergoing a physical or mental sensation, for example, feeling hungry, cold, wise,

etc. The resultant verb is intransitive. The aspectual meaning of this verbalizer is that of stative without focussing on either the beginning or endpoint of the state, rather it indicates that someone is in a general state of X. Some examples are given in (8.201a-f); the noun in (8.201d) *ju(mi)* is derived from the noun meaning ‘father’, that is found in several Cariban languages, for example, Wayana and Kari’na; the implication is that being older (a father) makes one wise and mature. One verb was found whose nominal root no longer exists as an independent noun although it occurs with the facsimile marker *-me*, as shown in (8.202a) and with the verbalizer *-pami* as shown in (8.202b). Note that only animate subjects can occur with these verbs. Impersonal states such as ‘it is cold’ (as opposed to a person feeling cold as in example (8.200)) are formed by means of the noun plus the facsimile marker *-me* as shown in (8.203). Since the verbalizer *-pa(mi)* focusses on sensory body states, it can also be suffixed to sound symbolic adverbials, for example, *kirikiri* [tremble] to indicate trembling from fear, anger, or cold, as shown in (8.204).

(8.200) *ji:~no-pain-ja-e* < (ti)no(ti)-pa(mi) ‘feel cold’  
 1→shiver-SENS.STAT-PRES-CERT  
 I am cold

|         |   |            |                |              |                         |
|---------|---|------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| (8.201) | a | (ti)no(ti) | cold           | :noh-pa(mi)  | feel cold               |
|         | b | kēi        | fever          | kēi-pa(mi)   | have fever              |
|         | c | (j)emi     | hunger         | ijemi-pa(mi) | be hungry <sup>10</sup> |
|         | d | ju(mi)     | wisdom         | ijun-pami    | be wise                 |
|         | e | akunu      | laziness       | akun-pa(mi)  | be lazy                 |
|         | f | ēre(-ko)   | liver(-unease) | ereko-pami   | feel restless           |

(8.202)a *ijare-me n-a-∅-i mēe*  
 poor-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 she is poor

b *n-ijare-pain-ja-n*  
 3→poor-SENS.STAT-PRES-NCERT  
 she is poor

(8.203) *tino:-me n-a-∅-i*  
 cold-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 it is cold

(8.204) *ji-kirikiri-pain-ja-e*  
 1→atremble-SENS.STAT-PRES-CERT  
 I am trembling (from fear, anger, or cold)

There is, in fact, an identical suffix *-pami*, which is possibly related to the verbalizer *-pami*, which is suffixed to verb roots to express intensity or iterativity,

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10 This noun does not reduce the final syllable to *n* before the verbalizer as might be expected.

as shown, for example, in (8.205) with the verb *e(i)* ‘be’. Likewise any animal or bird call is expressed by the verb *ētapamī* which is probably derived from the verb *ēta* ‘hear’ plus the suffix *-pamī*, see (8.206). Given the different distribution and semantics of the two suffixes, they are treated here as two separate suffixes even though it may turn out that the verbalizer *-pamī* and the verbal suffix *-pamī* are one and the same or at least related.

(8.205) Tarēno-ton n-e-e-pain-ja-n<sub>sa</sub>  
 Trio-PL 3▷-MID-be-ITER-PRES-NCERT\_DIM  
 the Trio are increasing a bit in number now

(8.206) t-ēta-pain-je pērēru  
 COREF-hear-ITER-NF frog  
 the frog croaked (several times)

### 8.13.7 Terminative *-ta*

The verbalizer *-ta* forms intransitive telic verbs. This verbalizer has an aspectual function, namely that of highlighting the endpoint of a change of state or an action; I call it here an inchoative TERMINATIVE verbalizer. Thus all verbs of action or change of state have an inherent endpoint. The verbs in (8.207) and (8.208) are examples of terminative verb formations. In looking at this list one can see certain commonalities which I have grouped under two headings, Relations and Body fluids and body related, both of which groups clearly have an understood endpoint, for example, in getting married one ‘acquires a husband or a wife’ married after which one ‘is’ married, likewise having a child has an inherent endpoint. The group relating to body fluids and the body in general have as their endpoint a body fluid (8.208a-d) or a bodily (physical or mental) state (8.208e-g). What all these verbs have in common is their ‘point of no return’, for example, bleeding visibly produces blood, sweating produces sweat, etc. Acquiring language is also terminative in the sense that its acquisition has a break-off point, either one has learned to speak or not. The verb *ikarau-ta* ‘be angry’, however, carries a certain cultural import. Trio has several verbs to express different degrees of anger, one of which is the atelic verb *ikarau-ma* ‘be(come) angry’, derived by the inchoative stative verbalizer *-ma* as seen above (section 8.13.5). Being angry is an undesirable and a dangerous state to be in in Trio culture. It is often anger that is (was) the cause of someone’s death. The difference between these two verbs is that *ikarau-ta* expresses the anger one feels when it’s the last straw, when action has to be taken and there’s no going back. It is not implausible that the verbalizer *-ta* marked on bodypart or bodily function nouns has a meaning of ‘excrete from the body or self’, however, since there are many other nouns that are verbalized by means of *-ta* that do not immediately relate to bod-

ily functions, I simply use the gloss TERMINATIVE. Other nouns which take the terminative verbalizer are, for example, *kaimo* ‘game (after it has been shot)’. The sentence *ji-kaimo-ta* expresses ‘I have killed (acquired) game’ whereby the endpoint of now having the (dead) game is highlighted. There are also some lexicalized verbs formed by the verbalizer *-ta*, for example, *tunta* ‘arrive at’ as given in (8.209), where the root *tun* is not attested as an independent noun but it is an ideophone used to express the notion ‘arrive’.

#### Relations

|         |   |          |          |          |                       |
|---------|---|----------|----------|----------|-----------------------|
| (8.207) | a | injo     | husband  | injo-ta  | marry (a man)         |
|         | b | pī(tī)   | wife     | ipih-ta  | marry (a wife)        |
|         | c | eemi     | daughter | eemi-ta  | have (get) a daughter |
|         | d | (i)nmuku | son      | inmuh-ta | have (get) a son      |

#### Body fluids and body related

|         |   |           |                   |              |   |
|---------|---|-----------|-------------------|--------------|---|
| (8.208) | a | su(ku)    | urine             | suh-ta       | urinate   |
|         | b | ëramu(ku) | sweat             | eramuh-ta    | sweat   |
|         | c | ëta(ku)   | spittle           | etah-ta      | slobber   |
|         | d | munu      | blood             | mun-ta       | bleed   |
|         | e | ëre       | liver             | ere-ta       | rest  |
|         | f | (j)omi    | word,<br>language | ijomi-ta     | speak, (have acquired,<br>language) e.g., child |
|         | g | (wī)karau | anger             | (wī)karau-ta | be(come) really angry                           |
|         | h | waku      | belly             | waku-ta      | get a big belly<br>(e.g., in pregnancy)         |

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| (8.209) | tī-tunta-e sen-pona_rë                           |
|         | COREF-arrive.TERM-NF DP.INAN.PROX.NOM-DIR_ASSERT |
|         | he arrived right here                            |

#### 8.13.8 Non-productive verbalizers *-wa*, *-na*, *-ma(mi)*

The stative verbalizer *-wa* has only been found on one noun, namely *(wī)karau* ‘anger’ (cf. 8.13.7 above) resulting in the intransitive verb ‘be angry’, as shown in (8.210).

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| (8.210) | irë-pë ni-karau-wa-Ø-n                          |
|         | DP.INAN.ANA-CONTACT.LOC 3→anger-STAT-PRES-NCERT |
|         | he is angry about that                          |

The verbalizer *-na*, glossed in this work as PRODUCE, has only been attested unambiguously on a few words in the corpus, namely those given in (8.211a-e). Its meaning is that of producing something. The root in example (8.211e), *ëmamin*, once had the meaning of ‘business’ in the sense of ‘having something important to do’, nowadays it is generally used in the meaning of game or toy, with the

verb meaning ‘play’. The example in (8.211f) seems to be a compound noun based on *ēre* ‘liver’ and an unidentifiable morpheme *wae*. The resultant verb means to ‘produce liver-?’ meaning ‘be amazed or shocked’.

|         |   |         |   |            |                               |
|---------|---|---------|---|------------|-------------------------------|
| (8.211) | a | erei    | smoke                                   | erei-na    | produce smoke                 |
|         | b | awai    | light, clear                            | awai-na    | produce light, dawn           |
|         | c | ēremi   | spirit song                             | eremi-na   | sing spirit song              |
|         | d | poti    | lip                                     | ipotī-na   | whistle                       |
|         | e | ēmamin  | thing one<br>is busy with,<br>game, toy | emami-na   | be busy with s/thing,<br>play |
|         | f | ēre-wae | liver+wae(?)                            | ere-wae-na | be frightened, amazed         |

The verbalizer *-ma(mi)* has only been found with one nominal root, *ko(ko)* ‘night’, resulting in the intransitive verb *iko:ma(mi)*, which is represented orthographically as *ikomami*, meaning ‘to get dark, to spend the night, to be “be-nighted”’ as shown in (8.212). Consonant-initial intransitive verbs require an initial *i* in negated forms, as shown in (8.213), see section 8.14.2.

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| (8.212) | ni-komain-ja-n  |
|         | 3→get.dark-PRES-NCERT                                   |
|         | it gets darks, it gets dark on him, he spends the night |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| (8.213) | ikomain-je-wa n-a-Ø-i irē-po                          |
|         | get.dark-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC |
|         | it doesn’t get dark there                             |

### 8.13.9 Cessative *-ke(pi)*

The cessative verbalizer *-ke(pi)* is derived from the reducing intransitive verb *ke(pi)* meaning ‘stop, cease’, examples of which are shown in (8.214a-b). As a verbalizer, *-ke(pi)* has the meaning ‘stop (using, feeling)’ or ‘lose ability to’. It is not a highly productive suffix on nouns, the few attested examples are given in (8.215a-c). The nominal form given in (8.215a) is interesting in that the stem *ērepa* which is made up of the bodypart term *ēre* ‘liver’ plus the providative verbalizer *-pa* (see 8.13.4) has been lexicalized to a noun meaning ‘food’. This is not surprising since the liver is seen as the most important bodypart by the Trio, it is the life-source, hence food is seen as something which provides life, nourishment for the life-source. Ceasing to provide for the life-source is cutting off one’s life, which has led to the lexicalized meaning of *ere-pa-kepi* as ‘suffocate’ which can be meant both literally and metaphorically.

|          |                   |
|----------|-------------------|
| (8.214)a | ni-ke:-ja-n       |
|          | 3→stop-PRES-NCERT |
|          | he is stopping    |

- b            *tī-ke:-se\_to*  
               COREF-stop-NF\_PL  
               they stopped
- (8.215)a    *j-ere-pa-ke:-ne*                    < *ëre* ‘liver’ + *pa* ‘providative’  
               3→1-liver-PROVID-CESS-NR.PST  
               it had cut off my life
- b            *t-ëmu-keh-tuwë*                    < *ëmu* ‘sadness’  
               3COREF-sadness-CESS.NOM -ANT  
               after (he) had stopped mourning (being sad)
- c            *ni-mun-kepī-∅*                        < *munu* ‘blood’  
               3→blood-CESS-I.PST  
               it has stopped bleeding

Notwithstanding the fact that the verbalizer *-kepī* is found on nouns, it is more often found on verbs as a verbal extension, as shown in (8.216). Note that while suffixing *-kepī* to a nominal root results in an intransitive verb, when suffixed as a verbal extension to a verb, that verb retains its original valency, that is, transitive verbs remain transitive, as can be seen with the verb *wa-tīrī* ‘kill’ in (8.216). For the use of *-ke(pī)* with the imperative, see 8.10.6.

- (8.216)    *owa wa-kī-rī-ti-keh\_mo\_ro*  
               NEG.P NEG-1+2-do-PL-CESS\_MOD\_ASSERT  
               no, please stop killing us! (fighting with us)

## 8.14 Non-finite verb forms

A distinction is made in Trio between non-finite and nominalized verb forms. There are various types of nominalized verbs, given in Chapter 9, which exhibit different degrees of ‘nominality’. Non-finiteness as treated in this and the following sections is marked by means of the suffix *-se* (allomorphs  $\emptyset$ , *-e*, *-je*) which is attached to the verb stem. The suffix *-se* marks obligatory non-finiteness in the negative, as shown in (8.217a), and in the past non-witnessed form of the verb as in (8.217b). The non-finite suffix *-se* also marks a habitual past (see section 8.7.9), and a supine ‘purpose of motion’ form of the verb in a subordinate clause of the type ‘in order to X’, as in (8.217c). Plurality of person marked on a non-finite verb is marked by means of the plural marker *-ne*, which also is used to pluralize person marked on a postposition. Although morphologically the marking of non-finiteness on the verb is the same regardless of whether its meaning is supine, habitual past, non-witnessed past, or negative, person marking on the verb differs in the supine and habitual, and for this reason I distinguish the meaning exponents by adding SUPINE and HABITUAL after the gloss NonFinite for the supine and habitual, and leave the gloss NF for both the past non-

witnessed and the negative forms. The distribution of the allomorphs of the suffix *-se* is given in (8.218), followed by some examples in the non-witnessed event form in (8.219a-g). The different exponents of non-finiteness, the supine clause, in negation, and in non-witnessed past event, are dealt with below. This non-finite suffix *-se* is not to be confused with the homonymous desiderative postposition *-se* which also has a *-je* allomorph, see 6.3.6.

- (8.217)a in-eta-e-wa n-a-Ø-i  
3O-hear-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he doesn't understand it (not understanding it he is)
- b kana t-ëma-e i-ja  
fish COREF-catch.fish-NF 3-GOAL  
 he caught fish (non-witnessed)
- c epë-e wī-të-Ø-e  
bathe-NF.SUP 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I am going (in order) to bathe

- (8.218) Distribution of allomorphs of non-finite *-se*  
*-se* reducing stems (8.219a-b)  
*-je* reducing stems that replace the final syllable with *n* (8.219c-d)  
*-e* vowel-final stems (except those ending in *e*) (8.219e-f)  
*-Ø* vowel-final stems that end in *e* (8.219g-h)

- (8.219)
- |   |            |              |               |                    |
|---|------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|
| a | i-pono(pī) | tell         | t-ī-pono:-se  | he told            |
| b | i-ku(ku)   | try          | t-ī-ku:-se    | he tried           |
| c | koma(mī)   | get.dark     | tī-komain-je  | it got dark        |
| d | këhtu(mu)  | shout        | tī-këhtuin-je | he shouted         |
| e | ëkarama    | give         | t-ëkarama-e   | he gave            |
| f | i-pītüntë  | provide wife | t-ī-pītüntë-e | he provided a wife |
| g | ëne        | see          | t-ëne-Ø       | he saw             |
| h | aame       | taste        | t-aame-Ø      | he tasted          |

Some verbs have an irregular formation of the non-finite, namely those non-reducing stems that end in *ru* or *rī* change their vowel to become *rë*, as shown in (8.220a-d); and the verb *eku* 'have sex' changes its final vowel to *o*, (8.220e).

- (8.220)
- |   |       |               |           |                      |
|---|-------|---------------|-----------|----------------------|
| a | uru   | talk, bargain | t-urë-e   | he talked, bargained |
| b | apuru | close, dam up | t-apurë-e | he closed up         |
| c | tīrī  | do, make      | tī-rë-e   | he did, made         |
| d | tikī  | grate         | tī-kë-e   | she grated           |
| e | ëku   | have sex      | t-ëko-e   | he had sex           |

#### 8.14.1 Non-finite supine

The supine is a 'purpose of motion' construction which requires a non-finite verb form. The form of the supine is identical to that of the habitual past (see section

8.7.9). The supine expresses the notion ‘I am going/coming in order to X’. Note that there is an additional means of expressing ‘in order to’ which can also be used with verbs of motion, namely a verb nominalized with the time, manner, place nominalizer *-to(po)* followed by the facsimile marker *-me*, which is discussed in section 9.2.4; it is only this latter means that can be negated, see 8.14.3 for negative marking in subordinate clauses. The supine is generally only found with verbs of motion. Object marking is obligatory on the non-finite verb with supine meaning, as shown in (8.221a-e). The third person object marker in the supine is *i-/Ø* and not the prefix *(i)n-* that is used with the non-finite verb in negative constructions (see below). Those verbs that have an extra initial syllable *t(i)-* added require the syllable in the supine construction, as shown in (8.222a-b), see also section 8.3 above. The object of the supine, like that of the negated verb, is pluralized by means of the suffix *-.ne*, which is identical in form to the suffix that is used to pluralize postpositions, see example (8.221e).

- (8.221)a *ë-ene-Ø w-ëe-Ø*  
 2-see-NF.SUP 1→3.1TR-come-1.PST  
 I came to see you
- b *Ø-ene-Ø w-ëe-Ø*  
 3-see-NF.SUP 1→3.1TR-come-1.PST  
 I came to see him
- c *i-ku:-se wī:-të-Ø-e*  
 3-try-NF.SUP 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I’ll try (I am going in order to try)
- d *n-e:-ja-n, j-ene-Ø\_rëken*  
 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT 1-see-NF.SUP\_only  
 he is coming, just to see me (not to talk business)
- e *Ø-ene-Ø-:ne w-ëe-Ø*  
 3-see-NF.SUP-PL 1→3.1TR-come-1.PST  
 I came to see them

- (8.222)a *tīpë:-se wī:-të-Ø-e*  
 collect-NF.SUP 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I’m going to gather fruit
- b *tīkaa-se n-e:-ja-n*  
 weave-NF.SUP 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 he’s coming (here) in order to weave

#### 8.14.2 Negation and the non-finite verb

A verb is negated by means of a non-finite verb form suffixed by the negative suffix *-wa*. The subject or agent cannot be marked on the non-finite verb, rather,

these are expressed in the auxiliary which is the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ which is postposed to the negated form. With transitive verbs there is obligatory marking of the object by means of an object prefix, regardless of whether or not there is an overt lexical object, compare the examples in (8.223a-d). Unlike the supine construction given above, the negated forms always have a definite object.

- (8.223)a in-ene:-se-wa w-a-Ø-e  
 3O-bring-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I didn’t bring it (it-bringing-not I am)
- b ě-ene-Ø-wa n-a-Ø-i  
 2O-see-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he doesn’t see you (you-seeing-not he is)
- c j-arĕ-e-wa n-a-Ø-i  
 1O-take-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he’s not taking me
- d i-munu in-aame-Ø-wa eh-kĕ  
 3POSS-blood 3O-taste-NF-NEG be-IMP  
 don’t taste his blood!

With intransitive and reflexive and middle verbs the object slot is left empty and the subject is encoded on the auxiliary ‘be’ as shown in (8.224a-g). C-initial intransitive verbs take a stem-initial *i* in their negative form, see (8.225). If a transitive verb stem has an initial C-cluster, the third person prefix is *ini-* rather than *in-*, as shown in (8.226). When a third person object is marked on the verb *watĩri* ‘kill’, as shown in (8.227), the final vowel of the stem-initial *wa-* prefix and the initial vowel *i* of the object marker result in a diphthong in fast speech, in slow speech these are realized separately.

- (8.224)a eri:-se-wa m-ch-ta-e  
 perish-NF-NEG 2→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT  
 you won’t die
- b anota-e-wa n-a-Ø-i  
 fall-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he didn’t fall (he’s not falling)
- c erana-e-wa w-a-Ø-e  
 laugh-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am not laughing
- d tĕ-e-wa w-a-Ø-e  
 go-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I’m not going

- e ka-e-wa m-ana-Ø-n  
say-NF-NEG 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
are you not saying?
- f ë-ëñī-se-wa kīt-a-e  
REFL-sleep-NF-NEG 1+2.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
we don't sleep
- g e-po-ka-e-wa n-a-Ø-i  
MID-clothes-REVERS-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he isn't undressing
- (8.225) ikomain-je-wa n-a-Ø-i irë-po  
get.dark-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
it doesn't get dark there
- (8.226) ini-nta-ka-e-wa n-a-Ø-i  
3O-mouth-REVERS-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he didn't translate it
- (8.227) wa-inī-rë-e-wa w-a-Ø-e  
NEG-3O-do-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I'm not killing it (I'm not going to kill it)

Plural marking of the object of a non-finite negated verb is formed by means of the suffix *:-ne*, placed after the negative marker, as shown in (8.228a-b). This plural marker is homonymous with the marker that is used to pluralize the object of a postposition (see section 6.1.2).

- (8.228)a a-arë-e-wa-:ne n-a-Ø-i  
2O-take-NF-NEG-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he's not taking you (pl.)
- b in-eta-e-wa-:ne w-ei-ne  
3O-hear-NF-NEG-PL 1→3.1TR-be-NR.PST  
I didn't hear them

The notion 'not yet' is expressed by means of the negated verb with *-wa* immediately followed by the persistive clitic *\_nkërë*, as shown in (8.229a-b). When this construction with the persistive marker is used in a subordinate clause with *ahtao* 'if, when', then it has the meaning 'before', for example, 'if you are not yet going' means 'before you go' as shown in (8.230). For more details on the persistive clitic *\_nkërë*, see 10.17.4.

- (8.229)a tē-e-wa \_nkërë\_pa n-a-Ø-i  
go-NF-NEG\_PERSIST\_CYC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he isn't going back yet /he hasn't gone back yet

b            *ji-karakuri in-ekarama-e-wa \_nkērē n-a-∅-i*  
 1POSS-money 3O-give-NF-NEG\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he didn't give (me) my money yet

(8.230)    *tē-e-wa \_nkērē mekoro ahtao tapanani-pona*  
 go-NF-NEG\_PERSIST Maroon when proper.name-DIR  
 before the Maroons went to the Tapanahoni River

#### 8.14.3 The negative in subordinate clauses

In subordinate negative clauses with the subordinating particle *ahtao* 'if, when', the agent or subject is expressed either by a noun or by a pronoun and not as a prefix on the verb 'be', or if understood from the context it is omitted, compare the examples in (8.231a-c). See also subordinate clauses in section 12.4.

(8.231)a    *wa-ee-se-wa (ji-pun) ahtao n-i-po-ka-∅-n \_pa*  
 NEG-be-NF-NEG (1POSS-body) when 3→3-TR-clothes-REVERS-PRES-NCERT\_CYC  
 if (my body) doesn't die, he undresses it again

b            *in-apurē-e-wa ahtao amerarē ni-jaa-ja-n*  
 3O-close-NF-NEG when all 3→-burn-PRES-NCERT  
 if (they) don't dam it up, then everybody will burn

c            *tē-e-wa ji-pī ahtao j-akērē ...*  
 go-NF-NEG 1POSS-wife when 1-COM  
 if my wife doesn't go with me ...

In negative constructions of the type 'in order not to' the purposive construction with the time, manner, place nominalizer *-to(po)* followed by the facsimile marker *-me* marked on the verb *e(i)* 'be' is used, and not the supine construction given above. This form of 'be' is marked for possessor which is the agent or subject of the negated verb which immediately precedes the verb 'be'; two examples are given in (8.232a-b). The structure of this construction is translatable as 'in order for X's being not Xing'. See also section 9.2.4.

(8.232)a    *mahto-imē ∅-apuru-ja-n \_to sarē tē-se-wa i-w-eh-to-me*  
 fire-AUG 3→3-close-PRES-NCERT\_PL come-NF-NEG 3POSS-1TR-be-NOM-FACS  
 they dam up the big fire so that it doesn't come this way (in order for its being not coming)

b            *j-arē-∅-n anota-e-wa ji-w-eh-to-me*  
 3→1-take-PRES-NCERT fall-NF-NEG 1POSS-1TR-be-NOM-FACS  
 he takes me so that I don't fall (in order for my not to be falling)

#### 8.14.4 The past non-witnessed: *tī-* $\sqrt{se}$

The past non-witnessed form of the verb also requires the verb to be non-finite. In addition person marking is not possible on the verb itself, rather the person

slot on the verb is filled by the semantically bleached coreferential prefix *tī-*, here functioning as a dummy prefix, and the verb takes the non-finite marker *-se* ( $\emptyset$ , *-e*, *-je*). Transitive verbs in this construction may be preceded by an overt object and the underlying agent participant is marked on the goal postposition *-ja*, as shown in (8.233a-b). The subject of an intransitive verb appears as an unmarked independent noun/pronoun before or after the verbal form as in (8.234a-b). The meaning of this construction is that an action or event has taken place in the past whereby the speaker did not witness it. When used with the first person in the affirmative, the meaning of the past non-witnessed is lack of control, that is, that it happened to the subject without his/her conscious will or knowledge of it happening, for example, that one fell while in a drunken state, or that one fell asleep without intending or wanting to as in (8.235c) below. The excerpt in (8.236) shows how one speaker explains the difference between the past non-witnessed construction and the finite verb as he describes his youth making a distinction between his early youth when he was not really conscious of the fact that he was growing up, for which he uses the non-witnessed past construction, and his later youth when he was conscious of this fact and for which he used the non-finite past form of the verb *anihta* ‘grow up’. See also 8.9 above. Further details on the origin of this construction are given in 8.14.5 below.

- (8.233)a *kana t-ëma-e i-ja*  
 fish COREF-catch-NF 3-GOAL  
 he caught fish
- b *ëkëi-imë i-munkë-ton t-ërë-e i-ja*  
 snake-AUG 3POSS-son-PL COREF-take-NF 3-GOAL  
 he took anaconda’s sons

- (8.234)a *t-onota-e kanawa-imë*  
 COREF-fall-NF boat-AUG  
 the plane landed (fell)
- b *t-ëre-ta-e nërë*  
 COREF-liver-TERM-NF 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he rested

In the case of intransitive (also reflexive and middle) verbs it is also possible to have the subject marked on the verb ‘be’, although the verb ‘be’ is usually dropped here; its occurrence is mainly found in texts. Some examples are given in (8.235a-c).

- (8.235)a *t-e:-pahka-e n-a- $\emptyset$ -i i-maanini*  
 COREF-1TR.MID-break-NF 3 $\rightarrow$ 3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-ankle  
 his ankle is broken

- b      *tī:-të-të-e n-a-Ø-i mure*  
 COREF.1TR-go-go-NF 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT child
- naka tututu-me i-w-eh-topo-npë t-ee-se*  
 finished IDEO.stagger-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be-NOM-PST COREF-be-NF
- the child walked (reduplicated form), he had stopped staggering
- c      *tī-w-ë-ëni-se w-a-Ø-e*  
 COREF-1TR-REFL-sleep-NF 1→3-be-PRES-CERT  
 I fell asleep (I couldn't help it)
- (8.236) *irë-mao t-anihta-e wī, irë-mao j-anihta-Ø*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-grow.up-NF 1PRO DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 1→grow.up-NR.PST
- ma irë-mao ji-warë j-anihta-to t-ee-se*  
 DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 1-know 1POSS-grow.up-TMP.NOM COREF-1.TR-be-NF
- aerë kī-wame-ke:ne n-a-Ø-i k-anihta-toh-kon*  
 really 1+2-not.know-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+2POSS-grow.up-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL
- mure-me kī-w-eh-to-kon-mao kī-wameke:ne*  
 child-FACS 1+2POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL-TEMP 1+2-not.know-PL
- then I grew up (non-witnessed), then I grew up (witnessed), well, then I realized I was growing up. Really, when we are children we don't realize we're growing up (we don't know our growing up).<sup>11</sup>

Although plurality of the object marked on the non-witnessed past form is seldom found in the corpus, it can occur, namely by means of the plural marker *-:ne*, as shown in (8.237a); plurality of the agent is marked on the postposition *-ja*, see (8.237b). Plurality of the subject is marked by means of the plural clitic *\_to*, either on the non-witnessed verb form itself or on the immediately preceding word if this is not a plain noun, see examples (8.237c-e). This occurrence of the plural clitic *\_to* marked on the non-finite verb itself indicates the underlying structure of the construction, namely the non-finite verb and a postposed auxiliary 'be'. In example (8.237d) the plural clitic is marked on the temporal adverb *irëmao* 'then' showing that the position of the unexpressed verb 'be' is in second place in the sentence (see 8.11 above, and 12.1.3). As shown above in 8.7.2, the clitic *\_to*, if possible, does not occur on the verb 'be' itself, rather it is cliticized to the element immediately preceding the verb 'be' if that element is not a bare noun.

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11 The speaker continues: "but when we're a bit bigger we realize that we're growing up". This excerpt is from a text by Tëmenta collected by Cees Koelewijn, I would like to thank Cees Koelewijn for making this text accessible to me.

- (8.237)a t-ənpa-e-:ne i-ja  
 COREF-eye-PROVID-NF-PL 3-GOAL  
 he taught them
- b t-əhkē-se i-ja-:ne  
 COREF-cut-NF 3-GOAL-PL  
 they cut it
- c tī:-tē-e pa\_to  
 COREF.1TR-go-NF\_CYC\_PL  
 they went back
- d irē-mao\_to tī:-tē-e  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP\_PL COREF.1TR-go-NF  
 then they went
- e tī-w-ë-emeta-nī:-se\_to  
 COREF-1TR-REFL-transform-TR.IZER-NF\_PL  
 they transformed themselves

In the non-witnessed past (and also with nominalizations of the type *-to(po)*, *-nē*, and bare nominalization, (see Chapter 9)), reflexive and middle verbs, and also those intransitive verbs that take their person marking from the transitive set, require a marker *w* between the coreferential prefix and the reflexive marker, as shown in (8.238a-c). The marker *w* has a length allomorph which occurs with middle-marked verbs in the non-witnessed past, as shown in (8.239a-b). The function of the marker *w*/length is to indicate the one-argument transitivity status of the verb, hence the gloss 1TR, that is, it indicates that there is an object that in the case of reflexive and middle verbs is identical to that of the subject of the clause. In the case of the irregular split intransitives, the marker *w* expresses the transitive marking of the verb. Compare the transitive and reflexive examples in (8.240a-b) below where the marker *w* (or its allomorph length) distinguishes the type of object argument; when transitive, the verb *ërekoma* means ‘to annoy or confuse’, when reflexive, it means ‘to be confused’.

- (8.238)a tī-w-ët-amore-htē-e  
 COREF-1TR-REFL-spirit-BEN-NF  
 he dreamt
- b tī-w-ët-apēh-po-e\_rēken  
 COREF-1TR-REFL-take-CAUS-NF\_only  
 she just let herself be taken (sexual connotations)
- c tī-w-ët-urē-e  
 COREF-1TR-REFL-talk-NF  
 he negotiated (talked)

- (8.239)a t-e:-pata-ka-e  
COREF-MID.1TR-place-REVERS-NF  
he appeared
- b t-e:-pana-ma-e  
COREF-MID.1TR-ear-INCH.STAT-NF  
he turned around
- (8.240)a t̄iw̄er̄e-no\_ro-tomo-ja t-ërekoma-e  
other-NOM\_ASSERT-PL-GOAL COREF-confuse-NF  
others annoyed him
- b ir̄e-p̄e t̄i-w-ë-erekoma-e w̄itoto  
DP.INAN.ANA-CONTACT.LOC COREF-1TR-REFL-confuse-NF human.being  
the people were confused about this

The non-witnessed past is negated by means of the non-verbal negation marker *-ta* as shown in (8.241a-d). When used with SAPs, the negated form has the meaning ‘due to circumstances beyond my control I didn’t X’, as shown in (8.241b-d).

- (8.241)a t̄i:-t̄e-e-ta  
COREF.1TR-go-NF-NEG  
he didn’t go
- b t̄i-w-ë-ëni-se-ta n-a-Ø-i ainja  
COREF-1TR-REFL-sleep-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO  
we didn’t sleep (couldn’t sleep)
- c t-ëta-e-ta w̄i-ja  
COREF-hear-NF-NEG 1-GOAL  
I didn’t hear it (I couldn’t because I wasn’t anywhere near at the time)
- d t-ëne-Ø-ta ainja-ja  
COREF-see-NF-NEG 1+3PRO-GOAL  
we didn’t see (him)

#### 8.14.5 Underlying structure of the non-witnessed past

The *t̄i-V-se* construction which is found in many Cariban languages has been invariably described as exhibiting ergative syntax; however, a look at internal structure and discourse pragmatic relevance of this construction reveals that this construction is not a predicative construction at all, that is, it presents an event or a state as a whole and is not predicative in that the bipartite structure of subject-predicate does not exist. In Carlin (2002) I called this construction an event-central thetic construction, a term taken from Sasse’s (1987) seminal work on the thetic-categorical distinction. In fact the subject-predicate structure is avoided here in the non-witnessed past by means of a thetic construction that ‘posits’ the

event or state, i.e. the existence of a state of affairs is being asserted, and this stands in an attributive relation to a possible participant or entity involved; evidence that the bipartiteness of the notion subject-predicate is avoided is provided by the fact that any marking that would or could result in this bipartite division is circumvented by means of oblique marking of the underlying subject. The event-centralthetic constructions described here are formed by means of the non-finite verb. In addition the ‘positing’ nature ofthetic constructions lends itself to having evidential importance since as such this event, which is formed by means of a non-finite is not formally anchored in time. In the case of Trio, the event is simply stated as existing (or as having come into existence), and without anchoring in time or space it is not illogical that this form would receive a non-witnessed evidential interpretation.

The basicthetic event structure is given in (8.242), where the verbs given are random examples to elucidate the structure. As can be seen from this structure the entities or participants involved in the event or state stand outside of the basic structure, and in order to attribute an entity or participant to the state of affairs posited, that entity is preposed to the event in the case of a transitive verb, as shown with the entities ‘woman’ and ‘basket’, and ‘person’ and either preposed or postposed to the verb in the case of a one-argument verb, depending on the pragmatic considerations of new or given information. Consider the structure given in (8.243) where I have taken ‘woman’ as the (underlying) subject of an intransitive verb, ‘basket’ as the object of a transitive verb and ‘person’ as the subject of the reflexive verb ‘dream’, where the status of these nouns reflects their arguments of the corresponding finite verb. Any other participant or entity involved must have oblique status, that is, for example the structure in (8.244) where only non-core participants can be marked with the one-argument verbs, for example, location, as in ‘the woman arrived at a village’ and with two argument verbs an agent can be marked but again, it must be an oblique. As was stated above, even non-finite and nominalized verbs in Trio remain sensitive to the argument structure of the verb, thus also withthetic constructions, a non-finite intransitive verb states that a state of affairs exists and is attributed by the only possible argument namely the subject, as in [resting EXISTS] woman-wise; with transitive verbs the object of the verb is attributed by the event, as in, for example, [bringing EXISTS] basket-wise, and all other arguments must be marked obliquely, thus the structure with the transitive verb ‘bring’ in (8.244) would be ‘basket-wise bringing EXISTS with relation to A’ where A is the underlying agent. The result is an identical existential statement for both one-argument and two-argument verbs. The bipartite division subject-predication is thus avoided by means of an attributive construction where the A argument is allocated an oblique, and thus non-central position. As shown above, the verb ‘be’ can occur



where relevant is in this structure governed by the underlying S of the equivalent one-argument verbs, that is, the oblique entity can be marked for coreferentiality, as shown in (8.246); and with the two-argument verbs, there can only be coreferentiality marking if there is an overt oblique agent, as shown in (8.247). The fact that this is a thetic construction and thus non-finite in Trio is not a reason not to mark coreferentiality since all entities and participants are basically outside of the actual event, thus the attribute is remains the attribute regardless of whether it is possessor-marked or not, compare examples (8.248a-b).

- |          |  |   |  |
|----------|--|---|--|
| (8.246)  | tī-tunta-e<br>COREF-arrive-NF<br>the woman arrived   | wëri<br>woman                             | tī-pata-pona<br>3COREF-village-DIR<br>at her (own) village |
| (8.247)  | tī-pakoro<br>3COREF<br>the man built                 | tī-rë-e<br>COREF-do-NF<br>his (own) house | kiri-ja<br>man-GOAL<br>house                               |
| (8.248)a | panpira<br>letter<br>Nowa brought a/the letter       | t-ënee-se<br>COREF-bring-NF               | Nowa-ja<br>Nowa-GOAL                                       |
| b        | ji-panpira<br>1POSS-letter<br>Nowa brought my letter | t-ënee-se<br>COREF-bring-NF               | Nowa-ja<br>Nowa-GOAL                                       |

It is clear from this short section that much more research still has to be done on predication structures in Trio, and as pointed out by Sasse (1987: 577, fn 30), the question has not yet been examined whether or not the typological OVS structure of languages such as Trio lends itself to thetic constructions more than other non-OVS languages. Simply stating that the underlying structure of Trio is an ergative one does more to veil the structural facts than elucidate them.



## 9 Nominalization

### 9.1 Types

There are different types of nominalization in Trio, namely two that are infinitival or gerundive-like, that is, a zero-marked nominalization that can be marked with the anti-genitive suffix *-rī* as in *j-eta-rī* ‘my hearing, someone’s hearing of me’, and a gerundive nominalization in *-nē* to express non-person-marked generic activity or state such as *ēremi-na-nē* ‘singing spirit songs (is what shamans do)’. Further there is a nominalization relating to time, manner or place with *-to(po)* as in *ji-w-eh-topo* ‘my life (manner of being)’, and three nominalizations that are person-focussed, namely *-ne* to mark an agent on a transitive verb, as in *apēi-ne* ‘s/one who takes it’; *i-√ke(tī)* to mark the subject actant on an intransitive verb, as in *i-wejahta-ke* ‘s/one who farts’; and one nominalization, *-to-n*, that is person-focussed while nominalizing a verb that has been adverbialized by means of the suffix *-tē* ‘skilled in’ as in *wē-to-n* ‘s/one skilled in shooting’. In addition, the non-witnessed past construction *tī-√se* can be nominalized by means of the suffix *-mī*, which is reduced to *-n* word-finally, to express the notion of ‘likely candidate for Xing’ with intransitive verbs, as in *t-ēri-se-n* ‘a likely candidate for dying (someone who will likely die)’ whereas with transitive verbs it expressed the notion ‘a likely (good) candidate for being Xed’, as in *t-ēno:-se-n* ‘s/one who gets sent’. Analogous possessive constructions made up of a noun marked by the third person coreferential prefix *tī-* and followed by one of a number of possessive suffixes, are also nominalized for person by means of the suffix *-mī (-n)*, as in *tī-pīrēu-ke-mī-npē* ‘the one who had arrows’. There are also separate means for marking a negative nominalizations, namely with the suffixes *-pīn(i)* and *-mīn(i)*. Besides verbs, postpositions and adverbs can also be nominalized for person, by means of the suffixes *-n(o)* and *-to*, for example, *tuna-hkao-n* ‘s/one in the water, a water being’, and *pena-to* ‘an old one (thing)’, the latter derived from the adverb *pena* ‘long ago’. A list of the different types of nominalizations with the glosses used in this work is given in Table 9.1. This chapter starts with nominalization of verbs, then follows with those of postpositions and adverbs. In section 9.3 a summary is given of the nominal versus verbal features of the different nominalizations.

Table 9.1: Nominalizations

| Category → N | Form                | Function / Meaning                  | Gloss                     |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Verb         | ∅                   | infinitival-like                    | .NOM                      |
| V            | -nĕ                 | gerundive                           | -G.NOM                    |
| V            | -to(po)             | time, manner, place                 | -TMP.NOM                  |
| V (tr.)      | -ne                 | person-focussed (Agent)             | -A.NOM                    |
| V            | -to-n               | person-focussed ‘skilled’           | -SK.NOM                   |
| V (itr.)     | i-√-ke(tī)          | person-focussed (Subject)           | -S.NOM                    |
| V            | -mī (-n)            | candidate for Xing, being Xed       | -C.NOM                    |
| Postposition | -n(o), -to          | ‘s/one’, ‘s/thing’                  | -NOM                      |
| Adverb       | -n(o), -to          | ‘s/one’                             | -NOM                      |
| Nominal      | -pīn(ī),<br>-mīn(ī) | ‘s/one not able’<br>‘s/one without’ | -NEG.POT.NOM<br>-PRIV.NOM |

To illustrate, I give in Table 9.2 one example of each nominalization type, repeating the second and third columns of Table 9.1 above.

Table 9.2: Examples of nominalizations

| Form       | Function / Meaning               |   |
|------------|----------------------------------|---|
| ∅          | infinitival-like                 | ĕ-ene-∅-se nai ‘he wants to see you’<br>(your seeing-wanting he.is) |
| -nĕ        | gerundive                        | ĕremanĕ ‘singing spirit songs’                                      |
| -to(po)    | time, manner, place              | enura ji-w-eh-to ‘my blindness (blind<br>my.being)                  |
| -ne        | person-focussed (Agent)          | j-enpa-ne ‘my teacher’  |
| -to-n      | person-focussed ‘skilled’        | kah-to-n mĕe ‘he’s a skilled weaver’<br>(skilled.weaver he)         |
| i-√-ke(tī) | person-focussed (Subject)        | urakana-ke mĕe ‘he’s someone who<br>strolls around’                 |
| -mī (-n)   | candidate for Xing, being<br>Xed | t-ĕna-se-n serĕ ‘this is something to be<br>eaten’                  |
| -n(o), -to | ‘s/one’, ‘s/thing’               | tuna-hkao-n ‘a water-dwelling person<br>(creature)’                 |
| -n(o), -to | ‘s/one’                          | kawĕ-no mĕe ‘he’s a tall person’                                    |
| -pīn(ī),   | ‘s/one not able’                 | enu-pīn mĕe ‘he’s a blind person’                                   |
| -mīn(ī)    | ‘s/one without’                  | entu-mīn serĕ pakoro ‘this house is<br>ownerless’                   |

## 9.2 Nominalization of verbs

Nominalized verbs remain sensitive to the argument structure of the verb itself, that is, a two-argument verb has the possibility with some nominalizations of marking both A and O participants, a one-argument verb marks the S. With transitive verbs that have only one argument marked, that argument is the O. In both cases the main participant is marked morphosyntactically as a possessor. In the case of reflexive and intransitive verbs that mark person by means of the transitive marking set, the one-argument transitive marker *w-* (or its length allomorph) is required on the nominalized verb. The verb nominalizations given below have an array of meanings and functions, ranging from infinitive-like ( $\emptyset$ ) and gerundive-like (*-nē*) to circumstantial (*-topo*) and agentive (*-ne*).

### 9.2.1 Bare nominalizations: $\emptyset$ marked

The ‘bare’ nominalization is the plain verb stem that is used nominally, that is, there is no overt nominalizing marker. With reducing stems, it is the non-reduced form of the verb that constitutes the nominalized form of the verb, as in (9.1d); however, when followed by the anterior aspectual marker *-tuwē* [tu:wə] ‘after’ given below in (9.6a), this nominalization has the reduced form of the verb. The bare nominalization is an infinitive-like verb stem that can be marked for possession, tense, and aspect. The possessor of the nominalized form is the O of a transitive verb, as shown in (9.1a-b,d), that is, ‘my hearing’ is ‘someone else’s hearing of me’, and the person marked on an intransitive verb is the S which is the only argument available, as shown in (9.1c). The nominalized verb can be marked with the anti-genitive suffix *-rī* (see 4.5.1). While in principle the anti-genitive marker can be used with any verb stem nominalized in this way, see the examples in (9.1), it seems to be used less often now than in former times, and mostly occurs in old people’s speech. In fact, this type of nominalization is only seldom found without additional morphological material. The anti-genitive *-rī* is, however, obligatorily present before suffixation with the container locative *-(h)tao* resulting in *-rī-htao*, see (9.2) which has aspectual meaning, namely, ‘while, during’. Suffixation with the marker *-rī* always indicates non-past and its past counterpart is the suffix *-hpē*; compare the examples in (9.1) with that in (9.3) where someone’s operation in the past was being talked about.

- (9.1)     a j-eta- $\emptyset$ -rī       my hearing (the hearing of me by s/one else)  
          b ē-ene- $\emptyset$ -rī       your seeing (the seeing of you by s/one else)  
          c j-ereta- $\emptyset$ -rī       my resting  
          d j-enepī- $\emptyset$ -(-rī)   my bringing (the bringing of me by s/one else)
- (9.2)     ji:-tē- $\emptyset$ -rī-htao     while I go (during my going)
- (9.3)a     j-ahkētē- $\emptyset$ -hpē       my operation, cutting/ my scar

Throughout this book, I gloss the bare nominalization as .NOM, for example, hear.NOM rather than marking the zero nominalization by the symbol  $\emptyset$ . The bare nominalization is required before certain (aspectual) affixes given in (9.4a-i). The full form of reducing verbs is found before the desiderative *-se*, the aspectual *-rī-htao* and *-mahtao* both meaning ‘during, while’ and the nominal past marker *-hpë*; examples are given in (9.5a-f). The bare nominalization cannot take the past marker *-npë*. The other suffixes and postpositions, given in (9.4e-i) require the reduced form of reducing verbs, as shown in the contextual examples in (9.6a-b). The suffixes and postpositions given in (9.4a-h) may be marked on both nominalized verbs and nouns. The negative nominalizer suffix *-pīn(i)* given in (9.4i) is discussed below in section 9.5.

- (9.4)
- |   |                   |  |
|---|-------------------|--|
| a | <i>-se</i>        | desiderative   |
| b | <i>(-rī)-htao</i> | during, while  |
| c | <i>-mahtao</i>    | during, while  |
| d | <i>-hpë</i>       | past   |
| e | <i>-tuwë</i>      | anterior ‘after’   |
| f | <i>-ke</i>        | instrumental (with reason meaning ‘because’)                 |
| g | <i>-pora</i>      | negative experience (neg.exp)                                |
| h | <i>-pore</i>      | positive experience (pos.exp)                                |
| i | <i>-pīn(i)</i>    | negative potential nominalizer of person on nominalized verb |

- (9.5)a    *i-kuku-se w-a- $\emptyset$ -e*  
 3POSS.TR-try.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want to try it
- b         *$\emptyset$ -ahkëtë-se n-a- $\emptyset$ -i ainja*  
 3POSS-cut.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO  
 we want to operate on him (we want his cutting)
- c        *t-ëhkëtë-se n-a- $\emptyset$ -i*  
 3COREF-cut.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he wants to be operated on (he wants his own cutting)
- d         *$\emptyset$ -i-kuku-ru-htao*  
 3POSS-TR-try.NOM-POSS-CONT.LOC  
 while trying it
- e        *i-ponopī-mahtao wī-ja eta-të*  
 3POSS.TR-tell.NOM-WHILE 1-GOAL hear-IMP.PL  
 listen while I am telling it!
- f        *siminatë-me t-ee-se,  $\emptyset$ -erikī-hpë-pëe*  
 liana-FACS COREF.1TR-be-NF 3POSS-perish.NOM-PST-SOU  
 he became a liana from the moment he died onwards  
 (Tëmenta in Keisi 1984:147)

- (9.6)a    *ji-w-ë-ënih-tuwë j-enari-me-ta n-a-Ø-i*  
 1POSS-1TR-REFL-sleep.NOM-ANT 1POSS-fear-FACS-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 if I'm asleep I'm not afraid (after my falling asleep, it doesn't scare  
 me)
- b         *wewe-ton tuna-ton Ø-ihkërën-ma-Ø-ke*  
 tree-PL water-PL 3POSS-destroy-INCH.STAT.NOM-INST  
 because the trees and rivers are being destroyed

When the instrumental postposition *-ke* is marked on a nominalized verb of this type, it has REASON meaning, as shown in (9.6b) above, that is, its meaning is 'because'. It is more often found after the past marker *-hpë* than in the non-past, as shown in (9.7a). REASON is now generally expressed by means of a finite verb in combination with *iweike* which is the possessed nominalized verb 'be' marked with the instrumental postposition, as shown in (9.7b). For REASON clauses, see 12.3.1.

- (9.7)a    *ji-je ë-w-ei-hpë-kon-ke*  
 1-DESID 2POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PST-PSR.PL-INST  
 because you wanted me (because of your (pl.) former being wanting  
 me)
- b         *n-ës-ina-Ø-n i-w-ei-ke*  
 3↔-REFL-cry-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
 because she is crying

The bare nominalization is also required before the experience suffixes *-pore* and *-pora* as shown in (9.8a,b) to express positive and negative possession respectively. Verbs marked with these two experience suffixes mark positive experience of the possession type by means of the semantically bleached coreferential third person prefix *tî-*, as shown in (9.8a), and the negative experience possession with the third person non-coreferential prefix *i-*, as shown in (9.8b). As such, person cannot be marked on the verb itself, rather the experiencer of verbs marked with *-pore* and *-pora* is expressed on the goal postposition *-ja* as shown in (9.8a-b). For the use of *-pore* and *-pora* with nouns, and for more details on these and other types of possession, see Chapter 11. The negative experiencer suffix *-pora* is also used with the *-to(po)* nominalizer to express the notion 'cannot', for which see 9.2.4 below. The nominalized verb in the constructions with *-pore* and *-pora* can take no further morphology. Since person as such is invariable in these constructions, that is, with the positive experience marker *-pore* it is always the third person coreferential *tî-*, and with the negative experience marker it is always *i-*, plurality cannot be marked on the nominalized verb. Only the experiencer referent, which is expressed on the goal postposition *-ja* can be marked for plurality, as shown in (9.8c).

- (9.8)a t-ěne-pore wī-ja  
 COREF-see.NOM-POS.EXP 1-GOAL  
 [this] looks good to me (I like the look of this)
- b Ø-eta-pora i-ja  
 3POSS-hear.NOM-NEG.EXP 3-GOAL  
 he doesn't like to hear it (it doesn't sound good to him, e.g. a cough)
- c wanpan-to-ton Ø-eta-pora i-ja:-ne  
 sing-TMP.NOM-PL 3POSS-hear.NOM-NEG.EXP 3-GOAL-PL  
 they don't like to hear the songs

The anterior suffix *-tuwě* ‘after’, which is realized with a long vowel [tu:wə] that is not represented orthographically, is the only suffix that is used exclusively on this type of nominalization. In addition, when marked with *-tuwě*, the argument expressed on the nominalized verb is not pluralized as a nominal possessor by means of the nominal plural suffix *-komo* (*-kon*), rather the argument which is the O of a transitive verb and the S of an intransitive verb, is marked by means of the suffix *-.ne*, as shown in (9.9a). The plural marker *:-ne* also pluralizes the object of a postposition (see section 6.1.2) and (although found quite seldom) an object in the non-finite non-witnessed past form of the verb, see 8.14.4. A nominalized verb marked with *-tuwě* can only occur in a subordinate clause, that is, the *-tuwě*-marked nominalized verb cannot be a subject or an object, and it requires a main clause, as shown in the examples in (9.9a-c). The subordinate clause with *-tuwě* precedes the main clause which can consist of a non-finite verb in the past non-witnessed, or marked for negation as shown in (9.9a) and (9.9c) respectively, or alternatively a clause with a finite verb as in (9.9b). As stated above, verbs that drop the final syllable must occur in their reduced form before *-tuwě*, as shown with the reducing verbalizer *-pa(mi)* in (9.9b) which reduces to *-pan* and assimilates in place of articulation to the following *t* of *-tuwě*.

- (9.9)a Ø-epo-tuwě:-ne i-ja irě-mao tī-w-ět-urě-e  
 3-meet.NOM-ANT-PL 3-GOAL DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-1 TR-REFL-talk-NF  
 when (after) he found them, then he talked
- b ěwě ě-jun-pan-tuwě m-apěh-ta-e  
 bit 2-wise-SENS.STAT.NOM-ANT 2→3-take-FUT-CERT  
 in a while after you have matured (grown wise), you will take it
- c namo\_ro wītoto wa-i-w-eh-tuwě:-ne naka  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT human NEG-3-1 TR-be.NOM-ANT-PL finished  
 tĕe-se-wa\_pa  
 come-NF-NEG\_CYC  
 after those ones (Amerindians) die, it's over (their ethnic group will no longer exist), they won't be coming back

As stated above, a verb with the zero-marked bare nominalization has one obligatory argument marked as possessor; it is, however, possible to mark two arguments on a transitive nominalized verb, namely a third person object *-n-* and an agent as possessor. The result is a relative-like construction as given in (9.10) and (9.11). Syntactically the transitive verb nominalized in this way can be the object or the subject of a clause. This nominalization can take the past marker *-hpě*, as in (9.10b-c) to express that the action was carried out in the past, and can be pluralized either by means of *-tomo (-ton)* for the entity itself as in (9.11a), or by means of *-komo (-kon)* for possessor as in (9.11b-c). When combined with the past marker, the past marker precedes the plural marker as shown in (9.11c).

- (9.10)a *ji-n-enepĩ*  
 1POSS-3O-bring.NOM  
 the thing(s) I bring (things of my bringing)
- b *serě ě-n-pekati-hpě*  
 DP.INAN.PROX 2POSS-3O-ask.NOM-PST  
 this is what you asked for (thing of your former asking)
- c *tamutupě i-n-ponopi-hpě serě*  
 old.man 3POSS-3O-tell.NOM-PST DP.INAN.PROX  
 this is what the old man told
- d *ě-n-enepĩ-hpě-ton w-ene-∅*  
 2POSS-3O-bring.NOM-PL 1→3-see-I.PST  
 I saw the things you brought
- (9.11)a *i-n-enepĩ-ton*  
 3POSS-3O-bring.NOM-PL  
 the things he brings (is bringing)
- b *i-n-enepĩ-kon*  
 3POSS-3O-bring.NOM-PSR.PL  
 the things they bring
- c *i-n-enepĩ-hpě-kon*  
 3POSS-3O-bring.NOM-PST-PSR.PL  
 the things they brought (the things of their former bringing)

When a nominalized verb is marked with the desiderative marker *-se* in the plural, the postposition *-se* and the possessor plural suffix *-komo (-kon)* fuse becoming *-koe*, as shown in (9.12a-b), see also 6.3.6.

- (9.12)a *ěwě\_sa fi:-tě-koe\_pa\_to t-ee-se*  
 while\_DIM 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID.PSR.PL CYC\_PL COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 after a while they wanted to go back (they were wanting their own going back)

- b            *ë-ereta-koe m-ana-Ø-ti?*  
 2POSS-rest.NOM-DESID.PSR.PL 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL  
 do you (pl) want to rest? (are you wanting your resting)

The subject of the desiderative-marked nominalized clause is the person doing the wanting and this subject may coincide with the actual agent, as shown in (9.13), where the meaning is ‘I want to listen to you’. When the agent is not the same as that marked on the verb ‘be’, as in, for example, ‘I want him to listen to you (I want your listening by him)’, the (external) agent is expressed on the goal postposition *-ja*, as shown in (9.14a-c).

- (9.13)a    *ë-eta-se w-a-Ø-e*  
 2POSS-hear.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want to listen to you (I am wanting your listening (by me))
- (9.14)a    *ë-eta-se w-a-Ø-e i-ja*  
 2POSS-hear.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2-GOAL  
 I want him to listen to you (I want your listening by him)
- b            *tī-mēnparē Ø-epekati-se n-a-Ø-i ë-ja*  
 3COREF-things 3POSS-buy.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2-GOAL  
 he wants you to buy his things (he is wanting his-own-things-buying by you)
- c            *t-ëhkētē-se n-a-Ø-i nērē-ja*  
 3COREF-cut.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-GOAL  
 he wants to be operated on (he wants his cutting) by him (that one)

Likewise when the bare nominalization is used with the aspectual markers *-tuwē* ‘after’, *-rihtao* ‘during’, and *-mahtao* ‘while, if’ as well as the instrumental *-ke*, it is the O or the S participant that is marked on the nominalized verb while the agent is marked on the postposition *-ja* as shown in (9.15a-d).

- (9.15)a    *ë-ene-tuwē wī-ja*  
 2-see.NOM-ANT 1-GOAL  
 when I see you (after your seeing by me)
- b            *i-ponopī-rī-htao nērē-ja amerarē n-eta-Ø-n*  
 3POSS.TR-tell.NOM-POSS-CONT.LOC 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-GOAL all 3→3-hear-PRES-NCERT  
 while he is telling (it), everybody (comes to) listens
- c            *kure jī-rī-mahtao ë-ja:ne*  
 good 1POSS-do.NOM-while 2-GOAL-PL  
 if you treat me well (during your good doing me)
- d            *mēe Ø-eemi-ton Ø-apēi-hpē-ke ë-munkē-tomo-ja*  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3POSS-daughter-PL 3POSS-take.NOM-PST-INST 2POSS-sons-PL-GOAL  
 because your sons took his daughters  
 (because of the former taking of his daughters by your sons)

The bare nominalization of the verb ‘be’, namely *ei*, marked with the instrumental *-ke* is used to form reason or cause clauses involving adverbs and nominalized adverbs, whereby tense and person marking are added as appropriate, see examples (9.16a-c). In (9.16b-c) the nominalized form is marked with the tense marker *-hpë*, with the literal meaning in (9.16b) being ‘because of my former being still a child’. When the possessor of the nominalized verb is plural, the plural marker *-komo* (*-kon*) follows the tense marker as shown in (9.16c) where the structure of the clause is given in square brackets after the free translation. The form *-weike* [*-w-ei-ke*] is now found as a means of marking cause following a finite verb, as shown in (9.17a-b), which would point to a degree of lexicalization of *iweike*; however, while there are certain inflectional restrictions, such as a lack of past marking, as shown in the asterisked clause in (9.17c), there must be agreement in person marking, as shown in the third and first person respectively in (9.17a-b). See section 12.3.1 for the syntactic properties of reason clauses.

- (9.16)a kura-no i-w-ei-ke  
 good-NOM 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INSTR  
 because he is good (because of his being a good person)
- b mure-me\_nkërë ji-w-ei-hpë-ke  
 child-FACS\_PERSIST 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PST-INST  
 (I didn’t know that) because I was still a child
- c ji-je ë-w-ei-hpë-kon-ke  
 1-DESID 2POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PST-PSR.PL-INST  
 because you wanted me ([because of your (pl.) former being] [wanting me])
- (9.17)a kana n-enu-ja-n i-w-ei-ke  
 fish 3→rise-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
 because fish rise to the surface (of the water) (Tëmenta in Keisi 1984:139)
- b t-ës-ina-Ø-e ji-w-ei-ke  
 1↔-REFL-cry-PRES-CERT 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
 because I am crying
- c \* t-ës-ina-Ø ji-w-ei-hpë-ke  
 1↔-REFL-water.VBLZER-I.PST 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PST-INST  
 because I was crying

## 9.2.2 Negation and the bare nominalization

Verbs nominalized with the zero nominalization are negated with the nominal negation marker *-ta*, as shown with the transitive verb marked for both possessor and object in (9.18), with the meaning ‘not the thing I am bringing/have

brought', and with the nominalized verb marked with the desiderative *-se* in (9.19a) and the aspectual *rī-(h)tao* in (9.19b).

(9.18) *ji-n-enepī-ta nai serē*  
 1POSS-3O-bring.NOM-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX  
 this is not what I brought (not my bringing thing)

(9.19a) *tī:-tē-se-ta n-a-Ø-i*  
 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he doesn't want to go

b *owa ji:-tē-rī-htao-ta, meinjarē ene-kē*  
 NEG.P 1POSS.1TR-go.NOM-POSS-CONT.LOC-NEG now see-IMP  
 no, (don't look) not while I'm going, look now!

In addition, as could be seen with the negative experience suffix *-pora* above, negation of a nominalized verb with zero nominalization marker can be formed by means of the nominalized verb marked with the (semantically bleached) third person possessive prefix *i-* in combination with the negative experience possessive suffix *-pora*, as shown in (9.20), see 11.4.

(9.20) *Ø-ene-pora manae*  
 3POSS-see.NOM-NEG.EXP 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 you look terrible (you're terrible to look at)

There is yet another suffix that is used in a similar way with the bare nominalization, namely the nominalization of the negative potential construction *i-√ra* which is *i-√pīn(i)*, which forms an argument-focussed nominalization of a negative verb, that is, it expresses the notion 'someone who can't (and thus doesn't) X'. Although negative potential forms the basic meaning of this construction, the examples given below could equally well be translated as, for example, 'someone who doesn't X'. The negative potential construction is a possessive type of construction that is discussed in 11.4. When used with some body part nouns of the senses, such as *pana* 'ear' or *ēnu* 'eye' the meaning is 'some who doesn't have the use of bodypart X', that is, *i-pana-pīn* is 'a deaf person' and *enu-pīn* is 'a blind person'. The nominalized verb must be marked with the semantically bleached third person non-coreferential prefix *i-*, as shown in (9.21a-c) and (9.23a-c). The person that is nominalized with *-pīn(i)* is the S of an intransitive or one argument transitive verb, as shown in (9.21) and (9.22). The intransitive verbs in (9.21d-e) and the one-argument transitive verb in (9.22) are irregular in that they do not take the prefix *i-*. With transitive verbs it is the O argument that is expressed, as shown in (9.23a-b). However, there are some irregularities with the transitive verbs, namely the form given in (9.23b) can mean both 'blind (one who cannot see)' as well as 'invisible, one who cannot be seen' as shown in (9.24). The verb *ēta* 'hear' is likewise irregular in that when suffixed by *-pīn(i)*

the initial vowel is dropped, see (9.25), and it carries both the meaning ‘deaf’ and also the meaning ‘naughty’, when said of a child. The full form of the suffix *-pīnī* is usually found when followed by the past marker *-npē*, as shown in (9.23c), but it can also occur without any further morphology following. When followed by the plural marker *-tomo* (*-ton*), the final *i* of *-pīnī* is dropped, as shown in (9.22).

- (9.21) a Ø-erana-pīn s/one who can’t laugh  
 b Ø-anota-pīn s/one who can’t fall  
 c Ø-enta-pīn s/one who can’t wake up (said of a heavy sleeper)  
 d ke:-pīn s/one who can’t stop  
 e tē-pīn s/one who can’t go

- (9.22) karakuri Ø-entu-me-ta wī ka-pīn-ton mēe-san  
 money 3POSS-owner-FACS-NEG 1PRO say.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM-PL 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL  
 they are not ones who say ‘I don’t have money’

- (9.23)a Ø-enoh-pīn wī  
 3POSS-send.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM 1PRO  
 I’m not s/one who gets sent

- b Ø-ene-pīn mēe  
 3POSS-see.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is blind (a non-seeing person)

- c Ø-ene-pīnī-npē  
 3POSS-see.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM-PST  
 the formerly blind one

- (9.24) taanē nkērē n-a-Ø-i pata kawē kan pata-rī  
 far\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village high God village-POSS  
 Ø-ka-Ø-n\_to,  
 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
 Ø-ene-pīnī Ø-ka-Ø-n\_to  
 3POSS-see.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
 still further there is a village, up high, they say it’s God’s village, (the people/spirits there) are invisible, they say

- (9.25) ta-pīn mēe  
 hear.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is deaf (or: naughty when said of a child)

The nominalizing suffix *-pīn(i)* has also been found with middle- and reflexive-marked verbs with the meaning ‘someone who doesn’t X’ or ‘someone who can’t X’, as shown in (9.26a-b) and (9.27). With these middle- and reflexive-marked verbs there is no person-marking, nor does the one-argument transitive marker *-w-* occur.

- (9.26) a e-tuhka-pīn s/one who can't / doesn't bend his joints  
 b e-wai-pīnī s/one who can't / doesn't sit (a non-sitter)
- (9.27) irē-mao ē-nanu-pīn-me m-eh-ta-e  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP REFL-climb.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM-FACS 2→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT  
 then you will not climb (trees) (you will be non-treeclimbing people)

If the transitive verb marked with the nominalizer *-pīn(i)* is intended to express the A argument then generally the nominalized verb must have two arguments marked, a possessor and a third person object as shown in the examples in (9.28a-c). See also negative nominalizers in section 9.5.

- (9.28)a i-n-ēnēh-pīn nērē  
 3POSS-3O-laugh.at.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he is someone who does not laugh (at that)
- b i-n-pono-pīn-ton namo\_ro  
 3POSS-3O-tell.nom-NEG.POT.NOM-PL 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT  
 they are ones who don't tell (about) it
- c aresi i-n-apēh-pīn-ton mēe-san  
 rice 3POSS-3O-take.NOM-NEG.POT.NOM-PL 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL  
 they are not ones who take (steal) rice

### 9.2.3 Nominalization with *-nē*

Nominalization in *-nē* is a gerundive-like nominalization that is translatable by the English ‘-ing’. The nominalizer *-nē* presents the verb as a generic entity without any anchoring along the lines of person or time, as in ‘laughing (is good for you)’, or ‘dreaming (is what we do when we sleep)’. This nominalization in Trio does not allow person marking, that is, those verbs that change their initial vowel *ē→e*, *ēCē→aCē*, and *oCo→aCo* when person marked, retain the original initial vowel to indicate the lack of person marking, as shown in (9.29a-f). In addition, reflexive and middle verbs and those intransitive verbs that mark person using the transitive set of markers, require the one-argument transitive marker *w-* as shown in (9.29g-j). Some examples of usage are given in (9.30a-b).

- (9.29) a ēmamin-nē being busy (archaic), playing  
 b onota-nē falling  
 c ērana-nē laughing  
 d ēta-nē hearing  
 e ēne-nē seeing  
 f ēpēi-nē taking  
 g w-ēt-amore-htē-nē dreaming  
 h pījai-me w-ei-nē being a shaman  
 i w-ēt-uru-nē talking  
 j w-et-ainka-nē running away

- (9.30)a eeke n-a-Ø-i p̄j̄ai-me w-ei-nē  
 how 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT shaman-FACS 1TR-be-G.NOM  
 what is it being a shaman like?
- b irē apo n-a-Ø-i w-ēt-amore-htē-nē  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1TR-REFL-spirit-BEN-G.NOM  
 that's what dreaming is like

#### 9.2.4 Time, manner, place nominalization in *-to(po)*

Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be nominalized by means of the suffix *-to(po)*. When nominalized in this way, the verb is obligatorily marked for one participant, namely either the subject (of an intransitive verb) or the object (of a transitive verb) expressed morphosyntactically as a possessor as shown in (9.31a-c). Where required, an agent can be marked on the goal postposition *-ja* as shown in (9.33b). In the case of reflexive and intransitive verbs that mark person by means of the transitive marking set, the one-argument transitive marker *w-* (or its allomorph length) is required on the verb, as shown in (9.31b), (9.32), (9.34b,f), and (9.35a-b). The nominalizer *-to(po)* can be found in its full form without any further morphological material following it, as shown in (9.32), but it is generally only found with its final syllable *po* when it is followed by the nominal tense marker *-npē*, as shown in (9.33a-b); the time, manner, place nominalizer cannot take the past marker *-hpē*. The nominalizer *-to(po)* can express several different meanings: it can refer to the event that is expressed by the verb, or to some aspect of circumstance such as for example, an instrument, or time, manner, and place. Compare also the examples in (9.34a-f), and contextual usage in (9.35a-d). The gloss of the *-to(po)* nominalizer used in this work is time/manner/place nominalizer, that is, TMP.NOM. Compare the meanings given in examples (9.35a-d) below.

- (9.31)a kanawa-imē Ø-anota-topo  
 boat-AUG 3POSS-fall-TMP.NOM  
 airstrip (plane its landing place)
- b irē apo n-a-Ø-i w̄itoto i-w-eh-to  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT human.being 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM  
 such is the (way of) life of Amerindians
- c taanē n-a-Ø-i Pērēpērēwa i-ponoh-to  
 long 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT proper.name 3POSS-tell-TMP.NOM  
 the story of Pērēpērēwa is long
- (9.32) eek-apo-n apo n-a-Ø-i ē-w-eh-topo  
 how-like-NOM like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM  
 what kind of person are you (how is the manner of your being)?

- (9.33)a *ji-wame j-enuh-topo-npë*  
 1-not.know 1 POSS-be.born-TMP.NOM-PST  
 I don't know where I was born
- b *irë apo n-a-Ø-i ariwe-imë-ja*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1 TR-be-PRES-NCERT caiman-AUG-GOAL
- Përëpërëwa i-tika-topo-npë*  
 proper.name 3POSS-frighten-TMP.NOM-PST
- that's the way Përëpërëwa was scared by the caiman  
 (such was Përëpërëwa's former scaring by the caiman)
- (9.34) a *wa-tīri-to* instrument for killing (e.g., stick, gun), killing  
 b *w-ët-uru-to* instrument for speaking (e.g., megaphone, phone);  
 talking, a talk  
 c *ëne-to* instrument for seeing (e.g., binoculars), seeing  
 d *ëta-to* instrument for hearing (e.g., hearing aid), hearing  
 e *ënpa-to* instrument for teaching, teaching  
 f *w-e-suka-to* place, means for washing oneself (e.g., soap)
- (9.35)a *irë-po n-a-Ø-i pata Siririmīn*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3.1 TR-be-PRES-NCERT village Siririmīn
- w-ë-eweh-to t-ëni-se-n Ø-enih-to*  
 1 TR-REFL-eat-TMP.NOM COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM 3POSS-drink-NOM
- the village Siririmīn is there, a place for eating and drinking beer
- b *tī-tunta-e tuna i-w-ët-ihka-to-pona*  
 COREF-arrive-NF water 3POSS-1 TR-REFL-finish-TMP.NOM-DIR  
 (they) arrived at the edge of the water (where the water ends)
- c *këpëewa të-e-wa kanawa akoeka-to i-wame i-w-ei-ke*  
 but go-NF-NEG boat paddle-TMP.NOM 3-not.know 3POSS-1 TR-be.NOM-INST  
 but the boat didn't go (move/proceed) because he didn't know how to  
 paddle
- d *iranta-to marë i-warë t-ee-se*  
 year-TMP.NOM also 3-know COREF-1 TR-be-NF  
 he also came to know the yearing thing (the fact that there are such  
 things as years)

The final syllable of *-to(po)* must be dropped before plural marking, as shown in (9.36a), and before negation marking with *-ta* (9.36b). The short form *-to:* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel, is found before the facsimile marker *-me* when forming a purposive clause as shown in (9.36c) and discussed below. The short form is also found before the aspectual marker *-mao* as shown in (9.36a-d), and before the reason postposition *-janme* which is made up of the

nominalized goal postposition *-ja* plus the facsimile marker *-me* (see also 6.3.7), as shown in (9.36e).

- (9.36)a serē n-a-∅-i ainja ∅-eneh-to-ton  
 DP.INAN.PROX 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO 3POSS-bring-TMP.NOM-PL  
 these are our instruments for bringing (things in)
- b ji:-tē-to-ta n-a-∅-i serē  
 1POSS.1TR-go-TMP.NOM-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX  
 this is not my means for going (e.g., a ladder)
- c ji:-tē-se w-a-∅-e a-akērē  
 1POSS.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2-COM  
 ě-pata ∅-ene-to:-me  
 2POSS-village 3POSS-see-TMP.NOM-FACS  
 I want to go with you, to see your village
- d ∅-injo-nna manko i-w-eh-to-mao-no-npě  
 3POSS-husband-LESS 1POSS.mother 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-TEMP-NOM-PST  
 during the time when my mother was (one) without a husband
- e tuna pija i-w-eh-to-ja-n-me t-ēnu-se  
 water little 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-GOAL-NOM-FACS COREF-rise-NF  
 they came to the surface because the water was low (because of wa-  
 ter's being little)

While the English translation of the *-to(po)* nominalizer given in many of the above examples is gerundive-like, it differs from the abstract gerundive nominalizer *-nē* (see 9.2.3) in that the former refers to a concrete action with a concrete (specific or unspecific) object whereas the latter is an abstraction from any concrete situation where the action might take place, compare the examples in (9.37a-b) based on the derived verb *amore-htě* [spirit-provide] ‘dream (of something)’, that is, ‘provide s/o or s/thg with a spirit’, where example (9.37b) refers to ‘dreaming’ abstracted from any possible participant who is dreaming or being dreamt about.

- (9.37)a kaikui ∅-amore-htě-topo  
 jaguar 3POSS-spirit-BEN-TMP.NOM  
 a jaguar dream (dreaming of a jaguar)
- b pena w-ět-amore-htě-ně wa\_ken t-ee-se  
 long.ago 1TR-REFL-spirit-BEN-G.NOM NEG\_DUR COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 there was no dreaming long ago (people didn't (know how to) dream)

When the possessor of the verb nominalized by *-to(po)* is pluralized, the nominalizer occurs in its short form and the plural marker *-komo* (*-kon*) follows the nominalizer as shown in (9.38a-b).

(9.38)a irë apo n-a-Ø-i kī-w-eh-to-kon  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+2POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL  
 such is our (way of) life

b irë apo n-a-Ø-i i-w-ë-eweh-to-kon  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-1TR-REFL-eat-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL  
 such are the things they eat (their means for nourishing themselves)

As shown above in (9.36c), the reduced form of the nominalizer *-to(po)*, realized with a long vowel *-to:*, can be combined with the facsimile marker *-me* to form a purposive clause meaning ‘in order to, so that’, as shown in (9.39) where a shaman explains how he asks his spirit helper to take him to the other world. There is also in Trio a ‘purpose of motion’ supine construction which uses the non-finite form of the verb, which has a similar meaning and which is generally interchangeable with this purposive construction, see 8.14.1. When the possessor of the purposive-marked verb is plural, the possessor plural marker *-komo* (*-kon*) occurs after the nominalizer and before the facsimile *-me*, as shown in (9.40).

(9.39) k-okoroma-kë tamo, taanë ji:-të-se w-a-Ø-e  
 1+2-help-IMP grandfather far 1POSS.1TR-go.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT

wī-ka-Ø-e pata Ø-ene-to:-me  
 1→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT village 3POSS-see-TMP.NOM-FACS

taanë ji-të-to:-me  
 far 1POSS.1TR-go-TMP.NOM-FACS

“help me, grandfather, I want to go far,” I say, “to see the places, to go far”

(9.40) n-i-po-ntë-Ø-n karime i-w-eh-to:-kon-me  
 3→3-TR-clothes-BEN-PRES-NCERT strong.FACS 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL-FACS  
 he dresses them to make them strong (in order for their being strong)

A negative purposive clause is formed by means of the auxiliary verb ‘be’ marked with the purposive *-to:-me* and the verb itself marked for negation, as shown in (9.41).

(9.41) j-arë-Ø-n anota-e-wa ji-w-eh-to:-me  
 3→1-take-PRES-NCERT fall-NF-NEG 1POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-FACS  
 he takes me so that I don’t fall (in order for my being not falling)

The purposive marked on the nominalized, person-marked verb ‘be’ is also used with adverbs and postpositionals to form a construction of the type ‘in order for my being X’ as shown in (9.42a-c) with the adverbials *sasame* ‘happy’ and *karime* ‘strong’ in (9.42a-b) and with the postposition *-warë* ‘know’ in (9.42c). In the negative, as with example (9.41) above, where negation is marked on the

non-finite verb rather than on the nominalized verb, negation is marked on the adverb by means of the non-verbal negation marker *-ta*, as shown in (9.43).

- (9.42)a    *sasame ë-w-eh-to:-me*  
           happy.FACS 2POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-FACS  
           in order to make you happy (towards your being happy)
- b            *karime\_pa ë-w-eh-to:-me*  
           strong.FACS\_CYC 2POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-FACS  
           in order to make you strong again
- c            *i-ponoh-kë irë ji-warë i-w-eh-to:-me*  
           DP.INAN.ANA 1-know 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-FACS  
           tell me in order for me to know! (in order for its being known to me)
- (9.43)     *t-ë-ewe-ja-e ëinje:në-ta ji-w-eh-to:-me*  
           1↔REFL-eat-PRES-CERT hungry-NEG 1POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-FACS  
           I'm eating so as not to be hungry (in order for my being not hungry)

The verb *ka* ‘say’ when nominalized with *-to(po)* has some special functions, namely it is used in the question *eeke kato* ‘how do you say it, what does it mean?’, see (9.44a-b) where in (9.44b) the speaker was asking the meaning of the Dutch word *organisatie* ‘organization’; the word (*j*)*omi* means both ‘language’ and ‘word’. When translating from another language, the word being asked for is always followed by *ka-to*, as shown in the example in (9.44c) where *pori* is a Sranantongo word meaning ‘rotten’. Likewise when eliciting words in a wordlist, each word is followed by *ka-to*, for example, when using Dutch as the language of elicitation, the way to ask for a word, after the initial question in (9.44c) is as given in (9.44d).

- (9.44)a    *eeke ka-to serë omi*  
           how say-TMP.NOM DP.INAN.PROX language  
           what does this word mean?
- b            *eeke ka-to irë organisatie ka-to*  
           how say-TMP.NOM DP.INAN.ANA organization say-TMP.NOM  
           what does the word ‘organization’ mean?
- c            *eeke ka-to serë ë-j-omi-tae, pori ka-to*  
           how say-TMP.NOM DP.INAN.PROX 2POSS-EU-language-PERL rotten say-TMP.NOM  
           how do you say this in your language? The word *pori*.
- d            *water ka-to boot ka-to huis ka-to maan ka-to*  
           water say-TMP.NOM boat say-TMP.NOM house say-TMP.NOM moon say-TMP.NOM  
           water, boat, house, moon

In addition, *ka-to* is used to report reported speech that one has heard second-hand. Trio does not have indirect speech, that is, reporting what someone else has said is repeated verbatim, as shown in (9.45a). Reporting second-hand in-

formation, on the other hand, is done by postposing *ka-to* to a clause, as shown in (9.45b).

- (9.45)a oroko-me pitë wī:-të-Ø-e n-ka-Ø-n  
 work-FACS bit 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
 ‘I’m going to work now (for a while)’ he says
- b tīwērë-no\_ro-ja t-ëpë-se ë-panpira ka-to w-eta-ne  
 other-NOM\_ASSERT-GOAL COREF-take-NF 2POSS-letter say-TMP.NOM 1→3-hear-NR.PST  
 I heard (it said) that someone else took your letter

As stated above in the section on bare nominalization, the short form of the nominalizer *-to(po)* is also used in combination with the negative experiencer suffix *-pora* to express the notion of ‘unable to X, unable to be Xed’. The verb in this case can only be marked with the third person possessive prefix *i-*. The object of the transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb is encoded on the verb ‘be’, as shown in (9.46a-d). Where relevant an agent can be expressed on the goal postposition *-ja*, as shown in (9.46b).

- (9.46)a serë-po i-pono-to-pora  
 DP.INAN.PROX-LOC 3POSS.TR-tell-TMP.NOM-NEG.EXP  
  
 mëe-san so: n-ka-Ø-n  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL noise 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
  
 it’s impossible to tell a story around here, these people are noisy
- b Ø-apëh-to-pora t-ee-se i-ja:-ne  
 3POSS-take-TMP.NOM-NEG.EXP COREF.1TR-be-NF 3-GOAL-PL  
 they couldn’t catch him (he was impossible to catch by them)
- c i-w-e-pī-to-pora w-a-Ø-e  
 3POSS-1TR-MID-bathe-TMP.NOM-NEG.EXP 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 I can’t take a bath
- d i:-të-to-pora w-ei-ne  
 3POSS.1TR-go-TMP.NOM-NEG.EXP 1→3.1TR-be-NR.PST  
 I wasn’t able to go

### 9.2.5 Person-focussed nominalizations

There are three person-focussed nominalizers in Trio, with the meaning ‘someone who’ or translatable by the English morpheme ‘-er’ of, for example, ‘singer’, all of which are sensitive to the argument structure of the verb, that is, the nominalizing suffix *-ne* is found on transitive verbs which are marked for object, for example *i-karihtë-ne* ‘his strength-provider, e.g., food’ and *j-ene-ne* ‘the one who sees me’; intransitive verbs form a person-focussed nominalization by

means of the verb marked by the third person possessive prefix *i-* and followed by the suffix *-ke(tti)* as in *i-wejahta-ke* ‘s/one who farts, a farter’; and the third person-focussed nominalizer is *-to-n* which is the nominalized form of the adverbializer *-tē* found only on transitive verbs to express the notion of ‘being skilled in Xing’. When nominalized the adverbializer *-tē* becomes *-to*, after which it takes the adverbial nominalizer *-n(o)*, for example, *wē-to-no* ‘someone skilled in shooting’. The last-mentioned nominalizer does not allow person marking on the verb, that is, those verbs that are *ē*-initial, or *oCo-* or *ēCē*-initial do not change the initial vowel to *e*, *aCo* or *aCē* as they would were person marked. In other words, the lack of specific definite object is indicated in the initial vowel of these verbs. Strictly speaking, the actual nominalizing suffix is *-n(o)* which is not a verbal nominalizer, rather it nominalizes an adverbialized verb. However, it is included in this section because of its person-focussed semantics. The three person-focussed nominalizers are discussed in turn below.

### 9.2.6 Agent nominalization *-ne* on transitive verbs

The agent role nominalization is formed by means of the nominalizer *-ne* suffixed to the stem of a transitive verb, which must be marked for the O argument expressed as the possessor of the nominalized verb, for example, *ē-enpa-ne* ‘your teacher’ from the verb *ēnpa* ‘teach’. Some examples are given in (9.47) and (9.48). The nominalizer *-ne* expresses the agent or ‘doer’ of an action, just as in English ‘sing-er’, see example (9.48a) where the genitive construction *erepa tiri-ne* is literally ‘(his) food-maker’ or ‘the maker of his food’. The agent nominalizer takes the nominal past marker *-npē*, (but never the past marker *-hpē*) as shown in examples (9.48b-c) and (9.49) below. The agent nominalizer generally expresses the notion of someone who does something habitually but it can also be used to express a one-off action, compare the examples in (9.48a-d) and (9.49) where in (9.49) the context was such that the person in question only saw him once. Reducing stems reduce before the agent nominalizer *-ne*, as shown in (9.47a). As can be seen in the examples below, the agent nominalizer is the means of forming what in other languages would be a relative clause.

- (9.47) a j-i-pono:-ne s/o who tells about me < i-pono(pi)  
 b j-apēi-ne s/o who takes me  
 c j-ene-ne s/o who sees me

- (9.48)a Ø-erepa tiri-ne-nna t-ee-se  
 3POSS-food make-A.NOM-LESS COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he was without his food-maker (someone who makes his food)

b mēe-san wēri ∅-arē-ne-npē-ton  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL woman 3POSS-take-A.NOM-PST-PL  
 they were takers of women (people who took women)

c j-i-ponopī-∅\_rēken j-ene-ne-npē-ton  
 1POSS-TR-tell-I.PST\_only 1POSS-see-A.NOM-PST-PL  
 the people who knew (saw) me told me

d irē-po ahtao pananakiri n-a-∅-i  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC when white.people 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

i-mēnparē-ntē-ne-kon-me  
 3POSS-things-BEN-A.NOM-PSR.PL-FACS

when you're there, there are white people, they are the people who provide them with things

(9.49) ... tīi-ka-e ∅-ene-ne-npē  
 ... COREF.1TR-say-NF 3POSS-see-A.NOM-PST  
 ... said the person who saw him (context: he saw him once)

The *-ne* takes all the nominal suffixes that a noun can take, that is, the nominal plural marker *-tomo (-ton)*, as shown in (9.50a-c), the plural possessor suffix *-komo (-kon)*, as shown in (9.48d) above, and the nominal negative marker *-ta*, as shown in (9.51). Note that Trio has also other means of negating nominalizers, for which see *-pin(i)* in section 9.5. This type of nominalization can occur as a subject (see (9.48c) and (9.49), or as an object in the clause.

(9.50) a i-pono:-ne-ton storytellers  
 b arimika-ne-ton (child) raisers, church teachers  
 c i-kari-htē-ne-ton strength-providers (e.g. food)

(9.51)a j-en-pa-ne-ta mēe  
 1POSS-insight-PROVID-A.NOM-NEG 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he isn't my teacher

The (in)transitive verb *ka* 'say' is irregular in that it can take the agentive nominalizer that is otherwise only found on (fully) transitive verbs. The verb *ka* 'say' belongs to the small set of verbs that are intransitive in that they do not take an object prefix, although they mark person with the set of transitive markers. In addition, like the reflexive and middle verbs, they are obligatorily marked with a one-argument transitive verb marker *-w-* (or its allomorph length) with some nominalizations and when the verb is non-finite. The other verbs of the small set of what are termed split intransitive verbs do not allow the agent-focussed nominalizer *-ne*. While an object cannot be marked on the verb *ka* 'say', it can be preceded by a sound-symbolic element, as in (9.52a-b), which forms a strategy for name-giving for animals, birds, and insects, or it can be preceded by a clause as

in (9.52c). For an explanation of the word *turakane* ‘tourist, traveller’ which is based on the sound symbolic element *tora* ‘ideo.arrive’ and the nominalized *ka-ne* ‘sayer’, literally with the meaning ‘s/one who says “I have arrived”’, see section 1.8.2.

(9.52)a *koko-ka-ne*  
*koko-say-A.NOM*  
 toad sp. (*koko-sayer*)

b *kuri-ka-ne*  
*kuri-say-A.NOM*  
 parrot sp.<sup>1</sup> (*kuri sayer*)

c *sen-tae tē-e-wa eh-kë*  
 DP.INAN.PROX.NOM-PERL go-NF-NEG be-IMP

*ka-ne-se-ta n-a-Ø-i*  
 say-A.NOM-DESID-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

he doesn’t want people saying ‘don’t go this way!’  
 (he doesn’t want a ‘don’t go this way!’-sayer)

### 9.2.7 Subject nominalization *i-√ke(tī)* on intransitive verbs

Intransitive (one-argument) verbs can be nominalized with a subject nominalizer *i-√ke(tī)* to express the same meaning as the transitive nominalizer *-ne* dealt with above, namely, ‘a person who Xes’. The verb nominalized in this way must always be marked with the third person possessive prefix *i-* (the initial vowel *i* in (9.53b) is conditioned by the irregular verb (*i*)*wa* ‘dance’). With vowel-initial verbs there is zero realization of the third person prefix; those verbs beginning in *ë* undergo the vowel changes given in the rules *ë→e*, *ëCë→aCë*, and *oCo→aCo* before person marking. The formation of this nominalizing strategy is similar to that of the negative possession types such as the privative *i-√nna* ‘-less’ and the *i-√pora* dealt with in Chapter 11, however it also differs from these possessives in that its meaning is not negative, nor does it have a counterpart using the coreferential *tī-* prefix. Some examples of the subject nominalizer are given in (9.53a-e). The full form of the suffix *-ketī* is found before the past marker *-npë*, as shown in (9.54). In contrast to the agent nominalizer *-ne* given above, the subject nominalizer is not found frequently in the corpus.

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1 Both the Dusky Parrot (*pionus fuscus*) and the Blue-headed Parrot (*pionus menstruus menstruus*) were identified as *kurikane*.

- (9.53) a Ø-urakana-ke s/one who strolls around  
 b i-wa-ke s/one who dances  
 c i-wejahta-ke s/one who farts  
 d Ø-eremina-ke s/one who sings spirit-songs  
 e Ø-anota-ke s/one who falls

- (9.54) Ø-anota-keti-npë s/one who used to fall

The intransitive verbs that take their person marking from the transitive set, as well as reflexive and middle verbs, can also take the *i-√ke* nominalizer in which case they do not require the one-argument transitive marker *-w-* (or its allomorph length) that is obligatory with the bare nominalization and the time/manner/place (*-topo*) nominalization. Some examples are given in (9.55a-d). The verb *ēe(pi)* ‘come’ acquires an initial *t* resulting in *tēeh-ke* ‘s/one who comes’. The verb *ka* ‘say’ is an exception in that it cannot take the subject nominalizer *i-√ke* rather it can only take the agent role nominalizer of transitive verbs, *-ne*, discussed above.

- (9.55) a tē-ke s/one who goes  
 b ēt-uru-ke s/one who talks  
 c ēs-arema-ke s/one who has sexual intercourse  
 d wa-eh-keti-npë s/one who was dead (former one not being)

### 9.2.8 Nominalization *-ton(o)* ‘s/o skilled in’

The suffix *-ton(o)* is the nominalized form of the suffix *-tē* which is suffixed to transitive verbs only to express the notion of being ‘skilled in Xing’ see some examples in (9.56a-c). The suffix *-tē* is an adverbializing morpheme; it does not allow a specific or definite object to be marked on the verb, rather the lack of person marking is evident in those verbs beginning in *ē* that would otherwise change initial vowel to *e* before person marking, as shown in the non-person-marked (or indefinite person) form in (9.57a) compared with the person-marked forms in (9.57b-c) which require the initial *ē* vowel to be fronted to *e*; as these examples show, the agent nominalizer *-ne* is marked on a transitive verb that has a specific object. The *-tē*-marked verb cannot be the subject or the object of a clause. The suffix *-tē* can, however, be nominalized to express ‘someone skilled in Xing’. When nominalized the suffix becomes *-to*, to which the person nominalizer *-n(o)* is added as shown in (9.58a-e) whereby examples (9.58a-c) are the nominalized counterparts of the adverbialized verbs in (9.56a-c). This nominalized form can then take nominal plural marking with *-tomo* (*-ton*), as shown in (9.58d). The full form of the nominalizer *-n(o)* is found before past marking with the suffix *-npë* as shown in (9.58e).

- (9.56) a wě-tě skilled in shooting, a good shot  
 b rī-tě skilled in making/fixing things  
 c kah-tě skilled in weaving
- (9.57) a ěnpa-tě skilled in teaching  
 b ∅-enpa-ne his teacher  
 c j-enpa-ne my teacher
- (9.58) a wě-to-n s/one skilled in shooting  
 b rī-to-n s/one skilled in making/fixing things<sup>2</sup>  
 c kah-to-n s/one skilled in weaving  
 d i-ponoh-ton-ton people skilled in telling (also: gossips, telltales)  
 e wě-to-no-npě s/one formerly skilled in shooting

### 9.2.9 Candidate nominalizer *-mī* (*-n*) of the *tī-V-se* construction

The construction that is used in the non-witnessed past, namely the coreferential-marked non-finite verb form that I have referred to above as an event-centralthetic construction (see 8.14.4 and 8.14.5) can be nominalized to refer to a person who could carry out the action or be in a given state. To summarize the form of this construction: the past non-witnessed construction is formed by means of the semantically bleached coreferential prefix *tī-* marked on a non-finite verb whereby the non-finite marker has the form *-se* (or its allomorphs  $\emptyset$ , *-je* or *-e*); with one-argument verbs of the transitive subgroups, that is, reflexive, middle, and the intransitive verbs that take the person markers of the transitive set, the one-argument status of the verb is obligatorily marked by means of the marker *-w-* or its allomorph *length*. The form of the nominalizer is *-mī* which is reduced to *-n* word-finally where it is realized as a velar nasal; the full form *-mī* is required when the nominalization is marked for past by means of the marker *-npě*. In this work I use the gloss C.NOM which stands for candidate nominalizer to refer to this nominalizer. With one-argument verbs the nominalizer refers to the S argument whereas with transitive verbs it refers to the O argument. In general, the form nominalized in this manner is used in identificatory copular clauses, with the meaning ‘this is s/one or s/thing to X’ or in the case of a transitive verb ‘this is s/one or s/thing to be Xed’. Furthermore, many adjectival and possessive constructions are formed in this manner, namely by means of the coreferential prefix on a verb followed by a non-finite marker, or on a noun followed by a possessive suffix, for the latter of which see Chapter 11.

With intransitive verbs the nominalizer *-mī* (*-n*) on this *tī-V-se* construction refers to the S argument, as shown in (9.59). The meaning of the nominalized form is ‘a candidate for Xing’, as in (9.59) where the speaker is saying that when

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2 The term *rī-ton-ton* ‘people skilled in making/fixing things’ is used to describe white people.

the big fire comes, the Trio will be sure candidates for burning and perishing. Other examples with intransitive verbs that take the transitive person markers, and reflexive verbs are given in (9.60a-d) and examples with (regular) intransitive verbs are given in (9.61a-c).

(9.59) n-eh-ta-n<sub>pa</sub> mahto-imë  
3→3.1TR-come-FUT-NCERT\_CYC fire-AUG

t-ëri-se-n-me m-eh-ta-hki  
COREF-perish-NF-C.NOM-FACS 2→3-be-FUT-PL

tï-jaa-se-n-me<sub>pa</sub> m-e-ta-hki  
COREF-burn-NF-C.NOM-FACS\_CYC 2→3-be-FUT-PL

the big fire (holocaust) will come, you will perish, you will burn

(9.60a) tamu-me t-ee-se-n<sup>3</sup>  
leader-FACS COREF.1TR-be-NF-C.NOM  
a candidate to be leader (one to be a leader)

b poto-pona tï:-të-e-n mëe  
town-DIR COREF.1TR-go-NF-C.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
he's a candidate for going to Paramaribo

c irë-me tï-w-ës-apëkëma-e-n-me Përëpërëwa  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF-1TR-REFL-poor.INCH.STAT-NF-FACS proper.name  
so Përëpërëwa was (as) a candidate for being poor

d tï-w-ë-epeka-se-n-me k-eh-të-ne  
COREF-1TR-REFL-buy-NF-C.NOM-FACS 1+2-be-PL-HORT  
let's be trading partners (as ones trading with each other)!

(9.61) a tï-ta-se-n s/one to get lost  
(s/one who is a sure candidate for getting lost)  
b t-onota-e-n s/one to fall (s/one who's sure to fall)  
c t-ëre-ta-e-n s/one to rest (a candidate for resting)

The candidate nominalizer *-mi* (*-n*) can also be suffixed to transitive verbs in which case it refers to the O argument, that is, nominalized element is the object of the verb, its meaning being 's/one or s/thing to be Xed' as shown in (9.62a-c). In some cases the nominalized form has been lexicalized, as in *tënisen* [t-ënī-se-n] 's/thing to be drunk' which now is the general word used to refer to cassava beer or any alcoholic beverage. In the example in (9.62e), a woman is explaining

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3 A similar example is the name of a group encountered by explorers in Suriname in the early twentieth century, namely Tiriometesen [*tirjo-me t-ee-se-n*] 'ones as the Trio'. It is likely that the Amerindians who were asked who they were replied something like 'oh, they're just like the Trio'.

what fruit is to someone who has never seen fruit before, that is, that it's something one eats.

- (9.62)a serë apo sen t-ĩ-ruka-e-n  
 DP.INAN.PROX like DP.INAN.PROX.NOM COREF-TR-build-NF-C.NOM  
 this is one to be built like this
- b t-ěno:-se-n wĩ  
 COREF-send-NF-C.NOM I PRO  
 I am one to be sent (I'm one who gets sent)
- c irë n-a-Ø-ĩ t-ĩ-pono:-se-n-me  
 DP.INAN.ANA 3→3.1 TR-be-PRES-NCERT COREF-TR-tell-NF-C.NOM-FACS  
 this is one to be told (a candidate for being told)
- d t-ĩ-pono:-se-mĩ-npë n-i-pono-jan tamutupë  
 COREF-TR-tell-NF-C.NOM-PST 3→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT old.man  
 the old man tells (this) former one to be told
- e serë apo sen t-ěna-se-n  
 DP.INAN.PROX like DP.INAN.PROX.NOM COREF-eat-NF-C.NOM

wa-ri-to-n-ta sen tĩ-ka-e

NEG-do-SK.ADV-NOM-NEG DP.INAN.PROX.NOM COREF.1TR-say-NF

ěre-pa tĩ-ka-e

liver-PROVID.NOM COREF.1TR-say-NF

“this one is like this, it's something to be eaten, it's not something that will kill you,” she said, “it's food”

Verbs nominalized in this way take the non-verbal negation marker *-ta* as shown in (9.63), and form their plural with the nominal plural marker *-tomo (-ton)* as shown in (9.64). The only personal prefix allowed on this nominalized form is the semantically bleached coreferential prefix *tĩ-* which does not have referential meaning, and for this reason it is not possible to mark the resultant nominalized verb with the possessor plural suffix *-komo (-kon)*.

- (9.63) t-ěna-se-n-ta sen  
 COREF-eat-NF-C.NOM-NEG DP.INAN.PROX.NOM  
 this is not a foodstuff (not something to be eaten)

- (9.64) t-ěna-se-n-ton serë  
 COREF-eat-NF-C.NOM-PL DP.INAN.PROX  
 these are things to eat

Possessive constructions that are formed by means of the coreferential prefix *tĩ-* marked on a nominal root and followed by a possessive suffix, to express the meaning ‘have’, are also nominalized by means of the suffix *-mĩ (-n)*; the reader

is referred to Chapter 11 for the different types of possession, and in particular for this type of possession which I have termed ‘permanent possession: inherent or acquired’. Consider the examples in (9.65a-e) below, where in the first line the non-nominalized form is given, in the second line the word-final form of the nominalizer, namely *-n*, which is homophonous with the short form of the nominalizer *-n(o)* that is found on postpositions (see 9.4); and finally in the third line the non-reduced form of the nominalizing suffix is given which is obligatory preceding the nominal past marker *-npĕ*.

|         |   |   |
|---------|---|---|
| (9.65)a | tĭ-karakuri-ke<br>tĭ-karakuri-ke-n<br>tĭ-karakuri-ke-mĭ-npĕ | has money (is monied)<br>one who has money<br>one who had money   |
| b       | t-aro-ne<br>t-aro-ne-mĭ<br>t-aro-ne-mĭ-npĕ                  | has foam<br>one with foam<br>one which had foam                   |
| c       | t-un-ne<br>t-un-ne-mĭ<br>t-un-ne-mĭ-npĕ                     | dry<br>dry one<br>one formerly dry                                |
| d       | t-api-re<br>t-api-re-mĭ<br>t-api-re-mĭ-npĕ                  | wet<br>wet one<br>one formerly wet                                |
| e       | tĭ-menu-re<br>tĭ-menu-re-mĭ<br>tĭ-menu-re-mĭ-npĕ            | having designs<br>one with designs<br>one formerly having designs |

### 9.3 Degrees of nominality and morphological compatibility

The types of nominalizations presented in this chapter are not uniform in their ability to take all the nominal morphology found in Chapter 4. This fact points to different degrees of nominality realized on a nominalized verb. Leaving aside the syntactic behaviour of the nominalizations, which is dealt with in Chapter 12, I give in the following a summary of the combinability of the nominalizations with certain nominal categories. The categories I have chosen for this purpose are nominal plural marking with *-tomo* (*-ton*); past marking with *-npĕ*; and negation marking with *-ta*. This section is summarized in Table 9.3 where the time, manner, place nominalizer *-to(po)* is split over two rows since the full and reduced form are complementary in behaviour in that only either one of the forms allows the nominal markers but not both. Only the bare (zero-marked) nominalization can take the past marker *-hpĕ*, which is in paradigmatic relation to the anti-genitive marker *-rĭ* which expresses non-past possession, compare the examples in (9.66a-b). The gerundive nominalizer *-nĕ* does not allow any past

marking at all. All other nominalized forms take the past marker *-npë*, as shown in (9.67a-i). The time, manner, place nominalizer *-to(po)* obligatorily occurs in its full form before past marking, the final syllable *po* must be dropped before any other suffixes.

- (9.66) a *j-ahkëtë-rī* my cutting (the cutting of me)  
 b *j-ahkëtë-hpë* my former cutting (former cutting of me), my scar
- (9.67) a *ji-w-eh-topo-npë* my former life (way of being)  
 b *j-arimika-ne-npë* the person who raised me  
 c *wë-to-no-npë* former one skilled in shooting  
 d *i-wejahta-keṭi-npë* former farting one  
 e *tī-pono:-se-mī-npë* former one for being told  
 f *t-ëri-se-mī-npë* former one to die  
 g *tuna-hkao-no-npë* former one in water  
 h *pena-to-npë* former old one  
 i *ene-pīnī-npë* former non-seeing (unseen) one

Table 9.3: Nominalizations and compatibility with nominal morphology

| Nom. type | Nom. form          | Plural           | Past | Past | Facsimile | Person marking                             |
|-----------|--------------------|------------------|------|------|-----------|--|
|           |                    | -tomo,<br>(-ton) | -npë | -hpë | -me       |  |
| .NOM      | ∅                  | +                | -    | +    | -         | 1 oblig (O/S)<br>1 optional (O) with A PSR |
| TMP.NOM   | -topo (full form)  | -                | +    | -    | -         | 1 oblig (O/S)                              |
| TMP.NOM   | -to (reduced form) | +                | -    | -    | +         | 1 oblig (O/S)<br>(special function)        |
| A.NOM     | -ne                | +                | +    | -    | +         | 1 oblig (O)                                |
| S.NOM     | <i>i-√-ke(tī)</i>  | +                | +    | -    | +         | non-referential (3 <sup>rd</sup> i-)       |
| C.NOM     | -mī (-n)           | +                | +    | -    | +         | non-referential (3 <sup>rd</sup> tī-)      |
| SK.NOM    | -to-n(o)           | +                | +    | -    | +         | -  |
| G.NOM     | -në                | -                | -    | -    | -         | -  |

Some of the nominalizations require person marking in the form of a possessor which is the O argument of a transitive verb and the S argument of an intransitive verb. The bare nominalization (.NOM) allows two arguments to be marked on transitive verbs, namely the A and the O, placing this nominalization the highest on the scale of retaining its verbal qualities. The subject (S.NOM) and the candidate nominalizer (C.NOM) are obligatorily marked with the non-referential third person prefixes, the non-coreferential *i-* and the coreferential *tī-* which are semantically bleached and used to fill the personal prefix slot on the verb. The gerundive *-në* and the ‘one skilled in’ nominalizer *-to-n* do not allow any person



|   |           |                  |              |   |
|---|-----------|------------------|--------------|---|
| c | tuna-hkao | in the water     | >tuna-hkao-n | s/one, s/thing<br>in the water          |
| d | kapu-pēe  | from the sky     | >kapu-pēe-n  | s/one, s/thing<br>from the sky          |
| e | ēkēi-pēkē | busy with snakes | >ēkēi-pēkē-n | animal trader<br>(one busy with snakes) |
| f | -wēnae    | behind           | >wēnae-no    | the one behind,<br>the last-born        |

- (9.69)a i-wēi-tae-no-npē  
3POSS-older.sister-PERL-NOM-PST  
child of her older sister (now deceased)
- b Ø-injo-nna manko i-w-eh-to-mao-no-npē  
3POSS-husband-LESS 1poss.mother 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-TEMP-NOM-PST  
during a time when my mother wasn't married (during my mother's  
being one without a husband)
- c ēkēi-pēkē-no-ja  
snake-CONTACT.LOC-NOM-GOAL  
(he said) to the animal trader (one busy with snakes)
- (9.70) wapo first > wapo-n the one in front  
> wapo-no the first-born
- (9.71)a pīi-ke n-a-Ø-i  
shame-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
he is ashamed
- b pīi-ka-to n-a-Ø-i nērē  
shame-INST-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
he is an embarrassed person
- c jī-ka-to n-a-Ø-i serē  
1-INST-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX  
this is mine

A few adverbs require the full form of the nominalizer *-n(o)*, namely those given in (9.72a-c). These nominalized adverbs are never found without the final vowel of the nominalizing suffix.

- (9.72) a kure good kura-no a good one  
b maa far maa-no one from far away  
c kawē high kawē-no a high one, a tall one

All words nominalized by means of the the marker *-n(o)* that end in a sequence *Ce* (where C stands for any consonant) such as some adverbs, a noun followed by the desiderative postposition *-se* or the nominal facsimile suffix *-me*, and the locatives *weinje*, *mēinje*, and *seinje*, undergo a change of the vowel *e* to *a*, when nominalized, as shown in (9.73a-c) and (9.74a,b); postpositions such as locative

and perlatives that end in the diphthong *ae* (as well as the adverb *akīpēe* ‘hard’ given in (9.75c) below, that likewise ends in a diphthong) do not undergo any change of the final vowel, compare examples (9.68f) and (9.69a) above (see also section 2.5.3). There are no attestations of nominalized directionals, which is probably an indication of the derived secondary nature of the directionals.

- (9.73) a *seinje* > *seinja-n* one (from) here  
 b *weinje* > *weinja-n* one (from) here  
 c *mēinje* > *mēinja-n* one (from) there

- (9.74)a *t-īnjo-sa-no-npē*  
 3COREF-husband-DESID-NOM-PST  
 s/one who didn’t want a (her) husband

- b *oroko-me* > *oroko-ma-n*  
 work-FACS work-FACS-NOM  
 working workman

Some adverbs that take the *-n(o)* nominalizer, in its reduced form, are given in (9.75a-e). Note that the word *kainan* ‘a new one’ in (9.75e) does not have a non-nominalized equivalent. All those adverbials that are formed by means of a noun plus the facsimile marker *-me*, for example, most of the colour terminology, nominalize with *-n(o)*. Some examples of adverbials and the nominalized derived colour terms with the facsimile marker *-me* are given in (9.76a-c). The adverbial *pēeto-me*, likewise formed with the facsimile *-me* only occurs with the full form of the nominalizer as *pēeto-ma-no* ‘a good-looking person’.

- (9.75) a *pija* small *pija-n* a little one  
 b *ēmīje* soft *ēmīja-n* a soft one  
 c *akīpēe* hard *akīpēe-n* a hard one  
 d *tintīje* short *tintīja-n* a short one  
 e (*kaine?*) *kaina-n* a new one

- (9.76) a *tawa-me* brown > *tawa-ma-n* a brown one  
 b *siriri-me* blue > *siriri-ma-n* a blue one  
 c *noi-me* greedy > *noi-ma-n* a glutton

Many adverbs are nominalized by means of the marker *-to* rather than *-n(o)*, some examples are given in (9.77a-f). In addition, the perception and cognition postpositions given in (9.78a-c) also nominalize with *-to*. Similar to the situation with the nominalizer *-n(o)* given above, if the adverbial ends in the sequence *Ce*, the vowel assimilates in backness to become *a* before the nominalizer *-to*, as shown in (9.78b-c).

- (9.77) a *ē:se:nē* ill *ēse:nē-to* a sick person, a patient  
 b *pena* long ago *pena-to* an old thing (inanimate)

|        |   |             |               |              |  |
|--------|---|-------------|---------------|--------------|--|
|        | c | pëera       | ignorant      | pëera-to     | an ignorant person<br>(not necessarily pejorative) |
|        | d | mëinjarë    | today         | mëinjarë-to  | a thing of today, modern                           |
|        | e | kokoınjarë  | yesterday     | kokonjarë-to | a thing of yesterday, old-fashioned                |
|        | f | ëınje:në    | hungry        | ëınje:në-to  | a hungry person                                    |
| (9.78) | a | ji-wa:rë    | known to me   | ji-wa:rë-to  | s/one, s/thing known to me                         |
|        | b | ji-wame(ke) | unknown to me | ji-wameka-to | s/one, s/thing not<br>known to me                  |
|        | c | j-eire      | angry with me | j-eira-to    | s/one angry with me<br>(s/one dangerous to me)     |

When nominalized by the suffixes *-n* and *-to*, the newly formed nouns take the regular plural marking for nouns, namely *-tomo* (*-ton*), as shown in (9.79a-d).

- (9.79)a serë-po-n-ton  
DP.INAN.PROX LOC-NOM  
people around here
- b kapu-tao-n-ton  
sky-CONT.LOC-NOM-PL  
ones (people) from the sky
- c ëse:në-to-ton  
sick-NOM-PL  
patients (sick people)
- d pena-to-ton  
long.ago-NOM-PL  
old things

This nominalization forms its negative in *-ta*, with the meaning of ‘not Noun’ as shown in (9.80a-c).

- (9.80)a itu-pëe-n-ta wĩ  
forest-SOU-NOM-NEG 1PRO  
I’m not s/one from the forest/ I’m not a foreigner
- b irë apo-n-ta wĩ  
DP.INAN.ANA like-NOM-NEG 1PRO  
I’m not someone like that
- c ëse:në-to-ta nërë  
sick-NOM-NEG 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
he’s not a patient

## 9.5 Nominalization of negative possessive constructions

The negative possessive constructions of the type *i-√nna*, *i-√ra*, and *i-√pora* with the meaning ‘not having X’ or ‘X-less’, ‘having defective X’ and ‘not hav-

ing good X’ respectively, can also be nominalized for person, with the meanings ‘s/one without X’, ‘s/one with decapacitated X’ and ‘s/one with bad X’ respectively; these possessive constructions are discussed in 11.4.2. The nominalized forms, the noun of which must be marked with the third person possessive prefix *i-*, are given in turn below.

The privative *i-√nna* ‘X-less’ is nominalized by means of the suffix *-m̄n(i)*. The noun to which *-m̄n(i)* is suffixed must be marked with the third person possessive prefix *i-*, and the subject is marked on the verb ‘be’. Compare the non-nominalized and the nominalized forms in (9.81a-b) respectively. Further examples are given in (9.81c-d).

- (9.81)a    *i-pakoro-nna n-a-∅-i m̄e*  
                   3POSS-house-LESS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
                   he doesn’t have a house (he is house-less)
- b            *i-pakoro-m̄n m̄e*  
                   3POSS-house-PRIV.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
                   he is s/one who doesn’t have a house (a house-less person)
- c            *∅-erei-m̄n ∅-entu-me t-ee-se*  
                   3POSS-smoke-PRIV.NOM 3POSS-owner-FACS COREF.1TR-be-NF  
                   he was the owner of a smokeless one (fire)
- d            *i-j-omi-m̄n apo t-ee-se*  
                   3POSS-EU-language-PRIV.NOM like COREF.1TR-be-NF  
                   he was like someone without speech

The negative ability or potential suffix *-:ra* is nominalized by means of the suffix *-p̄n(i)*. The noun to which it is attached must be prefixed by the third person prefix *i-*; compare the examples in (9.82a-b). This negative potential construction can also be used with nominalized verbs of the bare nominalization type, see section 9.2.1.

- (9.82)a    *i-pana-:ra n-a-∅-i*  
                   3POSS-ear-NEG.POT 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
                   he is deaf (unable to hear)
- b            *i-pana-p̄n m̄e*  
                   3POSS-ear-NEG.POT.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
                   he is a deaf person (someone unable to hear)

The negative experience construction *i-√pora* is nominalized by means of the suffix *-pop̄n(i)*, whereby the noun must be prefixed by the third person prefix *i-*. The meaning of this suffix is ‘to have an ugly, useless X’. Some examples are given in (9.83a-b).

- (9.83)a Ø-enu-popīn nĕřĕ  
3POSS-eye-NEG.EXP.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
he is a person with an ugly (damaged) eye
- b i-pakoro-popīn mĕĕ  
3POSS-house-NEG.EXP.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
he is s/one with a horrible house



## 10 Other word classes and clitics

### 10.1 Introduction

The word classes that are dealt with in the following sections are adverbs, numerals and quantifiers, ideophones and interjections; particles and clitics are dealt with in the last sections of the chapter. Given the heterogeneity of the word types dealt with here I have taken semantic function as the determining factor in the organization of the chapter. The type of words discussed here are those that do not easily fit into any of the other main word classes. The word class of adverbs is defined negatively, that is, they are words that cannot take any inflectional morphology; they cannot be pluralized, marked for person, nor for tense, aspect or mood. Most, however do allow derivational processes such as nominalization. There are relatively few (monomorphemic) adverbs, most are derived adverbs, the now mainly non-productive processes of adverb derivation are given below. Only few of the original Trio numerals are in use today, nowadays generally the Dutch numerals are used (a few speakers prefer to use the Sranantongo numerals), and since they are borrowings, they usually take the facsimile suffix *-me*. The quantifiers are mostly derived adverbs but are included in the section on numerals for reasons of semantic relatedness.

The section on ideophones distinguishes, on the one hand, sound symbolic elements that are integrated into a sentence, that is, they are used with the verb *ka* ‘say’, and, on the other hand, ideophones which can stand alone in a clause or in place of a verb phrase or an entire clause. Interjections are those discourse elements that express the notions of empathy or comiseration *pē* ‘oh dear’, surprise *tee* or *tē*, or pain *ēēē*, *ēkēē* ‘aaah, ouch etc.’ and that can stand alone as independent utterances. These categories are dealt with in turn below and are followed by several sections on clitics and particles.

### 10.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are defined by their lack of inflectional possibilities. They do not allow person, number or tense marking, features that are found on the other word classes. Their function is that of modification of verbs or clauses. There are two types of adverbs in Trio, namely a very small class of monomorphemic adverbs which are dealt with in section 10.2.1 below, and a larger group of derived adverbs which are discussed in 10.2.2 below. Adverbs of the latter type are formed

by means of one of five different suffixes or suffix combinations. Adverbs derived in this manner form a closed class since the process is no longer productive. Trio does not have a word class adjectives, the task of modification, predicative or attributive, is assigned to the class of adverbs. Moreover, in order to function attributively, the adverbs must first be nominalized, thus a statement such as ‘the tall man’ has the form ‘the man, the tall one’ or ‘the tall one, the man’, that is, *kiri kawë-no* [man high-NOM] or *kawë-no kiri*. This nominalization marker *-n(o)* can only be used for non-verbal nominalizations, that is, it is the same as that used to nominalize postpositions; verbs take their person nominalization in *-ne* for transitive verbs and *i-√ke(tti)* for intransitive verbs, see 9.2.6 and 9.2.7. In addition, the adverbs are non-verbal and more nominal/postposition-like in that they take the non-verbal negation marker *-ta*.

This section starts first with the monomorphemic adverbs, followed by an overview of the derived forms. Given that there are relatively few true adverbs in Trio, and that what in other languages would be termed adverbs of time, manner, and place are heterogeneously formed in Trio by means of a range of postpositions or a noun marked with the facsimile marker *-me*, I have chosen to take semantics as the basis here in order to elucidate expressions relating to time, manner, and place.

### 10.2.1 Monomorphemic adverbs

There are only a few monomorphemic adverbs, namely those given in (10.1a-f). When compared to other languages, it is clear that these adverbs do not form the core of the adverbial concept, rather the adverbs in (10.1a-f) can be subsumed under the terms size/position, quality, and distance (in time and space). The standard adverbial concepts such as adverbs of time, manner, and place are all derived adverbial forms. In general it can be said that morphosyntactically adverbs are more like postpositions in their ability to take certain non-verbal suffixes, such as the negation marker *-ta* that is also used to negate a postpositional or a nominal phrase; furthermore, like postpositions these adverbs can be nominalized by means of the nominalizers *-n(o)* and *-to*. The monomorphemic adverbs do not have any nominal characteristics, apart from the fact that nouns too can take the negation marker *-ta*. Both postpositions and adverbs can take the diminutive clitic *\_sa* whereas nouns and some nominals can only take the nominal diminutive suffix *-pisi(kë)*. Moreover, in contrast with nouns, these adverbs can be cliticized by the plural pre-verbal clitic *\_to*, which fact can be taken as diagnostic of the non-nominal status of these monomorphemic adverbs; bare nouns cannot function as a satellite for the plural clitic *\_to*. The adverbs given in (10.1a-f) are used to modify a verb as shown in (10.2a-f). Note that while it may seem

in example (10.2e) that the adverb *pija* ‘small’ is being used attributively, it is not, rather, the adverb is modifying the nominalized form of the verb *e(i)* ‘be’.

|        |   |      |            |
|--------|---|------|------------|
| (10.1) | a | kawë | high, tall |
|        | b | pïre | upright    |
|        | c | pija | little     |
|        | d | kure | good, well |
|        | e | maa  | far, long  |
|        | f | pena | long ago   |

(10.2)a maa nī:-të-Ø-n  
 far 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he is going far

b kure mī-rī-ja-n  
 good 2→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
 are you doing it well (properly)?

c kawë n-a-Ø-i mīnepu  
 high 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT bridge  
 the bridge is high

d irë-po\_to t-ëpo-se i-ja kawë  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC\_PL COREF-find-NF 3-GOAL high  
 he found them there up high

e pija tuna i-w-eh-to-ja-n-me t-ënu-se  
 little water 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-GOAL-NOM-FACS COREF-rise-NF  
 they came to the surface because the water was low (because of the  
 water its being little)

f irë wī-rī-ne pena  
 DP.INAN.ANA 1→3-do-NR.PST long.ago  
 I did that long ago

The monomorphemic adverbs, as adjuncts, all take the negation marker *-ta*, as shown in (10.3a-f), the same *-ta* that is used to negate both nominals and postpositional phrases. Negation in Trio is not marked on a finite verb itself, rather it is either marked on a non-finite verb by means of the negation marker *-wa* (see 8.14.2), or on the adjunct to the verb, by means of the negation marker *-ta*, be that adjunct a postpositional phrase, as shown with the desiderative marker *-se* in (10.4a), or on the adverb as shown in (10.4b).

|        |   |         |                    |
|--------|---|---------|--------------------|
| (10.3) | a | kawë-ta | not high, not tall |
|        | b | pïre-ta | not upright        |
|        | c | pija-ta | not little         |
|        | d | kure-ta | not good, not well |
|        | e | maa-ta  | not far, not long  |
|        | f | pena-ta | not long ago       |

- (10.4)a t-ĩnjo-se-ta n-a-Ø-i  
 3COREF-husband-DESID-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 she doesn't want a (her) husband (her husband not wanting she is)
- b maa-ta nĩ-të-Ø-n  
 far-NEG 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he's not going far (he's going not far)

Some examples of the monomorphemic adverbs are given below with the persistive clitic *\_nkërë* in (10.5a) and the diminutive clitic *\_sa* in (10.5b). When the diminutive clitic *\_sa* is used with an adverb, its meaning is 'quite' or 'too' rather than 'slightly' as shown in (10.5b-c), see also 10.13.3 below. When more than one adverb is used to modify a verb, they are generally separated by that verb as shown in (10.5d).

- (10.5)a *pija\_nkërë* t-ee-se  
 little\_PERSIST COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he was still little
- b *kawë\_sa* n-a-Ø-i  
 high\_DIM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 it is quite high (i.e. a bit too high)
- c *maa\_sa ë:-të-rĩ-htao* owa kure-ta  
 far\_DIM 2POSS.1TR-go.NOM-POSS-CONT.LOC NEG.P good-NEG  
 if you go too far, no, that's not good (you'll fall)
- d *kure\_to* n-a-Ø-i sasame  
 good\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT happy  
 they are fine, happy

Adverbs can be nominalized by means of the nominalizer *-n(o)*, the same nominalizer used for postpositions, or in the case of *pena* 'long ago' by means of the nominalizer *-to*, which is also used to nominalize derived adverbs and some experiencer postpositions (see 9.4). The nominalized forms are given in (10.6a-f). Whether the full or the reduced form of the nominalizer *-n(o)* is used seems to be lexically determined, those given in (10.6a-b,d-f) are never found with the reduced form of the nominalizer. Before tense-marking with *-npë* the full form is always required, for example, *pija-no-npë* 'a former little one'. After they have been nominalized the adverbs can take past marking as shown in (10.7a), plural marking as in (10.7b), and, for example, the nominal diminutive suffix *-pisi* as shown in (10.7c). For more on the nominalization of adverbs, see 9.4. The nominalized adverb *pija* 'little' can also take the diminutive suffix *-pisi* resulting in the meaning 'very small, tiny' as shown in (10.8).

- (10.6) a *kawë-no* a tall/high person/thing  
 b *pira-no* an upright person/thing

- |        |   |  |   |
|--------|---|--|---|
|        | c | pija-n   | a small person/thing                            |
|        | d | kura-no  | a good person/thing                             |
|        | e | maa-no   | someone from far away (a long distance someone) |
|        | f | pena-to  | an old thing (inanimate)                        |
| (10.7) | a | kura-no-npë                                    | a former good person/thing                      |
|        | b | maa-no-ton                                     | people from far away                            |
|        | c | kura-no-pisi                                   | a (good) nice little person/thing               |
| (10.8) |   | pija-n-pisi n-a-Ø-i i-pakara                   |   |
|        |   | little-NOM-DIM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-box |   |
|        |   | his box is a tiny one                          |   |

## 10.2.2 Derived adverbs

Many adverbs of the larger group of derived adverbs show derivational or morphological similarities and can be subdivided into five groups, given in Table 10.1, according to the final element in their morphological make-up.

Table 10.1: Adverb formation suffixes

|             |                                 |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| -(n)je      | directional (in time and space) |
| -në         | state                           |
| -ken(e)     | processual, durative            |
| -arë [a:ɾə] | temporal, locational            |
| -ma(ka)     | state                           |

Adverb formation by means of the suffixes given in Table 10.1 is no longer a productive process, rather adverbs derived in this way have become lexicalized. Some examples of adverbs ending in *-(n)je* are given in (10.9a-f). Some, but not all, of these adverbs have a meaning that is directional in time or space. For those that do, it could be argued that the suffix *-(n)je* is a combination of the nominalizer *-n(o)* plus a suffix *-je* which adds directional meaning. However, it is hard to give a directional reading to those adverbs in (10.9d-f), thus it is equally possible that the suffix *-nje* is a simplex rather than a complex suffix. In addition, the element *-je* as a directional marker does not occur elsewhere in the grammar, except with the question word *ainje* [aʲɲɛ] where it has source meaning, that is, ‘from where?’.

The temporal adverb *kokoinje* ‘afternoon (i.e. (one?) towards night)’ is clearly derived from *koko* ‘nighttime’; and *seinje* ‘towards here, this side’ and *mëinje* ‘towards there, that side’ have the proximal and medial demonstrative formatives *se* and *më* respectively as their roots. The nominalized forms of these are *koko-n* ‘one at night, e.g., s/o who works at night’, *sen(i)* ‘this one’ and *mën(i)* ‘that one’ respectively, hence it is not implausible that the suffix *-nje* in these cases adds directional meaning. Note that the *i* before the nasal that is

found in the orthography of the words in (10.9a-c) reflects the palatalization of the nasal before the glide.

|        |   |           |            |  |
|--------|---|-----------|------------|--|
| (10.9) | a | kokoinje  | [kɔkɔj̥nɛ] | afternoon (towards evening)            |
|        | b | mëinjje   | [mɔj̥nɛ]   | that direction, towards there (medial) |
|        | c | seinje    | [sɔj̥nɛ]   | towards here, this side (proximal)     |
|        | d | ipipinjje |            | thin                                   |
|        | e | pohpoojje |            | light (in weight)                      |
|        | f | ëmijje    |            | soft (e.g., ground)                    |

Only few adverbs have been found with the suffix *-në*, a list is given in (10.10a-e). Some of the adverbs that end in *-në* express a state, such as *ëse:në* ‘being sick’, which is possibly derived from the reflexive verb *ësenal/ësinala* ‘cry (lit.: water oneself)’, and *ëinjenë* ‘being hungry’, which is derived from the verb *jemi* ‘be hungry’. In spite of the fact that the adverbializing suffix *-në* is homophonous with the gerundive nominalizer *-në*, discussed in 9.2.3, we are not dealing with the same marker since if it were one and the same marker, these reflexive deverbals would have to be marked with the one-argument prefix *w-*, as the nominalized form *w-ët-amore-htë-në* ‘dreaming’ which was discussed in 9.2.3 above.

|         |   |          |            |  |
|---------|---|----------|------------|--|
| (10.10) | a | taanë    |            | far (in time and space)                |
|         | b | tëinë    |            | one (also: <i>tëinken</i> , see below) |
|         | c | ëkë:në   | [ɔkɔ:nɛ]   | two                                    |
|         | d | ëse:në   | [ɔsɛ:nɛ]   | sick                                   |
|         | e | ëinje:në | [ɔj̥nɛ:nɛ] | hungry                                 |

The adverbs that end in *-ken(e)* tend to express manner, as shown in the examples in (10.11a-e). It is likely that the final element is (related to) the durative clitic *\_ken(e)*, which contains a degree of process. The diachronic source of these adverbs is as yet unknown. The examples given in (10.11a,c,f) can also occur without the suffix *-ken(e)*, as *same* ‘quickly’, *kure* with a different meaning, namely ‘good’, and *tëinë* ‘one’. The adverbial in (10.11a) is found without the final element *-ken* in a speech act urging the addressee to go fast, *same same!* ‘quickly, quickly!’

|         |   |            |             |               |
|---------|---|------------|-------------|---------------|
| (10.11) | a | sameken    |             | fast          |
|         | b | koseken(e) | [kɔ:sekene] | slow          |
|         | c | kurekene   |             | careful       |
|         | d | orakene    |             | quiet, calm   |
|         | e | onken      |             | quiet, calm   |
|         | f | tëinken    |             | one (numeral) |

Adverbs ending in *-arë* [a:rɔ], some examples of which are given in (10.12a-f) have diverse meanings, namely temporal location, direction, and qualification.

The adverb *kokoinjarë* is derived from the noun *koko* ‘night-time’, cf. *kokoinje* ‘afternoon’ in (10.9a) above.

|         |   |                   |                |               |
|---------|---|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| (10.12) | a | <i>kokoinjarë</i> | [kəkɔ̌ǰna:ɾə] | yesterday     |
|         | b | <i>meinjarë</i>   | [mɛ̌ǰna:ɾə]   | today         |
|         | c | <i>mijarë</i>     | [miǰa:ɾə]     | thither       |
|         | d | <i>sarë</i>       | [sa:ɾə]        | hither        |
|         | e | <i>wararë</i>     | [waɾa:ɾə]      | every, all    |
|         | f | <i>amerarë</i>    | [ameɾa:ɾə]     | all, everyone |

Those adverbs ending in *-ma(ka)*, given in (10.13a-f) below, are all modifiers that have inherent degree. They are made up of a root suffixed by *-ma* which is likely related to the inchoative stative verbalizer *-ma* for experiencer states, followed by the suffix *-ka*, for example, *amüima(ka)* ‘heavy’, *atuma(ka)* ‘hot’. The word *kutuma* ‘painful’ in (10.13c) below is also used as an intensifier ‘dreadfully’ as shown in (10.14a-b) below where lengthening the second vowel expresses the degree of intensity. In most cases the *-ka* is dropped, resulting in the forms *amüima* ‘heavy’ and *atuma* ‘hot’. When followed by the clitic *\_nkërë*, the *-ka* usually surfaces again, as in *amüimaka\_nkërë* ‘still heavy’ and *atumaka\_nkërë* ‘still hot’. The adverb *aesa(ka)* ‘sharp’ is a derived form from the root *ae* ‘sharp’ with the diminutive clitic *\_sa*, (see 10.13.3) although the non-derived form does not exist on its own. The antonym of this adverb *aera* contains the non-productive negative potential marker *-:ra*; the stative verb *aekepi* ‘be blunt (lit.: cease being sharp)’, is formed with the cessative suffix *-ke(pi)*.

|         |   |                    |             |
|---------|---|--------------------|-------------|
| (10.13) | a | <i>atuma(ka)</i>   | hot         |
|         | b | <i>amüima(ka)</i>  | heavy       |
|         | c | <i>kutuma(ka)</i>  | painful     |
|         | d | <i>aesa(ka)</i>    | sharp       |
|         | e | <i>ikuruma(ka)</i> | dangerous   |
|         | f | <i>aima(ka)</i>    | hot (spicy) |

(10.14)a *ëinje-në n-a-Ø-i kutuuuma*  
 hungry-ADV 3→3. ITR-be-PRES-NCERT painful  
 he is dreadfully hungry

b *tü-ripita-e kutuuma*  
 COREF-vertebrae.TERM-NF painful  
 he is painfully thin (his vertebrae are visible)

As shown in the sections above, it is sometimes difficult to find a common semantic denominator within each of the morphological categories. In addition, some lexicalized adverbs are formed with the negation markers *-ra* / *-ta* / *-nna*, whereby *-ra* and *-ta* mean ‘not’ as shown in (10.15a-e), and the form *-nna* meaning ‘without’ or ‘-less’ is suffixed to a nominal form which is marked with the third person possessive prefix *i-*, as shown in (10.15f-i) below; for this type

of negative possessive construction, see 11.4.2. The third column on the right gives the antonyms of the lexicalized negated forms. It is clear from looking at the list of antonyms that it is often the case that the non-negated form of these words no longer exists as a lexical item, for example, there is no word *\*pëe* meaning ‘clever’, nor *\*kapo(h)* meaning ‘fast’, rather the lexicalized form *pëera* ‘stupid’ is negated again by means of the negation marker *-ta*. The form *kari* in (10.15f) likewise no longer exists as a separate lexeme but it is found in the antonym *kari-me* ‘strong’ which is a nominal form followed by the facsimile marker *-me*, and it is found in verbal stems such as *i-kari-htë* ‘provide s/one with strength’; a similar example is *suu-me* ‘sweet’ which has its negative form in *i-suu-nna* ‘not sweet’. The lexicalized negative adverbs formed with the third person possessive prefix *i-* and the privative suffix *-nna* ‘-less’ are given in (10.15f-i) although their formation is part of a productive process, namely the process of deriving possessive and privative constructions, which is dealt with in 11.4.2. The reason I have included them here is because of the high frequency of these words and because of the lexicalized nature of the resultant forms, that is, they correspond to the English adjectives ‘weak’, ‘sour, insipid’, and ‘tasteless, bad-tasting’ respectively.

|         |   |                   |                           |                   |                  |
|---------|---|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (10.15) | a | <i>pëera</i>      | stupid, ignorant          | <i>pëera-ta</i>   | not stupid       |
|         | b | <i>akëra</i>      | short (in time), not long | <i>akëre_sa</i>   | long (bit short) |
|         | c | <i>aera</i>       | blunt                     | <i>ae_sa</i>      | sharp            |
|         | d | <i>kapohta</i>    | slow, a long time         | <i>same-ken</i>   | fast             |
|         | e | <i>ijeta</i>      | many (inanimate)          | <i>pija_sa</i>    | few, a bit       |
|         | f | <i>i-kari-nna</i> | weak (w/out strength)     | <i>kari-me</i>    | strong           |
|         | g | <i>areere-nna</i> | weak, lifeless            | <i>areere_sa</i>  | alive, lively    |
|         | h | <i>i-suu-nna</i>  | not sweet, sweetness-less | <i>suu-me</i>     | sweet            |
|         | i | <i>i-poi-nna</i>  | not tasty, not aromatic   | <i>tī-poin-je</i> | tasty, aromatic  |

Many of the adverbs discussed thus far can also be marked by the assertive clitic *\_rë*, the frustrative clitic *\_re*, and the diminutive clitic *\_sa* or by combinations of these clitics; not all the adverbs given here have actually have been attested with these clitics but no reason has been found to disallow such marking. Taking as illustrations the adverbs *maa* ‘far’ and *kure* ‘good’, the expressions of different degrees that have been attested are given in (10.16) and (10.17). The (d) example in each case, with the particle *tahken* ‘maybe’ is used when the speaker cannot gauge whether something is far or near, good or not good in the eyes of the addressee, thus the ‘maybe’ leaves the addressee free to agree or not. The context of example (10.17f) was such that a branch had fallen on the speaker’s sunglasses and he expected them to be broken but they weren’t. The combination of the assertive clitic *\_rë* with the diminutive clitic *\_sa* results in a meaning, which, given the meaning of the individual clitics, is quite idiosyncratic, namely it

means something close to the English word ‘quite’, thus what in (10.16f) is literally ‘a bit really far’ means ‘quite close’. In (10.17f) the form *kure\_rē\_re*, literally ‘almost really good’, which one would expect to be negative, that is, ‘not good’ actually means ‘good although one wouldn’t have thought so’. When the same combination is found with nouns, as in *wītoto\_rē\_re* [human.being\_ASSERT\_FRUST], it renders the meaning ‘for all intents and purposes a human being but not entirely so’. The various combinations of the adverbs with the clitics and their resultant meanings require a lot more research.

- |         |   |              |                     |                                     |
|---------|---|--------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (10.16) | a | maa_sa       | [far_DIM]           | very far (bit too far)              |
|         | b | maa          |                     | far                                 |
|         | c | pija_sa maa  | [little_DIM far]    | not very far                        |
|         | d | maa tahken   | [far maybe]         | not very far, not very close either |
|         | e | maa-ta       | [far-NEG]           | not far                             |
|         | f | maa_rē_sa    | [far_ASSERT_DIM]    | quite close (e.g., 2 meters)        |
| (10.17) | a | kure_sa      | [good_DIM]          | quite good                          |
|         | b | kure         |                     | good                                |
|         | c | pija_sa kure | [little_DIM good]   | not very good                       |
|         | d | kure tahken  | [good maybe]        | not very good, not very bad         |
|         | e | kure-ta      | [good-NEG]          | not good, bad                       |
|         | f | kure_rē_re   | [good_ASSERT_FRUST] | good (but unexpectedly so)          |

### 10.3 De-verbal adverb derivation

Transitive verbs can be adverbialized by means of the suffix *-tē* to express the notion of being ‘skilled in Xing’, as in (10.18a-c). When marked with the suffix *-tē* the verb may not be marked for person, that is, the verb cannot be marked for object, agent, or possessor. This lack of person marking is most clearly seen in those verbs beginning in *ē* that would otherwise change initial vowel to *e* before person marking; compare the examples in (10.19a-c) where the adverbialized form in (10.19a) retains the initial root vowel *ē*, whereas when marked for person in the third and first persons respectively in (10.19b-c) the vowel changes to *e*. The *-tē*-marked verb occurs with the verb ‘be’ and in this context is in a paradigmatic relationship with other adverbs, see (10.20a-c). However, in contrast to other adverbs, which in principle can occur with any verb, the adverbialized *-tē*-marked verb is restricted in that it cannot occur with other verbs but only with the verb ‘be’; it is a purely qualitative adverbial. The suffix *-tē* can, however, be nominalized to express ‘someone skilled in Xing’. When nominalized the suffix becomes *-to*, to which the person nominalizer *-n(o)* is added, see (9.58a-c).

- |         |   |        |                                  |
|---------|---|--------|----------------------------------|
| (10.18) | a | wē-tē  | skilled in shooting, a good shot |
|         | b | rī-tē  | skilled in making/fixing things  |
|         | c | kah-tē | skilled in weaving               |

- (10.19) a *ənpa-të* skilled in teaching  
 b *Ø-enpa-ne* his teacher  
 c *j-enpa-ne* my teacher
- (10.20)a *kawë n-a-Ø-i*  
 high 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 it is high
- b *ənpa-të n-a-Ø-i*  
 teach-ADV 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is skilled in teaching
- c *kah-të t-ee-se*  
 weave-ADV COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he was skilled in weaving
- (10.21) a *wë-to-n* s/one skilled in shooting  
 b *rī-to-n* s/one skilled in making/fixing things  
 c *kah-to-n* s/one skilled in weaving

#### 10.4 Expressions of time

Trio has a large range of expressions of time. Temporal adjuncts can occur before or after the verb phrase. In the following, the temporal expressions are ordered according to specific time related to nighttime (Table 10.2) and daytime (Table 10.3), and general time (Table 10.4). In Table 10.2 all the expressions are based on the word *koko* ‘night-time’. One exception is *enmepīrawë* ‘midnight’ which contains the interior locative postposition *awë* ‘inside’. Some of the expressions based on *koko* are transparent, for example, the expression *koko nkërë* with the persistive clitic *nkërë* has the meaning ‘still night’ and refers to the period between early morning when it’s still dark until roughly 11 a.m.; the expression *kokoinje* ‘afternoon’ is an adverb formed by means of the adverbial suffix *-(n)je* with directional meaning ‘towards night-time’. The expression *kokoro* ‘tomorrow’ contains the assertive clitic *rë* which undergoes a change of vowel to *o* following a word-final *o*; this expression makes sense if one considers that day-time begins at night, thus ‘it is a night’ = ‘tomorrow’. The term *kokoinjarë* ‘yesterday’, however, seems to be quite idiosyncratic and it is difficult to determine how the combination of suffixes *-(n)je* plus *-arë*, whereby it is not clear what the exact meaning of the adverbializer *-arë* is, results in the semantics it has. In the tables given in this section I try to show the morphological make-up of the temporal expressions where possible, even if the exact meaning of some of the parts is unknown, elsewhere in the grammar most of these expressions are glossed as monomorphemic forms, for example, *kokoinjarë* ‘yesterday’ is glossed in Table 10.2 as likely containing the morphemes night-ADV-ADV which indicates that the two adverbial morphemes are recognizable in other adverbials

but have indiscernible meaning, while in other examples in this book, the word *kokoinjarë* is simply glossed as ‘yesterday’.

The expressions of time that reach beyond the immediate today, yesterday and tomorrow are formed by means of a combination of the adverb and the inanimate distal demonstrative pronoun *ooni*, that indicates distance in time or space, that is, ‘next’ or ‘last’, rendering the expressions *ooni kokoinjarë* ‘day before yesterday’ and *ooni kokoro* ‘day after tomorrow’. In Table 10.2 I give in the third column the orthographic version of these words since many of them contain a palatalized nasal which is represented orthographically by inserting the grapheme *i* before the nasal.

Table 10.2: Temporal expressions based on *koko* ‘nighttime’

| Term              | Gloss                    | Orthographic    | Meaning                                  |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--|
| enmep̄ir-awë      | (night)-INT.LOC          | enmep̄irawë     | midnight                                 |
| koko              | night                    | koko            | evening/night                            |
| koko_nkërë        | night_PERSIST            | kokonkërë       | morning                                  |
| koko-nje          | night-ADV                | kokoinje        | afternoon (5pm)                          |
| koko-nj-a:rë      | night-ADV-ADV            | kokoinjarë      | yesterday                                |
| koko_ro           | night_ASSERT             | kokoro          | tomorrow                                 |
| koko_ro_pa        | night_ASSERT_CYC         | kokoropa        | till tomorrow, (also: the following day) |
| ooni koko-nj-a:rë | DP.INAN.MED ADV-ADV      | ooni kokoinjarë | day before yesterday                     |
| ooni koko_ro      | DP.INAN.MED night_ASSERT | ooni kokoro     | day after tomorrow                       |

Other expressions of time relating to the day are given in Table 10.3. The notion ‘noon’ is expressed by a postpositional phrase made up of the word *wei* ‘day, sun’ and *rehtë* ‘on/at top of’ the latter of which is derived from the lexeme *retî* ‘horns’; it expresses the point at which the sun is at its highest point, that is, ‘noon’. It is unclear what the exact meaning of the initial element *me* in the adverb *meinjarë* [mɛ̃na:ɾə] ‘today, now’ is, it may be a remnant of an old demonstrative pronoun; it is similar to the medial locative adverb *mëinje* ‘towards there, that side (close)’ yet semantically it is closer to the proximal locative adverb *seinje* ‘towards here, this side’. The term *serëmao* refers to general non-specific present time, and is translatable by the English ‘nowadays’; it is made up of the inanimate proximal demonstrative pronoun *serë* plus a temporal nominal suffix *-mao*.<sup>1</sup> The suffix *-mao* is a temporal marker with durative meaning, that is,

1 In Trio’s closest relative, Akuriyo, the general term for ‘now’ that is the equivalent of Trio *meinjarë*, is *serë meawë*, the final element of which may be related to the interior locative postposi-

‘during or within a period of time’. When followed by the assertive clitic *\_rë*, however, *serëmao* means ‘right now’. The expression *wei wararë* [waʔa:rə] ‘every day’ is made up of the lexeme *wei* ‘day, sun’ plus the adverb *wararë* ‘every’. The term *aanao*, which seems to end in an old locative marker *-nao* (cf. *warunao* ‘in the dark’ related to shamanic practices; *kanawa ihpitiinao* ‘in the rear of the boat’; Wayana, *kapu-nao* ‘in the sky’ (Jackson 1970)), expresses the notion daylight; when followed by the adverb *wararë* ‘every’, it means ‘all day (all the daylight hours)’. This latter term is synonymous with the expression *aanao nakarë*, [naka:rə] the final element of which has indeterminate meaning but may be made up of a directional *-na(kii)* plus the adverbial suffix *-arë* described above. The expression *irëmarë* [iʔəma:rə] ‘later’ is made up of the inanimate anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *irë* plus the adverb *marë* (the meaning of which is not clear). The form *marë* with a long first vowel is homonymous with the comitative particle *marë* [ma:rə] meaning ‘also’. The meaning of the form *irëmarë* is that of ‘later within the period of a day or so’. The term *ëwënamao* ‘(much) later’ is made up of the particle *ëwë* ‘bit’ plus *na* which is likely the directional postposition *-na(kii)* (see Chapter 6), plus the nominal temporal suffix *-mao*; in contrast to *irëmarë* which generally means ‘later today’, the meaning of *ëwënamao* is ‘later’ meaning ‘sometime in the future’.

Table 10.3: Temporal expressions relating to the day

| Term                 | Gloss                            | Othography          | Meaning              |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>wei rehtë</i>     | day horn-LOC                     | <i>wei rehtë</i>    | noon                 |
| <i>me-nj-a:rë</i>    | DP.INAN.MED(?) -ADV-ADV          | <i>meinjarë</i>     | today, now, just now |
| <i>serë-mao</i>      | DP.INAN.PROX-TEMP.LOC            | <i>serëmao</i>      | nowadays             |
| <i>serë-mao_rë</i>   | DP.INAN.PROX-<br>TEMP.LOC_ASSERT | <i>serëmaorë</i>    | right now            |
| <i>wei wara:rë</i>   | day every                        | <i>wei wararë</i>   | every day            |
| <i>aanao wara:rë</i> | daylight every                   | <i>aanao wararë</i> | the whole day        |
| <i>aanao naka:rë</i> | daylight ?                       | <i>aanao nakarë</i> | the whole day        |
| <i>irë-ma:rë</i>     | DP.INAN.ANA-ADV                  | <i>irëmarë</i>      | later                |
| <i>ëwë-na-mao</i>    | bit-DIR-TEMP                     | <i>ëwënamao</i>     | (much) later         |

Time duration such as ‘in the morning’ or ‘in the afternoon’ is expressed by means of the temporal locative suffix *-mao*, or the durative particle *ahtao* ‘if, when, during’, as shown in (10.22a-f). The meaning of *-mao* is more durative in the sense of ‘in (the course of), e.g., the morning’ whereas the construction with *ahtao* is more ‘when it is, e.g., the morning’. When suffixed by the temporal suf-

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tion *awë*. This points to the origin of this suffix as being a locative, that is, its durational nature of being ‘within a period of time’.

fix *-mao*, the clitic *\_nkërë* acquires a final *n*, as shown in (10.22b). The form given in (10.23), literally ‘its face as darkness’ refers to the period of dusk when darkness is falling.

- (10.22)a *koko \_nkërë ahtao*  
 night\_PERSIST when  
 in the morning
- b *koko \_nkërën-mao*  
 night\_PERSIST-TEMP  
 in the (course of the) morning
- c *kokoinje ahtao* in the afternoon
- d *kokoinje-mao* in (the course of) the afternoon
- e *koko ahtao* at night
- f *koko-mao* during the night (in the course of the night)
- (10.23)  $\emptyset$ -en-pata waru-me  
 3POSS-eye-place darkness-FACS  
 dusk (ca. 7p.m.) (the face of darkness)

Expressions of general time are given in Table 10.4.

Table 10.4: General temporal expressions

|                             |                      |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>pena</i>                 | long ago             |
| <i>irënehka</i>             | finally              |
| <i>ooni-mao</i>             | sometimes            |
| <i>tîwërën-mao</i>          | some other time      |
| <i>wapo</i>                 | at first, first time |
| <i>meinjarë</i>             | now, ready           |
| <i>pîtë</i>                 | a little while       |
| <i>meinjarën</i>            | suddenly             |
| <i>ooni iranta-topo-npë</i> | last year            |
| <i>ooni iranta-to</i>       | next year            |
| <i>_pa</i>                  | again                |
| <i>_nkërë</i>               | still, yet           |
| <i>_rën</i>                 | forever              |

As can be seen from this table, some of the expressions are formed by means of the demonstrative pronouns, such as the form *irënehka* ‘finally’ which is probably based on the inanimate anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *irë*, and those expressions with the meaning ‘next’ and ‘last’ which have the inanimate distal demonstrative *ooni*. To express the meaning ‘last’ as in ‘last year, week etc.’ the noun or nominal which follows the demonstrative must be marked for pastness

by means of the marker *-npë*, as shown with the intransitive verb *iranta* ‘year’ in the nominalized verb *irantatoponpë* ‘last year’ in Table 10.4; without the past marker *-npë* the meaning will always be future, as in *ooni irantato* ‘next year’. The demonstrative *ooni* is also found in the expression *ooni-mao* [DP.INAN.DIST-TEMP] to mean ‘sometimes’ or ‘now and again’. As can be seen in Table 10.4, some temporal expressions are expressed by means of clitics rather than temporal adverbs or adjuncts: these are the expression of ‘again’ which in Trio is encoded by the cyclic clitic *\_pa*, and ‘still’ or ‘yet’, which is expressed by means of the persistive clitic *\_nkërë*, and ‘forever’, ‘for all time’ or ‘truly’ by means of the ‘forever’ clitic *\_rën(ne)* (see also 10.12 ff.).

Seasons are expressed according to the local climate, that is, as *konopo-me* [rain-FACS] ‘rainy season’ and *wei-me* [sun-FACS] ‘dry season’; the period around July/August was referred to as *ahkëte-mao* [cut.NOM-LOC] ‘during the cutting’, that is, the period in which the Trio cut the fields for planting. Unfortunately, the older expressions for the seasons have fallen into disuse now and the Dutch/Sranantongo months of the year, with some phonological readjustment, are used; the months of year are usually found with the general locative marker *-po*, meaning, for example, ‘in January etc.’, or with the temporal locative suffix *-mao* meaning ‘in (the course of) January etc.’. A list of the months is given with the locative *-po* in (10.24a) in the accepted Trio orthography. The month December is also used to refer to Christmas, that is, *risenpëpo* can mean ‘at Christmas’. In (10.24b) I list the days of the week which are also borrowings from Sranantongo; the days are given here in the Trio orthography. Where two vowels follow each other, as in those that end in *oroko* ‘work’, for example, *tur-oroko* ‘Tuesday (lit.: two-day work)’, i.e. the second working day, these are not realized as a diphthong but have a glottal stop between these two parts of the compound. In fact, the days of the week in Dutch are also used and understood by most people. It is not the case that some people use the Dutch terms and others the Sranantongo terms, rather they are generally mixed.

- (10.24)   januwari-po  
           pehpuwari-po  
           masu-po  
           eiperëu-po  
           mei-po  
           juuni-po  
           juuri-po  
           augustus-po /ahkëtë-po  
           sepenpë-po  
           oktohpë-po / akëtopë  
           nopenpë-po  
           risenpë-po / december-po

|   |             |           |
|---|-------------|-----------|
| b | monri       | Monday    |
|   | tureoroko   | Tuesday   |
|   | tërireoroko | Wednesday |
|   | poreoroko   | Thursday  |
|   | pereiri     | Friday    |
|   | satëri      | Saturday  |
|   | sonri       | Sunday    |

In former times, the time of the day (or night) was expressed according to the degree of day or night. Some examples are given in (10.25a-b).

(10.25)a enmepīrawē\_nkērē\_sa  
 midnight\_PERSIST\_DIM  
 a bit after midnight (up to 4.30 a.m.)

b awaina-e-wa\_nkērē\_sa  
 dawn-NF-NEG\_PERSIST\_DIM  
 just before dawn (not yet dawning: ca. 4.30 a.m.)

Nowadays, however, the time of the day according to the clock is expressed by the Dutch numerals 1-12 and the loanword *juru* [ju:ɾu], from Sranantongo, and ultimately from Dutch *uur* ‘hour’. The question ‘what time is it?’ and two possible answers are given in (10.26a-c). While parts of the hour are understood, for example, ‘five to twelve, ten past four, twenty past four’, they are generally not used, rather the time is rounded off to the nearest half hour using the Dutch system of counting half before, rather than past, the hour; with half hours the word *juru* ‘hour’ is not used, see (10.26d). The word *juru* can be used with the locative postposition *-po* as in (10.27a) or with the particle *ahtao* ‘when, while, if’ as in (10.27b) to express the notion of ‘at (a particular time)’.

(10.26)a a-tī juru n-a-Ø-i  
 Q-INAN hour 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 what time is it?

b a-tī juru-hpe ji-wame  
 Q-INAN hour-INDEF.SPEC 1-not.know  
 I’ve no idea what time it is (what on earth time is it? I don’t know)

c een juru n-a-Ø-i  
 one hour 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 it’s one o’clock

d half een n-a-Ø-i  
 half one 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 it’s half past twelve

(10.27)a een juru-po\_pa oh-kë  
 one hour-LOC\_CYC come-IMP  
 do come back at one o’clock!

- b        een juru ahtao oh-kë\_pa\_mo  
           one hour when come-IMP\_CYC\_MOD  
           please come back at one o'clock (when it's 1 o'clock)!

The following expressions of time given in (10.28a-c), based on the verb *e(i)* 'be' and the anterior aspect marker *-tuwë* [tu:wə] are also in use. In (10.28b) the anterior suffix *-tuwë* 'after' is preceded by the cessative marker *-ke(pi)* to indicate 'after it has stopped being 1 o'clock, (i.e. after)'. Among younger speakers this latter construction is being replaced by the locative construction given in (10.28c) where the locative postposition *inkae* 'at the back of, behind' immediately follows the word *juru* 'hour'.

- (10.28)a    een juru i-w-eh-tuwë  
               one hour 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-ANT  
               at one o'clock exactly (after it's being 1 o'clock)
- b        een juru i-w-eh-ke:-tuwë  
           one hour 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-CESS-ANT  
           after one o'clock (1 o'clock after it has stopped being)
- c        een juru i-nka-e  
           one hour 3-back-LOC  
           after 1 o'clock (modern)

## 10.5 Spatial expressions

Spatial expressions in Trio are formed by means of the inanimate demonstrative pronouns followed by a locative, directional, or source postposition. As already pointed out in Chapter 6, where each of the postpositions is treated in detail, Trio distinguishes between different kinds of spatial fact, that is, general, spread out, horizontal space, container-like space, space in liquid, and marginally, space in/at fire, which is not dealt with here. The locatives and the corresponding directionals are given in Table 10.5 below. With the source concepts no distinction in spatial fact is made, and there is only one source marker for all, namely *-pëe*. The locatives and directionals are added to the demonstrative pronouns to form the adverbial spatial expressions given in Table 10.6. The difference between the proximal *serë-po* and *sen-po* is one of general versus specific location respectively. The expression *serë-po* refers to general location, that is, 'here, around here' or 'in this general vicinity'; it is used, for example, to refer to Suriname in general, as opposed to a Trio village in particular. The expression *serë-po* is also used to refer to location in this world as opposed to in another (spirit) world, as shown in (10.29a-b) where in the (a) example, spirit returned to 'this', the human, world, and in the (b) example, the speaker was explaining that the water in the spirit world is different from that in this world. The locative *sen-po* is made

up of the demonstrative formative *se* plus the nominalizer *-n(o)*, followed by the locative *-po*. Its meaning is that of ‘at this place’, as shown in (10.30).

Table 10.5: Locative and directional markers

| Space type | Locative | Directional |
|------------|----------|-------------|
| general    | -po      | -pona       |
| container  | -(h)tao  | -(h)ta      |
| liquid     | -hkao    | -hka        |

Table 10.6: Locative adverbials

|             | Locative                              | Meaning          |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| Proximal    | serë-po                               | here             |
|             | sen-po                                |                  |
|             | sen-tao                               | in this          |
| Medial      | mërë-po                               | there            |
| Distal      | ooni-po                               | there            |
| Anaphoric   | irë-po                                | there            |
| Non-visible | tëërë (mainly used by older speakers) | there (there is) |

(10.29)a tonoro apo serë-pona pa n-e-ja-n  
 bird like DP.INAN.PROX-DIR\_CYC 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 he comes back here (to this world) like a bird (i.e. he flies)

b Ø-ina\_rë serë-po-n-ta  
 3POSS-water\_ASSERT DP.INAN.PROX-LOC-NOM-NEG

kawë n-a-Ø-i tuna serë-po n-a-Ø-i tuna wa\_ken  
 high 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT water DP.INAN.PROX-LOC water NEG\_DUR

his (the spirit’s) water is not water from here, the water is high up,  
 here there is no water (like that)

(10.30) se-n-po\_ken eh-kë  
 DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-LOC\_DUR be-IMP  
 stay here (at this spot)!

The directionals and source spatial expressions are given in Table 10.7 below. Within the proximal set of expressions, one, namely *sarë*, is a monomorphemic directional with the meaning ‘hither’, an example is given in (10.31). Within the source expressions the proximal *serë* and the anaphoric *irë* are found marked with the nominal past marker *-npë*, presumably because of the source meaning that once one has left a location then it is already a past concept. However, it is not clear why these two and not the other two, *mërë* and *ooni*, require past marking.

Table 10.7: Directional and source expressions

|           | Directional | Meaning  | Source               | Meaning                |
|-----------|-------------|----------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Proximal  | serë-pona   | to here  | serë-npë-pëe         | from here              |
|           | sen-pona    | to here  | sen-pëe              | from here              |
|           | sarë        | to here  | ----                 |                        |
| Medial    | mërë-pona   | to there | mërë-pëe             | from there             |
| Distal    | ooni-pona   | to there | ooni-pëe             | from there             |
| Anaphoric | irë-pona    | to there | irë-pëe, irë-npë-pëe | from there, after that |

(10.31) oh-kë n-ka-Ø-n wī-ja  
 come-IMP 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 1-GOAL

n-ka-Ø-n sarë oh-kë  
 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT hither come-IMP

‘come!’ he says, ‘to me’ he says, ‘come here!’

10.6 Adverbial expressions with the facsimile marker *-me*

Many adverbial expressions, as well as most colour terms, in Trio are formed by means of a noun or nominal, or an ideophonic expression plus the facsimile marker *-me*. Their meaning is literally ‘as X’ or ‘having the appearance of X’. In many cases the nominal component of the expression no longer exists as an independent noun, that is, many of these expressions have become lexicalized as units. In Table 10.8 I give a representative though certainly not exhaustive list of adverbial expressions according to some basic adverbial meanings; some of these adverbials are formed with the facsimile marker *-me*, others are formed by means of the adverbializing suffixes given above. This is not to say, however, that any noun that is suffixed by the facsimile *-me* is automatically an adverbial, since a *-me*-marked noun can also function as a depictive as shown in 4.8.5. In the latter case, some expressions that were mentioned above in other sections of this chapter are repeated here in the table because of their semantics.

Table 10.8: Adverbial expressions

|                    |            |                                       |
|--------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|
| Manner of movement |            |                                       |
|                    | suntirime  | limping                               |
|                    | wiwiime    | wobbling                              |
|                    | tututume   | staggering (child who can’t walk yet) |
|                    | sokosokome | trembling                             |
|                    | kirikirime | trembling                             |
|                    | sokame     | standing                              |
|                    | tahpame    | sitting                               |

|                          |                                  |                                    |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|                          | tupae                            | lying (on ground)                  |
|                          | ëirameken                        | in twos                            |
|                          | ëepemao                          | in twos                            |
| Speed                    |                                  |                                    |
|                          | kapohta                          | slowly (also temporal ‘long time’) |
|                          | koseken                          | slowly                             |
|                          | sameken                          | fast                               |
|                          | aipïme                           | fast (also: rough, loud, forceful) |
|                          | sekekeme                         | fast                               |
| Human nature/ evaluation |                                  |                                    |
|                          | kure                             | good / well                        |
|                          | junme [juŋ.me]                   | wise, mature                       |
|                          | onken, ooraken                   | quiet                              |
|                          | ëmume                            | sad                                |
|                          | kureken                          | careful                            |
|                          | kureta                           | bad(ly)                            |
|                          | aeneme                           | alive, conscious                   |
|                          | karime                           | strong                             |
| irasa, irasanme          | important                        |                                    |
| Consistency/shape/size   |                                  |                                    |
|                          | sakame                           | granular (salt, rice)              |
|                          | popome                           | rotten soft,                       |
|                          | tikïme                           | thick (liquid)                     |
|                          | jujume                           | floppy, flexible                   |
|                          | siweme                           | slippery                           |
|                          | mokame                           | round                              |
|                          | akïpëe                           | hard                               |
|                          | ëmïje                            | soft                               |
|                          | monome                           | big                                |
| amurume                  | cut short (close crop hairstyle) |                                    |
| Others                   |                                  |                                    |
|                          | pato                             | for no reason, for nothing         |
|                          | aerë                             | really                             |
|                          | aerëme                           | certain, sure                      |
|                          | kutuma                           | very much, hard (intensifier)      |
|                          | tiwërë(-)                        | different, other                   |
|                          | pakëme                           | crooked                            |
| aoja                     | crooked                          |                                    |

### 10.6.1 Colour terminology

The list in Table 10.9 below gives the most frequently found colour terms, that is, those which informants offer when asked what colour terms they know.

Table 10.9: Basic colour terms

| Colour       | Meaning       |
|--------------|---------------|
| sikime       | black         |
| kananame     | yellow        |
| siririme     | blue          |
| kurikuri wet | green         |
| wapëme       | blue          |
| pakokome     | green/blue    |
| tawa-me      | brown, yellow |
| tamire       | red           |
| tikoroje     | white         |

Most colour terminology in Trio is expressed by means of a noun or nominal root followed by the facsimile marker *-me*, with a few being formed by means of a non-finite verb preceded by the coreferential prefix *tĩ-*. Those colour terms that are formed by means of the facsimile marker *-me* marked on a noun, literally mean ‘as, having the appearance of X’. However, many of the original nominal roots are no longer found without the facsimile marker as independent nouns; examples are *siki*, *siriri*, and *wapë* which are the basis of ‘black’ and two different shades of ‘blue’, respectively.<sup>2</sup> The noun *pakoko*, which is the basis of ‘green/blue’ is the name of a species of cricket that appears around six o’clock in the evening, called *sesi yuru vlinder* in Sranantongo, whereby *vlinder* is the Dutch word for ‘butterfly’. This cricket is a greenish blue colour. The word *tawa*, which forms the basis of the colour ‘brown’ is a noun meaning ‘earth’, or ‘soil’ which is a reddish brown; the term literally means ‘as the soil’. The term *tawame* ‘brown’ is also used for ‘(darkish) yellow’ although speakers now prefer the Wayana term *kananame* for ‘yellow’; *kanana* is an unidentified bird species. The term *kurikuri wet* ‘green’ is also of Wayana origin, the Trio version of the latter being *kurikane wetĩ*, ‘excrement of *kurikane*’; *kurikane* (Wayana: *kurikuri*) is a parrot species, literally *kuri ka-ne* ‘*kuri* sayer’. Most younger speakers nowadays use the Wayana term *kurukuri wet* without realizing its Wayana origin; those Trio who do not use the term *kurikuri wet* tend to use *pakokome* ‘green’. Two of the basic colour terms are based on roots that do not exist independently but which are found in verb stems, namely *tamire* [ta:miɾɛ] ‘red’ and *tikoroje* [tɪkɔ:ɾɔjɛ] ‘white’. The term *tamire*, which is based on the root *ami*,

2 The root *siriri* is, however, found in the ‘place-name’ *Siririmĩn*, literally ‘s/one or s/thing without *siriri*’. This is the name of a spirit village in the celestial world.

also found with the terminative verbalizer *amita* ‘reddden, blush, ripen’ is formed by means of the *t(i)-√re* construction that expresses ‘reddened’. For the meaning of the suffixes within the *t(i)-√re/-je* construction, see 11.4. Likewise the root of *tikoroje*, which is formed by means of the same construction as *tamire*, is also found in the verb *koroo-ta*, again with the terminative verbalizer *-ta*, meaning ‘whiten, be white’.

Other colour terms also exist that are based on the immediate environment of the speakers, in particular based on features of birds, namely the colour of their beak, their eggs, or the colour of their longest feather. Many of these terms have been conventionalized and are in common use; some are given in (10.32a-f). The terms in (10.32a-b) refer to the colour of the eggs of two tinamou species. The example in (10.32c) is related to that in (10.32g), both being based on the root *kui* meaning ‘dirty’, which also occurs with the terminative verbalizer *-ta* meaning ‘be dirty, become dirty’. The source of those terms in (10.32d-f) is unclear. Yet other terms seem to be made up quite randomly and are easily understood since they are descriptive, some examples are given in (10.33a-c).

- (10.32) a *suwi iimo-me* purple (as eggs of *suwi* (tinamou))  
 b *mawi iimo-me* pinkish (as eggs of *mawi* [ma:wi] (tinamou))  
 c *tikuije* brownish (dirtied)  
 d *ineipë-me* pink  
 e *tĭjakĭnĭn* dark blue  
 f *tararawainen (sikime)* (dark) green  
 g *kuitaki-me* brown
- (10.33) a *moto-me* grey (as worms)  
 b *napëkë eeku-me* purple (colour of juice of potato sp.)  
 c *paipaiju ipohtë-me* brownish-green (colour of beak of bird sp.  
*Lipaugus vociferans* COTINGIDAE)  
 d *muturaka retĭ-me* greenish (colour of head of bird sp.,  
 small bird with a very long tail feather)

Generally the colour terms are used in identificatory sentences of the form ‘my shirt is as a parrot in colour’, that is, ‘has the appearance (in colour) of a parrot’, some examples are given in (10.34a-d).

- (10.34)a *pakoko-me n-a-Ø-i mēe i-po*  
 cricket sp.-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3POSS-shirt  
 his shirt is green/blue (his shirt is as a cricket (in appearance))
- b *kananame n-a-Ø-i ji-po*  
 yellow.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-shirt  
 my shirt is yellow
- c *t-ami-re n-a-Ø-i munu*  
 COREF-red-HAVE.PART 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT blood  
 blood is red

- d            siririme n-a-Ø-i kapu  
 blue.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT sky  
 the sky is blue

In usage the colour terms are often found in their nominalized form: the terms that are formed by means of the facsimile *-me* take the nominalizer *-n(o)*. The vowel of the suffix *-me* changes to *a* before the nominalizer. Those terms that have a verbal base and that are formed by means of the *t(i)-√re/je* construction take the candidate nominalizer *-mī* and are always found with the reduced form *-n*, that is, *tamiren* ‘a red one’, *tikorojen* ‘a white one’, *tikuijen* ‘a brown (dirty) one’. When nominalized, a colour term occurs juxtaposed to the element which qualifies it, without the verb ‘be’, as shown (10.35a-b); or alternatively if the verb ‘be’ is used, then the colour term occurs in its nominalized form and the noun must be marked with the facsimile marker *-me*, as shown in (10.36a-b). The colour terms cannot be used attributively as such, rather they must be nominalized and juxtaposed to the noun to which they refer, as shown in (10.37).

- (10.35)a    siririma-n ji-po  
 blue.FACS-NOM 1POSS-shirt  
 my shirt is blue (as a blue one my shirt)
- b            tawa-ma-n ē-puruku  
 earth-FACS-NOM 2POSS-trousers  
 your trousers are brown/yellow
- (10.36)a    siririma-n n-a-Ø-i ji-po-me  
 blue.FACS-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-shirt-FACS  
 my shirt is blue (a bluish one is (has the appearance of) my shirt)
- b            t-ami-re-n n-a-Ø-i ji-po-me  
 COREF-red-HAVE.PART 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-shirt-FACS  
 my shirt is red
- (10.37)a    t-ami-re-n po-se w-a-Ø-e  
 COREF-red-HAVE.PART shirt-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want a red shirt

## 10.7 Numerals and quantifiers

The numerals of Trio are given in (10.38a) below. Numbers are usually counted on one’s fingers and (if required) toes, starting with the little finger, usually of the right hand; when counting, the hands are splayed with the palm facing downwards. Since the beginning of sustained contact with the outside world, initially through missionaries, and later through the missionary and state schooling system, the Trio have adopted the Dutch numerals, given in (10.38b). When writing the Dutch numerals, the Trio usually write the numeral itself, rather than the word, for all the numerals above five, and often also for those below five. As

with most borrowings into Trio, the numerals are generally marked with the facsimile suffix *-me*. The original Trio numerals *tēinken* ‘one’ and *ēkēnē* ‘two’ are still quite frequently used; the numeral *ēerao* ‘three’ is sometimes heard from older speakers. The numerals generally precede the noun they are modifying, as shown in (10.39a-b) and (10.41a). However, the numerals can also follow the noun but there is a clearly perceptible pause before the noun, indicated in (10.40a-b) by a comma; in addition, when the borrowed numerals follow the noun, they are marked with the facsimile marker as shown in (10.41b). The numerals are also used on their own without an overt noun when the referent is understood, as shown in the question and answer in (10.42a-b).

|          |                       |                         |                |
|----------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| (10.38)a | Original              | (b)                     | Dutch loans    |
|          | <i>tēinken</i>        | one                     | <i>een</i>     |
|          | <i>ēkēnē</i>          | two                     | <i>tuwee</i>   |
|          | <i>ēerao</i>          | three                   | <i>tēri</i>    |
|          | <i>epima</i>          | four                    | <i>pirē</i>    |
|          | <i>j-einja i-tamu</i> | five (my hand’s leader) | <i>peihpē</i>  |
|          |                       |                         | <i>honderd</i> |
|          |                       |                         | <i>duizend</i> |

- (10.39) a *tēinken wēri* one woman  
 b *ēkēnē wītoto* two Amerindians

- (10.40) a *wēri, tēinken* one woman  
 b *wītoto, ēkēnē* two Amerindians

- (10.41)a *ses koutu*<sup>3</sup>  
 six gold  
 six dollars/euro

- b *koutu ses-me*  
 gold six-FACS  
 six dollars/euro

- (10.42)a *a-htarē ē-munkē-ton*  
 Q-QUANT 2POSS-children-PL  
 how many children do you have? (how many are your children?)

- b *peihpē-me (n-a-Ø-i)*  
 five-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 I have five (they are five)

The numeral *ēkēnē* ‘two’ is also used to express the concept ‘both’ as shown in (10.43) from Tēmenta in Keisi (1984:32) where a basket that had been woven had transformed into a jaguar.

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3 When referring to money, the word *koutu* ‘gold’ refers to hard currency only. The Surinamese currency is (since January 2004) the Surinamese dollar (SRD). At the beginning of 2004, 10SRD was the equivalent of approximately 3 Euros.

(10.43) *tī-w-ë-eju-se\_ken soka soka ëkënë\_to*  
 COREF-ITR-REFL-toss.about-NF\_DUR ideo.flutter ideo.flutter two\_PL

*i-pipi-po-rī Ø-akëmi-po-rī*  
 3POSS-older.brother-clothes-POSS 3POSS-younger.sibling-clothes-POSS

it (basket) was tossing to and fro, both of them, the older and the younger brothers' clothes

In former times, and still among many speakers, quantifiers such as ‘many’ or ‘few’ were used for numbers above five. These quantifiers are sensitive to animacy, as shown in (10.44a-c). It is clear that these quantifiers are derived forms; as also pointed out by Meira (1999), the word *tapüime* is likely related to the Wayana and Aparai word *tapuy* ‘house’, here suffixed by the facsimile marker *-me*, meaning literally ‘as a house’, that is, a houseful of people, many people. The word *ijeta* seems to contain the negation marker *-ta* but the source of the root is undetermined. The form *típuse* is synonymous with *ijeta*; it is likely made up of an indeterminate root marked with the coreferential prefix and suffixed by the non-finite marker *-se*.

- (10.44) a *tapüime* many (animate)  
 b *ijeta* many (inanimate)  
 c *típuse* many (inanimate)

### 10.7.1 Ordinals

Trio has a non-numeral system of the basic ordinals ‘first’, ‘last’, and ‘next in line’, that is, the postpositions *wapo* ‘first, in front’, *wenae* ‘last’, and *i-pëkërë* ‘next, following’ are used; these are listed in (10.45). The first two of these postpositions must first be nominalized, as shown in (10.46a-c).

- (10.45) a *wapo-n(o)* first  
 b *wenae-no* last  
 c *i-pëkërë* next (in chronological descending order, in line)

(10.46)a *wapo-no w-ene-Ø*  
 first-NOM 1→3-see-NR.PST  
 I saw the first one

b *wenae-no n-a-Ø-i nërë*  
 behind-NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he is the last one

c *mëe i-pëkërë n-a-Ø-i Atinio*  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3-next 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Atinio  
 Atinio is the next one after him (in the family)

When expressions with ordinals such as ‘fourth, fifth etc.’ are required, the numeral precedes a verb, for example, *(i)koma(mi)* ‘get dark’ in (10.47) which is nominalized by the time/manner/place nominalizer *-to(po)*. Compare also example (10.48) where in order to express that night fell four times, the verb is repeated four times, then followed by the numeral *pirë* ‘four’; what follows this is the locative expression *peihpë iwehtopo* ‘on the fifth (night)’, literally ‘on its being five’. While the last two syllables of the form *iwehtopo* are identical to the full form of the time, manner, place nominalizer, *-topo*, it is equally possible that the final syllable is the locative postposition *-po* that is used for specific temporal location, as shown above in section 6.2.11.

(10.47) Ø-einja tamu-me i-koman-to  
 3POSS-hand leader-FACS 3POSS-get.dark-TMP.NOM  
 five nights / fifth night

(10.48) tī-komain-je tī-komain-je tī-komain-je tī-komain-je pirë  
 COREF-get.dark-NF COREF-get.dark-NF COREF-get.dark-NF COREF-get.dark-NF four

peihpë i-w-eh-to-po tī-w-ëe-se  
 five 3POSS-1 TR-be-TMP.NOM-LOC COREF-1 TR-come-NF

night fell, night fell, night fell, night fell, four times, on the fifth night  
 he came

### 10.7.2 Other quantifiers

Other quantifiers are given in (10.49). Generally all of these quantifiers can stand on their own without a noun if the noun is understood. One exception is *wararë* [waɾaɾə] ‘all, every’ which requires a modified noun or pronoun preceding it.

(10.49) tapüime many (animate)  
 ijeta many (inanimate)  
 tīpuse many (inanimate)  
 pijasa few  
 amerarë all, everyone  
 wararë all, every

The quantifier *tapüime* refers to animate referents only, that is, to humans, animals, and the stars.<sup>4</sup> The noun or pronoun which is quantified by *tapüime* can follow the quantifier as shown in (10.50a), or when used predicatively the quantifier and the noun can occur on either side of the verb ‘be’, as shown in (10.50b-

4 The word for ‘star(s)’, *sirikë*, also means ‘firefly’ which is probably where this word derives its animacy from. An alternative explanation is of course related to the origin of the stars as being the ‘sisters’ of the moon in the Origin of the Moon myth.

c). When the quantifier occurs before the verb ‘be’ and the noun after it, this is an indication that there is emphasis on the quantifier. The quantified noun may, but need not, be marked for plural as shown in (10.50b). The quantifier *tapiime* can be negated by means of the nominal negation marker *-ta*, as shown in (10.51).

- (10.50)a *pena tapiime wītoto t-ee-se*  
 long.ago many.ANIM.FACS human.being COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 long ago there were many Amerindians
- b *tapiime n-a-Ø-i wītoto-ton irē-po*  
 many.ANIM.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT human.being-PL DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
 there were many people there
- c *ēkēi-mē n-a-Ø-i tapiime*  
 snake-AUG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT many.ANIM.FACS
- tapiime n-a-Ø-i namo\_ro*  
 many.ANIM.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT
- there are many anacondas, they are many
- (10.51) *tapiime-ta t-ee-se, pija\_sa\_rēken*  
 many.ANIM.FACS -NEG COREF.1TR-be-NF little\_DIM\_only  
 there weren’t many, just a few

The inanimate quantifiers *ijeta* ‘many’ and *tipuse* ‘many’ can likewise stand on their own if the referent is understood, or they occur before the noun they modify as shown in (10.52a). In (10.52b) an example is given of *ijeta* followed by the desiderative postposition *-se*, where the unexpressed referent was *mēnparē* ‘things’ or ‘stuff’. As with the animate quantifier *tapiime* given above, the inanimate quantifiers occur either before or after the verb ‘be’ when used predicatively, as shown with *tipuse* in (10.52c).

- (10.52)a *irē-mao t-ī-kuu-se i-ja:-ne ijeta ēremi*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-TR-try-NF 3-GOAL-PL many spirit.songs  
 then they sang many (different) spirit songs
- b *ijeta-se n-a-Ø-i*  
 many.INAN-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he wants many things (also: he wants a lot)
- c *tipuse n-a-Ø-i ēremi*  
 many 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT spirit.songs  
 there are many spirit songs

The quantifier *pijasa* ‘few’, which is made up of the adverb *pija* ‘small’ plus the diminutive clitic *\_sa*, means both ‘a little bit’ and ‘few’. As a quantifier meaning ‘few’ *pijasa* forms the antonym of both the animate and the inanimate quan-

titiers, that is, there is no distinction made in animacy with *pijasa*. When used attributively, *pijasa* precedes the noun it modifies, as shown in (10.53a). When used predicatively the quantifier occurs on one side of the verb ‘be’ with the noun occurring on the other side. As with the animate quantifier *tapiime* above, the quantifier has focus when placed before the verb, as shown in (10.53b). The quantifier *pijasa* is often cliticized by the exclusion clitic *\_rēken* ‘only’ to mean ‘just a few’, ‘just a little’. The quantifier *pijasa* also functions as an adverb to mean ‘a little bit’ as shown in (10.53c); see also adverbs in sections 10.2ff. above.

- (10.53)a *pija\_sa* *ēremi* *i-warē* *to* *n-a-Ø-i* *meinjarē*  
 little\_DIM spirit.song 3-know\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT today  
 nowadays they know (only) a few spirit songs
- b *pija\_sa* *n-a-Ø-i* *wītoto* *meinjarē*, *pija\_sa\_rēken*  
 little\_DIM 3→3.1TR -be-PRES-NCERT human.being today little\_DIM\_only  
 there are few Amerindians nowadays, just a few
- c *pija\_sa* *ainja* *n-ere-ta-Ø*  
 little\_DIM 1+3PRO 3→liver-TERM-I.PST  
 we rested a little

The quantifier *amerarē* [ameɾa:ɾə] ‘all’ can occur on its own as a subject or an agent, as shown in (10.54a), whereby the verb does not take plural marking, or it can precede the noun it modifies, as shown in (10.54b). The noun which is modified by *amerarē* may be, but is not obligatorily, marked for plural, as shown in (10.54b). The quantifier itself may also be marked for plural as shown in (10.54c). In addition, *amerarē* has the meaning ‘everything’ as shown in (10.54d).

- (10.54)a *amerarē* *tī-hpīmi-ke* *n-a-Ø-i*  
 all COREF-headress-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they all have a headdress
- b *amerarē* *mēhparē-ton* *i-jomi* *t-ēta-e* *i-ja*  
 all animals-PL 3POSS-language COREF-hear-NF 3-GOAL  
 he heard all the animals’ languages
- c *arimina* *apo-n* *amerarē-ton*  
 electric.eel like-NOM all-PL  
 they’re all of them like electric eels
- d *amerarē* *kure* *n-a-Ø-i*  
 all good 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 everything’s fine

The quantifier *wararē* [waɾa:ɾə] ‘all’, ‘(each and) every’ cannot occur on its own, rather, it requires the noun it is modifying to precede it, as shown in (10.55a-b). There is only a slight difference in meaning between the quantifiers

*amerarë* and *wararë*: the latter tends to be more individuating in the sense of ‘each and every’ as in (10.55b) whereas *amerarë* ‘all’ tends to have a more collective meaning as shown in (10.56).

(10.55)a *irë wararë w-ene-ne*  
 DP.INAN.ANA every 1→3-see-NR.PST  
 I saw all that

b *tuna wararë t-ëne-Ø i-ja*  
 water every COREF-see-NF 3-GOAL  
 he has seen each and every river

(10.56) *tuna amerarë i-hkërën-ma-tuwë*  
 water all 3-destroy-INCH.STAT.NOM-ANT  
 after all the rivers have been destroyed (poisoned)

The two quantifiers *tapiïme* ‘many (animate)’ and *amerarë* ‘all, everyone’ can be nominalized by means of the nominalizer *-n(o)*, as shown in (10.57a-b); when nominalized, the vowel of the facsimile marker *-me* found in *tapiïme* becomes *a*. The nominalized forms of these quantifiers are always found in the plural, and their meaning is one of individuation, that is, the group of many is seen as ‘many individuals’.

(10.57)a *irë-mao t-ítunta-e tapiïma-n-tomo-ta*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-arrive-NF many.ANIM-NOM-PL-DIR  
 then he arrived at a village of many people

b *amerarë-no\_ro-tomo-ja wí-ka-Ø\_re*  
 everybody-NOM\_ASSERT-PL-GOAL 1→3.1TR-say-I.PST\_FRUST  
 I said to each and every one in vain

## 10.8 Sound symbolic expressions

Trio has a very large stock of sound symbolic expressions. Sound-symbolism encompasses that area of grammar where there is a more natural association between sounds and what they mean, or where there is less or sometimes no apparent arbitrariness between sound and meaning. Thus sound-symbolism is a general term for that expressive part of language that is used to give the listener a more vivid account of an action, event or state. All sound symbolic expressions in Trio are conventionalized words, here called ideophones. In addition, a few verbs are based on a sound symbolic element, as in the verb *wejuhta* ‘fart’ which is made up of the sound-symbolic *wejuh* and is suffixed by the terminative verbalizer *-ta*. As a word class the ideophones are all invariant words, that is, they can take no further morphology. Some ideophones in Trio are imitative, for example, they imitate the call of a bird or animal; some are used for identification, for example, the name of an (unidentified) owl species *mírokoko* is based on its

call which is *mīrokoko kwa kwa kwa*; and some are used to express grammatical information such as aspect, or some salient features of the semantics of the verb, for example, duration, punctuality, completiveness, suddenness, or speed of action. Repetition of an ideophone indicates repeated action but not intensity of the action which is expressed by lengthening of the vowel in combination with high and rising pitch, that is, the longer the vowel and the higher the pitch, the more intense the action. The number of reduplications or repetitions of an ideophone is expressive of the number of actions being carried out. Ideophones can precede or follow the verb with which they are associated, in fact they often come both before and after the verb. Repetition of an ideophone indicates either plurality of the subject or of the object, that is, repetition indicates that either an action is being carried out by several people, or affecting several people. This is not to be confused with reduplication of part of the verb stem, which expresses plurality (or duration) of action and not of the participants. In addition, many sound symbolic words are suffixed by the facsimile marker *-me* to express manner of movement, as in *kirikiri-me* ‘trembling’, *tututu-me* ‘staggering’.

Ideophones in Trio generally follow the phonological rules of the language, but there are a few exceptions, for example, although the plosives /p/, /t/, /k/ in Trio are always unaspirated, in some ideophones these can have strong aspiration, as in *t<sup>h</sup>up<sup>h</sup>uw* which symbolizes someone falling into the water. Also a palatal fricative *ç* is found in word-final position in the ideophone *tīç*, which is used to indicate people standing around waiting. In the ideophone *kwaçε*, which expresses a gush of water, one finds an affricativized velar plosive *k*. Ideophones are mostly monosyllabic but some are disyllabic, there are no attestations of ideophones containing more than two syllables.

There are basically two groups of ideophones in Trio that exhibit different morpho-syntactic behaviour, namely those that can stand on their own in a clause, or can even replace a clause, and those that cannot occur on their own, but can only occur in combination with the verb *ka* ‘say’. Some examples of the latter are given in (10.58a-g), and some examples of the former are given in Table 10.10 below.

- (10.58)a tonton wī-ka-Ø-e  
 SS.cough 1→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT  
 I am coughing (I say *tonton*)
- b mananaman n-ka-Ø-n<sup>5</sup>  
 SS.lightening 3→3-say.1TR-PRES-NCERT  
 there is lightning (it says *mananaman*)

---

5 This expression is also used to describe the female orgasm.

- c        *tīrīrīn n-ka-∅-n*  
 SS.thunder 3→3-say.1TR-PRES-NCERT  
 there is thunder (it says *tīrīrīn*)
- d        *pito n-ka-∅-n*  
 SS.spit 3→3-say.1TR-PRES-NCERT  
 he is spitting (he is saying *pito*)
- e        *kororo n-ka-∅-n*  
 SS.snore 3→3-say.1TR-PRES-NCERT  
 he is snoring (he is saying *kororo*)
- f        *poke ka-kē*  
 SS.breath say-IMP  
 take a breath!; hold your breath! (say *poke!*)
- g        *asino wī-ka-∅*  
 SS.sneeze 1→3-say.1TR-1.PST  
 I sneezed (I said *asino*)

A representative but not exhaustive list of ideophones that can stand on their own in a clause is given in Table 10.10.

Table 10.10: Selection of Trio ideophones

---

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| koin                              | swallow  |
| kon                               | arrive from air (also arrive by boat)  |
| kwatīm                            | arrow departing from bow string  |
| kwe                               | running  |
| kwīçta                            | sound of arrow moving through air (whizzing through air)   |
| pukan                             | burning, also arrows flying around you and hitting you   |
| sapan                             | touching something   |
| kwiç                              | water splashing  |
| tah                               | throw with force   |
| tak                               | hit  |
| tara(n)                           | giving something/ completion of action   |
| təŋ                               | penetration, shallow   |
| t <sup>h</sup> up <sup>h</sup> uw | falling into water   |
| tīiç                              | standing around waiting  |
| tīk                               | penetration, deeper than təŋ: arrow penetrating bamboo   |
| tīka                              | action completed   |
| tīp                               | killing someone  |
| tome                              | grab   |
| top                               | grab (and run off to take prisoner)  |
| tora(n)                           | arrive   |
| tsuhko                            | throw onto surface   |
| soka                              | flexible, floppy object moving in the wind   |
| tun/ton                           | completeness, entirely   |
| туру                              | fall, mostly after being killed (also if killed by a curse over a distance, the moment the curse “hits” them, they fall dead <i>туру</i> ) |
| wajan                             | flap flap (flying through air)   |

---

As stated above, ideophones often occur more than once in an utterance, that is, on either side of the verb with which they are associated as shown in (10.59a). Example (10.59b) shows how the repetition of the ideophone expresses repeated actions being carried out, that is, without any further mentioning of the verb itself. The function of such repetition contrasts with reduplication of a part of the verb stem which expresses plurality or duration of an action, as shown in (10.60).

- (10.59)a *irë-mao mure-ti-pona koin mure-ti Ø-anmë-ta-n koin*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP child-PL-DIR *koin* child-PL 3→3-swallow-FUT-NCERT *koin*  
 tī-të-n-me\_pa  
 COREF. ITR-go-C.NOM-FACS\_CYC  
 then (he will go) to the children *koin* he will swallow the children *koin*  
 as he is going
- b *tīp wa-nī-rī-ja-n tīp tīp tīp*  
*tīp* NEG-3→3-do-PRES-NCERT *tīp tīp tīp*  
*tīp* they kill them *tīp*, and another one *tīp*, and another one *tīp*

- (10.60) tī-të-e>                      tī-të-të-e  
 COREF. ITR-go-NF                      COREF. ITR-go-go-NF  
 (he/they) went                      (he/they) went and went and went

Expressive vowel lengthening and rising pitch are also often found with ideophones, although these are not restricted to this word class, rather these are also general features of adverbs and some locative-marked demonstratives. Compare the examples with vowel lengthening (and concomitant rising pitch) in the ideophones in (10.61a-b) and with vowel lengthening (and concomitant rising pitch) in the temporal adverb *pena* ‘long ago’ and locative-marked demonstrative *ooni-po* ‘over there’ in (10.62a-b) respectively. Vowel lengthening and rising pitch can express intensity or duration. The lengthened vowels in *tuuuun* in (10.61a) and *toora* in (10.61b) indicate durative processes, that is, that the surrounding of the village did not take place suddenly, rather it was an ongoing activity, and in (10.61b) the caiman appeared slowly out of the water. However, ideophones that express suddenness of an action such as, for example, *tah* ‘throw with force’ *tak* ‘hit’, *tīp* ‘kill’, *tome* ‘grab’, and *туру* ‘fall’ do not allow lengthening of the vowels since suddenness precludes duration.

- (10.61)a *tuuuun pata Ø-apuru-ja-n*  
*tuuuun* village 3→3-close-PRES-NCERT  
*tuuuun* they surrounded the village



## 10.9 Interjections

The most frequently-used interjections of Trio are listed in (10.64a-c). For each of these interjections the intensity of the emotion involved is indicated in the length of the vowel, for example, *pěěěě* with a rising intonation contour is the equivalent of ‘how dreadful!’, whereas the shorter *pě* is more like ‘oh dear!’, see examples (10.65a-b). Likewise lengthening of the vowel in *tee* shows a higher degree of surprise than that with a shorter vowel, an example is given in (10.65c). Intensity of pain is indicated by the length of the vowel in the interjection *ěě* or *ěkěě*, see example (10.65d). The vowel of the variant *tě* cannot be lengthened, its use in context is given in the exchange between A and B in (10.66).

- (10.64) a *pěě* oh dear (used to express comiseration, tragedy, sorrow)  
 b *tee/ tē* oh! (used to express surprise)  
 c *ěě/ ěkěě* ouch! (used to express pain, hurt)

(10.65)a *pěě ěmume w-a-Ø-e ě-pě*  
 oh.dear sad.FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2-CONTACT.LOC  
 oh dear, I’m a bit worried about you (sad about you)

b *pěěěě eek-apo-n apo w-ei-ne*  
 oh.dear how-like-NOM like 1→3.1TR-be-NR.PST  
 oh my goodness, what has become of me (one like what have I become)?

c *tee kure irě*  
 oh good DP.INAN.ANA  
 oh, that’s good

d *ěě ěkěě mokoko j-eeka-Ø, ěkěěěě ěkěěěě*  
 ouch ouch crab 3→1-bite-1.PST ouch ouch  
 ouch, ouch, the crab bit me, ouch ouch!

(10.66)A *a-tī mī-ri-ja-n*  
 Q-INAN 2→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
 what are you doing?

B *ji-panpira-pě w-a-Ø-e*  
 1POSS-book-CONTACT.LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I’m reading (working at) my books

A *tě*  
 oh!

## 10.10 Particles

Particles are defined as free-standing words that add to the discourse value of the utterance; in many ways they are similar to the clitics described below, but they

enjoy a higher degree of freedom and do not necessarily form a phonological word with a preceding element. A list of the particles is given in Table 10.11, and each is described in turn below.

Table 10.11: Particles

|           |                                       |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| ėwė       | later, in a minute                    |
| pitė      | (for a) while                         |
| tahken(e) | maybe                                 |
| marė      | also                                  |
| aha       | yes                                   |
| kone      | o.k.                                  |
| owa       | no                                    |
| kena      | no idea/not a clue                    |
| ma        | discourse particle/ new topic         |
| naka      | that's it! it's finished, it's enough |
| npa       | come on, let's go                     |
| naapopa   | thank you                             |

### 10.10.1 The particle *ėwė*: later

The particle *ėwė* has the meaning ‘later, a while, in a while,’ as shown in the examples in (10.67a-c). In (10.67a) the diminutive marked on the particle *ėwė* expresses the idea of ‘some time later’ or ‘at some stage later’.

(10.67)a ma *ėwė*\_sa tī:-tė-koe\_pa\_to t-ee-se  
DISC later\_DIM 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-PSR.PL.DESID\_CYC\_PL COREF.1TR-be-NF

*ėkėi-mė* i-munkė-ton  
snake-AUG 3POSS-child-PL

after a while (some time later) anaconda's sons wanted to go back  
 were wanting their own going back)

b *ėwė* ě-jun-pan-tuwė m-apėh-ta-e  
later 2-wise-SENS.STAT.NOM-ANT 2→3-take-FUT-CERT  
 later when you've become wise (after your producing wisdom) you'll  
 get it

c *ėwė*\_mo ene-kė tīi-ka-e\_to tī-mama-komo-ja  
later\_MOD see-IMP COREF.1TR-say-NF\_PL 3COREF-mother-PSR.PL-GOAL  
 ‘(please) look after a while’ they said to their mother

Contrary to the analysis given in Meira (1999: 326, 446) where he distinguishes between a jussive *ėwė(h)* and the particle *ėwė*, I found no evidence of either this distinction, nor of the existence of two homophonous elements with different

meanings, rather the difference seems to lie in the translation. Meira (1999:326) gives the translation of the form in (10.68) as ‘let me go!’, however, neither structurally nor semantically (given the present tense and evidential marking) does a hortative-type meaning for this expression seem to be warranted.

- (10.68) *ëwë wī:-të-Ø-e*  
 later 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I’m going now, in a minute (or: I’m going later)

The particle *ëwë* in combination with the particle *pitë* ‘for a bit, for a while’ (described in the following section) has the meaning ‘just a minute’ or ‘(hold on) just a minute’ as shown in (10.69a). The expression ‘hold on a minute’ can be intensified by means of the clitic *rën(ne)* ‘really’ followed by the durative marker *ken(e)*, as shown in (10.69b) where the speaker needed some time to prepare something to show his wife.

- (10.69)a *ëwë pitë, wī:-të\_pa-Ø-e pahko-ja\_pa*  
 later while 1→3.1TR-go\_CYC-PRES-CERT IPOSS.father-GOAL\_CYC  
 hold on a minute, I’m going back to my father

- b *ëwë pitë rën\_ken*  
 later while\_forever\_DUR  
 just take your time (hold on) a minute (till I get it ready to show you)

The particle *ëwë* in combination with the cyclic clitic *\_pa*, is used to express the notion ‘goodbye’, or more precisely the French *au revoir*. Literally it means ‘(see you) later again’. This expression is only used if one is taking leave of the village for an (expected) longer period, and as such it is often repeated, for example, *ëwëpa ëwëpa* ‘bye bye’. When taking leave of people one expects to see later the same day or the next day, the expressions given in (10.70a-b) are used.

- (10.70)a *irëmarë\_pa*  
 later\_CYC  
 see you later!

- b *kokoro\_pa*  
 tomorrow\_CYC  
 see you tomorrow!

### 10.10.2 The particle *pitë*: for a while

The particle *pitë* is used to express the notion ‘for a while’, and is glossed in this work as ‘while’. It is often used with imperatives, as in (10.71a-b), and to indicate that one will be carrying out some activity for a period of time before continuing with something else, as shown in (10.72a-c), or as shown in (10.72d) that one has been carrying out some activity that may be resumed later.

- (10.71)a oh-kě pitě  
 come-IMP while  
 come here a minute!
- b ene-kě pitě  
 see-IMP while  
 look at this for a minute!
- (10.72)a ma t-ěni-se-n pitě w-eni-ja-e Ø-ka-Ø-n  
 well COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM while 1→3-drink-PRES-CERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
 ‘well, I’m going to have a drink,’ he says (‘then we’ll leave’)
- b tēin\_ken pitě mo wa tiri  
 one\_DUR while\_MOD NEG-do.IMP  
 (please) just kill one for now (later we can kill more)!
- c oroko-me pitě wī:-tě-Ø-e  
 work-FACS while 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I’m going to work for a while now (then I’ll be back)
- d irě\_rēken pitě [iɾɛɾəkɛŋ pitə]  
 DP.INAN.ANA\_only while  
 is that it for now?

### 10.10.3 The particle *tahken(e)*: maybe

The particle *tahken(e)*, which is usually found without the final *e*, expresses the notion ‘maybe, perhaps’. It can stand on its own as an utterance, for example, in answer to a question, as shown in (10.73a-b), or after the constituent about which doubt is being expressed as in (10.74a-b). Often when used on its own, the first vowel can be lengthened to indicate the degree of uncertainty, for example, *taaahken* means ‘just maybe’. In example (10.75) the particle *tahken* is post-posed to the verb, and is in fact also phonologically integrated into the predication, as can be seen in the fact that the plural clitic *\_to* is cliticized to the particle *tahken* as though it were part of the verb.

- (10.73)a poto-pona mī:-tě-Ø-n  
 town-DIR 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 are you going to town?
- b tahken  
 maybe
- (10.74)a irě-mao i-n-muku-ru-ja t-ĩ-ponoh-po-e  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3POSS-3O-bear.NOM-POSS-GOAL COREF-TR-tell-CAUS-NF  
 a-kĩ mē-kĩ tĩi-ka-e  
 Q-ANIM DP.AUD.NVIS-ANIM COREF.1TR-say-NF  
 then his son asked ‘who is that?’ he said

b nere i-tamu tahkene tii-ka-e  
 bat 3POSS-leader perhaps COREF.1TR-say-NF  
 maybe it the leader of bats he (the father) said

(10.75) eeke-hpe n-i-toreka-Ø-nē ken tahken to  
 how-INDEF.SPEC 3→3-TR-bore-PRES-NCERT DUR maybe PL  
 whatever way (they do it), maybe they'll only be boring (a hole)

#### 10.10.4 The particle *marë*: also

The particle *marë* is used to express the notion ‘also’. It is a postpositive conjunction marker used in the coordination of constituents or phrases, as shown in (10.76a) where ‘many’ and ‘beautiful’ are coordinated, and in (10.76b) where the two possessive phrases ‘he has feathers’ and ‘he has clothes’ are coordinated. Example (10.77) shows the coordination of two noun phrases.

(10.76)a ma irë-mao tii-ku:-se i-ja-ne  
 DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-try-NF 3-GOAL-PL  
 iijeta ëremi pëetome marë to kin-ah-kë  
 many.INAN spirit.song beautiful.FACS also PL 3PST-be-DIST.PST

then they sang, there were a lot of spirit songs, (they were) beautiful too

b Akaraman i-n-muku i-warë n-a-Ø-i  
 king vulture 3POSS-3O-bear.NOM 3-know 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

t-ëpëri-ke i-w-ei-ke  
 COREF-feathers-INST 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST

tii-po-ke i-w-ei-ke marë  
 COREF-clothes-INST 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST also

King vulture’s son knows (how to do) it because he has feathers, also because he has (special) clothes

(10.77) ma irë-mao kijapoko i-j-omi t-ëta-e i-ja  
 DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP toucan.sp. 3POSS-EU-language COREF-hear-NF 3-GOAL

ohtuku i-j-omi marë  
 toucan.sp 3POSS-EU-language also

then he heard *kijapoko*’s language, and *ohtuku*’s language also<sup>6</sup>

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6 Both *kijapoko* and *ohtuku* are toucan species.

### 10.10.5 The particle *aha*: yes

The Trio particle *aha* is equivalent to the English ‘yes’ as a possible answer to a yes/no question, as in (10.78a-b). At the same time, it expresses agreement with a foregoing clause regardless of whether that clause is negative or affirmative, as shown in (10.79); thus its translational equivalent can also be ‘no’. The word *aha* always occurs clause-initially, unless it is preceded by the discourse particle *ma*, described in 10.11.1 below.

(10.78)a m-ene-Ø-n  
2→3-see-PRES-NCERT  
do you see it?

b aha w-ene-Ø  
yes 1→3-see-PRES-CERT  
yes, I see it

(10.79) wa\_ken wa-ee-se-wa Pērēpērēwa  
NEG\_DUR NEG. 1TR-be-NF-NEG proper.name

ma aha wa-ee-se-wa m-ana-Ø-e  
DISC yes NEG. 1TR-be-NF-NEG 2→3. 1TR-be-PRES-CERT

no, Pērēpērēwa didn’t die (wasn’t dying) well, no you’re not dying

### 10.10.6 The particle *kone*: agreement

The particle *kone* is used to express agreement and means ‘all right, o.k.’; *kone* is often but not obligatorily preceded by the discourse particle *ma*, see (10.80a-b).

(10.80)a tī-warē eh-kē i-munu in-aame-Ø-wa eh-kē tī-ka-e  
COREF-know be-IMP 3POSS-blood 3O-taste-NF-NEG be-IMP COREF. 1TR-say-NF  
‘watch out! don’t taste his blood!’ he said

ma kone  
DISC o.k.  
well, all right (said the other)

b eeke n-ka-Ø-n ē-injo tī-ka-e  
how 3→3. 1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-husband COREF. 1TR-say-NF  
ēi-je w-a-Ø-e ē-eku-se w-a-Ø-e  
REFL-DESID 1→3. 1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2-copulate.NOM-DESID 1→3. 1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
Ø-ka-nē tī-ka-e  
3→3-say-PRES-NCERT COREF. 1TR-say-NF

tee ma kone t-ī-pono-se i-ja  
SURPR DISC o.k. COREF-TR-tell-NF 3-GOAL

what does your husband say? she (the spirit) said. He says ‘I love you, I want to make love to you,’ she said. Oh, well o.k. she told it.

### 10.10.7 The particle *owa*: no

The particle *owa* has the opposite meaning to *aha*, namely ‘no’ in a yes/no question, as shown in (10.81b), and ‘yes’ when it is disagreeing with a negated clause as in (10.82a-b). The particle *owa* also has the meanings ‘no-one, no-where, nothing’ as shown in the answers to the questions given in examples (10.83) through (10.85).

- (10.81)a *ë-warë n-a-Ø-i irë*  
 2-know 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA  
 do you know that? (is it known to you?)
- b *owa ji-wame (n-a-Ø-i)*  
 NEG.P 1-not.know (3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT)  
 no I don’t know it (it is not known to me)
- (10.82)a *in-ene-Ø-wa m-ana-Ø-n*  
 3O-see-NF-NEG 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 don’t you see him?
- b *owa, w-ene-Ø*  
 NEG.P, 1→3-see-PRES.CERT  
 yes, I see him
- |          |  |   |                                |
|----------|--|---|--------------------------------|
| (10.83)a | <i>a-ti mi-ri-ja-n</i><br>Q-INAN 2→3-do-PRES-NCERT<br>what are you doing?      | b | <i>owa</i><br>NEG.P<br>nothing |
| (10.84)a | <i>a-ja mi:-të-Ø-n</i><br>Q-GOAL 2→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT<br>where are you going? | b | <i>owa</i><br>NEG.P<br>nowhere |
| (10.85)a | <i>a-ki m-ene-Ø-n</i><br>Q-ANIM 2→3-see-PRES-NCERT<br>who do you see?          | b | <i>owa</i><br>NEG.P<br>no-one  |

The word *owa* is also used for alternative questions as shown in (10.86).

- (10.86) *aa-no-se m-ana-n, sen, owa serë?*  
 Q-NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX.NOM NEG.P DP.INAN.PROX  
 which one do you want, this one or this (other) one?

### 10.10.8 The particle *kena*: no idea

The particle *kena* expresses the meaning ‘(I’ve) no idea’ and is used as an answer to a question; this particle word can undergo lengthening of either the first or of both the vowels in order to increase the intensity of the utterance, to render the translational equivalent of the English ‘I haven’t the slightest idea’, or ‘I’ve absolutely no idea’. The particle *kena* is often but not obligatorily used with the

postposition *-wame* [-wa:me] marked for first person, persons 1+2 or 1+3, but never with second or third persons; this list is given in (10.87a-c). A contextual example is given in (10.88).

- (10.87) a *kena, ji-wame* I've no idea  
 b *kena, kī-wame* we've no idea  
 c *kena, ainja i-wame* we've no idea

- (10.88) a-tī-to:-me n-a-∅-i kī-kanawa-kon tē-e-wa?  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+2-boat-PSR.PL go-NF-NEG

tīi-ka-e *kena, a-tī-to:-me?* Pukuita ∅-akoeka-to  
 COREF.1TR-say-NF no.idea Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS paddle paddle-TMP.NOM

i-wame i-w-ei-ke  
 3-not.know 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST

“why doesn't our boat move,” he said. “I've no idea, why?” (said the father). It was because he didn't know how to paddle (use a paddle)

#### 10.10.9 The particle *ma*: discourse function

The particle *ma* is used to indicate either the closure of one topic, or the opening of another. It is often pronounced with a geminate consonant as *mma*. It is often heard when someone is leaving a conversational scene, that is, the speaker stands up, says, *ma*, followed perhaps by *kokoro\_pa* ‘till tomorrow’ upon which s/he leaves the company. It is always used when there is a change of topic, as shown in (10.89).

- (10.89) wēri kura-kura-no-ton pēetome  
 woman good-good-NOM-PL beautiful.FACS

mērē-me t-oonā-pipa-je\_sa\_to n-a-∅-i  
 DP.INAN.MED-FACS COREF-nose-flat-ACQ.POSS\_DIM\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

ma wī:-tē-∅-e\_pa n-ka-∅-n pījai  
 disc 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT\_CYC 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT shaman

the women are beautiful really beautiful although they have slightly flattened noses, well, ‘I'm going back,’ the shaman says

#### 10.10.10 The particle *naka*: finished

The particle *naka* carries the meaning ‘finished, that's it’, as shown in (10.90a-c). The particle *naka* is also similar to the discourse particle *ma*, in that it indicates the closure of a topic, however, it differs from it in that it is never used to

introduce a new topic. A storyteller, for example, always finishes a story by saying something like that given in (10.91). In addition, younger speakers increasingly use *naka* in combination with the anterior-marked verb *e(i)* ‘be’ to express ‘when something is finished’ as shown in (10.92a), whereas older speakers tend to mark the verb *ētihka* ‘finish, be finished’ with the anterior marker *-tuwë* in the same context, as shown in (10.92b). The particle *naka* in combination with the particle *pitë* ‘bit, while’ is used to express the notion ‘enough for now’ as shown in (10.93).

(10.90)a ma irë-mao naka t-ëri:-se

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP finished COREF-perish-NF  
well, then it was finished, he (had) died

b Përëpërëwa-ja wa-ti-rë-e kaikë kaikë naka

proper.name-GOAL NEG-COREF-do-NF *kaikë kaikë* finished

Përëpërëwa killed her, *kaikë* (name of spirit) was finished

c kure t-aanihta-e naka tututu-me

good COREF-grow.up-NF finished SS.stagger-FACS

i-w-eh-topo-npë t-ee-se

3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PST COREF.1TR-be-NF

he thrived (grew up) well, he had stopped staggering (walking as child learning to walk)

(10.91) ma irë\_rëken naka meinjarë

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-only finished now  
well, that’s it for now

(10.92)a naka i-w-eh-tuwë ji-pun wa-w-eh-ta-e

finished 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-ANT 1POSS-body NEG-1→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT  
when my body is finished, I will die

b ji-pun i-w-ë-tihka-tuwë, wa-w-eh-ta-e

1POSS-body 3POSS-1TR-REFL-finish.NOM-ANT NEG-1→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT  
when my body is finished, I will die

(10.93) naka pitë tii-ka-e

finished bit COREF.1TR-say-NF  
‘that’s enough for a while’ he said

10.10.11 The particle *npa*: let’s go!

The particle *npa* means ‘come on, let’s go’. There is no distinction made in number of subject participants. Some examples are given in (10.94a-b).

- (10.94)a npa kī-tē-∅-e rēkēn n-ka-∅-n  
 HORT 1+2.1TR-go-PRES-CERT\_only 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
 ‘come on, we just keep going,’ he says
- b ma npa ēi-wa-e ainja nī:-tē-∅-e  
 DISC HORT REFL-hunt-NF.SUP 1+3PRO 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 well, come on, we’re going hunting

#### 10.10.12 The particle *naapohpa*: thank you!

The particle *naapohpa* is used to mean ‘thank you’. Its origin is unclear although the final element is probably the cyclic marker *\_pa*. This expression may have been brought into use by the missionaries since according to the Trio they did not have an expression for ‘thank you’ as such. Meira (1999:484) tentatively suggests that *naa* might be an old deitic, but the evidence for this is scarce. The particle *naapohpa* is used in the same way as ‘thank you’ is in English, as shown in (10.95a-b).

- (10.95)a ma naapohpa wēi  
 DISC thank.you older.sister  
 well, thank you, older sister
- b tiwērē-no\_ro naapohpa ka-e-wa n-a-∅-i  
 other-NOM\_ASSERT thank.you say-NF-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 (some) other people don’t say ‘thank you’

#### 10.11 Discourse conjunctions and cohesion markers

Trio has several means for marking cohesion and coherence in discourse. Most of these markers are derived and have been discussed in other chapters, but are repeated here for ease of reference. These discourse conjunctions can be divided into four groups, as given in Table 10.12.

Table 10.12: Discourse markers

|                        |                |                   |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| New topic              | ma             | well              |
| Temporal cohesion      | irēmao         | then              |
|                        | irēnpēpēe      | after that        |
|                        | irēnpēpēenonpē | after that        |
| Logical progression    | irēme          | so                |
| Adversative connectors | kēpēewa        | but               |
|                        | mērēme         | but               |
| Additional information | sehken         | also              |
|                        | sekenkērē      | also, in addition |

### 10.11.1 New topic

The topic-changing particle *ma*, which I generally translate as ‘well’ in this work, introduces a new topic, as shown in (10.96), see also section 10.10.9 above. The initial consonant of *ma* is often pronounced as a geminated consonant resulting in *mma*, but without any difference in meaning.

(10.96) Ø-erepa-nna wī Ø-uru-nna wī tīi-ka-e  
 3POSS-food-LESS 1PRO 3POSS-bread-LESS 1PRO COREF. 1TR-say-NF

ma irē-me tī:-tē-e pa wēri  
 well DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF. 1TR-go-NF\_CYC woman

tuna-hka pa\_to tī:-tē-e  
 water-LIQ.DIR\_CYC\_PL COREF. 1TR-go-NF

‘I have no food, no bread,’ he said. Well, so the woman went back, they both went back to the river

### 10.11.2 Temporal cohesion and logical progression

Temporal cohesion is expressed by means of the three constructions *irēmao*, *irēnpēpēe*, and *irēnpēpēenonpē* ‘then, after that’, all of which enjoy a lexicalized status. All three are based on the inanimate anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *irē* ‘that’. The term *irēmao* which contains the temporal suffix *-mao* has the meaning ‘then’ and is used to structure the sequential elements in the storyline of a discourse, for example, ‘he went to the forest, **then** he shot a monkey, **then** he returned home’; The term *irēme* ‘so, being that’, which is the demonstrative suffixed by the facsimile marker *-me*, structures episodes internal to the main storyline, that is, it points out coherent or logical occurrences that follow within an episode. Consider the following example in (10.97) below, which is from the story of the origin of the mosquito (*maakē*): *Maakē*’s (Mosquito’s) mother-in-law had just painted him red since he was so pale; he had warned her and his wife that if they did so he would die, since they continue to do so he concludes that they want him to die, **then** he dies. As a result of his dying his mother-in-law is sad (**so** she is sad), her being sad makes her cry (**so** she cries). The story continues with **then** his stomach swells up after he has died.

(10.97) “wa-ji-w-ei-se m-ana-Ø-ti’  
 NEG-1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-DESID 2→3. 1TR-be-PRES-PL  
 n-ka-Ø-n wī-ja j-injo” tīi-ka-e  
 3→3. 1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 1-GOAL 1POSS-husband COREF. 1TR-say-NF  
**irē-mao** wa-t-ee-se Maakē  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP NEG-COREF. 1TR-be-NF Maakē

**ma irë-me** tīi-ka-e ‘pë’

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF.1 TR-say-NF INTERJ.distress

**irë-me** tī-w-ēs-ina-e Ø-aupī

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF-1 TR-REFL-cry-NF 3POSS-in.law

**ma irë-mao** tī-wakutu-je tahken Maakë

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-belly.grow-NF maybe Maakë

“‘you (pl.) want me to die’ my husband said to me,” she said. **Then** Maakë (mosquito) died. **So** (then) she was sad (said *pë*), **so** his mother-in-law cried. **(Well,) then** Maakë’s stomach swelled up.

The term *irënpëpëe* is made up of the inanimate anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *irë* followed by the nominal past marker *-npë* plus the source postposition *-pëe*, and means ‘after that’, literally ‘from that former (thing)’, see example (10.98a); it has a nominalized counterpart *irënpëpëenonpë* whereby the nominalizer *-no* is suffixed to the postposition *-pëe* and is then followed by the nominal past marker *-npë*, which carries the same meaning as *irënpëpëe* although literally it means ‘a former one from that former (thing)’. It has not been possible to detect any real difference in meaning between *irënpëpëe* and *irënpëpëenonpë*, except perhaps that the latter generally has a specific definite referent, as can be seen in (10.98b).

(10.98)a **irë-po waru-nao pījai t-ee-se**

DP.INAN.ANA-LOC darkness-LOC shaman COREF.1 TR-be-NF

**tuna kure tīri-to:-me**<sup>7</sup>

water good do-TMP.NOM-FACS

**irë-npë-pëe t-e:-pata-ntë-e\_to irë-po**

DP.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU COREF.1 TR-MID-village-BEN-NF\_PL DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

the shaman performed his shamanic ritual there to make the river good, after that (had been done) they built themselves a village there

b ‘owa, ainja t-ëmami-ne pitë’ tīi-ka-e

NEG.P 1+3PRO COREF-be.busy-EMANATE while COREF.1 TR-say-NF

‘**ma irë-npë-pëe-no-npë ë-japëkën-ma-e-wa**

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU-NOM-PST 2-neglect-INCH.STAT-NF-NEG

**ainja n-eh-ta-e’ tīi-ka-e\_to tī-mama-komo-ja**

1+3PRO 3→3.1 TR-be-FUT-CERT COREF.1 TR-say-NF\_PL 3COREF-mother-PSR.PL-GOAL

‘no, we’re busy for a while’ they said, ‘but after (doing) that (particular thing) we won’t be neglecting you any more’ they said to their mother (Tëmenta in Keisi 1984:30)

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7 The expression *warunao wehto* which literally means something like ‘be in the darkness or other world (be in trance)’ is a fixed expression that is used to describe where a shaman is when he making contact with the spirits, in the case of this example, the shaman had, in a sense, to purify the river or talk to the river spirits before the Trio could build their village there.

In normal everyday interaction, *irēnpēpēe* is used much more frequently than *irēmao*. In fact, *irēmao* is always used as a temporal conjunction in narrative stories whereas *irēnpēpēe* is used more when people are relating what they did, for example, ‘I went to the field, after that I went to visit my mother, etc.’ and also in procedural texts, although in these too *irēmao* is allowed although it is less often found there; compare the following two excerpts from procedural texts pertaining to the preparation of medicinal plants, for a cold and for fever respectively.

- (10.99)a otono-tao ěmē ahtao arimi i-joroko epinēh-kē<sub>mo</sub>  
 cold-CONT.LOC 2PRO when spider.monkey 3POSS-spirit medicate-IMP\_MOD  
 wapo ahkēh-kē irē-npē-pēe Ø-eeku<sub>mo</sub> enih-kē  
 first cut-IMP DP.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU 3POSS-juice\_MOD drink-IMP  
 if you have a cold, treat yourself with *arimijoroko*, first cut it, then  
 drink the juice<sup>8</sup>
- b tuna-hkao Ø-tīrī kapohta<sub>sa</sub> irē-mao<sub>pa</sub> mo ene-ta ...  
 water-LIQ.LOC 3O-do slow\_DIM DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP\_CYC\_MOD see-DISLOC.IMP  
 let it soak in water for a while, then later go and check it

### 10.11.3 Adversative connectors

There are two adversative connectors, namely *kēpēewa* and *mērēme*, both of which can be translated as ‘but’ or ‘however’. The etymology of *kēpēewa* is unknown although it does look like a non-finite verb suffixed by the negation marker *-wa*. The connector *mērēme* is made up of the inanimate medial demonstrative pronoun *mērē* plus the facsimile marker *-me*, resulting in the literal meaning ‘being that’; as such it is similar in its literal meaning to the conjunction marker *irē-me* ‘so’, however, its lexicalized meaning as an adversative connector is that of ‘but, however, but at the same time, although’. For the most part the two adversatives are interchangeable in usage, however, there are very subtle differences, for example, the adversative *mērēme* can have concessive meaning whereas *kēpēewa* does not. Consider the following examples where in (10.100a-b) the word *kēpēewa* is most appropriately translated as ‘however, but’ and where there is still progression in the story. In contrast, *mērēme* in (10.101a-b) could be translated as ‘however’ or as the concessive ‘although’ and there is no progression in the story, rather the clause after *mērēme* simply adds a qualification to the preceding clause.

8 The *arimi ioroko* is a liana of the *bignoniaceae* family, subgroup *pyrostegia dichotoma*. This liana produces fruit which is used in treating colds. My thanks to Koita in Kwamalasamutu for this information.

- (10.100)a irë-mao t-ītunta-e ainja i-papa  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-arrive-NF 1+3PRO 3POSS-father  
 kēpēewa wa\_ken ainja nna fī:-tē-e i-w-ei-ke  
 but NEG\_DUR 1+3PRO DP COREF.1 TR-go-NF 3POSS-1 TR-be.NOM-INST  
 then our father arrived there, but we weren't there, because we had  
 (already) left (like that)
- b irë-me okomo-ja Ø-erepa t-ëkarama-e  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS wasp-GOAL 3POSS-food COREF-give-NF  
 kēpēewa t-īmo-npē t-ëkarama-e i-ja Ø-erepa-me  
 but 3COREF-egg-PST COREF-give-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-food-FACS  
 so wasp gave him food; however, he gave him his old eggs as his food
- (10.101)a wēri kura-kura-no-ton pēetome  
 woman good-good-NOM-PL beautiful.FACS  
 mērē-me t-oonā-pipa-je\_sa\_to n-a-Ø-i  
 DP.INAN.MED-FACS COREF-nose-flat-ACQ.POSS\_DIM\_PL 3→3.1 TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 the women are beautiful really beautiful but (although) they do have  
 slightly flattened noses
- b irë-mao\_to n-ee-ja-n  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP\_PL 3→3-come-PRES-NCERT  
 i-jomi-kon awain-tao eta-to  
 3POSS-language-PSR.PL dawn-CONT.LOC 3-hear-TMP.NOM  
 mērē-me i-pun in-ene-Ø-wa wītoto-ton  
 DP.INAN.MED-FACS 3POSS-body 3OBJ-see.NF-NEG people-PL  
 then they come, their language can be understood but (although) people  
 (normal humans) can't see their bodies (only a shaman can)

That *mērēme* can also be used with its literal, non-lexicalized meaning, that is, 'being that', is shown by the following example from the Akaraman story where an Amerindian was raising a vulture's child as his own, and he was getting the following instructions from the shaman as to how to prepare his food, that is, the child needed uncooked and putrid meat that is left on the roof of the house to go bad. The shaman says: you cook it just a bit, and being like that (when you have it in that state) you put it on the roof to go putrid.

- (10.102) irë-po mī-rī-ja-e Ø-otī, m-īje-Ø\_sa\_rēken  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 2→3-do-PRES-CERT 3POSS-meat 2→3-boil-PRES.CERT\_DIM\_only  
 mērē-me m-arama-Ø-e mērē-po  
 DP.INAN.MED-FACS 2→3-put.on.roof-PRES-CERT DP.INAN.MED-LOC  
 you put his meat there, you cook it just a little, then when it's like that  
 (only half cooked) put it on the roof there.

#### 10.11.4 Additional information in discourse

Two further discourse markers *sehken* and *seke\_nkērē* that are frequently used are those that introduce additional information, and are translatable as ‘in addition, furthermore, also’. These words are made up of the inanimate proximal demonstrative formative *se* plus the durative marker *\_ken(e)* and the persistive marker *\_nkērē*, respectively with the literal meaning ‘still this, another of this’, two examples are given in (10.103a-b). Both *sehken* and *seke\_nkērē* are connectors on the clausal level, not on the phrase level, that is, in (10.104) where the adverbial phrase *ëire teese* ‘they were dangerous’ is not repeated, it is understood, namely that ‘the Akuriyo were dangerous, and the Okomoyana were dangerous too’. Phrase-level conjunction is expressed by means of the particle *marē*, as shown in (10.105). Both *sehken* and *seke\_nkērē* occur clause-initially but can be preceded by the discourse marker *ma* as shown in (10.103b).

(10.103)a *ëkëi-më n-a-Ø-i tapīime*

snake-AUG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT many.ANIM.FACS

*tapīime n-a-Ø-i namo\_ro*

many.ANIM.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.PL\_ASSERT

*sehken nī-wa-Ø-n\_to*

also 3→dance-PRES-NCERT\_PL

there are many anacondas, an awful lot, also, they are dancing

b *ma kari-me ë-po tīri-se w-a-Ø-e*

DISC strong-FACS 2POSS-clothes 3O-do.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT

*n-ka-Ø-n kari-me peppei i-w-ei-ke*

3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT strong-FAC wind 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST

*n-ka-Ø-n ma sehken tīnoti kari-me i-w-ei-ke*

3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT DISC also cold strong-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST

‘well, I want to make your clothes strong,’ he says, ‘because there’s a strong wind’ he says, ‘and also because it’s very cold’

(10.104) *ëire t-ee-se Akurijo, ëire apo seke\_nkērē Okomojana*

dangerous COREF.1TR-be-NF Akuriyo dangerous like also\_PERSIST Okomoyana

*irë-me i-pawana-me namo\_ro*

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3POSS-friend-FACS 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT

the Akuriyo were dangerous, a bit dangerous, furthermore, the Okomoyana were dangerous too, so they were their friends

(10.105) *manko nī:-të-Ø-n, pahko marē*

1POSS.mother 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT 1POSS.father too

my mother and father are going (my mother is going, my father too)

## 10.12 Clitics

Trio has several clitics, all of which are enclitics, that are discussed in the following. A clitic is defined as a word that cannot stand on its own and which, unlike a suffix, is not restricted to any particular word class, rather, it can be attached to any or several of the word classes of the language. Formally the clitics, which are given in (10.106) and (10.107) can be divided into three groups on the basis of their (morpho-) phonological structure, those that begin in an initial *r*, those that begin in an initial element *hka*, and others. With regard to their semantics, a bipartite division can be made, namely into those clitics that have modal meaning or function and which are given in (10.106), and those clitics that do not have modal semantics, given in (10.107), and which fall into the morphophonological category ‘others’. The modal clitics have meanings related to expectations either of the speaker or of a proposition. Many express the attitude of the speaker, indicating whether s/he is making a strong assertion, for example, with the assertive *\_rě*, the ‘forever’ clitic *\_rěn(ne)*, or the ‘for sure’ clitic *\_ih̄ta*, or whether the speaker is focussing on one element of the proposition to the exclusion of others, as with the clitic *\_rēken* ‘only’. The frustrative *\_re(pe)* is used to express that at least one semantic feature of the part of speech to which it is attached is not being met, or when used with verbs, that the intended result of an event or state has not, will not, or is not being achieved. Some have corrective meaning, that is, the clitic *\_hkas̄an* ‘instead’, and the counter-expectational markers *\_hkar̄ē*, and *\_hkanar̄ē/hkanara*, which also contain a degree of surprise, and the persistent *\_nk̄ēr̄ē* ‘still’. Two of the clitics are used to assign responsibility for an action or state to a particular referent, namely *\_hkat̄ē*, which is used mostly with nouns, and *\_hkat̄ēti* which is used mostly with verbs.

Morphosyntactically there is some variation as to the placement and the scope of the clitics. Some, namely the cyclic *\_pa*, the modal *\_mo*, and the plural *\_to*, have a preferred slot immediately after the first constituent of the clause, or on the element or constituent immediately preceding the verb, if that element is not a bare noun. While at first sight all these last-mentioned clitics seem to be second-place clitics, it is only the modal clitic *\_mo* that can be characterized as a true second-place clitic, since the other two clitics show a lot of variation in their placement. Many, if not most, of the modal clitics have the constituent to which they are attached as their scope. While the modality system as a whole is rather difficult to grasp at this stage of research into Trio, and while it is often very difficult to find a satisfactory cover term for the semantic types, I take, as far as possible, in the following the semantics of the clitics as the basis for the order of their description, starting with the non-modal clitics.

(10.106) Modal clitics

(a) Assertion

|          |                  |
|----------|------------------|
| _rē      | assertive        |
| _rēn(ne) | forever, really  |
| _ih̄ta   | for sure         |
| _mo      | modal (irrealis) |

(b) Exclusion

|           |      |
|-----------|------|
| _rēken(e) | only |
|-----------|------|

(c) Frustrative

|         |             |
|---------|-------------|
| _re(pe) | frustrative |
|---------|-------------|

(d) Corrective/Counter expectational

|                      |                                    |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| _h̄kasan             | instead                            |
| _h̄kanarē/ _h̄kanara | counter expectational              |
| _h̄karē              | counter expectational              |
| _tahkarē/ _tahkara   | counter expectational / concessive |
| _nk̄erē              | persistent ‘still’                 |

(e) Responsibility

|           |                |
|-----------|----------------|
| _h̄katē   | responsibility |
| _h̄katēti | responsibility |

(10.107) Non-modal clitics

|         |                |
|---------|----------------|
| _to     | plural non-SAP |
| _pa     | cyclic         |
| _sa     | diminutive     |
| _ken(e) | durative       |

### 10.13 The non-modal clitics

The non-modal clitics described in this section are heterogeneous in nature, namely one, *\_to*, is the plural marker of a third person on finite verbs; the second is the cyclic clitic *\_pa* that is used for cyclic events; the third is the non-nominal diminutive clitic *\_sa*; and finally, the durative clitic *\_ken(e)*. These are taken in turn below.

#### 10.13.1 The clitic *\_to*: third person plural

The clitic *\_to* is a third person plural marker which is used to indicate that the intransitive subject of a verb is plural, as shown in (10.108a) with the verb ‘dance’. With transitive verbs, *\_to* indicates plurality of a third person object of a non-third person agent, as shown in (10.108b) where the agent is the singular pronoun of person 1+3; and with transitive verbs where both participants are third person, the clitic *\_to* pluralizes the agent participant as shown in (10.108c-d) and (10.110b) below, or the object as shown in (10.109a). The preferred position of

the clitic *\_to* is before the verb and not on the verb itself, that is, if the verb is preceded by an adverbial or by a postpositional phrase, then *\_to* is cliticized to that; the clitic *\_to* cannot, however, be cliticized to a bare noun (see 8.7.2). Compare the examples in (10.108a-d): (10.108a) shows an intransitive verb with a preceding discourse cohesive element *irëmao* ‘then’ which acts as a host for the clitic *\_to*, and (10.108b) shows an example of a transitive verb where the *\_to* is cliticized to a noun marked with the facsimile marker. Example (10.108c) shows a transitive verb marked with the clitic *\_to* since it only has a bare object noun preceding it which cannot take the clitic. When a preverbal bare object is preceded by an adverbial expression then the plural clitic *\_to* can be cliticized to that, as shown in (10.108d). Examples of the clitic on a postpositional phrase are given in (10.109a-b) with the locative *-po* in (10.109a) and with the desiderative *-se* in (10.109b).

- (10.108)a *irë-mao\_to nī-wa-Ø-n j-arë-ne-npë-ton*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP\_PL 3→-dance-PRES-NCERT I POSS-take-A.NOM-PST-PL  
*Ø-akërë:-ne*  
 3-COM-PL  
 then the ones who brought me dance with them
- b *wītoto-me\_to ainja kīn-ene-Ø*  
 human.being-FACS\_PL 1+3PRO 3→3.PST-see-NR.PST  
 we saw them as human beings (although they were spirits)
- c *tajaja Ø-i-kuu-ne\_to*  
 k.o.spirit.song 3→3-TR-try-NR.PST\_PL  
 they sang *tajaja* (a kind of spirit song)
- d *aipīme\_to ë-emi-ton Ø-arë-Ø tīī-ka-e\_to i-ja*  
 quickly.FACS\_PL 2POSS-daughter-PL 3→3-take-I.PST COREF.1TR-say-NF\_PL 3-GOAL  
 ‘they took your daughters quickly’ they told him
- (10.109)a *irë-po\_to t-ëpo-se i-ja kawë*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC\_PL COREF-find-NF 3-GOAL high  
 he found them there up high
- b *Tarëno Ø-eremi-se\_to n-a-Ø-i*  
 Trio 3POSS-spirit.song-DESID\_pl 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they want Trio spirit songs

While I stated above that the preferred place of the clitic is in the pre-verbal slot, there is a lot of variation and the plural clitic *\_to* is not always cliticized to the pre-verbal element, as shown in the examples in (10.110a-b) which are comparable to the examples given in (10.108a) and (10.108d) respectively which do have the clitic after the first element. Furthermore, the discourse cohesion elements *sehken* and *sekenkërë* which mean ‘also, in addition’ and *mërëme* ‘however’ tend not to take the clitic *\_to*, as shown in (10.111a-b).

- (10.110)a irë-mao n-ë-epeka-ja-n\_to  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3↔3-REFL-buy-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
 tī-mēnparë-kon Ø-epeka-ja-n\_to  
 3COREF-things-PSR.PL 3→3-buy-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
 then they trade, they buy their things
- b irë-po mahto-imë Ø-apuru-ja-n\_to  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC fire-AUG 3→3-dam.up-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
 there they are damming up the big fire
- (10.111)a mērë-me tī-pīti-ntë-e\_to pijai-ja tarëno-ke  
 DP.INAN.MED-FACS COREF-wife-BEN-NF\_PL shaman-GOAL Trio-INST  
 however, the shaman had provided them with Trio wives
- b sehken nī-wa-Ø-n\_to  
 also 3→dance-PRES-NCERT-PL  
 amerarë\_to n-ë-ewe-ja-n kure\_to n-a-Ø-i sasame  
 all\_PL 3↔3-REFL-eat-PRES-NCERT good\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT happy.FACS  
 also they are dancing, all of them are eating, they are fine and happy

With the verb *e(i)* ‘be’, not cliticizing the plural marker to a preceding constituent when that element is a possible host for the clitic is characterized as ‘children’s language’, the way children speak when they haven’t yet mastered the rules of the language, compare the correct form in (10.112a) and an example of ‘children’s language’ in (10.112b).

- (10.112)a pëetome\_to n-a-Ø-i  
 beautiful\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they are beautiful
- b \* pëetome n-a-Ø-i\_to  
 beautiful 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT\_PL

With the non-witnessed construction *tī-√se*, (see 8.14.4) the clitic *\_to* is often cliticized to the non-finite verb form itself, rather than to a preceding adverbial, as shown in (10.113a-b). One reason for this is that these non-finite forms derive from a construction where the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ has since been elided (see also 8.14.5); the verb ‘be’ is, however, still found in the speech of older speakers, as shown in (10.114a-c). Thus by placing the clitic on the non-witnessed non-finite verb form, the clitic is in the immediate pre-verbal position.

- (10.113)a irë-mao t-ëta-e\_to i-ja:-ne hehehe ka-to  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-hear-NF\_PL 3-GOAL-PL hehehe say-TMP.NOM  
 then they heard hehehe
- b irë-mao tī-tunta-e\_to pata entu-ja  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-enter-NF\_PL village 3POSS.owner-GOAL  
 then they entered (village) and went to the village chief

- (10.114)a t-e:-pahka-e n-a-Ø-i i-maanini  
 COREF.1TR-MID-break-NF 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-ankle  
 his ankle is broken
- b tī-tē-tē-e n-a-Ø-i mure  
 COREF.1TR-go-go-NF 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT child  
 the child walked (reduplicated form)
- c tī-tē-e to n-a-Ø-i  
 COREF.1TR-go-NF\_PL 3→3-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they left (went)

### 10.13.2 The clitic *\_pa*: cyclicity

The clitic *\_pa* is a cyclic marker that in its basic sense marks the cyclicity of an action. It is generally translated in this work as ‘back’ or ‘again’. The clitic *\_pa* is obligatory required when cyclic action is involved, thus it is always found on the words *pakoro* and *pata* when these have the meaning ‘(someone’s) home’ or ‘village’ as shown in (10.115a-c), where the movement involved is that of returning to the starting point. Thus a Trio who is in the capital Paramaribo will talk of himself ‘returning’ to his village using the form in (10.115c). A Trio going to town, however, will not use the cyclic marker but will use it only for people who came from town and are returning there. The example in (10.115d) is taken from a context where a man had transformed into a jaguar by donning jaguar clothes (skin) which he later, after he had tasted blood and thus also taken on the behaviour of a jaguar, could not take off again, hence he couldn’t transform back into a human being. The cyclic marker is often found on the verbs (*i*)*koma*(*mī*) ‘night fall, get dark, spend the night’, and *awaina* ‘dawn’ since these concepts inherently involve cyclicity. Likewise a woman who is menstruating, a prototypical cyclic event, will say *munuhpijewa wae* ‘I have my period’

- (10.115)a ji-pakoro-ta *\_pa* wī:-tē-Ø-e  
 1POSS-house-INT.DIR\_CYC 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I’m going home (back to my house)
- b tī-pata-pona *\_pa* tī:-tē-e  
 3COREF-village-DIR\_CYC COREF.1TR-go-NF  
 he went home (back to his village)
- c ji-pata-pona *\_pa* wī:-tē-Ø-e  
 1POSS-village-DIR\_CYC 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I’m going (back) to my village
- d ee-po-ka-e-wa *\_pa* t-ee-se  
 1TR.MID-clothes-REVERS-NF-NEG\_CYC COREF-be-NF  
 he wasn’t taking off his clothes again (to become human again)

The cyclic *\_pa* is also added to a pronoun when a speaker is ‘returning’ a question that has been asked, for example, ‘how are you?’, ‘I’m fine, and you?’ as shown in (10.116a-b). This clitic is also used when the question is transferred onto another person, as shown with the third person pronoun in (10.116c), where the original question asked was ‘how old are you?’, and then was transferred onto another person, as in ‘and him, how old is he?’. Similarly, the example in (10.116d) is taken from a context where a speaker was receiving instructions from another as to where to place certain toy figures to form a scene; he had just asked where to put the figure of a dog, and then wanted to place the tree, and asked ‘and the tree, where does it go, does it go behind it?’.

- (10.116)a kure m-ana-n  
good 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 how are you?
- b kure w-a-∅-e, ěmě\_pa  
good 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2PRO\_CYC  
 I’m fine, and you?
- c ma měe\_pa  
DISC 3PRO.ANIM.PROX\_CYC  
 and him? (how old is he?)
- d itu\_pa, se-n wenae  
tree\_CYC DP.INAN.PROX-NOM behind.LOC  
 what about the tree, is it behind this?

It is also possible in Trio to have several occurrences of *\_pa* within one utterance, as shown in (10.117). The reason for this is not quite clear but it does beg the question of how far the scope of the clitic *\_pa* actually reaches. In example (10.117) it would seem that there is an elided imperative ‘come!’ understood after each embedded clause, that is, the sentence consists of three clauses ‘come!’, ‘come to hear!’ and ‘come to translate!’ since if the supine phrase ‘in order to hear’ had occurred before the imperative ‘come’ then it would not have the *\_pa* marked on it, as shown in (10.118). In the second two clauses of (10.117), a /h/ is inserted before the cyclic clitic, in *etaehpa* ‘in order to hear’ and *ijomihtĕehpa* ‘in order to translate’, to indicate that in these instances the pronunciation of *\_pa* is as a fricative rather than a stop, thus the preceding syllable acquires a syllable closure with /h/. While fricativization of the stop /p/ is more a general feature of the western dialect (speakers from Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini), it is spreading to the eastern dialect; example (10.117) originates from a speaker from Tĕpu.

- (10.117) irĕ-me\_pa kokoro\_pa\_mo oh-kĕ  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS\_CYC tomorrow\_CYC\_MOD come-IMP  
 ∅-eta-eh\_pa ∅-ka-∅-n\_to wĭ-ja,  
3-hear-NF.SUP\_CYC 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL 1-GOAL

i-j-omi-htë-eh\_pa

3.TR-EU-language-BEN-NF.SUP\_CYC

“so ‘come back again tomorrow to hear’ they said to me, ‘to translate’”

(10.118) kokoro\_pa\_mo Ø-eta-e oh-kë

tomorrow\_CYC\_MOD 3-hear-NF.SUP come-IMP

come back tomorrow to hear!

With finite verbs the clitic *\_pa* is generally, though not obligatorily inserted between the tense marker and the certainty evidential marker in the present and future tenses, as shown in (10.119a-c). The realization of the phoneme /p/ in such cases is as the bilabial fricative; in order to show this, in the following examples I have inserted a /h/ as syllable closure before the clitic.

(10.119)a ma wī:-tëh\_pa-e

DISC 1→3.1TR-go-PRES\_CYC-CERT

well, I’m going (back)

b w-ëe-jah\_pa-e

1→3.1TR-come-PRES\_CYC-CERT

I’m coming back

c w-ekarama-tah\_pa-e

1→3-give-FUT\_CYC-CERT

I will give it back

The clitic *\_pa* is also used with the postposition *apo* ‘like’, followed by the assertive marker *\_ro* (which is *\_rë* before vowel assimilation following the final vowel *o* of *apo*), that is, *X apo-ro\_pa*, to mean ‘just like s/o or s/thg’, as shown in (10.120a-b). The motivation for this usage, since it is not cyclic in any sense, is unclear. Although the verb ‘come’ occurs in (10.120a), the meaning is not cyclic since the actant was coming for the first time.

(10.120)a ariwe-imë-me apo\_ro\_pa tī-w-ëe-se

caiman-AUG-FACS like\_ASSERT\_CYC COREF-1TR-come-NF

he came (appeared) exactly like a huge caiman

b i-j-omi Ø-eta-Ø-n serë apo\_ro\_pa

3POSS-EU-language 3→3-hear-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX like\_ASSERT\_CYC

then he heard her language (the way she talked) exactly like this

### 10.13.3 The clitic *\_sa*: diminutive

The clitic *\_sa* is a diminutive marker with the meaning ‘little’ or ‘a bit’, or ‘sort of’. While the diminutive suffix *-pisi* is used for nouns and some nominalizations, namely those for person and reified entities, as shown in (10.121a-c), the clitic *\_sa* is the diminutive on other word classes, that is, on finite and non-finite

verbs as shown in (10.122a-c). The diminutive *\_sa* is also found cliticized to the postposition *apo* ‘like’ with the meaning ‘sort of like’ as in (10.123), and to nouns or nominals marked with the facsimile marker *-me* as shown in (10.124a-b). In addition, the diminutive *\_sa* can also be marked on the particle *ëwë* ‘later’ as shown in (10.125).

(10.121)a mure-pisi  
child-DIM  
a little child

b kura-no-pisi  
good-NOM-DIM  
a lovely little one (said of a baby)

c irë apo n-a-Ø-i irë j-in-eta-hpë-pisi  
DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA 1POSS-3O-hear.NOM-PST-DIM  
that’s what that is, just the bit that I heard

(10.122)a w-i-menu-htë-Ø-e\_sa  
1→3-TR-design-BEN-PRES-CERT\_DIM  
I’m writing a bit

b mīnë-pisi t-antë-e\_sa i-ja  
hut-DIM COREF-construct-NF\_DIM 3-GOAL  
he rudimentarily built a little hut

c mërë-me t-oonā-pipa-je\_sa to n-a-Ø-i  
DP.INAN.MED-FACS COREF-nose-flat-ACQ.POSS\_DIM\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
but they had slightly flat noses

(10.123) irë apo\_sa j-uru Ø-epeka-ja-n wijimīni-ja  
DP.INAN.ANA like\_DIM 1POSS-bread 3→3-buy-PRES-NCERT place.name.NOM-GOAL  
that’s sort of the way (sort of like that) he buys me bread from (village leader of) Wijimīn

(10.124)a irë-me mono-me\_sa kī-pakoro i-ruhka pitë  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS big-FACS\_DIM 1+2POSS-house 3O-TR-build.IMP while  
so build us a medium-sized house (bit big)!

b mërë-me wītoto-me\_sa t-ee-se  
DP.INAN.MED-FACS human.being-FACS\_DIM COREF-1TR.be-NF  
but it was a bit human-like

(10.125) ma ëwë\_sa tī:-të-koe\_pa\_to t-ee-se  
DISC later\_DIM 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-PSR.PL.DESID\_CYC\_PL COREF-1TR.be-NF  
some time later (a bit later) they wanted to go back (home)

When cliticized to adverbs the meaning of this clitic is ‘a bit too X’ rather than ‘slightly’ as shown in (10.126), that is, it actually has the opposite meaning of what one would expect of a diminutive marker (see also the discussion of ad-

verbs in section 10.2.2 above). One exception is the adverb *kure* ‘good’ which when cliticized with *\_sa*, for example, as an answer to the question ‘how are you?’ has the meaning ‘sort of all right’.

- (10.126) *maa\_sa* *ë:-të-rī-htao owa kure-ta*  
 far\_DIM 2POSS.1TR-go.NOM-POSS-CONT.LOC NEG.P good-NEG  
 if you go too far, no that’s not good

#### 10.13.4 The clitic *\_ken(e)*: durative

The clitic *\_ken(e)*, which is usually found without the final *e*, is used to express durative or continuous meaning. The scope of this clitic is the constituent to which it is cliticized, as shown with the question word *anpo* ‘where?’ in (10.127) which is said when the speaker hasn’t seen someone for a while; in idiomatic English this would be translated as ‘where are you (have you been) hiding yourself?’. In (10.127b) the clitic is used to indicate that along a continuous line on a branch urination is possible, but that after that point the branch will break. The clitic *\_ken(e)* can be attached to both finite and non-finite verbs, as shown in (10.128a-c). This clitic can also occur after an imperative to express that the addressee should spend some time carrying out the action as in (10.128d), and after a negated verb as shown in (10.128e).

- (10.127)a *a-n-po\_ken m-ana-Ø-n?*  
 Q-NOM-LOC\_DUR 2→3-be-PRES-NCERT  
 where have you been all this time? (where are you hiding yourself)

- b *se-n-pona\_ken\_mo suhta-ta*  
 DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-DIR\_DUR\_MOD urinate-DISLOC  
 (you can) urinate up as far as here!

- (10.128)a *w-i-punë-ja-e\_ken*  
 1→3-TR-think-PRES-CERT\_DUR  
 I am thinking hard (or: I keep thinking)

- b *owa kure-ta tīi-ka-e\_ken t-ëwë*  
 NEG.P good-NEG COREF.1TR-say-NF\_DUR 3COREF-INT.LOC  
 ‘no (that’s) not good’ he kept saying to himself

- c *irë apo t-urë-e\_ken i-ja*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like COREF-talk-NF\_DUR 3-GOAL  
 he kept talking like that

- d *ë-punëh-kë\_ken ë-punëh-kë\_ken*  
 REFL-think-IMP\_DUR REFL-think-IMP\_DUR  
 ponder hard (about this)!

- e *irë-po ka-e-wa\_ken t-ee-se*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC say-NF-NEG\_DUR COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he remained silent there (still he didn’t say anything)

When cliticized to adverbs, the clitic expresses a processual meaning such as in (10.129a-b); when cliticized to the adverb *kure* ‘good’, it expresses the meaning ‘slowly’. Other adverbs formed by means of the durative *\_ken(e)* are given above in 10.2.2. Reduplication is also often found with the durative *\_ken(e)*, either of the clitic itself or of some other element in the clause, to add emphasis to the durative meaning, as shown in (10.129b-c).

- (10.129) a *kure\_ken* *tī:-të-e*  
good\_DUR COREF.1TR-go-NF  
 he went slowly
- b *taanë\_rën\_ken* *w-a-Ø-e tī:-të-të-e*  
far\_forever\_DUR 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT COREF.1TR-go-go-NF  
 I kept on going (for what seemed like) forever
- c *irënehka tī-w-ëe-se t-ïna-ke\_ken\_ken* *to kïn-ne-Ø*  
finally COREF.1TR-come-NF COREF-flute-POSS\_DUR\_DUR\_PL 3→3.PST-come-NR.PST  
 finally he came, playing his flute all the while to bewitch them, he came

#### 10.14 The modal clitics: assertion

In the following sections the modal clitics are described according to the semantic divisions given in (10.106a-e) above. The assertion clitics are those clitics that add locutionary strength or emphasis to an assertion; the clitics are given in (10.130a-d) and are dealt with in turn below.

- (10.130) a *\_rë* assertive  
 b *\_rën(ne)* forever, really  
 c *\_ih̄ta* for sure  
 d *\_mo* modal (irrealis)

##### 10.14.1 The clitic *\_rë*: assertive

The clitic *rë* (*\_ro* after stem-final Co) is an assertive marker that is used to express emphasis and that something really is so, or that something really is happening, has happened, or will happen. The clitic *\_rë* can be cliticized to a noun (10.131a), verb (10.131b), postposition (10.131c), or question word (10.131d) and it is often repeated for extra emphasis; this clitic is also found as an emphatic marker on pronouns. When the clitic *\_rë* is marked on the third person animate anaphoric pronoun *nërë*, the pronoun is realized either with a long first vowel, as *nëërë*, or as *nërë\_rë*, whereby the former is clearly the preferred form. The reason for glossing this clitic as assertive is due to the fact that the utterance in which it occurs has strong assertive value, as shown in the utterances in (10.131a-d).

- (10.131)a wītoto\_rē\_rē nēērē  
 human.being ASSERT ASSERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he is a real human being
- b irē m-apēh-ta-hki\_rē, kure jī-rī-mahtao ē-ja:-ne  
 DP.INAN.ANA 2→3-take-FUT-PL ASSERT good 1O-do.NOM-WHILE 2-GOAL-PL  
 you will (definitely) get that if you treat me well
- c irē\_rē ka-topo-npē-tae\_rē  
 DP.INAN.ANA ASSERT say-TMP.NOM-PST-PERL ASSERT
- kī-n-muku-ru-ja tīi-ka-e  
 1+2POSS-3O-bear.NOM-POSS-GOAL COREF. 1TR-say-NF
- ‘that (is it), precisely like our son said,’ he said (exactly according to the former saying by our son)
- d a-tī-to:-me\_rē w-a-ne-*npa* ēt-anēhka-e-wa  
 Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS ASSERT 1→3. 1TR-be-PRES-NCERT-*npa* REFL-conceive-NF-NEG  
 why, oh why am I not getting pregnant?

Note that the assertive *\_rē* can be followed by the frustrative marker *\_re*, as shown in (10.132). The meaning of this example is simply to state that the person in question was for all intents and purposes a human being but that at least one of the semantic features of ‘human being’ did not hold for that person; see section 10.16 on the frustrative below.

- (10.132) wītoto\_rē\_rē\_re  
 human.being ASSERT ASSERT FRUST  
 he was totally like a human being but wasn’t quite so

The scope of the clitic *\_rē* extends only to the element immediately preceding it, that is, its scope can be a noun or pronoun (10.133a), which can then be followed by a postposition, as shown in (10.133b-c), or its scope can be the postpositional phrase itself, as shown in (10.133d-e). Note that in (10.133c), the complex postpositional *-janme* is a nominalized form followed by the facsimile marker *-me*. The difference in meaning between the forms in (10.133b) and (10.133d) is that in the (b) example, it is the demonstrative pronoun that is being emphasized, that is, ‘in that particular one, and not in any other one’ and in the (d) example the scope of the clitic is the entire postpositional phrase, that is, its meaning is ‘right inside that one as opposed to near it or outside of it’. In many cases, such as those shown in (10.133e) and (10.134) the assertive clitic *\_rē* seems to act as a contrastive focus marker on the element to which it is cliticized.

- (10.133)a irē\_rē i-pitē-topo-npē i-ja  
 DP.INAN.ANA ASSERT 3POSS-start-TMP.NOM-PST 3-GOAL  
 that’s exactly how it started (exactly that is its former starting by it)

- b            *irë\_rë-tao*  
 DP.INAN.ANA\_ASSERT-CONT.LOC  
 in that exact one (as opposed to in any other one)
- c            *irë\_rë-ja-n-me*  
 DP.INAN.ANA\_ASSERT-GOAL-NOM-FACS  
 for that very reason
- d            *irë-tao\_rë*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-CONT.LOC\_ASSERT  
 right in that one
- e            *sehken ainja i-pakoro rī-to itu-pëe\_rë*  
 also 1+3PRO 3POSS-house do-TMP.NOM forest-SOU\_ASSERT  
 in addition the material for building our houses (our house-making  
 means) is from the forest (and not from anywhere else)

With other phrase types, such as nominal possessive constructions of the type N-N the assertive clitic is marked on the last, that is, the possessed element, as shown in (10.134).

- (10.134) *tī-poin-je ainja-ja ainja Ø-otī\_rë*  
 COREF-SENS-NF 1+3PRO-GOAL 1+3PRO 3POSS-meat\_ASSERT  
*itu-htao-no\_ro*  
 forest\_CONT.LOC-NOM\_ASSERT  
 we like *our* meat, that from the forest (as opposed to meat from town)

When cliticized to a non-past verb form which is suffixed with the certainty evidential marker *-e*, the vowel of the evidential is phonetically raised to *i*, as shown in (10.135a-b).

- (10.135)a *kure-ta wī-ja wī-ka-Ø-e\_rë* [wikaiɾə]  
 good-NEG 1-GOAL 1→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT\_ASSERT  
 I'm *telling* you it's not all right with me
- b            *w-eta-Ø-e\_rë ooni-po n-a-Ø-i*                    [wɛtaiɾə]  
 1→3-hear-PRES-CERT\_ASSERT DP.INAN.DIST-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 I *hear* it, it's over there

#### 10.14.2 The clitic *\_rën(ne)*: forever

The clitic *\_rën(ne)*, which is no doubt closely related to the assertive clitic *\_rë* described above, has two related meanings, namely it expresses the temporal notions 'forever' or 'for all time' when used in the affirmative, and 'never' when combined with the negative; and secondly it expresses the notion 'truly' or 'through and through' when used in a non-temporal sense. In spite of the temporal/non-temporal meanings which this clitic may have, in order to be consistent I gloss this clitic as *\_forever*. An example is given below with the clitic *\_rën(ne)*

cliticized to a verb in (10.136), where in this case it is difficult to decide whether the resultant verb form has a temporal or a non-temporal interpretation. Sentence (10.136) was uttered as a reply to someone telling the speaker that the village where his daughters were being held, after being kidnapped, was high up in the sky (in the ‘other’ world) and very hard to reach; his interlocutor asked him ‘are you going to try anyway, are you going to go?’ Given that he wanted to get his daughters back no matter what the cost, his reply could be easily interpreted as ‘I’ll try forever (I’ll never give up)’ or as ‘I’ll do my utmost’. A negated verb marked with the clitic carrying the meaning ‘never’ is shown in (10.137). The examples in (10.138a-c) show the clitic marked on a noun where in (10.138a) the meaning is that of ‘true blood relation’ as opposed to someone who is regarded as a brother, and in (10.138c) the meaning is a ‘real’ or ‘actual’ basket as opposed to using basket material to perform shamanic practices.<sup>9</sup>

- (10.136) aha wi-ku:-ja-e\_rën tii-ka-e  
 yes 1→3-try-PRES-CERT\_forever COREF.1TR-say-NF  
 ‘yes, I will try for all my worth’ he said
- (10.137) mēe-san\_pa tēe-se-wa\_rën t-ee-se  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL\_CYC come-NF-NEG\_forever COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 they never came back
- (10.138)a j-akēmi\_rën mēe  
 1POSS-younger.sibling\_forever 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he’s my real (biological) younger brother
- b mēe n-a-Ø-i j-ofi\_rën ji-n-janopī  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-meat\_forever POSS-3O-wish.NOM  
 that is my favourite meat of all time (my truly favourite meat)
- c pēera i-mama-kon t-ee-se  
 stupid 3POSS-mother-PSR.PL COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 pēnti-me\_rën t-ēkanī-se i-ja  
 k.o.basket-FACS\_forever COREF-think-NF 3-GOAL  
 their mother didn’t know a thing, she thought it was an actual basket  
 (they were talking about)

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9 This example refers to a word play based on the expression *waruma wikaajae* which can mean ‘I am preparing to practise shamanism/to go into a trance’ or ‘I am weaving a basket’: the two sons had been somewhat less than specific on purpose and their mother assumed that they were talking about weaving an actual basket rather than practising shamanism which is what in fact they were doing. This example was taken from the story *iwēemetaniṗihpēton iwēhtoponpē* ‘Story of those who transformed themselves’ also found in Keisi (1984:30-36). Note that the expression *warunao weejae* ‘I practise shamanism/I go into the other world’ is based on the verb ‘be(come)’ and the root *waru* plus a locative marker *-nao* and literally means ‘I am becoming in the dark’. The root *waru* is also found in the word *waruma* ‘darkness’ and ‘basketry’. The locative marker *-nao* is no longer productive in Trio but is still found, for example, in Wayana.

The clitic *\_rën(ne)* is also found on adverbs, as shown in (10.139a-b). The difference between the clitic *\_rën(ne)* described here and that of the assertive clitic *\_rë* is a fine one and often there seems to be an overlap in meaning. However, the clitic *\_rën(ne)* expresses the notion ‘always has been, always will be’ as opposed to the assertive *\_rë* which has an intensifying or emphatic function ‘very’ or ‘really’; compare the difference in meaning between examples (10.139b) and (10.139c).

- (10.139)a taanë\_rën  
far\_forever  
 totally far (and it will never change)
- b kure\_rën  
good\_forever  
 good through and through (always was, always will be)
- c kure\_rë  
good\_ASSERT  
 really good

The clitic *\_rën(ne)* is often found in combination with the durative clitic *\_ken(e)* on adverbs to express what could be termed superlative meaning, that is, ‘really X’ or ‘insuperably X’, as shown in (10.140a-b).

- (10.140)a taanë\_rën\_ken w-a-Ø-e ti:-të-të-e  
far\_forever\_DUR 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT COREF.1TR-go-go-NF  
 I walked for what seemed like forever (I walked and walked)
- b serë\_rëken n-a-Ø-i  
DP.INAN.PROX\_only 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT
- a-ja\_mo su-suhta-ta-n  
Q-GOAL\_MOD urinate-urinate.TERM-FUT-NCERT
- kawë\_rën\_ken n-a-Ø-i  
high\_forever\_DUR 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT
- it’s just that where am I supposed to urinate? it (the bed) is so insuperably high

The clitic *\_rën* can be combined with directionals, for example, with *-pona* to give the temporal meaning ‘up until’ or ‘as far as’, as shown in (10.141a), and with the directionals *-ta* and *-rehki* to give spatial meaning as shown in (10.141b); for these directionals, see sections 6.2.2, 6.2.5, and 6.2.23.

- (10.141)a ijareme m-eh-ta-hki ë-pari-npë-kon-pona\_rën  
poor.FACS 2→3.1TR-be-FUT-PL 2POSS-grandchild-PST-PSR.PL-DIR\_forever  
 you will forever be destitute, right up as far as your grandchildren

b      *tī-w-ēe-se mēērē\_rē makuiwaka-ta\_rēn*  
 COREF-1TR-come-NF 3PRO.ANIM.MED\_ASSERT place.name-DIR\_forever

*i-pata-reh-kī\_rēn*  
 3POSS-village-horn-DIR\_forever

that one came right up to Makuiwaka, right to the top of the village  
 centre of village on hill)

### 10.14.3 The clitic *\_ih̄ta*: for sure

The clitic *\_ih̄ta* has the meaning ‘for sure’ and is glossed in this work as *\_for.sure*. This clitic is used to express the notion that something has happened, is happening, or will happen without doubt, as shown in the examples in (10.142a-c). In example (10.142a) the meaning is akin to the English ‘I told you so’ after the fact. When it follows a diphthong or two consecutive vowels, the final vowel of the preceding element is dropped in order to avoid a sequence of three vowels, as shown in (10.142b) where the full form is *m-eh-ta-e\_ih̄ta* ‘you will surely be’ but where the evidential certainty suffix *-e* is dropped.

(10.142)a *a-arē-Ø-ti wī-ka-ihta*  
 3→2-take-PRES-PL 1→3.1TR-say-I.PST\_for.sure  
 ‘they will take you’ I said for sure (I told you so)

b      *irē apo m-eh-ta-Ø-ihta kure jī-rī-nmahtaō ē-ja*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 2→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT\_for.sure good 10-do-WHILE 2-GOAL  
 you will certainly be like that if you treat me well

c      *kure n-ē-ekeima-Ø-nē\_ih̄ta oroi*  
 good 3↔3-REFL-kill-PRES-NCERT\_for.sure cashew  
 the cashew nuts are rotting for sure

In meaning the clitic *\_ih̄ta* is very close to the urging imperative marker *\_kahta* which is used to express the notion ‘be sure to X!’ or ‘make sure you X!’ as shown in (10.143). In fact, there is one attestation in the corpus of a finite, rather than imperative form of the verb *kaene* ‘warn’ in the sense of ‘forbid’ followed by *-kahta*, see (10.144); this verb is derived from the verb *ka* ‘say’. Because of the meaning of the verb *kaene* ‘warn’, however, this sentence in (10.144) is still a direct order even though the imperative form is not being used. This statement was uttered by someone who was warning another not to tell anyone about him. The clitic *\_ih̄ta* cannot be used to give direct orders and thus is in complementary distribution with the imperative modal *\_kahta*.

(10.143) *oh-kē\_kahta*  
 come-IMP\_URGE.MOD  
 be sure to come!

- (10.144) j-i-pono:-se-wa\_mo eh-kë wïi-kaene\_kahta  
 1-TR-tell-NF-NEG\_MOD be-IMP 1→3-forbid\_URGE.MOD  
 don't tell anyone about me, I'm absolutely forbidding it

#### 10.14.4 The clitic *\_mo*: modal

The clitic *\_mo* is a true second-place clitic modal clitic, that is, it occurs immediately after the first element of the clause. On the one hand, it is used obligatorily in conjunction with irrealis marking on the verb to indicate that an event might take place or might have taken place, see examples (10.145a-b). On the other hand the clitic *\_mo* is used in conjunction with imperatives to express the speaker's attitude to the command in that it weakens the command nature of the imperative, making it polite; in its usage it is comparable to the use of the auxiliary in English imperatives, for example, 'do come back!', 'do write!', some examples are given in (10.145c-f), (see also 8.10.10).

- (10.145)a aerë-me\_mo w-ekarama-i ë-ja  
 really-FACS\_MOD 1→3-give-IRR 2-GOAL  
 honestly I would give it to you (if I had it)
- b irë-mao tahken\_mo  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP maybe\_MOD  
  
 erei-mïn entu-me k-eh-ti-Ø  
 3POSS.smoke-PRIV.NOM 3POSS.owner-FACS 1+2.1TR-be-PL-IRR  
 then maybe we would have been the owners of a smokeless one (fire)
- c irë-me pïjai kïn-ka-Ø\_re ainja-ja  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS shaman 3→3.PST.1TR-say-NR.PST\_FRUST 1+3.PRO-GOAL  
  
 'të-e-wa\_mo eh-të i-ja:-ne'  
 go-NF-NEG\_MOD be-IMP.PL 3-GOAL-PL  
 so the shaman said in vain to us 'please don't be going to them!'
- d irë-me\_mo aipïme ë-j-omi Ø-tïrï i-ja:-ne  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS\_MOD fast.FACS 2POSS-EU-language 3O-do 3-GOAL-PL  
 so (the strategy is) do speak harshly to them!
- e ma suhta-po ëmë ahta se-n-pona\_ken\_mo suhta-ta  
 DISC urinate.NOM-LOC 2PRO when DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-DIR\_DUR\_MOD urinate-DISLOC  
 well, if you need to urinate, only go urinate as far as here!
- f irë-me pahko i-kanawa\_mo Ø-apëh-kë  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 1POSS.father 3POSS-boat\_MOD 3O-take-IMP  
 so do grab my father's boat!

When the modal clitic *\_mo* co-occurs in the same utterance as the cyclic clitic *\_pa* then the modal *\_mo* always occurs after *\_pa*, as shown in (10.146) and (10.147).

- (10.146) oh-kě *\_pa* *\_mo*  
 come-IMP\_CYC\_MOD  
 do come back!

When used in combination with the indefinite specific marker *-hpe* that is found on question words or interrogative phrases, the modal *\_mo* strengthens the irrealis meaning encoded in ‘whatever’, ‘wherever’ etc. as shown in (10.147) where the question word *anpo* consists of the root *a* followed by the nominalizer *-n* and the locative *-po* meaning ‘where?’.

- (10.147) a-n-po *\_kene-hpe* *\_pa* *\_mo* n-eh-ta-n  
 Q-NOM-LOC\_DUR-INDEF.SPEC\_CYC\_MOD 3→3.1TR-come-FUT-NCERT  
  
 irě-mao m-apěh-ta-hki  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 2→3-take-FUT-PL

no matter where (wherever) it will turn up again, you will take (get) it

#### 10.15 The exclusion clitic *\_rėken(e)*

The clitic *\_rėken(e)*, which may be made up of the assertive clitic *\_rė* and the durative clitic *\_ken(e)*, has the meaning of restriction or exclusion of one thing vis-à-vis another, it is translatable as ‘only’ or ‘just’, and is glossed in this work as *\_only*. The scope of this clitic is the phrase to which it is cliticized. It can be cliticized to a verb (10.148a), a noun (10.148b), a pronoun (10.148c), a postposition (10.148d) and an adverb (10.148e) and adverbial (10.148f). The example given in (10.148e) shows idiomatic usage of the clitic with the adverb *kure* ‘good’. The context of (10.148e) was such that the speaker wanted to return money he had borrowed from a friend only to be told that he didn’t need to, in order to make sure he had understood correctly, he asked ‘so it’s just o.k. like this (I don’t have to pay you back)?’.

- (10.148)a wi-ku:-ja-e *\_rėken*  
 1→3-try-PRES-CERT\_only  
 I’m just trying (I don’t know if it will work)

- b kawě n-a-∅-i i-pata-kon  
 high 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-village-PSR.PL  
 ∅-eema *\_rėken* n-a-∅-i tuna-hkao  
 3POSS-path\_only 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT water-LOC  
 their village is up high, only their path (to their village) is in the water

- c            *irë\_rëken w-ene-ne*  
 DP.INAN.ANA\_only 1→3-see-NR.PST  
 that's all I saw (I saw only that)
- d            *ratara j-i-suka-Ø-n tuna-ke\_rëken awain-tao\_rëken*  
 doctor 3→1-TR-wash-PRES-NCERT water-INST\_only dawn-CONT.LOC\_only  
 the doctor only washes me with water (not with magic potion), only  
 the outside (of my body)
- e            *kure\_rëken*  
 good\_only  
 is it all right (the way it is)? (are we quits?)
- f            *pīja\_sa ainja n-ere-ta tahpame\_rëken*  
 little\_DIM 1+3PRO 3→liver-TERM-I.PST sitting.FACS\_only  
 we rested a little, just sitting (not lying down)

When cliticized to the postposition *apo* 'like' there is optional vowel assimilation of the first vowel of the clitic with the final vowel of the postposition, resulting in *apo\_roken* as shown in (10.149).

- (10.149) *serë apo\_roken\_mo Ø-apëh-kë*  
 DP.INAN.PROX like\_only\_MOD 3O-take-IMP  
 please take it just like this!

#### 10.16 The frustrative clitic *\_re(pe)*

The frustrative clitic *\_re(pe)*, which usually occurs as *\_re* although one often hears the full form *\_repe* from older speakers, is complex in its meaning. In fact, this clitic belongs to the small class of what I term 'truth and knowledge' markers in Trio (see also the facsimile *-me* in 4.8.5). The clitic *\_re(pe)* has a pragmatic function of refuting the propositional content of the utterance. When marked on a verb, it is used to express the notion 'in vain', as shown in (10.150a) where the man asked in vain because the old man didn't know where the first man's daughters were; and in (10.150b), the speaker went to the addressee's house to see him but the addressee was not home, hence he went 'in vain'. Whenever an action did not have the expected outcome, then the clitic *\_re(pe)* must be used; for this reason it is often found on the verb *ka* 'say' when, for example, that which was said, be it a request, order, statement or promise, was not fulfilled, as shown in (10.150c-d). In fact, not marking the frustrative on a verb entails that that action was successful, compare the meaning of sentences (10.150c-d) where the verb *ka* 'say' is marked with the frustrative, meaning that what was said was in vain, to the verb 'say' in (10.151) where the verb does not have the frustrative marked on it, entailing that the people complied with the wishes of the shaman and didn't go. Likewise the examples in (10.152a-b) show

the difference in meaning between the verbal element, in this case the verb ‘negotiate’, which in the (b) example is marked with the frustrative, entailing that the talks are futile, and the (a) example where the verb has no frustrative marking entailing that the talks may still be successful. See also Carlin (1999; 2002).

- (10.150)a irë-mao tī-pono-po-e\_re i-ja tamutupë-ja  
 DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-tell-CAUS-NF\_FRUST 3-GOAL old.man-GOAL  
 a-n-po n-a-Ø-i j-eemi-ton  
 Q-NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-daughter-PL  
 then he asked the old man in vain ‘where are my daughters?’
- b ë-pakoro-pona wī:-të-Ø\_re  
 2POSS-house-DIR 1→3.1TR-go-I.PST\_FRUST  
 I went in vain to your house (I went to your house but you weren’t home)
- c irë-me pijai kīn-ka-Ø\_re ainja-ja  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS shaman 3→3.PST.1TR-say-NR.PST\_FRUST 1+3PRO-GOAL  
 të-e-wa\_mo eh-të i-ja:-ne  
 go-NF-NEG\_MOD be-IMP.PL 3-GOAL-PL  
 so the shaman said to us ‘don’t be going to them (anacondas)’, but we went anyway
- d namo\_ro i-pakoro-tao m-ë-ëni-ja-e  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT 3POSS-house-CONT.LOC 2↔2-REFL-sleep-PRES-CERT  
 wī-ka-Ø\_re ë-ja  
 1→3.1TR-say-I.PST\_FRUST 2-GOAL  
 këpëewa tūwërë-no\_ro irë-tao n-a-Ø-i meinjarë  
 but other\_NOM\_ASSERT DP.INAN.ANA-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT now  
 I told you in vain that you will sleep in those people’s house but now there are others in it, so you can’t
- (10.151) të-e-wa eh-të kīn-ka-Ø pijai ainja-ja  
 go-NF-NEG be-IMP.PL 3→3.PST-say-NR.PST shaman 1+3PRO-GOAL  
 ‘don’t go’ the shaman said to us, so we didn’t go
- (10.152)a granman-ja n-ët-uru-ja-n  
 granman-GOAL 3↔3-REFL-talk-PRES-NCERT  
 he is negotiating (talking business) with the granman (chief)
- b granman-ja n-ët-uru-ja-në\_re  
 granman-GOAL 3↔3-REFL-talk-PRES-NCERT\_FRUST  
 he is negotiating in vain (talking business) with the granman (the granman won’t change his mind about the matter)

The frustrative *\_re(pe)* can also be cliticized to nouns in order to express the notion that the referent of that noun fails to fulfill at least one of the semantic fea-

tures of that noun, see for example (10.153a) where the referent was a bird child who, though he was functioning as a human child, could not speak; example (10.153b) was a reference to a trading partner who wasn't bringing any goods.

(10.153)a mure\_re nĕrĕ  
 child\_FRUST 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he was a (human) child (with some flaws)

b ji-pawana\_re nĕrĕ  
 1POSS-friend\_FRUST 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he's my trading partner (but I'm not getting much from the relationship because he has no goods)

The clitic *\_re(pe)* can also be cliticized to postpositions and adverbs, to express that the semantic expectations given in the phrase or adverb are not met; in many cases the frustrative *\_re(pe)* can be best translated into English as 'almost'; some examples are given in (10.154a-d).

(10.154)a ěis-apo\_ro\_re n-a-Ø-i Waiwai i-j-omi  
 REFL-like\_ASSERT\_FRUST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Waiwai 3POSS-EU-language

Tunayana i-j-omi  
 Tunayana 3POSS-EU-language

the Waiwai language and the Tunayana language are almost the same  
 (but not quite)

b sameken ti:-tĕ-se\_re t-ee-se  
 quickly.DUR 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID\_FRUST COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he wanted to go quickly (but didn't or couldn't)

c ranti kure\_re  
 government good\_FRUST  
 the government is not good (though one would expect it to be)

d wa-t-ee-se\_re w-ei-Ø  
 NEG-COREF.1TR-be-NF\_FRUST 1→3.1TR-be-NR.PST  
 I was as good as dead (without actually being dead)

The scope of the frustrative *\_re(pe)* is the phrase in which it occurs and as such in adverbial or postpositional phrases it can occur either on the adverbial or postposition-marked element itself as in (10.154b) or on the verb 'be' as in (10.155a-b). It generally occurs marked on the past non-witnessed form of the verb as shown in (10.154d) and (10.155c), and in complex possessive phrases such as that in (10.156) it occurs on the nominalized verb 'be' rather than on the desiderative-marked element, resulting in the literal meaning 'the people's former being in vain wanting their going back'. This example in (10.156) is the title of a story of people who tried to go back but didn't manage to; the story can be found

in Keisi (1984:36-38). In example (10.157) the frustrative is marked on the non-witnessed past form of the verb since the catching of fish was in vain.

- (10.155)a *ji-jokī-se w-ei-∅\_repe*  
 1POSS-drink-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-I.PST\_FRUST  
 I wanted something to drink but didn't get anything
- b *ëmume w-ei-∅\_repe*  
 sad.FACS 1→3.1TR-be-I.PST\_FRUST  
 I was sad but didn't need to be because it all came good again
- c *∅-eemi ∅-eku-se\_re t-ee-se*  
 3POSS-daughter 3POSS-have.sex.with.NOM-DESID\_FRUST COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he wanted in vain to have sex with his (other man's) daughter
- (10.156) *tī:-tē-se\_pa wītoto i-w-eh-topo-npē\_re*  
 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID\_CYC human.being 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PST\_FRUST  
 story of how the people wanted to go back but couldn't
- (10.157) *kana t-ëma-e\_re i-ja*  
 fish COREF-catch-NF\_FRUST 3-GOAL  
 he tried in vain to catch fish (he went fishing but didn't catch anything)

## 10.17 The corrective and counter expectational modal clitics

The clitics that have presupposition correction or counter expectation as their meaning mostly begin in the initial element *hka*. The clitic *\_hkasān* is a counterfactual corrective marker meaning 'instead' or 'on the contrary'; the clitics *hkarē* and *\_hkanarē/\_hkanara*, *\_tahkarē/\_tahkara* and *\_nkērē* 'still' are counter-expectational clitics.

### 10.17.1 The clitic *\_hkasān*: corrective

The clitic *\_hkasān* [ha:saŋ], which is glossed in this work as *\_instead*, is used to express the notion 'instead' or 'on the contrary'. The element marked by *\_hkasān* gives a corrective alternative to one mentioned before or implied, that is, it is used to repair presuppositions. Compare the examples in (10.158a-b) where (10.158b) is a possible answer to (10.158a). Example (10.159) was uttered by an speaker who was re-assembling a radio, and had discovered that he had done it wrongly. In (10.160) the speaker was correcting the general view in some circles that Amerindians do not need land rights, 'on the contrary' he says, 'we do want our land rights'.<sup>10</sup>

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10 This quote is taken from a speech by granman Asonko, delivered by his spokesman Aretina in Amsterdam, 1997.

- (10.158)a kure-ta ě-ja irě  
 good-NEG 2-GOAL DP.INAN.ANA  
 is this not all right with you?
- b owa kure hkasan  
 NEG.P good instead  
 no, on the contrary, it's fine with me
- (10.159) eek-apo-n apo hkasan wĭ-rĭ-ja-n  
 how-like-NOM like instead 1→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
 so how am I supposed to do it then (instead)?
- (10.160) irě apo-ta ainja tĭ-w-ei-se n-a-Ø-i  
 DP.INAN.ANA like-NEG 1+3 3COREF-1TR-be.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT
- tĭ-nono-ke-n-me hkasan  
 COREF-land-INST-NOM-FACS instead

that's not how we want to be (landless), on the contrary, we want to be people with (rights to) land

Although hkasan is not often found on finite verbs in the corpus, it is possible, as shown in examples (10.161a-b) where in (10.161a) the speaker was asked if he had heard a particular bird in the forest, to which he replied that he hadn't heard it but rather that he had seen it. The corrective clitic hkasan can be marked on nouns or nominals, as shown in (10.160); on pronouns, as in (10.162); on adverbials, as in (10.158b) above; and on postpositional phrases as in (10.159).

- (10.161)a owa, w-ene-Ø hkasan  
 NEG.P 1→3-see-I.PST-NCERT instead  
 no I saw it (I didn't hear it)
- b in-meenu-htĕ-e-wa w-a-Ø-e w-ejatĕ-Ø-e hkasan  
 3O-design-BEN-NF-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 1→3-read-PRES-CERT instead  
 I'm not writing, I'm reading
- (10.162) mĕe hkasan nĭ:-tĕ-Ø-n  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX instead 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 he's going (not me like you think)

#### 10.17.2 The clitics hkarĕ, hkanarĕ/ hkanara: counter expectation

The modal clitics hkarĕ, hkanarĕ, hkanara, and tahkarĕ/ tahkara are similar in meaning, with all expressing counter-expectation, namely that something is different from what one expected. These modals seem to form a system that is not yet fully understood; while they are all similar in meaning, some, such as tahkarĕ/ tahkara seem to have additional senses such as concessive. While acknowledging that more work still has to be done on the modal system in Trio

which should result in a more detailed analysis, I give below some instances of these markers. There does not seem to be any difference in meaning between *\_hkarë* and *\_hkanarë/ \_hkanara*, and often they are interchangeable as shown in (10.163a-d).

- (10.163)a *j-injo\_hkarë n-e:-ja-n*  
 1POSS-husband\_C.EXP 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 oh, it's my husband is coming (not the person whom I expected)
- b *j-injo\_hkanarë n-e:-ja-n*  
 1POSS-husband\_C.EXP 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 oh, it's my husband is coming (not the person whom I expected)
- c *irë apo\_hkarë kī-rī-ja-ti*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like\_C.EXP 1+2-do-PRES-PL  
 so that's what you're doing to us (it turns out that that's the way you're treating us, and not as we expected)
- d *tamutupë-me\_hkanara*  
 old.man-FACS\_C.EXP  
 he is actually an old man (although you wouldn't think it)

### 10.17.3 The concessive clitics *\_tahkarë/ \_tahkara*

The clitics *\_tahkarë / \_tahkara* have, on the one hand, counter-expectational meaning similar to the *hka*-initial clitics given above, and on the other hand, they have concessive meaning. In order to distinguish these two clitics from the *hka*-initial counter expectation markers, I gloss *\_tahkarë* and *\_tahkara* as *\_CONCESSIVE*. These two clitics are the least understood of the system. Although *\_tahkara* does tend to occur more with finite verbs, and the form *\_tahkarë* more with non-verbal elements, there is much variation, with *\_tahkarë* also occurring on finite verbs. Some examples of the usage of the counter-expectational usage of the clitics *\_tahkarë / \_tahkara* are given in (10.164a-d) below. The clitic *\_tahkarë* is homophonous with the directional complex postposition *-tahkarë* 'through' which is made up of the container directional *-ta* and probably the counter-expectational marker *\_hkarë* given above, see section 6.2.6.

- (10.164)a *j-apë-ja-n\_tahkarë*  
 3→1-take-PRES-NCERT\_CONCES  
 I was sure it (the jaguar) would catch me but it didn't
- b *n-ët-uru-ja-n\_tahkara*  
 3↔3-REFL-talk-PRES-NCERT\_CONCES  
 so it turns out that he is negotiating

c        *ranti-ja\_tahkarë n-ët-uru-ja-n*  
 government-GOAL\_CONCES 3↔3-REFL-talk-PRES-NCERT  
 it turns out that he is negotiating with the government after all

d        *këpëewa se-n-po irë\_tahkarë*  
 but DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-LOC DP.INAN.ANA\_CONCES

*i-sika-se n-a-Ø-i ainja*  
 3.TR-extract.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO

but here we want to take it straight out (we need to take it out, although we know you don't want that)

The more concessive type meaning of the clitic *\_tahkarë* can be seen in (10.165a-b). It is clear from these examples that the concessive here has counter-expectational meaning, that is, along the lines of 'although one wouldn't expect it, he is Xing'.

(10.165)a *Ø-enura tī-w-eh\_tahkarë*  
 3POSS-eye-NEG 3COREF-1TR-be\_CONCES

*Ø-enpini-se-ta n-a-Ø-i*  
 3POSS-glasses-DESID-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

although he can't see well, he doesn't want glasses

b        *tī-w-e-hpu-pahka-hpë\_tahkarë mëe*  
 COREF-1TR-MID-foot-break.NOM-PST\_CONCES 3PRO.ANIM.PROX

*sameken\_pa nī:-të-n tī-pakoro-ta\_pa*  
 fast.DUR\_CYC 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT 3COREF-house-DIR\_CYC

in spite of him having broken (hurt) his leg he is running home

#### 10.17.4 The clitic *\_nkërë*: persistentive

The clitic *\_nkërë* has the meaning 'still' or 'yet' and is glossed here as PERSISTIVE. In meaning the persistentive is counter-expectational, 'he is still Xing (although I had expected him to have stopped)' or 'he hasn't come yet (though I had expected he would be here by now)'. The scope of this clitic is the element to which it is attached. The clitic *\_nkërë* can follow a finite or non-finite verb, as shown in (10.166a-c). When cliticized to a negated verb, the meaning is 'not yet' as in (10.166c) with the verbal negation marker *-wa* and in (10.166d) with the nominal negation marker *-ta*. When cliticized to a question word, the clitic *\_nkërë* has the meaning 'WH-else', as shown in (10.167) where the question word marked with the clitic *aii* 'what?' is the head of the desiderative postposi-

tional phrase. Examples (10.168a-c) show the clitic on adverbs (10.168a) and on postpositional phrases (10.168b-c).

- (10.166)a *w-i-pono-ja-e\_nkērë*  
 1→3-TR-tell-PRES-CERT\_PERSIST  
 I'm still telling (yet another story)
- b *irë-me tī:-të-e\_nkērë*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF.1TR-go-NF\_PERSIST  
 so he kept going
- c *namo\_ro in-epo-se-wa\_nkērë n-a-Ø-i*  
 DP.AN.ANA.PL\_ASSERT 3O-meet-NF-NEG\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 they haven't found them yet
- d *tīwērën-mao wa-n-eh-ta-n wa-i-w-eh-topo-ta\_nkērë*  
 other-TEMP NEG-3→3.1TR-be-FUT-NCERT NEG-3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-NEG\_PERSIST  
 he will die some other time, he's not going to die just yet (not yet his dying)
- (10.167) *a-tī\_nkērë-se n-a-Ø-i mēë*  
 Q.INAN\_PERSIST-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 what else does he want? (what still wanting is he)
- (10.168)a *taanë\_nkērë n-a-Ø-i pata*  
 far\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village  
 further still there is a(nother) village
- b *Ø-apëi-se\_nkērë t-ee-se*  
 3O-take.NOM-DESID\_PERSIST COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he was still wanting to grab him (still wanting to grab him he was)
- c *irë-po\_nkērë ëire t-ee-se*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC\_PERSIST dangerous COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 there too they were dangerous (fierce)

When a list of nouns is given, the persistive clitic *\_nkērë* has the meaning 'another' in the sense of 'more of the same', as shown in (10.169) where a list of family members present was given.

- (10.169) *Ø-eemi-rī, i-mama-rī, Ø-eemi-rī\_nkērë*  
 3POSS-daughter-POSS 3POSS-mother-POSS 3POSS-daughter\_PERSIST

*tëri-me, pirë-me, i-papa marë*  
 three-FACS four-FACS 3POSS-father also

(they were) his daughter, his mother, another daughter, three of them, four of them, his father too

The clitic *\_nkērë* cannot be marked directly on nouns, rather the noun must first be marked with the facsimile marker *-me* the grammaticalized function of which

in this usage is to express a (transient) state (see facsimile *-me* in section 4.8.5). Adding the persistive clitic *\_nkērē* ‘still’ to the facsimile-marked noun expresses a durative transient state, that has changed or will (can) change, as shown in (10.170a-b).

- (10.170)a mure-me *\_nkērē* wī ahtao  
 child-FACS\_PERSIST IPRO if  
 when I was a child (still in the state of being a child)
- b mono-me *\_nkērē* ahtao owa kure-ta  
 big-FACS\_PERSIST when NEG.P good-NEG  
 if it’s still (in a state of being) big, no, that’s not good

### 10.18 The responsibility modal clitics

There are two modal clitics that assign responsibility to a participant in the clause. The clitic *\_hkatē* is used with nouns, and the clitic *\_hkatēti* is mostly used with verbs although it can be cliticized to another element if the verb is understood but not expressed. The two clitics *\_hkatē* and *\_hkatēti* carry a great deal of cultural import in that the notion of responsibility is something that each individual has for his/her own actions; and the Trio will not readily accept responsibility for another’s problems nor will they assign to others the responsibility of their own problems. It is in such markers that the highly individualistic, and as I have said elsewhere, almost solipsistic, way of life of the Trio is most clearly recognized. In the clitic *\_hkatē* individual responsibility is grammatically encoded; in the related clitic *\_hkatēti* the speaker or addressee is being advised to trust his own judgement by means of doing s/thing himself and not leaving it up to others.

#### 10.18.1 The clitic *\_hkatē*: responsibility

The clitic *\_hkatē* has two different meanings depending on whether it is cliticized to a noun or pronoun, or a question word. These meanings are ‘responsibility’ and ‘surprise’ respectively; for the sake of consistency in the gloss, I gloss this clitic as RESPONS(ibility) with the caveat to the reader that when marked on a question word, the clitic expresses the notion of ‘surprise’ rather than responsibility. The clitic *\_hkatē* is mostly found on nouns and pronouns to express that that referent is being assigned responsibility, and as such it can be translated into English as either ‘it’s up to X’ or ‘it’s X’s problem’. Compare the examples in (10.171a-b) where one person offered another a drink and received the answer in (10.171b) whereby the answer entails ‘you’ve got the money so it’s up to you if you buy it or not’. In other contexts, when someone has a problem, then *\_hkatē* is used to attribute the responsibility of solving the problem to that person, thus the answer in (10.171b) was also used where someone was explaining what the

government said when she complained that her knife was old and blunt.

(10.171)a *ë-jokī-koe m-ana-∅-ti*  
2POSS-drink-DESID.PSR.PL 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL  
do you want something to drink (are you wanting your drink)?

b *ëmë\_hkatë*  
2PRO\_RESPONS  
it's up to you! (it's your call!) / that's your problem!

Note that there is no animacy feature required for responsibility to be assigned to a nominal referent, as shown in (10.172) which was the comment made following a complaint that a bunch of bananas that was hanging over a hammock was oozing out some juice onto the hammock.<sup>11</sup>

(10.172) *paruru\_hkatë*  
bananas\_RESPONS  
that's up to the bananas / that's the bananas' problem!

The clitic *\_hkatë* is also used with question words to express an element of surprise, as shown in (10.173a) where some traders were on their way back to the village but unknown to the speaker they had been attacked and killed on their way by their trading partners. Example (10.173b) was used when someone was expressing surprise that anyone at all should be approaching.

(10.173)a *kaikui ∅-arë\_pa\_to\_to a-ja\_hkatë kaikui-rī*  
dog 3→3-take-1.PST\_CYC\_PL\_PL Q-GOAL\_RESPONS dog-POSS  
they were taking the dogs back (to the village), now where had the  
dogs gotten to (what had become of the dogs)?

b *a-kī\_hkatë\_rë*  
Q-ANIM\_RESPONS\_ASSERT  
now who can that be?

### 10.18.2 The clitic *\_hkatëti*: agent responsibility

The clitic *\_hkatëti*, which is derived from the clitic *\_hkatë* described above, is mostly found with verbs and expresses the meaning 'X for oneself'. Where the responsibility clitic *\_hkatë* assigns responsibility to a noun or pronoun, the clitic *\_hkatëti* assigns that responsibility to the person (agent or subject) on a verb, hence I call this clitic agent responsibility and gloss it as *\_A.RESPONS*. In general the clitic *\_hkatëti* is not a frequently-occurring clitic in the corpus, and it is more often found with imperative-marked verbs, as in (10.174a) with the dislocative imperative *-ta*, than with finite verbs of which one example is given in

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11 I would like to thank the English anthropologist Peter Rivière who told me this story (pers. comm. 1998); it was his hammock that the bananas were dripping onto.

(10.174b). It can, however, be cliticized to a pronoun when the verb has been elided, as shown in (10.175) where the speaker, who had been admonished by the chief who was trying to force the speaker to build a house elsewhere, was saying with some irritation ‘I’ll decide that for myself’.

(10.174)a a-tī-pë\_to n-ët-uru-ja-n ji-wame

Q-INAN-CONTACT.LOC\_PL 3↔3-REFL-talk-PRES-NCERT 1-not.know

eta-ta\_hkatëti

hear-DISLOC.IMP\_A.RESPONS

I don’t know what they’re talking about, go listen for yourself!

b w-erahtë-Ø-e\_hkatëti

1→3-search-PRES-CERT\_A.RESPONS

I’ll search for it myself!

(10.175) wī\_hkatëti [wɪ:hatəti]

1PRO\_A.RESPONS

I’ll decide that for myself!



# 11 Types of possession

## 11.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at how different types of ownership and possession are expressed in Trio. The types of possessive, or ‘have’ constructions found in this chapter are the notions of immediate possession, as in, for example, ‘I have money on me’; temporary controlled possession, as in ‘I have enough of X that I can give some away’; and permanent possession which may be inherent, or acquired, as in ‘I have a father, a sister’ or ‘I have a house’ - the concept of alienability as found in some other languages is not relevant in Trio, rather Trio categorizes possession types along the temporal parameters of ‘now’, ‘temporary’ or ‘transient’, and ‘permanent’ as well as along some subparameters of ‘acquired’, ‘partial’ and others. In addition, ownership relations with regard to the real or perceived quality or nature of the possessum are encoded morphologically by means of suffixes meaning ‘good’, ‘nice’, ‘highly functional’. Physical and abstract possession types, to express having an illness or being in a certain psychological state, are encoded by means of the locative or instrumental postpositions, and are dealt with at the end of this chapter. The underlying structures of the main possessive expressions that are dealt with in the sections below are given in (11.1) - (11.3).

### (11.1) Immediate possession

| Possessum      | IS      | Possessor-LOC |
|----------------|---------|---------------|
| mararia epi    | nai     | ji-wein-je    |
| I have malaria | tablets | on me         |

### (11.2) Temporary controlled possession

| Possessum | its-owner     | IS  | Possessor |
|-----------|---------------|-----|-----------|
| wirapa    | entume        | nai | pahko     |
| my father | has some bows |     |           |

### (11.3) Permanent possession

| <i>tī</i> -Possessum-with | IS        | Possessor |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| tī-karakuri-ke            | nai       | jipawana  |
| my friend                 | has money |           |

## 11.2 Immediate possession

The notion of immediate possession is expressed in Trio by means of the locative postposition *weinje* [we<sup>1</sup>ɲe] marked by a possessive prefix to indicate the possessor (see section 6.2.16). The form *weinje* is an indeterminate locative which seems to be made up of a demonstrative nominalized with *-n* followed by a little-used locative marker *-je*; other similar forms are *seinje* ‘here, this side’ based on the proximal inanimate demonstrative formative *se* and *mëinje* ‘there, that side’ which is based on the medial inanimate demonstrative formative *më*. There is, however, no demonstrative formative *we*, and for this reason I use the gloss ‘side.NOM-LOC’ while pointing out that it does not refer to an anatomical ‘side’. The possessum is encoded as the subject of the verb *ei* ‘be’ as shown in the form *nai* ‘it is’ in (11.4a-b). If there is an overt possessor NP it occurs after the verb ‘be’ and is followed by the locative postposition as shown in (11.5). The certainty/noncertainty marking on the verb ‘be’, found in the examples in this chapter, is required on all finite verbs in Trio, for more details of how this system works, see 8.9.

- (11.4)a    *karakuri n-a-Ø-i ji-wein-je*  
 money 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-side.NOM-LOC  
 I have money on me (money is at/by me)
- b            *ë-panpira n-a-Ø-i ë-wein-je*  
 2POSS-paper 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2-side.NOM-LOC  
 have you got your letter (or I.D. card) on you? (is your letter on you?)
- (11.5)      *karakuri n-a-Ø-i ji-pawana wein-je*  
 money 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-friend side.NOM-LOC  
 my friend has money on him (money is at/by my friend)

Immediate possession can be negated either by means of suffixing the nominal negative marker *-ta* to the person-marked postposition *weinje*, as shown in (11.6a) where it is used contrastively with ‘it’s in my house’; alternatively, the most common answer to the question in (11.4b) is with the negative particle *waken* [wa\_ken: NEG\_DUR], literally meaning ‘there is not’, or with *waken* plus a repetition of the predicate as shown in (11.6b)

- (11.6)a    *owa, ji-wein-je-ta, ji-pakoro-tao n-a-Ø-i*  
 NEG.P 1-side.NOM-LOC-NEG 1POSS-house-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 no, not on me (I haven’t got it on me), it’s in my house
- b            *owa, wa\_ken (n-a-Ø-i ji-weinje)*  
 NEG.P NEG\_DUR 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-side.NOM-LOC  
 no, I haven’t (on me)

### 11.3 Temporary controlled possession

Temporary controlled possession expresses possession that is transient, that is, that the present owner has something to give away and that he is, so to speak, ‘in charge of’ the possessed object temporarily. This type of possession only allows an animate possessor, and is expressed by means of the construction *N entume* ‘N its.owner’ plus the possessor marked on the verb *ei* ‘be’. The noun *entu* (< *entu*) is the possessed form meaning ‘owner of’, ‘boss of’, ‘trunk of tree’, ‘foot of mountain’, and *-me* is the facsimile marker that in its grammaticalized function here indicates ‘being in a state of’ (for the facsimile, see section 4.8.5). The possessum is encoded as the dependent of the head-marked and facsimile-marked noun *entu*. The possessor, which must be animate, is encoded as a subject on the verb *ei* ‘be’, the construction is an equative one literally meaning, for example, ‘I am N’s owner’; some examples are given in (11.7a-d). When the possessor is encoded in an NP, that NP follows the verb ‘be’, as shown in (11.7b) and (11.7e), the latter of which was said when the speaker heard that the addressee wanted to buy a fishtrap. The type of ownership expressed by this construction is ‘I am the owner or boss of N’ which entails ‘having s/thing to spare’ or ‘having extra of something that you can give to someone else’. Thus, the object in question, the possessum, can ‘change hands’, and the ownership is transient. When used in the interrogative, the meaning of a question such as *paruru entume manan* [banana its.owner are.you] is not just ‘have you got bananas?’ rather it is ‘have you got some bananas for me?’ which if the answer is affirmative, then the ownership is a changeable state. What is possessed is simply something that belongs to the owner at the present time. The use of *-me* in the owner-of construction indicates a presently existing but not necessarily constant state. From a cultural point of view, an affirmative answer to a question posed with the *entume* construction entails that the owner will provide the person asking the question with the relevant object.

- (11.7)a    *maja* Ø-*entu-me* *w-a-Ø-e*  
 knife 3POSS-owner-FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I have a knife (I have one to give away)
- b        *karakuri* Ø-*entu-me* *n-a-Ø-i* *pananakiri*  
 money 3POSS-owner-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT whitemen  
 white people have (more than enough) money (i.e. have enough to  
 give us some too)
- c        *karakuri* Ø-*entu-me* *m-ana-Ø-n*  
 money 3POSS-owner-FACS 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 have you got (enough) money? (Have you got money to spare?)

- d po Ø-entu-me w-a-Ø-e, i-je m-ana-n  
clothes 3POSS-owner-FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 3-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
I have clothes (to sell, give away), do you want some?
- e masowe Ø-entu-me n-a-Ø-i Tunajana tahken  
fishtrap 3POSS-owner-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Tunayana maybe  
maybe the Tunayana people have fishtraps (for sale)

Temporary controlled possession is negated by means of the nominal negation marker *-ta* suffixed to the final element in the possessive construction, namely *entu-me*, as shown in (11.8a) which is a negative answer to the question in (11.7c) ‘have you got (enough) money?’. In fact it is also quite acceptable to use a pronoun in place of the finite verb ‘be’, as shown in (11.8b). An alternative negative construction may also be used here, namely the construction ‘I am money-less’, as shown in (11.9), which entails that not only does one not have extra money but that one does not have any money at all; this latter construction is dealt with in section 11.4.2 below.

- (11.8)a owa, (karakuri) Ø-entu-me-ta w-a-Ø-e  
NEG.P, money 3POSS-owner-FACS-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
no, I don’t have any (extra) money (or: I don’t have enough money)
- b owa, (karakuri) Ø-entu-me-ta wī  
NEG.P, money 3POSS-owner-FACS-NEG 1PRO  
no, I don’t have any (extra) money (or: I don’t have (enough) money)
- (11.9) owa, i-karakuri-nna w-a-Ø-e  
NEG.P 3POSS-money-LESS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
no I don’t have any money (at all)

#### 11.4 Permanent possession: the *tī-N-ke* construction

Permanent possession expresses the notion of either inherent or acquired possession. This type of possession is formed by means of a construction whereby the possessed noun is prefixed by the semantically bleached third person coreferential possessive prefix *tī-* and suffixed by the instrumental postposition *-ke*, whereby the possessor is expressed on the verb ‘be’, see examples (11.10a-c); for the instrumental postposition, see also section 6.3.2. Thus the notions of ‘having a father/mother’ and ‘having a hammock/house’ are treated in the same way — as stated above, the dichotomy alienability /inalienability is not expressed morphologically in Trio. The permanency element in this type of possession is such that an inherent relationship such as found with kinship and part-whole relations has permanency and in the case of acquired possession is such that one has a possession that is for the sole use or at the sole discretion of the owner. Permanent possession expresses a possessive notion akin to ‘being

equipped with N’ or ‘having enough of N for oneself’. There are no animacy restrictions on the possessor in this construction as shown in (11.10d) where the possessor is a lake which has a bridge over it which in turn has someone in charge of it. Furthermore some nominalized postpositions can also occur in this possessive construction as shown in (11.11) where the meaning is that the fish-trap had someone tampering with it. The possessive construction may become lexicalized as with, for example, the expression *tirepeke* [*irepe* ‘price, payment’], literally ‘with a price’ meaning ‘expensive’.

- (11.10)a *tī-papa-ke n-a-Ø-i, tī-mama-ke marē*  
 COREF-father-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT COREF-mother -INST also  
 he has a father and a mother too
- b *tī-maja-ke n-a-Ø-i Akurio meinjarē*  
 COREF-knife-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Akurio now  
 nowadays the Akuriyo have knives (are knife-equipped)
- c *tī-mēnparē-ke t-aaji-ke n-a-Ø-i wītoto*  
 COREF-things-INST COREF-necklace-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT human.being  
 the people have things, necklaces
- d *kawē n-a-Ø-i tī-nnepu-ke n-a-Ø-i*  
 high 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT COREF-bridge-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
*irē apo n-a-Ø-i i-nnepu*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-bridge  
*t-ēntu-ke n-a-Ø-i*  
 COREF-owner-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
*wītoto n-a-Ø-i Ø-entu-me*  
 human 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-owner-FACS  
 It (the lake) is high up, it has a bridge, this is what its bridge is like, it has someone in charge of it, a human being is the person in charge (it’s boss)
- (11.11) *tī-pēkē-n-ke t-ee-se masowe*  
 COREF-CONTACT.LOC-NOM-INST COREF.1TR-be-NF fishtrap  
 the fishtrap had someone at it (tampering with it)

In contrast to the temporary controlled type of possession given above, a question asked using the *tī-N-ke* construction is an information-seeking question rather than a question posed with the aim of buying or acquiring something oneself; compare the two sets of questions in (11.12a-d) and (11.13a-b) where in (11.13a-b) the difference between permanent and temporary possession is also expressed in the two words for ‘hammock’, namely the possessed form *ehke* ‘s/one’s hammock’ and *weitapi* ‘hammock (unpossessed)’.

- (11.12)a t-ëpëi-ke m-ana-Ø-n  
COREF-chair-INST 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
have you got a chair (in your house)?
- b ëpëi entu-me m-ana-Ø-n  
chair 3POSS-owner-FACS 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
have you got a chair (for me)?
- c tti-masowe-ke n-a-Ø-i  
COREF-fish.trap-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
has he got a fish-trap (is he equipped with a fish-trap)?
- d masowe Ø-entu-me n-a-Ø-i  
fish.trap 3POSS-owner-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
has he got a fish-trap (for giving away/selling)?
- (11.13)a t-ëhke-ke m-ana-Ø-n  
COREF-hammock-INST 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
have you got a hammock (do you own a hammock, are you be-  
hammocked)?
- b weitapi Ø-entu-me m-ana-Ø-n (\*ehke Ø-entu-me m-ana-Ø-n)  
hammock 3POSS-owner-FACS 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
have you got a spare hammock (that I can use)?

In the *ti-N-ke* construction described here the *ti-* is a semantically bleached possessive personal prefix that stays the same regardless of the person of the possessor, that is, it is non-referential; the possessor is encoded as a subject on the verb *e(i)* ‘be’. The possessive suffix *-ri* (see section 4.5.1 above) is not allowed in this construction. The final element in this construction, the instrumental postposition *-ke* expresses a comitative-like possessive relation, that is, plain unmodified possession, and as such is a highly productive means of expressing possession. However, the final element *-ke* also stands in a paradigmatic relation to other suffixes, given in (11.14a-e), which express specific aspects of permanent possession, such as ‘having “acquired”’, ‘having X partially’, ‘having and producing X from within / emanating X’, ‘having a highly functional or well-developed X’, and ‘having a nice X’. These suffixes, which in some cases are only found with very few nouns, are not productive and the possessive construction in most cases has become lexicalized.

- (11.14) a -je having ‘acquired’ (as opposed to permanent acquired): ACQ.POSS  
b -re having partially: HAVE.PART  
c -ne having/producing from within / emanating: EMANATE  
d -e having a highly-functional/well-developed): DEVELOP  
e -pore having a good / positive experience: POS.EXP

The final element *-je*, rather than *-ke*, is used with some nouns that drop the final syllable, such as *ëpi(tti)* ‘medicine’ the deverbal noun *-nmu(ku)* ‘child, (lit.

born one)’ and *-pi(tii)* ‘wife’, the latter two nouns of which must always be possessed, and the elided syllable is replaced by a lengthening of the final vowel of the stem, resulting in the forms given in (11.15a-c). It is unlikely that the phonological form of the final element *-je* is a result of the elided syllable since with one noun *waku* ‘stomach’ there is an additional syllable added, namely *tu*, see (11.15d). The reason for glossing this marker as ‘acquired’ is because the type of possession encoded in the morpheme *-je* expresses a sort of end-point-oriented acquisitional possession that may in some cases be culturally determined; it could be that having (acquired) a wife is regarded as different from having a husband since the female counterpart of (11.15b) ‘she is married (has a husband)’ is formed with the instrumental *-ke* as shown in (11.16). In addition, with ‘wife’ and ‘child’ the possessed element can be specified as to kind by means of the instrumental *-ke* in its basic instrumental sense, resulting in sentences such as those given in (11.17a-b) where in (11.17a) it is specified that the man had married a Wayana wife (literally: he was be-wifed by means of a Wayana woman); example (11.17b) is from a story where a man could not have his own children and since he wanted children so badly he used to raise animals’ children as his own, thus he was ‘be-childed’ by means of animal children; the transitive verb *arimika* ‘raise s/o’ is made up of the noun *arimi* ‘spider monkey’ plus the reversative verbalizer *-ka*, literally meaning ‘to de-monkey s/o’. When the Trio talk about their children ‘running wild’, they compare them to *arimi* ‘spider monkey’, much as the way in English when we refer to a child as ‘the little monkey’.

- (11.15)a *tii-n-mu:-je n-a-Ø-i*  
 COREF-3O-bear.NOM-ACQ.POSS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he has children
- b *tii-pi:-je n-a-Ø-i*  
 COREF-wife-ACQ.POSS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is married (he has a wife, is be-wifed)
- c *t-ëpi:-je n-a-Ø-i*  
 COREF-medicine-ACQ.POSS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he has (taken) medicine
- d *tii-wakutu-je n-a-Ø-i*  
 COREF-belly-ACQ.POSS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he has (gotten) a full belly (also: distended belly)
- (11.16) *t-iñjo-ke n-a-Ø-i*  
 COREF-husband-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 she is married (she is be-husbanded)
- (11.17)a *tii-pi:-je n-a-Ø-i Nowa Wajana-ke*  
 COREF-wife-ACQ.POSS Nowa 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Wayana-INST  
 Nowa is married to a Wayana woman (has a Wayana wife)

- b mēhparē i-n-muku t-arimi-ka-e i-ja  
 game.animal 3POSS-3O-bear.NOM COREF-spider.monkey-REVERS-NF 3-GOAL  
 nērē-ke\_rēken tī-n-mu-je t-ee-se  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-INST\_only COREF-3O-bear.NOM-ACQ.POSS COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he raised (game) animals' children, he had children by means of them

The suffix *-re* has a meaning of partial ‘possession’ as shown in the examples in (11.18a-c). The notion of partial possession as found in (11.18a), where it is implied that the pattern was a discrete one rather than one that covered the entire basket, contrasts with that being completely covered which is expressed by means of the two constructions given in (11.19a-b). At first sight the example in (11.18c) is hard to reconcile with a ‘partial’ meaning but it is not implausible that the Trio are more realistic than other cultures as regards the extent of the notion ‘well-known’ or ‘famous’.

- (11.18)a tī-menu-re tī-ka:-se i-ja  
 COREF-pattern-HAVE.PART COREF-weave-NF 3-GOAL  
 he wove it patterned (wove a pattern into the basket)
- b tapīime n-a-Ø-i wītoto t-oto-re t-oto-re  
 many.ANIM.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT human COREF-gap-HAVE.PART  
 there are many people, all (standing) scattered (lit. with gaps in-between them)
- c t-ēka-re t-ee-se  
 COREF-name-HAVE.PART COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 he had a name (was well-known)
- (11.19)a menu-tao\_ken marē i-mama  
 design-CONT.LOC\_DUR also 3POSS-mother  
 his mother was (totally) covered in designs too
- b menu-hpije t-ee-se  
 design-INFEST COREF.1TR-be-NF  
 she was covered with (infested by) designs

The suffix *-ne*, while it seems to have some degree of possessive meaning, also includes the idea of ‘producing’. It is likely that this suffix is related to the non-productive verbalizer *-na* ‘producing’ (see section 8.13.8). In fact it seems that the *-ne* has a more specific meaning along the line of ‘producing from within’ or ‘emanating from’, and it is for this reason that I have chosen to gloss it as *EMANATE*. That the *-ne* stands in a paradigmatic relation to the instrumental *-ke*, is evident from the example in (11.21) where the speaker was pointing out that a group of people in the spirit world also have spirit songs in their repertoire (just like the Trio do); compare this type of plain possession to that of the ‘emanating’ type found in (11.20a) with the same noun *ēremi* ‘spirit song’.

- (11.20)a t-ëremi-ne\_ken tī:-të-e  
 COREF-spirit.song-EMANATE\_DUR COREF.1TR-go-NF  
 he went singing a spirit song
- b tī-katī-ne n-a-∅-i  
 COREF-fat-EMANATE 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he is fat
- c tī-mu:-ne n-a-∅-i  
 COREF-root-EMANATE 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 it has (produces) a tuberous root
- d t-aro-ne n-a-∅-i tuna  
 COREF-foam-EMANATE 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT water  
 the water has foam (on it)
- (11.21) tapīime n-a-∅-i t-ëremi-ke  
 many.ANIM.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT COREF-spirit.song-INST  
 there are many (people), they have spirit songs

The suffix *-e*, which is used with a few body-part nouns, expresses the meaning ‘have highly developed X’, as shown in the examples in (11.22a-e). As can be seen in (11.22a-c) this possessive construction is used for three of the senses, sight, hearing, and smell, to express ‘having a heightened or well-developed sense of X’, and with the body-parts for different kinds of hair with the meaning ‘having a lot of hair’. The noun *ënu* ‘eye’ undergoes a change of the final vowel from *u* to *o* before suffixation by *e*. As with the examples (11.20a) and (11.21) above, when simple permanent possession is meant, these nouns can take the postposition *-ke* as shown in examples (11.23a-e).

- (11.22) a t-ëno-e (nai) s/he has a good eye (good sight)  
 tī-pana-e (nai) s/he has a good ear (good sense of hearing)  
 c t-oona-e (nai) s/he has a good sense of smell  
 d t-ëhpo-e (nai) he has a beard (a lot of facial hair)  
 e t-ïmo-e (nai) s/he has a lot of pubic hair
- (11.23) a t-ënu-ke (nai) s/he/it has an eye  
 b tī-pana-ke (nai) s/he/it has an ear  
 c t-oona-ke (nai) s/he/it has a nose  
 d t-ëhpo-ke (nai) he has a beard  
 e t-ïmo-ke (nai) s/he has pubic hair

The suffix *-pore* is used to express the idea of ‘having something nice’, and is marked here by the gloss POSITIVE EXPERIENCE. The noun to which it is attached is prefixed by the coreferential prefix *tī-*, and the possessor is encoded on the verb *ei* ‘be’, as shown in (11.24a-c).

- (11.24)a *tī-pakoro-pore w-a-∅-e*  
 COREF-house-POS.EXP 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I have a nice house (I am nicely-housed)
- b *meinjarë tī-nnepu-pore\_to n-a-∅-i poto-po-n-ton*  
 today COREF-bridge-POS.EXP\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT town-LOC-NOM-PL  
 townspeople have a nice bridge now
- c *tī-pata-pore w-a-∅-e*  
 COREF-village-POS.EXP 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I have a nice village

The suffix *-pore* is also suffixed to bare nominalizations (see 9.2.1) to express that an action is pleasing to the subject, whereby the experiencer subject, if present, is encoded on the goal postposition *-ja*, two examples are given in (11.25a-b) whereby the (a) example contains the first person experiencer marker on the goal postposition, and the (b) example is a general statement as to the quality of the sound in general, or the content of what is being said; the (b) example was uttered when the speaker had just heard that a new project had been approved.

- (11.25)a *t-ëne-pore wī-ja*  
 COREF-see.NOM-POS.EXP 1-GOAL  
 (this is good-seeing to me)  
 this looks good to me/ I like to see this
- b *t-ëta-pore n-a-∅-i serë*  
 COREF-hear.NOM-POS.EXP 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX  
 this sounds good (is good-hearing) / nice (this is good news)

#### 11.4.1 Nominalizations of permanent possession

The permanent possession constructions can be nominalized by means of the nominalizer *-mī* which reduces to *-n* word-finally where it is realized as a velar nasal. When followed by the nominal past tense marker *-npë*, the full form of the nominalizer is required; compare the non-past and past forms in (11.26a-e). The positive experience construction forms an exception in that it cannot be nominalized. The nominalizer *-mī* is the same as that used with the non-finite form of the verb that is used to expressed a non-witnessed past event or state, one which on these non-finite verbs I have termed candidate nominalizer to reflect the structure therein (see section 9.2.9). Structurally the non-witnessed past form of the verb is identical to the structure of the permanent possession type, namely, the coreferential prefix *tī-* is prefixed to the verb which is marked with a non-finite marker which has the allomorphy *-se*, *-je*, *-e*; an example is found in (11.27a), and as a nominalized form in (11.27b-c); see 8.14.4 and Carlin (forthc.). In section 8.14.5 I point out that the past non-witnessed construction is an event-centralthetic

construction where an entity-denoting element is attributed to a state of affairs, that is, a state of affairs is posited as existing in relation to entities that act as attributes to that state of affairs. The structural similarity between thethetic construction and the permanent possession construction begs the question of what syntactic status the latter has and whether or not what I have called the subject in the above sections, where I state that the possessed noun is prefixed by the semantically bleached third person coreferential possessive prefix *tī-* and suffixed by the instrumental postposition *-ke*, and the possessor is expressed on the verb ‘be’, is not in fact a purely attributive construction rather than the predicative construction I have presented it as being here. One immediate difference from the non-witnessed past is the fact that the verb ‘be’ in the permanent possessive construction can be tensed whereas the only form of the verb ‘be’ allowed with thethetic non-witnessed construction is the present tense and is mostly found in the third person, that is, *nai* ‘s/he /it is’. A fuller discussion of the parallels and the precise syntactic features of these constructions shall have to be left to a later date; however, see Carlin (forthc.).

|          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| (11.26)a | tī-karakuri-ke<br>tī-karakuri-ke-n<br>tī-karakuri-ke-mī-npë | has money (is monied)<br>one who has money<br>one who had money  |
| b        | t-aro-ne<br>t-aro-ne-mī<br>t-aro-ne-mī-npë                  | has foam<br>one with foam<br>one which had foam  |
| c        | tī-menu-re<br>tī-menu-re-mī<br>tī-menu-re-mī-npë            | having designs<br>one with designs<br>one formerly having designs  |
| d        | tī-pana-e<br>tī-pana-e-n<br>tī-pana-e-mī-npë                | with well-developed hearing<br>one with well-developed hearing<br>one formerly with well-developed hearing |
| e        | t-ëpi:-je<br>t-ëpi:-je-n<br>t-ëpi:-je-mī-npë                | (treated) with medicine<br>one (treated) with medicine<br>one formerly (treated) with medicine             |
| (11.27)  | a t-ëri:-se<br>b t-ëri:-se-n<br>c t-ëri:-se-mī-npë          | he perished<br>one to perish (one likely to perish)<br>a former one likely to perish                       |

#### 11.4.2 Permanent possession and negation

The permanent possession types are negated by means of structurally parallel constructions using the semantically bleached third person non-coreferential possessive prefix *i-* marked on a noun that is followed one of the suffixes *-nna*, *-ra*,

*-pora*, *-tīise*, and *-kiinje*, the latter two of which are found very seldom in the corpus and which seem to have positive rather than negative meaning although in form they pattern with the negative forms by taking the third person prefix *i-*. That the structures of the possessive and negative possessive constructions are complementary and parallel can be seen in the schema in (11.28); possession is expressed by the coreferential prefix on a noun followed by one of a number of suffixes and negative possession is expressed by the non-coreferential prefix on a noun followed by one of a number of suffixes. In addition, the suffixes express possession types; as can be seen in (11.28) there are six non-negative suffixes and five negative suffixes, and yet they are not opposites in meaning. The distribution of the suffixes is summarized in (11.29). The construction *i-N-nna* marks the negative of the plain possession type that is formed by means of the *tī-N-ke/-je/-re/-ne* constructions, whereby the suffix *-pora* is glossed in this work as NEGative EXPerience suffix; the notion ‘not having a highly-functional or well-developed X’ is the equivalent of ‘having a defective X’. Finally the final two negative suffixes seem to have the opposite meaning of each other, namely the construction *i-N-tīise* meaning ‘having a big X’ which entails ‘not having a small X’, and its opposite *i-N-kiinje* has the meaning ‘having a small X’ which is the equivalent of ‘not having a big X’.

(11.28) Possession structures

| 3 person coreferential possessive prefix |      | Suffix         | possessive type suffix                 |
|--|------|----------------|--|
| <b>tī-</b>                               | NOUN | <b>-ke</b>     | - having ‘permanent’                   |
|  |      | <b>-je</b>     | - having ‘acquired’                    |
|  |      | <b>-re</b>     | - having partially                     |
|  |      | <b>-ne</b>     | - having, producing within/emanating   |
|  |      | <b>-e</b>      | - having highly developed              |
|  |      | <b>-pore</b>   | - having good                          |
| 3 person possessive prefix               |      |                | possessive type negating suffix        |
| <b>i-</b>                                | NOUN | <b>-nna</b>    | - ‘-less’ (not having): -LESS          |
|  |      | <b>-:ra</b>    | - having defective: NEGative POTential |
|  |      | <b>-pora</b>   | - not having good: NEGative EXPerience |
|  |      | <b>-tīise</b>  | - not having small (having big)        |
|  |      | <b>-kiinje</b> | - not having big (having small)        |

(11.29)

|                     |   |                    |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|
| Affirmative         |   | Negative           |
| tī-N-ke/-je/-ne/-re | > | i-N-nna            |
| tī-N-e              | > | i-N-nna or i-N-:ra |
| tī-N-pore           | > | i-N-pora           |

The subject in the negative constructions is marked as the subject on the verb *e(i)* ‘be’. Some examples are given in (11.30) through (11.36), starting with the more general ‘X-less’ types in (11.30a-d). Where a noun drops its final syllable in the affirmative possessed form, for example, *-pi(tti)* ‘wife’ and *-nmu(ku)* in (11.15a-b) above, that syllable is obligatorily present in the negated form, as shown in (11.30c-d).

- (11.30)a    *i-po-nna n-a-∅-i*  
               3POSS-clothes-LESS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
               he has no clothes (he is clothes-less)
- b            *∅-erepa-nna n-a-∅-i*  
               3POSS-food-LESS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
               he has no food
- c            *i-n-muku-nna w-a-∅-e*  
               3POSS-3O-bear.NOM-LESS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
               I have no children
- d            *i-pīti-nna n-a-∅-i*  
               3POSS-wife-LESS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
               he isn’t married (he hasn’t got a wife)

Examples (11.31a-c) exemplify the ‘having defective X’ construction, whereby the degree of defectiveness is variable and context-dependent, that is, for example, *ipanara* ‘deaf’ can mean ‘totally deaf’ or simply ‘hard of hearing’. In this work the suffix *-:ra*, which causes lengthening of the immediately preceding vowel, is glossed as NEGATIVE POTENTIAL to highlight the meaning that one is ‘unable to X’ since the sense encoded in the body-part noun is defective; moreover, this is in keeping with the meaning that this suffix has when attached to a nominalized verb (see 9.2.4). The example in (11.31c) can be said of a mute person whether that muteness is congenital or acquired, for example, as a result of a cerebral lesion, and also of a child who can’t speak properly: the possessed counterpart with *(j)omi* ‘language, word’ is *tī-jomi-ta-e* ‘able to speak, have fully acquired language skills’ which, though similar in form and structure to the possessive constructions dealt with in this chapter, is actually a verbal form made up of *(j)omi* plus the terminative verbalizer *-ta* followed by the non-finite marker *-e*. When used with nominalized transitive verbs of the bare nominalization type, the suffix *-:ra* expresses the notion ‘unable to be Xed’, as shown in (11.32a-b), where a shaman was explaining that only he, in his transformed state, can hear the language of the spirits (of the dead in the spirit world) and also that these spirits are invisible to the non-shaman’s eye. See also below for the use of *-pora* with the meaning ‘impossible, difficult to be Xed’.

- (11.31)a i-pana:-ra w-a-Ø-e  
 3POSS-ear-NEG.POT 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am deaf (also: hard of hearing)
- b Ø-enu:-ra w-a-Ø-e  
 3POSS-eye-NEG.POT 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am blind (haven't got good eyesight)
- c i-j-omi:-ra n-a-Ø-i  
 3POSS-EU-language-NEG.POT 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he can't speak (or: can't speak well)
- (11.32)a Ø-eta:-ra n-a-Ø-i i-jomi  
 3POSS-hear.NOM-NEG.POT 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-EU-language  
 their language is inaudible
- b Ø-ene:-ra marë n-a-Ø-i wītoto  
 3POSS-see.NOM-NEG.POT 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT human  
 the people are invisible too

The abstract notions of 'blindness' or 'deafness' are formed by means of the the negated forms *enura* and *ipanara* respectively followed by the person-marked verb 'be' nominalized with the time/manner/place nominalizer *-topo*, as shown in (11.33a-b), followed by a contextual example in (11.34) where a man had been cured (literally stripped) of his blindness, where the nominalized verb 'be' with *-topo* is marked with the nominal past tense marker *-npë*.

- (11.33)a Ø-enura ji-w-eh-to  
 3POSS-eye-NEG.POT 1POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM  
 my blindness
- b i-pana-ra ë-w-eh-to  
 3POSS-ear-NEG.POT 2POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM  
 your deafness
- (11.34) t-ï-sika-e i-ja Ø-enu-ra i-w-eh-topo-npë  
 COREF-TR-extract-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-eye-NEG.POT 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PST  
 he stripped him of his blindness (took out of him his former being blind)

The construction *i-N-pora* [pɔɾa], the suffix of which has a long first vowel that is not represented orthographically, has the meaning 'not having good' or 'being badly Xed', and is the negative counterpart of the *tī-N-pore* construction. In keeping with the parallelism of the two structures, the suffix *-pora* is glossed here as NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE. The experiencer is marked as the subject on the verb *ei* 'be' as shown in (11.35a-b), or can occur as an independent pronoun as in (11.36).

(11.35)a i-pakoro-pora w-a-Ø-e  
 3POSS-house-NEG.EXP 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I don't have a nice house (I am not well-housed)

b i-pata-pora n-a-Ø-i  
 3POSS-village-NEG.EXP 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 he doesn't have a good village

(11.36) i-jeripo-pora ěmě  
 3POSS-baking.plate-NEG.EXP 2PRO  
 you have a bad baking plate

The *i-N-pora* construction can be also be used with nominalized verbs, namely with verbs of the bare nominalization type to express that something is ‘not good to X’ as shown in (11.37a-c) where in (11.37a) the meaning can range from ‘you don’t look well (are you ill?)’ to ‘you look terrible, go tidy yourself up’, and in (11.37b) the context can be that there is radio interference so it’s difficult to understand what is being said, or that that which has been heard is not what the speaker wants to hear. The experiencer, if overt, is marked on the goal postposition *-ja*, as shown in (11.37c) where the speaker was referring to how terrible someone’s cough sounded. This construction is also used with verbs marked with the reduced form of the Time Manner Place nominalization *-to(po)* to express a meaning close to that of the bare nominalization type, but more along the lines that something is ‘impossible (or difficult) to X’. Some examples are given in (11.38a-c). Example (11.38a) is from a story about *ineku*, a liana species used to poison the rivers in order to catch fish, in the guise of a human whose father wanted him to bathe, but he couldn’t because every time he did so he would kill the fish. In (11.38b) the subject is a creek that had become stagnant and so dirty that people could no longer bathe there, and this sentence is a general statement meaning ‘this is an impossible bathing place ...’

(11.37)a Ø-ene-pora m-ana-Ø-e  
 3POSS-see.NOM-NEG.EXP 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 you look terrible (you are not good to look at)

b Ø-eta-pora n-a-Ø-i serě  
 3POSS-hear.NOM-NEG.EXP 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX  
 this is bad news (not good to hear)

c Ø-eta-pora n-a-Ø-i wĭ-ja  
 3POSS-hear.NOM-NEG.EXP 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-GOAL  
 I don't like the sound of this (not good hearing to me)

(11.38)a i-w-e-pĭ-to-pora w-a-Ø-e  
 3POSS-1TR-MID-bathe-TMP.NOM-NEG.EXP 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I cannot bathe (it's impossible for me to bathe)

b i-w-epī-to-pora serē  
3POSS-1TR-MID-bathe-TMP.NOM-NEG.EXP DP.INAN.PROX

tī-kui-ta-e tuna i-w-ei-ke  
COREF-dirty-TERM-NF water 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST

this is an impossible place to bathe because the water has gotten to-  
tally dirty

c i:-tē-to-pora w-ei-ne  
3POSS.1TR-go-TMP.NOM-NEG.EXP 1→3.1TR-be-NR.PST  
I wasn't able to go (I couldn't go)

The apparently negative constructions with the suffixes *-kiinje* and *-tīise* were only found in my corpus on body parts, mostly genitalia; one example of each is given in (11.39) and (11.40).

(11.39) i-pun-kiinje ēmē oransi-po-n apo-ta  
3POSS-body-HAVE.SMALL 2PRO Holland-LOC-NOM like-NEG  
you have a small body, not like a Dutch person

(11.40) Ø-enu-tīise t-ee-se moono-me Ø-enu t-ee-se  
3POSS-eye-HAVE.BIG COREF.1TR-be-NF big-FACS 3POSS-eye COREF.1TR-be-NF  
he had a big eye, his eye was really big

#### 11.4.3 Negated possession and nominalization

The negative possessive constructions *i-N-*нна**, *i-N-*:ra**, and *i-N-*pora** are nominalized as *i-N-*mīn(i)**, *i-N-*pīn(i)**, and *i-N-*popīn(i)** respectively. These nominalized forms can also be found in section 9.5, but are repeated in short here to complete the picture. The final vowel of the suffixes is dropped word-finally but retained before the nominal past marker *-npē*. The nominalized construction *i-N-*mīn(i)** is used as the nominalized form of the *i-N-*нна** negative possession and expresses the meaning ‘someone without X’, as shown in (11.41a-b).

(11.41)a Ø-entu-mīn n-a-Ø-i serē pakoro  
3POSS-owner-PRIV.NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX house  
does this house not have an owner (is this house an ownerless one)?

b i-pata-mīn n-a-Ø-i nērē  
3POSS-village-PRIV.NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.ANIM.ANA  
he is a wanderer (one without a home)

The negative potential construction *i-N-*ra** is nominalized by means of the construction *i-N-*pīn**, which also nominalizes for person verbs with the bare nominalizer, compare the examples in (11.42a-c) where (11.42c) is the nominalized intransitive verb *erana* (< *ērana*) ‘laugh’.

- (11.42) a *i-pana-pīn* s/one who is deaf (has no hearing),  
           s/one who can't hear  
       b  $\emptyset$ -*enu-pīn* s/one who is blind (has no sight);  
           can also mean 'invisible'  
       c  $\emptyset$ -*erana-pīn* s/one who can't or doesn't laugh

The construction *i-N-popīn(i)* is the nominalized counterpart of the *i-N-pora* construction and carries the literal meaning 's/one without a good X', or 's/one with an ugly-looking X', see the examples in (11.43a-b). To my knowledge, this nominalized form cannot be used with verbs, unlike its non-nominalized counterpart *i-V-pora*.

- (11.43)a  $\emptyset$ -*enu-popīn nēē*  
           3POSS-eye-NEG.EXP.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
           he is one with an ugly (damaged) eye  
       b       *i-pakoro-popīn mēē*  
           3POSS-house-NEG.EXP.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
           he is one with a horrible(-looking) house

## 11.5 Physical and abstract possession

Since areas of illness or psychological state are generally subsumed under physical and abstract possession in the literature on possession, mainly because they are translated into English as 'have X', I am also including them in this final section to complete the picture of the concept HAVE from a European point of view. Since the concepts included here are based on postpositional constructions, I refer the reader to the section where the relevant postposition is discussed in earlier parts of this grammar.

Non-specific illness such as 'fever' is expressed by means of the instrumental postposition *-ke* in a comitative sense, meaning to 'be with fever', or 'be befevered' as shown in (11.44a-b); an alternative means of expressing that someone has a fever is by adding the intransitive sensory state verbalizer *-pa(mi)*, which reduces its final syllable to *n*, to the noun *kēi* 'fever', to express that someone is in a fevered state, as shown in (11.45); for the verbalizer *-pa(mi)*, see section 8.13.6. Psychological states, such as fear and shame are also expressed by means of the instrumental postposition *-ke*, as shown in (11.46a-b).

- (11.44)a *kēi-ke m-ana- $\emptyset$ -n*  
           fever-INST 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
           have you got a fever?  
       b       *kēi-ke n-a- $\emptyset$ -i pahko*  
           fever-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS.father  
           my father has a fever

(11.45) ni-kēi-pain-ja-n  
3→fever-SENS.STAT-PRES-NCERT  
he has a fever (he is feverish)

(11.46)a p̄i-ke w-a-∅-e  
shame-INST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I am embarrassed (I am with shame)

b nari-ke w-a-∅-e  
fear-INST 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I am afraid (I am with fear)

Specific illness, such as malaria, a cold, tuberculosis, in Trio culture is seen as an all-encompassing phenomenon, that is, an illness ‘takes/grabs s/one’, see (11.47), after which that person is ‘inside’ the illness which surrounds him/her, some examples are given in (11.48a-c) where the subject is the person who is ill, and the illness is marked with the container locative postposition *-(h)tao*. This conceptualization of an illness as something which surrounds one is analogous to the notion that the spirit world too is container-like in that spirits have the propensity to adhere themselves to a person’s personal space, thus also encompassing them.<sup>1</sup>

(11.47) j-apēi mararia  
3→1-take.PST malaria  
I have caught malaria (lit.: malaria has caught me)

(11.48)a mararia-tao w-a-∅-e  
malaria-CONT.LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I have malaria (I am in malaria, malaria is surrounding me)

b otono-tao w-a-∅-e  
cough-CONT.LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I have a cold (lit.: I am in cough(ing-state))

c otono-imē-tao n-a-∅-i  
cough-AUG-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
he has tuberculosis

The constructions given above are negated by means of the nominal negation marker *-ta* attached to the locative or instrumental marker, see (11.49a-d).

(11.49)a otono-tao-ta w-a-∅-e  
cough-CONT.LOC-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
I don’t have a cold

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1 For example, when a child falls on the ground, its mother picks it up and brushes down the immediate area surrounding the child’s body without actually touching the child’s body, thus rather than brushing off the dirt as would happen in most western cultures, any spirit powers which may have adhered themselves to the child’s body are brushed off. This custom is now being lost among younger women but still can be observed among older women.

- b            kēi-ke-ta n-a-Ø-i  
 fever-INST-NEG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 he hasn't got a fever
- c            p̄i-ke-ta w-a-Ø-e  
 shame-INST-NEG 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am not embarrassed (I am not with shame)
- d            nari-ke-ta eh-kē  
 fear-INST-NEG be-IMP  
 don't be afraid!

The container locative postposition *-(h)tao* is nominalized by means of the nominalizer *-n(o)*, as shown in (11.50). The postposition *-ke* in the experiencer construction 'be with shame, fear etc.' takes the nominalizer *-to* whereby the vowel of the postposition changes to *a*, as shown in (11.51); the nominalized form of the *-ke* expressions occurs only seldom in the corpus. See also sections 6.3.2 and 9.4.

- (11.50)    mararia-htao-n  
 malaria-CONT.LOC-NOM  
 malaria patient (someone who is in malaria)
- (11.51)    p̄i-ka-to mēe  
 shame-INST-NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is shy (an embarrassed person)



## 12 Syntax

The order of meaningful elements in Trio is in Greenbergian terms quite unusual, yet it is attested quite often at least in Amazonia. The basic word order is OVS when both O and S are overt nominals; this corresponds to Greenberg's Type VI. With one-argument verbs the S generally follows, but may precede the V for pragmatic reasons. Trio is postpositional, and although Trio does not have adjectives as such, the word order modifier-N is found when a demonstrative pronoun modifies a noun. In genitive constructions in Trio the order is possessor possessum and there is head marking. Numerals can precede or follow the noun. Polar questions are posed by means of a rising intonational contour, and in WH questions, the question word is almost always clause-initial. In general in discourse, new information is always at the beginning of the clause. Many of the syntactic features of Trio have been described in previous sections of this grammar and thus only a summary is given in the following. This chapter starts with an overview of clause types and word order of constituents within the clause types, followed by the internal structure of the noun phrase and the postpositional phrase. Finally some set expressions such as greetings are given at the end of this chapter.

### 12.1 Clause types

There are four basic types of clauses in Trio, namely verbal clauses, clauses with the verb 'be', non-verbal clauses, and quotative clauses. The first category includes intransitive and transitive clauses, see (12.1a-b) respectively. In the second type, the complement of the verb 'be' can be locative or adverbial as shown in (12.1c-d). The non-verbal clauses consist minimally of a pronoun or noun, and maximally of two noun phrases, one of which consists of a pronoun; these clause types are equational or identificational, see (12.2a-b). Finally quotative clauses are formed with a form of the verb *ka* 'say' postposed to quoted speech, as illustrated in (12.3). All the verbal clauses require the verb to be marked, by means of portmanteau prefixes, for person, that is, S on intransitive verbs and A and O on transitive verbs. Athetic construction based on a non-finite form of the verb which functions as a past non-witnessed evidential construction is dealt with separately in section 12.1.6 below. Each of the clause types is dealt with below.

- (12.1)a n-ere-ta-n j-injo  
3→liver-TERM-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-husband  
my husband is resting
- b kanawa Ø-rī-ja-n pahko  
boat 3→3-do-PRES-NCERT 1POSS.father  
my father is making a boat
- c se-n-po n-a-Ø-i j-eemi  
DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-pres-NCERT 1POSS-daughter  
my daughter is here
- d aipime n-a-Ø-i namo\_ro i-j-omi  
fast.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT 3POSS-EU-language  
the language of those ones is harsh
- (12.2)a wī\_rē  
1PRO\_ASSERT  
(it's) me!
- b pata entu wī  
village 3POSS-owner 1PRO  
I am the village leader
- (12.3) ěmume w-a-Ø-e n-ka-Ø-n  
sad.FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
“I am sad” she says

### 12.1.1 Basic word order in intransitive clauses

In intransitive clauses there is only one argument involved, namely the subject (S). The unmarked position for the S is following the verb, as shown in (12.4a). When the subject is introduced as new information it is often placed before the verb as shown in (12.5a-b) whereby the subject is followed by a slight but perceptible pause. The verb is marked with the personal prefix of the intransitive set of prefixes; all finite verbs in the non-past must be marked with one of the evidentiality suffixes *-nē* for non-certainty, and *-e* for certainty, see section 8.9. Pronouns are generally only used for emphasis or contrast, thus an intransitive clause can consist simply of a person-marked verb, as in (12.6).

- (12.4)a n-erana-Ø-n wēri  
3→laugh-PRES-NCERT woman  
the woman is laughing
- (12.5)a wēri n-erana-Ø-n  
woman 3→laugh-PRES-NCERT  
the woman is laughing
- b nī-wa-Ø-n\_to j-akērē, wēri nī-wa-Ø-n  
3→dance-PRES-NCERT\_PL 1-COM woman 3→dance-PRES-NCERT  
they dance with me, the women dance

- (12.6) j-ere-ta-Ø-e  
 1→liver-TERM-PRES-CERT  
 I am resting

Any adverbials or adjuncts that occur are placed on either side of the verb, according to the discourse rule of placing new or topical information at the front of the clause. No adverbial can occur between the verb and the subject unless the subject is postposed as an afterthought and thus is not within the core of the clause. Thus the intensifier *kutuma*, as given in (12.7) can occur before or after the verb but if it occurs after the verb then the postposed subject is mentioned as an afterthought and must be preceded by a pause. Locative or temporal adjuncts can occur before or after the core of the clause, as shown in (12.8).

- (12.7)a kutuma n-erana-Ø-n wëri  
 INTENS 3→laugh-PRES-NCERT woman  
 the woman is laughing hard

- b n-erana-Ø-n kutuma, wëri  
 3→laugh-PRES-NCERT INTENS woman  
 she laughing hard, the woman

- (12.8)a meinjarë n-ere-ta-Ø-n wëri ti-pakoro-tao  
 now 3→liver-TERM-PRES-NCERT woman 3COREF-house-CONT.LOC  
 the woman is resting in her house now

### 12.1.2 Basic word order in transitive clauses

Transitive clauses obligatorily encode at least two actants and a state of affairs obtaining between them. The actants in a transitive clause shall be referred to in the following as A (agent), and O (object). Lexical agents and objects are optional and tend only to occur when new participants or information is required, for example, for clarification or elaboration purposes, that is, they are discourse- and context-dependent, and clauses such as (12.9a-b) are common where both arguments are only encoded on the personal prefix on the verb and are recoverable from the context. However, both A and O may be encoded lexically, and if so, the object noun precedes the verb and the agent noun follows the verb, as shown in (12.10a-b), or when only the object argument is overt, then it precedes the verb as shown in (12.10c). This gives us the word order OVA as the unmarked basic word order; there are in fact permutations according to pragmatic markedness such as focus and new information, for which see below. With transitive verbs in the imperative, the object precedes the verb, see (12.11a-b).

- (12.9)a n-ene-Ø-n  
 3→3-see-PRES-NCERT  
 he sees him

- b w-enee-ja-e  
1→3-bring-PRES-CERT  
I'm bringing it (I'll bring it)
- (12.10)a tuna-rēken Ø-enī-ja-n kaikui  
water-only 3→3-drink-PRES-NCERT dog  
the dog is drinking (only) water
- b katari Ø-enee-ja-n wēri-ton  
basket 3→3-bring-PRES-NCERT woman-PL  
the women are bringing baskets
- c j-ekī w-apē-i  
1POSS-pet 1→3-take-NR.PST  
I caught my pet
- (12.11)a i-munkē-ton Ø-apēh-kē  
3POSS-sons-PL 3O-take-IMP  
take (grab) his sons!
- b aipīme ë-j-omi tiri-kē i-ja:-ne  
fast.FACS 2POSS-EU-language 3O.do-IMP 3-GOAL-PL  
speak strong (assertive) language to them! (make your language harsh to them!)

As shown above, when only the object is lexically overt, then it generally occurs before the verb; however, it can occur after the verb but only either if it is less prominent in discourse than the information being given in the verb, or if it is presented as an afterthought, whereby there is a perceptible pause between the verb and the postposed object. To illustrate, compare the examples in (12.12a-b) where example (12.12a) is a neutral statement, whereas the sentence in (12.12b) has the verb *eta* 'understand' in focus and was uttered in a context of someone disagreeing with a law the village leadership had brought into force but which was not generally accepted. Example (12.13a) shows the neutral statement where both the daughter and the seeing are new information; in (12.13b), on the other hand, the daughter is already known information since she was mentioned in the discourse previously, and is thus presented as an afterthought to the new information that the speaker had seen her. Likewise when a question is posed, the element in focus occurs in initial position in the answer, thus resulting in a subject occurring before the verb, as shown in (12.14b) which was an answer to the question in (12.14a) 'who tells (about) that?'

- (12.12)a i-j-omi w-eta-Ø  
3POSS-EU-language 1→3-hear-I.PST  
I (have) understood him (his language = what he said)

b w-eta-∅ i-j-omi  
 1→3-hear-I.PST 3POSS-EU-language  
 I (have) understood him (but I still don't agree)

(12.13)a ë-emi w-ene-∅  
 2POSS-daughter 1→3-see.I.PST  
 I saw your daughter

b w-ene-∅ ë-emi  
 1→3-see.I.PST 2POSS-daughter  
 I saw her, your daughter

(12.14)a a-kī n-i-pono-ja-n  
 Q-ANIM 3→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT  
 who tells it?

b Tuhtinpē n-i-pono-ja-n  
 proper.name 3→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT  
 Tuhtinpē tells it

In the third person, whenever there is an overt O preceding the verb, the personal prefix on the verb is dropped, as shown in (12.10a-b). If for pragmatic or discourse-relevant reasons the A is in clause-initial position then the prefix is not dropped as shown in (12.15) where *kīri* ‘man’ is in initial position because a man carrying a basket is not a usual sight, and thus the new information is in focus position clause-initially. Thus when an NP precedes the transitive verb in the third person the presence of the personal prefix on the verb indicates that that NP is the subject NP, whereas the lack of a personal prefix indicates that the NP in preverbal position is an object; compare the examples in (12.16a-b) where the presence of the third person prefix *n-* in (12.16b) indicates that the preceding noun is the subject of the clause.

(12.15) kīri n-arë-∅-n katari  
 man 3→3-take-PRES-NCERT basket  
 the *men* are carrying the baskets

(12.16)a wītoto ∅-i-pijo-ja-n pahko  
 human.being 3→3-TR-whip-PRES-NCERT 1POSS.father  
 my father is beating the Amerindian

b wītoto n-i-pijo-ja-n pahko  
 human.being 3→3-TR-whip-PRES-NCERT 1POSS.father  
 the Amerindian is beating my father

Speech act participants, that is, first, second and 1+2 persons are only expressed lexically as pronouns when emphasis is required, in which case they can be fronted and are followed by a pause, indicated by a comma in (12.17a), or they can be postposed to the verb and are preceded by a pause as in (12.17b).

- (12.17)a *ëmë, m-i-pono-Ø*  
 2PRO 2→3-TR-tell-I.PST  
*you told it*
- b *ëkëi w-ene-Ø, wī*  
 snake 1→3-see-I.PST 1PRO  
*I saw the snake*

### 12.1.3 Clauses with the verb ‘be’

The verb *e(i)* ‘be’, as pointed out in 8.11, tends to occupy the second position in the clause. The new information that is given is always clause-initial. The verb *e(i)* ‘be’ is used in existential clauses as shown in (12.18a-b) where in (12.18b) the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ is used in conjunction with an existential demonstrative pronoun *tëërë*, the origin of which is unclear; this demonstrative always occurs with the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ and its meaning is existential in the sense of ‘out there somewhere’. The verb ‘be’ is also used with a locative complement as shown in (12.19a-b). The verb *e(i)* ‘be’ can also take an adverbial complement, as shown in (12.20a-c), where the facsimile-marked element in (12.20a) expresses transient state, literally ‘I am in a state of happiness’, see section 4.8.5; the adverb in (12.20b) *maa* ‘far’ is a monomorphemic adverb, see section 10.2.1, and the construction in (12.20c) expresses permanent possession, for which see 11.4. The existential, locative, and adverbial complements, as shown in the examples below, always precede the verb ‘be’.

- (12.18)a *i-pëkërë n-a-Ø-i tuwee-me*  
 3-following 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT two-FACS  
*there are two ways (to do it)*
- b *pai Ø-epo-ne-npë tëërë \_nkërë n-a-Ø-i*  
 tapir 3POSS-find-A.NOM-PST DP.LOC\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
*there is in existence yet another (story of a) person who met tapir*
- (12.19)a *irë-po n-a-Ø-i pata*  
 DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village  
*there is a village there*
- b *se-n-po w-a-Ø-e*  
 DP.INAN.PROX-NOM-LOC 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
*I’m here*
- c *tī-pakoro-tao n-a-Ø-i*  
 3COREF-house-CONT.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
*he is in his (own) house*
- (12.20)a *sasame w-a-Ø-e*  
 happy.FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
*I am happy*



(12.23c-d). This type of equative clause is generally interchangeable with the verb ‘be’ clauses given above, for example, (12.23c) could equally correctly be rendered as (12.24).

- (12.23)a *wī\_rě*  
1PRO\_ASSERT  
 it’s me!
- b *a-kī mē-kī*  
Q-ANIM DP.AUD.N.VIS-ANIM  
 who is that?
- c *Tarēno mēe*  
Trio 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is a Trio
- d *ėkėi-pėkė-n nėrė*  
snake-CONTACT.LOC-NOM 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 he is an animal trader
- (12.24) *Tarēno n-a-∅-i mēe*  
Trio 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 he is a Trio

In identificatory sentences where two full nouns are required, a non-verbal clause may be juxtaposed with a noun as an afterthought, as shown in (12.25); the pronoun *mēe* can refer to both a masculine or a feminine referent, and thus the addition of *kīri* ‘man’ is used to disambiguate by specifying the referent.

- (12.25) *Tarēno mēe, kīri*  
Trio 3PRO.ANIM.PROX man  
 he’s a Trio, the man

### 12.1.5 Quotative clauses

There is no indirect speech in Trio, thus a quotative clause is formed by stating verbatim what was said, and adding ‘he said’, ‘they said’ etc. after the quoted speech, as shown in (12.26a-b), where in the (b) example an instance is given of quoting already quoted speech. After quoted speech the prefix on the verb ‘say’ may optionally be dropped, as shown in the plural-marked form in (12.26b), reflecting the transitive status of the verb ‘say’. For quoting speech from a second-hand source which uses a nominalized form of the verb *ka* ‘say’, see section 9.2.4.

- (12.26)a *antīnao n-a-∅-i wī-ja n-ka-∅-n*  
deep.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-GOAL 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
 “that’s difficult for me” he says

b irë n-a-Ø-i kutuma injetun-me  
 DP.INAN.ANA 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT illness-FACS

Ø-ka-Ø-n\_to wī-ja n-ka-Ø-n  
 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL 1-GOAL 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

“‘that is a terrible illness’ they told me”, she says

### 12.1.6 Thethetic past non-witnessed construction

Not all clause types in Trio consist of a finite tensed verb and a clear-cut subject-predicate structure in a main clause, rather most embedded clauses in Trio are formed by means of nominalized verbs that mark the arguments of that nominalized verb as possessor subject or object, these are dealt with in the section on embedded clauses below. In addition there is at least one construction in Trio that has its O and S arguments present as attributes to the verbal core and the A argument marked as an oblique; this is a thetic construction that is used to express a past event not witnessed by the speaker. The thetic past non-witnessed construction and its underlying structure were described in sections 8.14.4 and 8.14.5 and some characteristics are repeated here in summary. The past non-witnessed construction is formed by means of the non-finite form of the verb which is prefixed by a semantically bleached third person coreferential prefix *tī-* and then suffixed by the non-finite marker *-se* or ones of its allomorphs (*-Ø*, *-e*, *-je*). Underlyingly there is a form of the verb *e(i)* ‘be’ marked for person and the present tense, that is, *nai* ‘s/he /it is’ or *wae* ‘I am’, which is elided although it is still found in the speech of older speakers. In fact, only the third and the first person forms of the verb ‘be’ have been found in the corpus in this construction. An example of an intransitive, a middle, and a transitive verb in the past non-witnessed construction is given in (12.27a-c).

(12.27)a t-onota-e (n-a-Ø-i) kanawa-imë  
 COREF-fall-NF (3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT) boat-AUG  
 the plane landed (I didn’t see it)

b t-e:-pahka-e n-a-Ø-i i-maanini  
 COREF-1TR.MID-break-NF (3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT) 3POSS-ankle  
 his ankle is broken

c j-eemi-ton t-ërë-e ë-munkë-tomo-ja  
 1POSS-daughter-PL COREF-carry-NF 2POSS-sons-PL-GOAL  
 your sons took my daughters (and I didn’t see it).

This thetic construction is so called because it does not form an Aristotelean type predication, that is, it does not consist of a subject-predicate, rather the event (or state) expressed in the verb is posited as an occurrence (or state) and the actants

around this event are attributes to the event. The focus of this construction is the event or state expressed in the verb, that is, it is ‘set’ in space without any anchoring in time or space. The actants are placed outside of the basic structure as attributes; in order to attribute an entity or participant to the state of affairs posited, that entity is preposed to the event in the case of a transitive verb, and either preposed or postposed to the verb in the case of a one-argument verb, depending on whether or not that element is in focus or wielding new information. As I have pointed out in several places in this grammar nominalized and non-finite verbs remain sensitive to the argument structure of the verb; the only argument possible with a one-argument verb is the S, the argument with the closest link to the verb in a two-argument verb is the object and all other arguments are obliquely marked. The bipartite division subject-predication is thus avoided by means of an attributive construction where the A argument is allocated an oblique, and thus non-central position.

Since the entities that are attributes are not participating in a subject-predicate structure I have represented their attribute status as suffixed by *-wise* in the English representation given in the schematic structure in (12.28), taking a number of random verbs for exemplification purposes. For example, to take the verb ‘arrive’ we can claim that an event of arriving exists and the attribute of the verb ‘arrive’ is ‘woman’, hence ‘arriving exists woman-wise’. Any other participant or entity involved must have oblique status, that is, for example, location or direction with the one-argument verbs as shown in (12.29a). With two-argument verbs, for example, to take the verb ‘bring’, we can posit a statement ‘bringing exists’; the attribute consists of the relevant new information which is what is being brought, that is, we can recognize the statement ‘bringing exists basket-wise’. As was shown in Chapter 9, it is always the object that is marked on a nominalized transitive verb, and here too, though not marked on the verb itself since the third person prefix *ti-* is a non-referential prefix, it is the object that is the salient entity. Any other arguments that are marked are, as with the one-arguments verbs marked as obliques, thus the underlying agent, that is, who is bringing the baskets, and an underlying recipient if relevant, are marked as oblique arguments on the goal postposition *-ja*, as shown in (12.29b-c). The underlying structure since it is not a subject-predicate, can be phrased as ‘bringing exists basket-wise in relation to X’, whereby X has multiple reference possibilities such as an agent who does the bringing, a goal of the bringing, that is, the person the baskets were brought to, or a locative entity, such as where the baskets were brought to, etc. The order of two goal marked entities such as given in (12.29b-c) is generally the least oblique first, then the others, although some ambiguity may remain as in (12.29c); if the status of the entities is ambiguous, as

possibly could be the case with example (12.29c), sometimes speakers revert to the present tense and ask *akī nipoŋoŋan?* ‘who tells it?’.

- (12.28) Non-core participants  
                   [State of Affairs EXIST]  
                                   [arriving]           woman-wise           In relation to:  
                                   [going]            woman-wise           Location  
 basket-wise       [bringing]   Agent, Recipient,  
                                   [dreaming]   Location
- (12.29)a *tī-tunta-e wēri ēkēmē i-pata-pona*  
 COREF-arrive-NF woman snake-AUG 3POSS-village-DIR  
 the woman arrived at the anacondas’ village
- b       *katari t-ēnee-se wēri-ja mekoro i-pītī-ja*  
 basket COREF-bring-NF woman-GOAL Maroon 3POSS-wife-GOAL  
 the woman brought the basket to the Maroon’s wife
- c       *irē apo t-ī-pono:-se tamutupē-ja nērē-ja*  
 DP.INAN.ANA like COREF-TR-tell-NF old.man-GOAL 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-GOAL  
 that how the old man told it to him

With intransitive verbs, it is the only available argument that that governs coreferentiality, if it is relevant; that is, in a sentence such as ‘the woman arrived at her village’ the oblique is marked with the coreferential *tī-*, as shown in (12.30). With transitive verbs, it is the oblique (A) argument that controls coreferentiality, for example, the sentence ‘the man saw his son’ has the structure ‘seeing exists his-own-son-wise in relation to the man’, as shown in (12.31a-b), where in the (b) example, the oblique-marked agent controls coreference over the second oblique, namely the goal or recipient NP.

- (12.30)a *tī-tunta-e wēri tī-pata-pona*  
 COREF-arrive-NF woman 3COREF-village-DIR  
 the woman arrived at her (own) village
- (12.31)a *tī-n-muku t-ēne- i-ja*  
 3COREF-3O-bear.NOM COREF-see-NF 3-GOAL  
 he saw his own son
- b       *katari t-ēnee-se wēri-ja t-ēemi-rī-ja*  
 basket COREF-bring-NF woman-GOAL 3COREF-daughter-POSS-GOAL  
 the woman brought the basket to her own daughter

## 12.2 Noun phrases

In Trio, modifying elements precede the head noun. Trio is a head-marking language and the possessor in genitive constructions precedes the possessed noun

which is marked with a possessive prefix. General quantifiers, such as *tapiime* ‘many (animate)’, *ijeta* and *tipuse* ‘many (inanimate)’, *pijasa* ‘few’, and *amerarë* ‘all’ precede the head they modify; the quantifier *wararë* ‘all’, ‘(each and) every’ forms an exception in two ways, namely it cannot occur on its own and it always follows its head. The original Trio numerals can precede or follow the head whereby if they follow the head there is a pause before the numeral; in addition all loan numerals, that is, all those above the original Trio numeral *ëkënë* ‘two’, are obligatorily marked by the facsimile suffix *-me* (see section 10.7) in post-head position. The head of a noun phrase can be either a noun, a nominalized verb, or a pronoun.

### 12.2.1 Pre-head modification

Pre-head nominal modification in Trio ranges from a rather limited expression of a demonstrative adjective or an adverb preceding a noun, through a modifying quantifier preceding the head to possessive genitive construction whereby the possessor precedes the head. These are taken in turn below. The inanimate demonstrative pronouns in an adjectival function must precede the nominal head as shown in the examples in (12.32a-d). The general quantifiers occur before the head as shown in examples (12.33a-d); the quantifier *wararë* ‘every, all’ differs from the other quantifiers in that it follows its head, and is given in section 12.2.3.

- |         |   |              |                        |
|---------|---|--------------|------------------------|
| (12.32) | a | serë pata    | this village           |
|         | b | serë panpira | this book              |
|         | c | mërë pakoro  | that (medial) house    |
|         | d | irë pakoro   | that (anaphoric) house |

- (12.33)a *tapiime wītoto t-ee-se pena*  
 many.ANIM.FACS human COREF.1TR-be-NF long ago  
 there were many Amerindians long ago

- b *ijeta ěremi ji-warë*  
 many.INAN spirit.song 1-know  
 I know many spirit songs

- c *pija\_sa panpira t-ěnee-po-e i-ja:-ne*  
 little\_DIM book COREF-bring-CAUS-NF 3-GOAL-PL  
 they sent few books

- d *amerarë tuna i-hkěrěn-ma-tuwě*  
 all water 3POSS-destroy.INCH.STAT.NOM-ANT  
 after all the water has been destroyed

The adverbs *mono* ‘big’, *pija* ‘small’, and *kainan* ‘new’ can act as modifiers of a noun in which case they precede the noun as shown in (12.34a-c). While the ad-

verbs *mono* ‘big’ and *kainan* ‘new’ are both nominal adverbs in form as evidenced by the fact that they end in the nominalizer *-n(o)*, their nominal root is indeterminable synchronically. Other adverbs must first be nominalized before they can modify a noun, these are dealt with in section 12.2.4 below.

- (12.34)a *mono konopo n-e:-ja-n*  
 big.NOM rain 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 heavy rain is coming
- b *pija tuna n-a-Ø-i*  
 small water 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 there is little water
- c *kainan pakoro Ø-rī-ja-n*  
 new.NOM house 3→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
 he is building a new house

### 12.2.2 Nominal possession: N i-N

Genitive constructions are also formed by juxtaposing two nouns, a possessor and a possessum, whereby the head, that is, the possessed noun must be marked with the possessive prefix *i-*. The order of the elements in Trio is possessor-possessed. Compare the examples in (12.35a-c). The dependent of a possessed phrase can be a pronoun as shown in (12.36a-b); however, when SAP pronouns are involved, mostly for purposes of emphasis or contrast, then the possessive prefix on the head agrees in person with the pronoun as shown in (12.37a-c). As stated above, a genitive construction has a high degree of definiteness.

- (12.35)a *Tarēno i-pawana*  
 Trio 3POSS-friend  
 the Trio’s friend (also: the Trios’ friend/s)
- b *kīrī i-mēnparē*  
 man 3POSS-things  
 the man’s things
- c *Pokari i-pakoro*  
 proper.name 3POSS-house  
 Pokari’s house
- (12.36)a *nēre i-pī*  
 3PRO.ANIM.ANA 3POSS-wife  
 his (that one’s) wife
- b *mēe i-pata*  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3POSS-village  
 his village

- (12.37)a wī j-injo  
 1PRO 1POSS-husband  
*my* husband
- b ěmě ě-pawana  
 2PRO 2POSS-friend  
*your* friend
- c kīmě kī-moitī  
 1+2PRO 1+2POSS-kin  
*our* family

The dependent in a possessive noun phrase can also be a possessed noun as shown in (12.38a-b). In principle, and in practice especially when referring to kinship relations, there can be long concatenations of possessive noun phrases as shown in (12.39a-b).

- (12.38)a j-injo i-papa  
 1POSS-husband 3POSS-father  
 my husband's father
- b ě-pawana i-mĕnparĕ  
 2POSS-friend 3POSS-things  
 your friend's stuff
- (12.39)a ainja i-mama i-wĕi Ø-eemi-hpĕ  
 1+3PRO 3POSS-mother 3POSS-older.sister 3POSS-daughter-PST  
 our mother's older sister's deceased daughter  
 (the deceased daughter of our mother's older sister)
- b ainja i-papa i-wĕi Ø-injo Ø-akĕmi  
 1+3PRO 3POSS-father 3POSS-older.sister 3POSS-husband 3POSS-younger.brother  
 our father's older sister's husband's younger brother

While most nominals can be possessed by the means given above, there are certain nominals that cannot occur as the head of a genitive N i-N phrase, namely the following: (i) kinship terms that already are possessed, that is, those nouns that end in the element *-ko* that are used as both the possessed form in the first person and in the vocative, as shown in (12.40a). The examples in (12.40b) shows how *pahko* 'my father' is allowed as the dependent in a possessive noun phrase whereas as shown in (12.40c) it cannot occur as the head. Example (12.40d) shows how the non-first person term for father, namely *papa* is the only form of this word that can occur as the head in possessive phrases. (ii) Certain nominalizations likewise are not permissible as the head of a possessive phrase, namely, the *-ton(o)* 'someone skilled in X' nominalization; the person nominalization of intransitive verbs *i-V-ke(ti)*, and the gerundive *-nĕ* nominalization.

- (12.40)a pahko ‘my father’ or ‘father!’  
 manko ‘my mother’ or ‘mother!’  
 wëiko ‘my older sister’ or ‘older sister!’  
 piihko ‘my older brother’ or ‘older brother!’  
 minko ‘my darling’ or ‘darling!’
- b pahko i-pawana  
 1POSS.father 3POSS-friend  
 my father’s friend
- c \*ji-pawana pahko  
 1POSS-friend 1POSS.father
- d ji-pawana i-papa  
 1POSS-friend 3POSS-father  
 my friend’s father

Nominalized postpositions can act as the dependent in a possessive phrase, as shown in (12.41), but they cannot themselves be the head of a possessive noun phrase, although formally they would seem to have the same structure as an N i-N phrase, as shown in (12.42a-b). The scope of the possessive with postpositional phrases, whether nominalized or not, is the noun to which the postposition is attached and not its nominalization, thus in example (12.42a), the meaning is not ‘Akaraman’s person along the path’, but rather ‘the person going along *Akaraman’s path*’; similarly in (12.42b) the head of the second possessive phrase is *i-wëi* ‘(her) older sister’ and not the nominalization of the postposition. In fact it is not the postposition itself which is nominalized, rather it is the entire postpositional phrase, and as such nominalized postpositional phrases cannot be possessed but they can function as the dependent of a genitive phrase as shown in (12.43).

- (12.41) j-eema-tae-no-npë i-kaimo  
 1POSS-path-PERL-NOM-PST 3POSS-game  
 the (shot) game of the one who was on my path
- (12.42)a Akaraman Ø-eema-tae-no-npë  
 proper.name 3POSS-path-PERL-NOM-PST  
 the former one on Akaraman’s (King Vulture) path (the one who was on Akaraman’s path)  
 \*Akaraman’s former one on the path
- b ainja i-mama i-wëi-tae-no-npë nërë  
 1+3PRO 3POSS-mother 3POSS-older.sister-PERL-NOM-PST 3PRO.ANIM.ANA  
 that one is our mother’s older sister’s child who’s now deceased  
 (deceased one born of our mother’s older sister)

- (12.43) Akaraman Ø-eema-tae-no-npë i-pata  
 proper.name 3POSS-path-PERL-NOM-PST 3POSS-village  
 the village of the person who was on Akaraman's path

Other nominals that cannot act as the head of a possessive phrase are the nominalized permanent possessive constructions of the type *tī-N-ke-mī* and the structurally similar candidate nominalization that is derived from the past non-witnessed non-finite form of the verb, namely *tī-V-se-mī*.

### 12.2.3 Post-head modification

Post-head modification of the depictive type is found when a noun or pronoun is placed in apposition to another nominal whereby both agree referentially and syntactically. Semantically the head is followed by a nominal specification as to type, for example, 'we, the forest people', 'the female teacher'. The specifying post-head nominal is obligatorily marked with the facsimile *-me*, as shown in (12.44a-c). In general, the corpus contains more cases where the head in appositions is a pronoun. Numerals modify a noun or pronoun in the same way, as shown in (12.45a-b) where the pronoun is modified by a postposed numeral. Example (12.45b) shows a case of two consecutive appositions with a postposed numeral and a noun, both marked with the facsimile *-me*. The order in which the elements appear in the linear sequence is fixed, and is as given in (12.45b), that is, head-numeral-noun.

- (12.44)a *ainja itu-htao-n-me*  
 1+3PRO forest-CONT.LOC-NOM-FACS  
 we the forest people
- b *en-pa-ne wëri-me*  
 eye-PROVID-A.NOM woman-FACS  
 the woman teacher
- c *ëmë-injamo wëri-me*  
 2PRO-PL woman-FACS  
 you women
- (12.45)a *kīrī tuwee-me nī:-të-Ø-n*  
 man two-FACS 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 two men are going
- b *mëe-san pirë-me wëri-me nī:-të-Ø-n*  
 3PRO.ANIM.PROX four-FACS woman-FACS 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT  
 these four women are going

When a possessed noun phrase is in apposition, the facsimile *-me* appears on the final element of the possessive phrase, as shown in (12.46) where the facsimile is marked on the head of the possessed element *pëeto* 'servant'. However, when the

phrase in apposition occurs as the dependent in a possessive noun phrase, then the facsimile *-me* cannot be marked on the second element of the phrase in apposition as shown in (12.47).

(12.46) ainja Tarëno i-pëeto-me  
1PRO Trio 3POSS-servant-FACS  
 we servants of the Trio

(12.47) mëe-samo\_ro seru-ton i-notiñpë  
3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL\_ASSERT proper.name-PL 3POSS-old.woman  
 these Serus' grandmother (these people, the Serus, their grandmother)

\* mëe-samo\_ro seru-ton-me i-notiñpë

The quantifier *wararë* 'every', which cannot occur without the noun it is modifying, occurs obligatorily after the noun it modifies and as such behaves differently from the other quantifiers given above; an example is given in (12.48).

(12.48) tuna wararë t-ëne-Ø i-ja  
water all COREF-see-NF 3-GOAL  
 he has seen each and every river

#### 12.2.4 Juxtaposition of a nominalized adverb and a noun

The juxtaposition of a nominalized adverb and a noun forms yet another possibility of N-N combinations. While nominalized adverbs can stand on their own in a noun phrase, as shown in (12.49a-b), they are often found juxtaposed to a noun to give extra descriptive information about the referent of that noun and as such both the noun and the nominalized adverb refer to the same referent. While the derived nominal is preferring a semantic modification of the noun, it is, however on a par with that noun syntactically. There is some variation in the order of the elements, as shown in (12.50) and (12.51). However, there is always a pause (indicated by a comma in the examples) between the noun and the nominalized adverb when the noun is in the first position; this is also possible but is not necessarily the case when the nominalized adverb precedes the noun. It seems thus that there is a development towards allowing a nominalized adverb to modify a noun analogous to the way a demonstrative adjective does as shown above in section 12.2.1. This is all the more surprising since it is also possible to have the nominalized adverb following the verb, as a kind of extra information on the subject noun phrase, as shown in (12.50c) and (12.51c); in this position there is a pause between the verb and the nominalized adverb. All the variations given here are frequently attested in the corpus.

- (12.49)a maa-no mēe  
 far-NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX  
 she's from far away (a far one s/he)
- b kawē-no w-ene-∅  
 high-NOM 1→3-see-I.PST  
 I saw the tall one (both animate and inanimate)
- (12.50)a ratara, kawē-no n-e:-ja-n  
 doctor high-NOM 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 the tall doctor is coming (the doctor, the tall one, is coming)
- b kawē-no ratara n-e:-ja-n  
 high-NOM doctor 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT  
 the tall doctor is coming
- c ratara n-e:-ja-n, kawē-no  
 doctor 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT high-NOM  
 the doctor is coming, the tall one
- (12.51)a pakoro, kainan wī-rī-ja-e  
 house new.NOM 1→3-do-PRES-CERT  
 I am building a new house
- b kainan pakoro wī-rī-ja-e
- c pakoro wī-rī-ja-e, kainan

### 12.2.5 Coordination of noun phrases

Noun phrases are conjoined by means of the particle *marē* 'also', a particle which is also used in the coordination of clauses. With noun phrases the particle *marē* always follows the final element to be coordinated, as shown in the examples in (12.52a-d); all conjuncts from the second onwards are preceded by a pause, indicated in the examples here by a comma. In example (12.52a) two subject NPs are coordinated, and in (12.52b) two permanent possessive constructions are coordinated whereby the verb 'be' is elided in both (for the permanent possession construction, see section 11.4); With multiple conjuncts such as those given in (12.52c), only the final element is conjoined by means of the particle *marē*, that is, there is generally no multiple occurrence of the particle, although it is allowed as shown in (12.53), especially for afterthoughts which are preceded by a longer pause than that after each intended conjunct. It is often the case that the verb occurs between two conjuncts, as shown in (12.52d) whereby the particle *marē* follows the second-mentioned conjunct which is preceded by a pause. Since the coordination of pronouns is dealt with in section 5.6, it is not dealt with further here.

- (12.52)a *tī-w-ēe-se i-mama, i-papa marë*  
 COREF-1TR-come-NF 3POSS-mother 3POSS-father also  
 his father and his mother came (his mother came, his father too)
- b *tī-mama-ke, tī-papa-ke marë*  
 COREF-mother-INST COREF-father-INST also  
 he had a mother and a father (both were alive)
- c *∅-eemi-rī, i-mama-rī, ∅-eemi-rī nkërë, tēri-me,*  
 3POSS-daughter-POSS 3POSS-mother-POSS 3POSS-daughter-POSS\_PERSIST three-FACS  
*pirë-me, i-papa marë*  
 four-FACS 3POSS-father also  
 (there were) his daughter, his mother, another daughter, three of them,  
 four, his father too
- d *kījapoko i-jomi t-ēta-e i-ja, ohtuku i-jomi marë*  
 toucan 3POSS-EU-language COREF-hear-NF 3-GOAL bird.sp 3POSS-language also  
 he heard toucan's language and *ohtuku's* language (bird.sp.)
- (12.53) *pananakiri marë n-a-∅-i irë-po,*  
 white.man also 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
*pananakiri j-amore-npë-hpë marë,*  
 white.man 3POSS-EU-soul-PST-PST also  
*mekoro j-amore-npë-hpë marë, tapīime*  
 Maroon 3POSS-EU-soul-PST-PST also many.ANIM.FACS  
 there are white people there, white people's spirits too, and black people's spirits too, lots of them

There is a further coordinator in Trio that nowadays is no longer used, namely *-nete*. Younger speakers do not know this morpheme but it has been found in the speech of some old speakers; the missionary Claude Leavitt also noted this morpheme in his 1973 manuscript where he gives its meaning as 'in addition to'; an example from my corpus is given in (12.54).

- (12.54) *tī:-të-e wītoto, ekī-nete*  
 COREF.1TR-go-NF human pet-also  
 the Amerindian went, his pet (hunting dog) too

### 12.2.6 Disjunctive coordination

The disjunctive coordination of noun phrases is formed by means of the negative particle *owa* placed between the disjuncts. The particle *owa*, as a marker of disjunction is always preceded by a pause, marked here in the examples by a

comma. Disjunction of nominals has only been found in alternative questions, examples are given in (12.55a-b). The latter example shows disjunctive coordination of the two noun phrases *aeneme ahkē-to* ‘his cutting while conscious’ and *iwēnihto* ‘(cutting while) sleeping’.

(12.55)a aa-no-se m-ana-n, serē panpira, owa ē-karakuri-pisi?  
 Q-NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX book NEG.P 2POSS-money-DIM  
 which one do you want, this book or some money?

b eeke n-a-Ø-i t-ēhkētē-se a-tī e-nari-me  
 how 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3COREF-cut.NOM-DESID Q-INAN MID-scare-FACS

aene-me Ø-ahkē-to mēe Ø-ahkētē-hpē apo  
 alive-FACS 3POSS-cut-TMP.NOM 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3POSS-cut.NOM-PST like

ma, owa i-w-ēni-hto, aa-no kure i-ja  
 DISC NEG.P 3POSS-1TR-sleep-TMP.NOM Q-NOM good 3-GOAL

how is the operation he wants (which operation does he want), what scares him? an operation where he’s conscious (alive), like this one’s operation (referring to another man), or sleeping (under a general anesthetic), which does he find all right?

### 12.3 Postpositional phrases

A minimal postpositional phrase consists of an inflected postposition, as shown in (12.56a) with the contact locative postposition *-pē(kē)* in its extended meaning ‘about’. Otherwise a postpositional phrase consists of a pronoun (12.56b), noun (12.56c) or noun phrase (12.56d-f), or “subordinate” clause (12.56g) followed by a postposition.

Many postpositions are obligatorily marked for person by means of a prefix on the postposition, even when that postposition is preceded by an overt nominal; in the latter case when a noun or nominal is the dependent of a postpositional phrase, then the postposition, if it allows person marking, is marked with the prefix of the third person, as shown in (12.56d,f). For details of postpositions and person marking, see 6.1.2. No extra morphological material is allowed to occur between the dependent of the postpositional phrase and the postposition itself, thus, if a nominal is marked for tense, number or emphasis, then the postposition occurs immediately after that marking, as shown in (12.56b,f,g).

(12.56)a ji-pē n-ēt-uru-ja-n  
 1-CONTACT.LOC 3↔-REFL-talk-PRES-NCERT  
 he is talking about me

- b        *irë\_rë-pë ëmume w-a-Ø-e*  
 DP.INAN.ANA\_ASSERT-CONTACT.LOC sad.FACS 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I am sad about that
- c        *përëu-ke wa-wī-rī-Ø*  
 arrow-INST NEG-1→3-do-I.PST  
 I killed him/her/it with an arrow
- d        *ë-injo Ø-akërë wī:-të-Ø-e*  
 2POSS-husband 3-COM 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT  
 I am going with your husband
- e        *ainja i-papa i-wëi Ø-injo i-pata-hpë-po*  
 1+3PRO 3POSS-father 3POSS-older.sister 3POSS-husband 3POSS-village-PST-LOC  
 in the former village of our father's older sister's husband
- f        *tī-w-ët-amore-htë-hpë-tae\_rë tī:-të-e*  
 COREF-1TR-REFL-spirit-BEN.NOM-PST-PERL\_ASSERT COREF-1TR-go-NF  
 he<sub>i</sub> went in accordance with (along with) what he<sub>i</sub> had dreamed (Keisi  
 1984:147)
- g        *j-imoitī-me eh-tëkë ji-je ë-w-ei-hpë-kon-ke*  
 1POSS-family-FACS be-IMP.PL 1-DESID 2POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PST-POSS.PL-INST  
 be as my family, because you wanted me (because of your (pl.) former  
 wanting me)!

The postpositional phrases given above in (12.56a-f) can occur before or after the verb in the sentence depending on their topicality, that is, the more topical the information encoded in the phrase, the more likely it is to occur sentence initially or before the verb; to exemplify, an alternative word order of example (12.56d) would be that given in (12.57) where the new information is that 'I am going' rather than 'with your husband'; the word *witëe* 'I am going' carries stress in this case and is followed by a pause.

- (12.57)    *wī:-të-Ø-e, ë-injo Ø-akërë*  
 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT 2POSS-husband 3-COM  
 I am going, with your husband

Syntactically the postpositional phrase in (12.56f), which is made up of a nominalized verb marked with the third person coreferential possessive prefix *tī-*, acts as a complement to the verb *tī:tëe* 'he went' the subject of which commands coreference, marked in the translation by subscripted letters.

### 12.3.1 Reason clauses with the instrumental -ke

Example (12.56g) above shows a subordinate clause whereby the subject of the clause is marked on the instrumental postpositional phrase, which has REASON meaning, that is, 'because'. In fact this entire clause, repeated below in (12.58a-

b), is made up of two postpositional phrases, a comparable example of a subordinate clause made up of three postpositional phrases is given in (12.59). The word order of the two desiderative-marked phrases is fixed in that as complement of the REASON phrase they precede that phrase. When the complement is in the third person then coreference, if present, is controlled within the subordinate clause by the subject of the embedded clause that is formed by the postpositional phrase, that is, by the subject possessor marked on the REASON postpositional clause, as shown in (12.59). Coreference in the third person is blocked between the (subject) possessor of the REASON clause and the subject of the matrix clause, as shown in (12.59); compare this with the examples in (12.60c-d) where (12.60c) has the same subject referent in the matrix and in the subordinate clause, and (12.60d) has different subjects in each clause. In the reason clause in (12.59), plural marking of the subject is possible but not obligatory since plurality of the subject (possessor) is marked in the preceding coreferential desiderative phrase; plural marking of a referent in two places is generally avoided. In (12.59) an alternative form of the possessor plural suffix *-kon* plus the desiderative postposition *-se* is a fusion of the two morphemes to *-koe*, see also the desiderative postposition in section 6.3.6.

(12.58)a *ji-je*

1-DESID  
wanting me

b *ë-w-ei-hpë-kon-ke*

2POSS-1TR-be.NOM-PST-POSS.PL-INST  
because you (pl.) were (because of your (pl.) former being)

(12.59) *pananakiri apo tî-w-ei-kon-se i-w-ei-ke*

whitepeople like 3COREF-1TR-be.NOM-PSR.PL-DES 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
because they wanted to be like white people (because of their being wanting their being like whites)

(12.60)a *n-ës-ina-∅-n ësenë i-w-ei-ke*

3↔-REFL-cry-PRES-NCERT sick 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
she<sub>i</sub> is crying because she<sub>i</sub> is sick

b \* *n-ës-ina-∅-n ësenë tî-w-ei-ke*

c *t-ës-ina-∅-a-e ësenë ji-w-ei-ke*

1↔-REFL-cry-PRES-CERT sick 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
I am crying because I am sick

d *t-ës-ina-∅-a-e ësenë j-injo i-w-ei-ke*

1↔-REFL-cry-PRES-CERT sick 1POSS-husband 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
I am crying because my husband is sick

With transitive verbs the possessor marked on the REASON clause is the object of that clause as shown in (12.61).

(12.61)a Tarëno-me\_pa ee-se-wa t-ee-se munu Ø-aame-hpë-ke i-ja  
 Trio-FACS\_CYC be-NF-NEG COREF.1TR-be-NF blood 3POSS-taste.NOM-PST-INST 3-GOAL  
 he didn't change back into a Trio because he (had) tasted blood

b kure wī-ja, mēe Ø-eemi-ton  
 good 1-GOAL 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3POSS-daughter-PL

Ø-apëi-hpë-ke ë-munkë-tomo-ja  
 3POSS.NOM-PST-INST 2POSS-son-PL-GOAL

that's all right with me [said the village leader] because your sons took his daughters

### 12.3.2 Postpositional phrases with the desiderative -se

A postpositional phrase with the desiderative *-se* can consist of simply the person-marked postposition; when person-marked the form of the postposition is *-je*, an example is given in (12.62a-b). Otherwise the desiderative postposition *-se* can be added to a noun as in (12.63a), or to a noun phrase as in (12.63b-c), whereby in example (12.63c) the desiderative is marked on a nominalized verb. The desiderative postpositional phrase always precedes the verb *ei* 'be' as shown in (12.62) and (12.63). When the desiderative is marked on a nominalized verb, that verb must always be possessed; in the case of intransitive verbs the possessor is the S participant of that intransitive verb, as shown in (12.63c-d). With transitive verbs it is the object that is marked as possessor on the nominalized verb and the subject is either encoded on the verb *ei* 'be' if or on the goal postposition *-ja* if that argument is an external agent, as shown in (12.64a-c)

(12.62)a ji-je m-ana-Ø-n  
 1-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
 do you want/need/love me?

b i-je w-a-Ø-e  
 3-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want/need/love him

(12.63)a pananakiri-se n-a-Ø-i Tarëno  
 white.men-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Trio  
 the Trio want/like white people

b mono pakoro-se m-ana-Ø-ti  
 big house-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL  
 do you want a big house?

c president i-w-ëepi-se\_to n-a-Ø-i tī-pata-pona  
 president 3POSS-1TR-come-DESID\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3COREF-village-DIR  
 they want the president to come to their village

- d            *tī:-të-se\_pa n-a-∅-i kutuma*  
 3COREF.1TR-go.NOM-DESID\_CYC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT INTENS  
 he really wants to go home (he wants his own going back home)
- (12.64)a    *∅-ene-se w-a-∅-e*  
 3POSS-see.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want to see it
- b            *∅-apëi-se w-a-∅-e*  
 3POSS-take.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT  
 I want to take it
- c            *ji-mënparë ∅-epekati-se w-a-∅-e ë-ja*  
 1POSS-things 3POSS-buy.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 2-GOAL  
 I want you to buy my stuff

A postpositional phrase with the goal postposition *-ja* expresses a dative participant which can be an indirect object as in (12.65a-c). Alternative word orders for (12.65a) based on topicality of the constituents is given in (12.65b-c). In the (a) example there is a pause after *ëkarakuri* ‘your money’, as in English ‘your money, oh, I gave it to your husband’; whereas in the (b) example the speaker is highlighting the fact that he did give the money, and the indirect object which is goal-marked ‘your husband’ is extra information; in the (c) example it is the indirect object that is being highlighted and the constituent ‘your money’ is presented as an afterthought.

- (12.65)a    *ë-karakuri, ë-injo-ja w-ekarama-∅*  
 2POSS-money 2POSS-husband-GOAL 1→3-give-I.PST  
 I gave your money to your husband
- b            *ë-karakuri w-ekarama-∅ ë-injo-ja*  
 2POSS-money 1→3-give-I.PST 2POSS-husband-GOAL  
 I gave your money, to your husband
- c            *ë-injo-ja w-ekarama-∅, ë-karakuri*  
 2POSS-husband-GOAL 1→3-give-I.PST 2POSS-money  
 I gave it to your husband, your money

In nominalized or non-finite verbal clauses the goal-marked participant encodes the underlying agent as shown in (12.61a-b) above and in (12.66a-d). In such constructions it is this goal-marked participant that commands indirect or direct object coreference, as shown in (12.66c-d).

- (12.66)a    *ë-ene-kon-me wī-ja*  
 2POSS-see.NOM-PSR.PL-FACS 1-GOAL  
 I see you (your (pl.) seeing by me)

- b        arimi tī-wē-e pahko-ja  
 spider.monkey COREF-see-NF 1POSS.father-GOAL  
 my father shot a spider monkey (spider.monkey shot by my father)
- c        tī-kanawa t-ēpeka:-se i-ja  
 3COREF-boat COREF-ask-NF 3-GOAL  
 he<sub>i</sub> asked for his<sub>i</sub> boat (to take him back)
- d        t-ēne-∅ j-arē-ne-npē-tomo-ja tī-pata-po  
 COREF-see-NF 1POSS-take-A.NOM-PST-PL-GOAL 3COREF-village-LOC  
 the ones<sub>i</sub> who took me saw it in their<sub>i</sub> village

With the verb *ka* ‘say’ the participant marked on the goal postposition is always the indirect object and never the underlying agent, see example (12.67). With verbs such as *ekarama* ‘give’ in the non-witnessed past where the underlying agent is expressed on the postposition *-ja*, the postposition is repeated to express the oblique object, whereby the first postposition encodes the underlying agent and the second the indirect object, as shown in (12.68).

- (12.67) i-munkē-ton ∅-apēh-kē sameken tīi-ka-e i-ja  
 3POSS-son-PL 3-take-IMP fast COREF.1TR-say-NF 3-GOAL  
 ‘take his sons quickly!’ he said to him
- (12.68) tī-munkē-ton t-ēkarama-e ēkēi-mē-tomo-ja pījai-ja  
 3COREF.POSS-son-PL COREF-give-NF snake-AUG-PL-GOAL shaman-GOAL  
 the anacondas gave the shaman his sons

#### 12.4 Postpositional clauses with aspectual meaning

There are three ways of expressing the notions ‘while’, ‘during’, or ‘if’, given in (12.69a-c). Each is taken in turn below.

- (12.69)a    possessor-Verb.nominalizer-anti-genitive -container.locative  
 j-anota-rī-htao  
 as I was falling
- b        possessor-Verb.nominalizer-facsimile? -container.locative  
 ji-wepī-ma-htao [ji-w-e-pī-ma-htao]  
 while I am bathing
- c        (PP)/(Adv) noun/pronoun ahtao  
 ēmume mēe ahtao  
 if he is sad
- ji-je ēmē ahtao  
 if you want me

One means of expressing the notion ‘during’ is that given in (12.70a) namely by means of a nominalized verb which is marked for a possessor subject and fol-

lowed by the anti-genitive marker *-ri* and the container locative postposition *-(h)tao*, as shown in (12.70a-b). As example (12.70a) shows, if the subject of the verb marked for ‘during’ is the same as that of the main verb, then it is marked with the coreferential prefix *tī-*, that is, ‘he; spent the night during his; hunting’. Compare this with example (12.70b) where the two referents are not identical.

- (12.70)a *tī-w-ë-iwa-rī-htao Tarëno tī-komain-je*  
3COREF.POSS-1TR-REFL-hunt.NOM-POSS-CONT.LOC Trio COREF-dusk-NF  
 the Trio spent the night (in the forest) while he was out hunting
- b *irë-mao t-ëpë-se i-ja, Ø-anota-rī-htao*  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-take-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-fall.NOM-POSS.-CONT.LOC  
 he; caught him; as he; was falling (during his falling)

An alternative means of encoding a ‘while’ clause is that shown in (12.69b) above, namely by means of a nominalized verb followed by the complex morpheme *-mahtao* which means both ‘while’ and ‘if’. The origin of the form *-mahtao*, which is presented here as one morpheme, glossed as ‘while’ is not entirely clear but it may be a fusion of the facsimile suffix *-me* plus the subordinating element *ahtao* ‘if’, ‘when’ resulting in the meaning ‘during my being Xing’. Compare the examples in (12.71a-c).

- (12.71)a *ji-w-e-pī-mahtao ene mo*  
1POSS-1TR-MID-bathe-while see.IMP\_MOD  
 look while I’m bathing!
- b *kure pa wī-rī-ta-e rë, kure jī-rī-n-mahtao ë-ja:ne*  
good\_CYC 1→3-do-FUT-CERT\_ASSERT good 1POSS-do.NOM-?-while 2-GOAL-PL  
 I will fix it if you (pl.) treat me well
- c *pījai-me ji-w-ei-mahtao t-ëñi-se-n wī-rī-po-ne*  
shaman-FACS 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-while COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM 1→3-do-CAUS-NR.PST  
 when I was a shaman I had (strong) drink made

A further expression of ‘while’, ‘during’ or ‘if’ is formed by means of the subordinating element *ahtao* postposed to either a non-verbal or to a finite verb form; it is this latter construction that is gaining in frequency in the language nowadays, resulting in the one word that functions as a true subordinator in Trio. It is possible that the morpheme *ahtao* is made up of a form of the verb *e(i)* ‘be’, which in some tenses has the form *a*, followed by the container locative *-(h)tao* to mean ‘in being’ or ‘while’. Such an analysis is corroborated by the fact that *ahtao* is used in seemingly zero-copular marked clauses as shown in (12.72a-d); furthermore, *ahtao* cannot be combined with a finite form of the verb *ei* ‘be’ (see the asterisked clause after (12.72a). Although the meaning of *ahtao* is generally translatable by ‘if’, in some constructions, such as that with the facsimile- and

persistentive-marked noun given in (12.73a) below, it does have the meaning ‘when’; in all cases I gloss *ahtao* as ‘when’ regardless of the context. Below I give some examples of the use of *ahtao* with pronouns in (12.72a-b). In examples (12.72c-e) *ahtao* occurs immediately after the postpositional phrase *Tëpu-po* ‘in (the village) Tëpu’ and a negated non-finite verb (12.72d-e), respectively, without overt expression of a pronoun which is understood from the context. Examples (12.73a-b) show the use of *ahtao* again used with pronouns and with nouns marked with the facsimile followed by the persistentive clitic *\_nkërë* with the meaning ‘while still an X’ whereby the tense is understood from the context. See also the use of *ahtao* in ‘not yet’ clauses in section 12.5 below.

(12.72)a k-omohtë-kë ji-je ëmë ahtao \*ji-je m-ana-Ø-e ahtao  
 1+2-call-IMP 1-DESID 2PRO when 1-DESID 2PRO 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT when  
 call me if you need me!

b a-n-po-hpe wī ahtao  
 Q-NOM-LOC-INDEF.SPEC 1PRO when  
 wherever I may be (if I am wherever)

c Tëpu-po (kimë) ahtao w-i-pono-ta-e ë-ja  
 Tëpu-LOC when 1→3-TR-tell-FUT-CERT 2-GOAL  
 I will tell you when (we’re) in Tëpu

d in-apurë-e-wa ahtao amerarë ni-jaa-ja-n pata serë-po marë  
 3O-dam.up-NF-NEG when all 3→burn-PRES-NCERT village DP.INAN.PROX-LOC also  
 if (they) don’t dam it (the fire) up, the whole place will burn, the vil-  
 lage here too

e këpëewa wa-ee-se-wa ahtao n-i-po-ka-Ø-n\_pa  
 however NEG-be-NF-NEG when 3→3-TR-clothes-REVERS-PRES-NCERT\_CYC

j-i-po-ka-Ø-n\_pa  
 3→1-TR-clothes-REVERS-PRES-NCERT\_CYC

however, if (I) don’t die he undresses (my body) (takes off the clothes  
 I used to travel to the spirit world in) again, he undresses me

(12.73)a mure-me \_nkërë wī ahtao  
 child-FACS\_PERSIST 1PRO when  
 when I was a child

b mono-me ahtao kure-ta  
 big-FACS when good-NEG  
 if it’s big it’s not good

The final (contemporary) stage in the development from a postposition-marked verb ‘be’ which can only occur in non-finite or nominal phrases is the word *ahtao* being used in a subordinate clause with finite verb forms, where it has the

meaning ‘if’ rather than ‘when’; examples are given in (12.74a-b). Such usage of *ahtao* with a finite verb is increasing in use in everyday spoken language.

(12.74)a  $\emptyset$ -eema n-ēt-*apuru-ja-n* kutuma  
3POSS-path 3↔-REFL-close-PRES-NCERT INTENS

n-ē-ine-ma- $\emptyset$ -n ahtao irē-po  
3↔-REFL-get.drunk-INCHO.STAT-PRES-NCERT when DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

The path closes up completely if one gets drunk there

b sameken oh-kē ka-kē i-ja n-ēs-ina- $\emptyset$ -n ahtao  
fast.DUR come-IMP say-IMP 3-GOAL 3↔-REFL-cry-PRES-NCERT when  
tell her to come here quickly if she is crying! (‘come quickly’ say to her)

## 12.5 ‘Before’ and ‘after’ clauses

The notion of ‘before’ is expressed by means of the formulation ‘not yet’, that is, the verb is non-finite and suffixed by the verbal negation marker *-wa* followed by the persistive enclitic *\_nkērē*, which when preceded by a negation marker means ‘not yet’; examples are given in (12.75a-b).

(12.75)a *tē-e-wa* *\_nkērē* *ēmē* ahtao  
go-NF-NEG\_PERSIT 2PRO when  
before you go

b *karime oroko-me eh-kē*  $\emptyset$ -*akērē*:-ne  
strong.FACS work-FACS be-IMP 3-COM-PL

*wa-ee-se-wa* *\_nkērē* (*namo\_ro*) ahtao  
NEG-be-NF-NEG\_PERSIST (3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT) when

work hard with those ones before they die!

The notion ‘after’ is expressed by means of a bare nominalized verb followed by the suffix *-tuwē* [tu:wə], glossed here as ANTERIOR to express that ‘given X first, then Y’, as shown in the examples in (12.76a-e). With intransitive verbs the possessor of the nominalized verb encodes the subject, as shown in (12.76a-c), and with transitive verbs the object is the possessor of the nominalized verb and the subject is expressed obliquely on the goal postposition *-ja*, as (12.76d-e). As can be seen in (12.76e) the verb *ka* ‘say’ does not take an object prefix, the object in this case is the clause *ēije wae* ‘I love/want you’; the first goal-marked argument in this sentence *ēinjo-ja* ‘your husband-goal’ is the subject and the second is the indirect object.

- (12.76)a *ëwë ë-jun-pan-tuwë m-apëh-ta-e*  
 bit 2-wise-SENS.STAT.NOM-ANT 2→3-take-FUT-CERT  
 in a while after you have matured (grown wise), you will take it
- b *ji-koman-tuwë w-eno-ja-e*  
 1POSS-dusk.NOM-ANT 1→3-send.AN-PRES-CERT  
 I will send him after one night (after I have spent the night)
- c *wa-ji-w-eh-tuwë j-i-po-ntë-ta-n pa*  
 NEG-1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-ANT 3→1-TR-clothes-BEN-FUT-NCERT\_CYC  
 after I die he will dress me again (in my human clothes)
- d *ma Ø-eni-tuwë w-ja sameken j-ine-ma-Ø-n*  
 DISC 3POSS-drink.NOM-ANT 1-GOAL fast 3→1-get.drunk-INCHO.STAT-PRES-NCERT  
 well, when I drink it, I get drunk quickly (after its drinking by me)
- e *eeke ka-e ëmë\_rë ëi-je w-a-Ø-e*  
 how say-NF.HAB 2PRO\_ASSERT 2-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT
- ka-tuwë ë-injo-ja ë-ja*  
 say.NOM-ANT 2POSS-husband-GOAL 2-GOAL
- what did you used to say when your husband said to you ‘I love you’?

## 12.6 Fixed expressions: greetings

In the following, the general greetings are given. The first greeting of the morning, which can be used up till 12 o’clock noon is given in the singular in (12.77a) and in the plural in (12.77b). The answer is found in (12.77c). After giving the response, the question is immediately re-addressed to the interlocutor using the forms given in (12.78a-b), whereby the form in (12.78a) is more often found in Tëpu and Palumeu, and the form in (12.78b) is more often found in Kwamalasamutu. The form *ëntarëpa* ‘and you, are you awake?’ seems to be made up of the assertive clitic *\_rë* followed by the cyclic clitic *\_pa*, the latter clitic of which is used when “returning” a question (see 10.13.2). The form that is used in Kwamalasamutu is the question *ënta* ‘are you awake?’ followed by the particle *marë* ‘also’. As such this latter manner of posing the question is morphologically more transparent and less complex since it limits the use of bound morphemes on the verb, and thus it is not surprising to find this form more common in Kwamalasamutu; as was mentioned in section 1.4 in view of the large number of second language learners of Trio, there is a stronger tendency towards transparency of grammatical forms.

- (12.77)a *ë-enta-Ø?*  
 2→wake.up-1.PST  
 are you awake? (lit.: have you woken up?)

b            ě-enta-Ø-ti?  
 2→wake.up-I.PST-PL  
 are you (pl.) awake?

c            aha, j-enta-Ø  
 yes 1→wake.up-I.PST  
 yes, I'm awake

(12.78)a    ě-enta-Ø-rě\_pa?  
 2→wake.up-I.PST\_ASSERT\_CYC  
 and you, are you awake?

b            ě-enta-Ø marě?  
 2→wake.up-I.PST also  
 are you awake too?

Another possible, somewhat playful or even wistful, response to this greeting is given in (12.79). In this case the regular formulaic response is marked with the frustrative marker *\_re(pe)* in its full form. This response is generally received with some laughter, however, it does also express that the speaker is up and running around but hasn't had enough sleep or hasn't had his morning cup of coffee and so is not yet functioning properly.

(12.79)    j-enta-repe  
 1→wake.up-I.PST-FRUST  
 I'm not really awake yet

This first greeting of the day is generally immediately followed by a question as to the well-being of the interlocutor, as in 'how are you?' as shown in (12.80a) and (12.81a). When the response has been given the question is returned by means of the cyclic clitic *\_pa* marked on the second person pronoun *ëmě* either on its own, as shown in (12.80b), or in combination with the entire question as shown in (12.81b). Two of the most frequent exchanges are given below in (12.80) and (12.81) in the singular and the plural respectively. Note that the response to the question posed in the plural is generally singular since each person answers for himself, but can be that given in (12.81b) when, for example, the chief is answering for his whole village, or a member of the family for the whole family.

(12.80)a    kure m-ana-n?  
 good 2→3-be.PRES-NCERT  
 are you well?

b            aha kure w-a-Ø-e, ëmě\_pa?  
 yes good 1→3-be.PRES-CERT 2PRO\_CYC  
 yes, I'm fine, and you?

(12.81)a kure m-ana-ti?  
good 2→3-be.PRES-PL  
are you (pl.) well?

b kure n-a-Ø-i ainja ěmě pa kure m-ana-Ø-n?  
good 3→3-be.PRES-NCERT 1+3PRO 2PRO\_CYC good 2→3-be-PRES-NCERT  
we're fine, and you, are you well?

The status of *kure manan* 'are you well?' is similar to the English "how are you?" in that it does not require nor expect an honest answer, rather it is formulaic in nature. When the interlocutor is ill or upset, however, he may reply with one of the formulations given in (12.82a-b); in these two examples I give the English functional equivalent in parentheses after the translation.

(12.82)a pija\_sa kure w-a-Ø-e  
little\_DIM good 1→3-be-PRES-CERT  
I'm not very well (at all)

b kure w-a-Ø-e, pija\_sa  
good 1→3-be.PRES-CERT little\_DIM  
I'm not very well (I'm fine, well actually I'm not really fine)

When one is enquiring about the health or well-being of his interlocutor, the question is formed with the question word *eeke* 'how?' as shown in (12.83a), with a possible answer given in (12.83b).

(12.83)a eeke m-ana-n?  
how 2→3-be-PRES-NCERT  
how are you?

b kure w-a-Ø-e  
good 1→3-be-PRES-CERT  
I am fine (well)

A further greeting is the question *aja mītĕn* 'where are you going?' whereby the true answer is seldom expected and thus is often given as *oonipona* 'over there' or *taanĕ wītĕe* 'I'm going far'. While this question can be used as an information question, it is more often used as a signal that the speaker is willing to have a communicational exchange. In fact nowadays among younger (male) speakers in Kwamalasamutu the question word *aja* 'to where?' on its own is used simply as a greeting bleached of any meaning as an information question. The most common response to *aja?* is *sarĕ* 'hither' or alternatively a conversation is started.

When a person who has been absent from the village for a period returns, s/he generally waits before starting a conversation until someone, either family, friends, or the village leadership has said *mĕneepa* 'have you returned?' as shown in the exchange in (12.84a-b).

(12.84)a m-ěnee-Ø\_pa  
2→3-be-I.PST\_CYC  
have you come back?

b aha w-ěeh-Ø\_pa  
yes 1→3-be-I.PST\_CYC  
yes, I have come back

Greetings used when someone is leaving a conversational setting are given in (12.85) - (12.87) below. These are usually preceded by the discourse marker *ma* (see also sections 10.10.9 and 10.11.1).

When one expects to see his interlocutor later in the day:

(12.85) ma irëmarë\_pa  
DISC later\_CYC  
see you later! (lit.: later again)

When one expects to see his interlocutor the following day:

(12.86) ma koko\_ro\_pa  
DISC nighttime\_assert\_CYC  
see you tomorrow! (lit.: tomorrow again)

When someone is leaving and is not expected to return for a longer period:

(12.87) ëwë\_pa or: ëwë\_pa ëwë\_pa  
bit\_CYC  
bye, see you again! (lit: bit (later) again)

As can be seen in the greeting in (12.87) which uses the cyclic *\_pa*, a more appropriate translation would be the German *auf Wiedersehen* or the French *au revoir* rather than the English “bye”.

In general the greetings presented above are preceded or followed by the appropriate term of address or by a kinship term, as shown, for example, in (12.88a-b).

(12.88)a kori ë-enta-Ø  
term.of.address 2→-wake.up-I.PST  
are you awake? (term of address used between women only)

b ma koko\_ro\_pa kori  
DISC nighttime\_ASSERT\_CYC term.of.address  
see you tomorrow!

The most common terms of address and the vocative forms of the kinship terms are given in Table 12.1. In-laws of different generations tend not to address each other. For other kinship terms see section 4.11.

Table 12.1: Common terms of address

| Terms of address | Gloss                                  |
|------------------|--|
| pahko; pa        | father! Dad!                           |
| manko; ma        | mother! Mum!                           |
| pihko; pi        | older brother!                         |
| wēiko; wēi       | older sister!                          |
| kami             | younger sibling!                       |
| ji-wēri          | younger sister! (male ego)             |
| ji-ikīrī         | younger brother! (female ego)          |
| j-eemi           | daughter!                              |
| ji-n-muku        | son!                                   |
| ji-pa            | grandchild!                            |
| wēri-pisi        | granddaughter!                         |
| kīrī-pisi        | grandson!                              |
| tamo             | grandda!                               |
| noosi            | grandma!                               |
| jee(tī)          | uncle!                                 |
| kono             | brother-in-law! (male to male)         |
| minko; mi        | darling! (husband and wife reciprocal) |
| kori             | address (woman to woman)               |
| jako             | address (male to male)                 |
| jai              | address for animals in tales           |
| pai              | friend!                                |



## 13 Texts

The first two texts given here are excerpts from narrations by a (former) shaman Captain Tëmenta of Tëpu of his trips to the “other” worlds, namely the “water-world” and the “celestial” world.<sup>1</sup> The third text, which deals with the origin of the mosquito, is from Trio mythology and was narrated to the author by Captain Tëmenta in October 1996 in Tëpu.

### 13.1 Text 1: The Anacondas and the shaman

serë apo n-a-Ø-i tuna-hka wī-të-to

DP.INAN.PROX like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT water-LIQ.DIR 1TR-go-TMP.NOM

the way to go to the water(world) is like this

ëema-tae-n apo\_ro

path-PERL-NOM like\_ASSERT

it's something just like a path

ëema-tae j-arë-Ø-n si si si si ...

path-PERL 3→1-take-PRES-NCERT IDEO.walk

he takes me along a path *si si si si*

kopo n-e-en-pata-ma-n tooora ëema-ta

IDEO.submerge 3▷-MID-eye-place-INCH.STAT-PRES-NCERT IDEO.arrive path-CONT.DIR

into the water, he goes down into a hole in the water, we arrive at a path

tooora i-htahka\_rën ëkëi-imë-tahka\_rën

IDEO.arrive 3-through.DIR\_forever snake-AUG-through.DIR\_forever

we arrive and go right through them, through the village of the anacondas

ëkëi-imë n-a-Ø-i tapïime

snake-AUG 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT many.ANIM.FACS

there are many anacondas

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1 These first two texts were recorded in the Diaconessen hospital in Paramaribo in March 1999 and were told by Tëmenta at the request of the author and the Dutch anthropologist Karin Boven. These two texts are full of elements of the shamanic experience that are found in other stories recorded in Keisi (1984).

tapīime n-a-∅-i namo\_ro  
many.ANIM.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT  
they are many

sehken nī-wa-∅-n to amerarē to n-ē-ewe-ja-n  
also 3→dance-PRES-NCERT\_PL all\_PL 3↔REFL-eat-PRES-NCERT  
and they are dancing, they are all eating

kure\_to n-a-∅-i sasame  
good\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT happy.FACS  
they are fine and happy

ma irē-mao ē-eweh-pē n-ka-∅-n  
DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP REFL-eat-CONTACT.LOC 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
then while (they're) busy eating

t-ēnī-se-n ∅-enī-ja-n  
COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM 3→3-drink-PRES-NCERT  
they are drinking alcohol

sehken sameken n-a-∅-i nema-tē  
also quickly.DUR 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT throw-SK.ADV  
and they get drunk quickly (alcohol is skilled in throwing one, i.e. causing one to fall over when one is drunk)

ma ∅-enī-tuwē wī-ja sameken j-ine-ma-∅-n  
DISC 3-drink-NOM-ANT 1-GOAL quickly.DUR 3→1-drunk-INCH.STAT-PRES-NCERT  
after I drink it, it makes me drunk quickly,

ēēnī-po rī-tē  
sleep-LOC do-SK.ADV  
it makes one sleepy (it's good at making one sleepy)

irē apo n-a-∅-i rī-tē namo\_ro  
DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT do-SK.ADV 3PRO.ANIM.ANA.PL\_ASSERT  
that's what those ones are skilled in (merry-making)

irē-mao\_to nī-wa-∅-n j-arē-ne-npē-ton ∅-akērē:-ne  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP\_PL 3→dance-PRES-NCERT 1POSS-take-A.NOM-PST-PL 3-COM-PL  
then the ones who brought me dance with them (with the anacondas)

irē-mao n-ē-epeka-ja-n\_to  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3↔REFL-buy-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
then they trade

tī-mēnparē-kon ∅-epeka-ja-n\_to  
3COREF-things-PSR.PL 3→3-buy-PRES-NCERT\_PL  
they buy their things

serë apo n-a-Ø-i i-mënparë-kon

DP.INAN.PROX like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-things-PSR.PL

these are their things,

kana-ton aimara waatau suruiri

fish-PL anjumara catfish.sp. fish.sp

(all sorts of) fishes, anjumara<sup>2</sup>, catfish sp. (unidentified) fish sp.,

irë apo n-a-Ø-i i-mënparë-kon apo

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-things-PSR.PL like

that's roughly what their (trading) things are like

irë-me nërë-ke n-a-Ø-i ë-eweh-se-wa

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3PRO.ANIM.ANA-INST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT REFL-eat-NF-NEG

so they don't eat these (fish)

tonoro-ke\_rëken n-a-Ø-i i-w-ë-eweh-to mëhparë-ton-ke

birds-INST\_only 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-1TR-REFL-eat-TMP.NOM tree.animals-PL-INST

what they eat is just birds, (different kinds of) tree animals

mëhparë-ke\_rëken mami-ke ooko-ke

tree.animals-INST\_only trumpeter.bird-INST bush.turkey-INST

irë apo n-a-Ø-i Ø-oti

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-meat

just tree animals, trumpeter bird, bush turkey that's what their meat is like

irë apo n-a-Ø-i i-w-ë-ewe-hto-kon

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-REFL-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-REFL-eat-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL

such are the things they eat

irë-npë-pëe teinken\_pa n-ka-Ø-n

DP.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU one\_CYC 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

anyway (after that) once again he says

ë-wa-se m-ana-Ø-n Ø-ka-Ø-n\_pa

2POSS-dance.NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_CYC

“do you want to dance?” he says again

Tarëno Ø-eremi-se\_to n-a-Ø-i

Trio 3POSS-spirit.song-DESID\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

they want (to hear) some Trio spirit songs<sup>3</sup>

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2 In Suriname this fish species, *Hoplias Aimara* or *Hoplias macropthalmus* of the Erythrinidae family, is generally called *anjumara*.

3 The Trio word *ëremi* ‘spirit song’ is a cultural feature that is difficult to grasp. The word is based on the body part *ëre* ‘liver’ which for the Trio is the life-source and the seat of emotions. The meaning of the final element *mi* is difficult to determine (it may have been a classifier), but the word does seem to be close in meaning to *omore* ‘spirit, soul, shadow’, which would result in a

irë-me ë-wa-kë n-ka-Ø-n

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 2-dance-IMP 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

so he says “dance!”

Ø-eta-se w-a-Ø-e n-ka-Ø-n

3POSS-hear.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT

“I want to hear (eremi)” he says<sup>4</sup>

irë-me pijai nī-wa-Ø-n tajaja Ø-i-ku-ja-n<sup>5</sup>

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS shaman 3→3-dance-PRES-NCERT *tajaja* 3→3-TR-try-PRES-NCERT

so the shaman dances, he sings *tajaja* (type of spirit song)

irë\_to n-a-Ø-i i-n-eta-se:-kon-me

DP.INAN.ANA\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-3O-hear.NOM-DES-PSR.PL-FACS

those are the things they love to hear (their desirous hearing things)

sasame n-a-Ø-i irë-po

happy.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

(they) are happy there

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meaning for *eremi* of ‘fundamental (basic) life-spirit’. However, when the noun *eremi* is suffixed by the providative verbalizer *-pa*, whereby the final element *mi* is reduced to *n*, as shown in example (a) below, the meaning of the verb seems to be something akin to ‘evoke’, that is, when one sings a spirit song one is evoking the life-source of the addressee, and hence one is performing a shamanic act. Trio also distinguishes between evocation of a spirit by means of the providative verbalizer and the actual act of physically producing the spirit-song, thus producing what we hear over the airwaves, which is expressed by means of the non-productive verbalizer *-na* meaning ‘produce’, as shown in example (b) below. Thus *eremi* is not a normal song that anyone can/may sing, rather a neutral, non-shamanic song is expressed by the word *wanpanto* which literally means ‘a means for inducing a state of dancing’, which although it carried the cultural import of inducing a state of frenzied partying in the past, now it used to refer to any kind of foreign music, including church hymns. The concept *eremi*, is thus one of the cornerstones of Trio culture and spiritual life, and is one of the few words in Trio that can take the providative verbalizer *-pa*, another closely related one being *ëre-pa* ‘food’ which literally means ‘life-provider’ (see section 8.13.4). Since evangelization, however, the church elders in the villages do not take kindly to people (shamans) performing *eremi*.

(a) mëhparë Ø-eren-pa-Ø-n pijana  
tree.animals 3→3-spirit.song-PROVID-PRES-NCERT  
the eagles are evoking (tree-dwelling) animals

(b) n-eremi-na-Ø-n  
3→- spirit.song-PRODUCE-PRES-NCERT  
he is singing a spirit song

4 It may seem illogical to tell someone to dance so that you can hear, however, singing in Trio is seen as something which causes people to dance, thus from this perspective it is perfectly logical to ask someone to dance so that one can hear a song.

5 The transitive verb *i-ku(ku)* has several related meanings, namely ‘try’, ‘imitate’, and ‘sing’.

ma nĩ-wa-Ø-n\_to j-akërë wëri nĩ-wa-Ø-n  
disc 3→dance-PRES-NCERT\_PL 1-COM woman 3→dance-PRES-NCERT  
well, they dance with me, the women dance

wëri kura-kura-no-ton pëetome  
women good-good-NOM-PL beautiful.FACS  
the women are extremely beautiful

mërë-me t-ona-pipa-je\_sa\_to n-a-Ø-i  
DP.INAN.MED-FACS COREF-nose-FLAT-ACQ.POSS\_DIM\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT  
but they have slightly flat noses

ma wĩ:-të-Ø-e\_pa n-ka-Ø-n pĩjai  
DISC 1→3.1TR-go-PRES-CERT\_CYC 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT shaman  
well “ I’m going back” the shaman says

kĩ:-të-ne\_pa n-ka-Ø-n jawi  
1+2.1TR-go-HORT\_CYC 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT otter  
“let’s go back” the otter (the shaman’s familiar) says

ëinepe w-a-Ø-e n-ka-Ø-n pĩjai  
drunk 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 3→3.1TR-say- PRES-NCERT shaman  
“I’m drunk” says the shaman

irë-me\_pa sameken n-arë-Ø-n jawi  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS\_CYC quickly.DUR 3→3-take-PRES-NCERT otter  
so the (giant) otter takes him back quickly

i-w-ët-apuru-se-ta i-w-ei-ke  
3POSS-1TR-REFL-close.NOM-DESID-NEG 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
because he (otter) doesn’t want him (shaman) to be blocked from going back

Ø-eema n-et-apuru-ja-n kutuma  
3POSS-path 3▷-MID-close-PRES-NCERT INTENS  
his (a shaman’s) path closes up terribly (totally)

n-ë-ine-ma-Ø-n ahtao irë-po  
3↔-REFL-drunk-INCH.STAT-PRES-NCERT when DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
if he gets drunk there

irë-me\_pa i-pawana n-arë-Ø-n  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS\_CYC 3POSS-friend 3→3-take-PRES-NCERT  
so his friend takes him back

### 13.2 Text 2: A shaman's trip to the celestial world.

Ma wī:-tē-ne, Akaraman tamu j-arē-ne

DISC 1→3-1TR-go-NR.PST Akaraman leader 3→1-take-NR.PST

Well, I went, Akaraman leader (King Vulture) took me

Akaraman tamu n-a-∅-i kari-me

Akaraman leader 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT strong-FACS

Akaraman leader is strong

Akaraman n-a-∅-i tī-tamu-ke pananakiri apo

Akaraman 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT COREF-leader-INST whiteman like

vultures (and other familiars) have leaders, like white people do

nērē j-arē-ne

3PRO.ANIM.ANA 3→1-take-NR.PST

he took me

atīna-pona j-arē-ne

whatyemacallit-DIR 3→1-take-NR.PST

he took me to whatyemacallit place

Mapataruku-pona

place.name-DIR

to Mapataruku

ma Wakapumīn wapo ainja kīn-irētē-∅

DISC place.name first 1+3PRO 3→3.PST-cross-NR.PST

first we passed through Wakapumīn<sup>6</sup>

tī-w-ē-ēnī-se-ta ainja

COREF-1TR-sleep-NF-NEG 1+3PRO

we didn't sleep

ikomai-je-wa n-a-∅-i irē-po pata

dusk-NF-NEG 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC village

it doesn't get dark in that place (night doesn't fall on the village there)

irē-pona ainja kīn-tēn-∅

DP.INAN.ANA-DIR 1+3PRO 3→3.PST.1TR-go-NR.PST

we went to that place

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6 Many of the place names in the shamanic texts end in an element *mīn* or *mīni* which likely the nominalized form of the privative 'without'; while *wakapu* is the word for a species of tree that is used for building houses, the meaning of many of the other roots is not identifiable although *Sīrimīn*, found below, is the root of a word that is used to refer to the colour blue, that is, followed by the facsimile suffix *-me*, as *sīrime* 'blue'.

ma irë-po kīn-ah-kë tuna-imë

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3.PST.1TR-be-DIST.PST water-AUG

well, there is a big ancient lake there

tunarerumini Ø-ka-Ø-n\_to Tunareru

prop.name 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT place.name

the lake is called Tunareru

moooooono tuna-imë Ø-ka-Ø-n Akaraman

big.INTENS water-AUG 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT Akaraman

it's a huge lake Akaraman says

mono serë tuna Ø-ka-Ø-n Akaraman

big DP.INAN.PROX water 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT Akaraman

this lake is big Akaraman says

irë-me Ø-eka-me n-a-Ø-i Tunareru

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3POSS-name-FACS 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT prop.name

so its name is Tunareru

kawë n-a-Ø-i tī-nnepu-ke n-a-Ø-i

high 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT COREF-bridge-INST 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

It is up high, it has a bridge

irë apo n-a-Ø-i i-nnepu

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-bridge

this is the way the bridge is:

t-ëntu-ke n-a-Ø-i

COREF-owner-INST 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

it has an owner (someone in charge of it)

wītoto n-a-Ø-i Ø-entu-me

human.being 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-owner-FACS

a person (human being) is its owner (is in charge of it)

Ø-entu-me n-a-Ø-i wītoto

3POSS-owner-FACS 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT human.being

a person (human being) is its owner

nërë-ja n-epeka-ja-n

3PRO.ANIM.ANA-GOAL 3→3-buy-PRES-NCERT

he (Akaraman) buys (a ticket) from him

kaita Ø-apëh-kë Ø-ka-Ø-n

card 3O-catch-IMP 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

“get a ticket” he (owner) says

irë-me kaita-se w-a-Ø-e n-ka-Ø-n

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS card-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
so he (Akaraman) says, “I want a ticket”

irë-me kaita Ø-ekarama-Ø-n i-ja

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3→3-give-PRES-NCERT 3-GOAL  
so he gives him a ticket

ma irë-me nī-rī-Ø

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3→3-do-I.PST  
so he did it

m-ene-Ø poto-pona w-erë-to

2→3-see-I.PST town-DIR 1TR-cross-TMP.NOM

did you see, the (toll)bridge to get into Paramaribo?

irë apo nī-rī-Ø

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3-do-I.PST  
that’s the way he did it

ma kure irë-npë-pëe irë-mao ainja nī:-tën-Ø<sup>7</sup>

DISC good DP.INAN.ANA-PST-SOU DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3+1PRO 3→3.1TR-go-NR.PST  
well, o.k. after that we went on

irë-po n-a-Ø-i pata Mapataruku, Ø-amore-npë i-pata

DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village place.name 3POSS-spirit-PST 3POSS-village  
there is a village there (called) Mapataruku, the village of spirits

omore-npë i-w-ë-eweh-to\_rëken i-kanpu\_rëken

spirit-PST 3POSS-1TR-REFL-eat-TMP.NOM\_only 3POSS-camp\_only  
it’s just a place where spirits eat, just their camp

ma kari-me ë-po tiri-se w-a-Ø-e n-ka-Ø-n

DISC strong-FACS 2POSS-clothes do.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
I want to make your clothes strong he says

ë-po tiri-se w-a-Ø-e kari-me

2POSS-clothes do.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT strong-FACS  
I want to make your clothes strong

kari-me pepeï i-w-ei-ke n-ka-Ø-n

strong-FACS wind 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
because there’s a strong wind he says

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7 The speaker uses the reduced form of the verb *nī-tëmi*, namely, *nütën*, a form which is identical to the present tense form whereby in the present tense form the final *n* is the non-certainty suffix *-n*.

tīnotī kari-me i-w-ei-ke  
cold strong-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
because it's very cold (the coldness is strong)

irë-mao j-i-po-ntë-Ø  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3→1-TR-clothes-BEN-I.PST  
then he dressed me

j-i-po-ntë-Ø kari-me kari-me  
3→1-TR-clothes-BEN-I.PST strong-FACS strong-FACS  
he dressed me in warm (strong) clothes

ma pija\_sa ainja n-ere-ta-Ø tahpame\_rëken  
DISC little\_DIM 1+3PRO 3→liver-TERM-I.PST sitting.FACS\_only  
well, we rested a little bit, just sitting

ikomain-je-wa n-a-Ø-i pata irë-po,  
dusk-NF-NEG 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
there is no night in that place

ikooomain-je-wa serë apo-ta  
dusk-NF-NEG DP.INAN.PROX like-NEG  
it doesn't get dark at all, it's not like here

ma ainja nī:-tën-Ø irë-pëe  
DISC 1+3PRO 3→3-1TR-go-NR.PST DP.INAN.ANA-SOU  
well, we went on from there

irë-po n-a-Ø-i wītoto mekoro apo  
DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT people Maroon like  
in the (next) place, there are people, like Maroons,

Wërisanaimë, Wërisanaimë n-ka-Ø-n\_to Wërisanaimë tapīiiiiiiiiime  
prop.name prop.name 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL prop.name many.ANIM.FACS.INTENS  
they are called Wërisanaimë there are an awful lot of them<sup>8</sup>

j-arokī Ø-ene-kë n-ka-Ø-n senī n-ka-n,  
1POSS-penis 3O-see-IMP 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
“look at my penis!” they say, “here you are!”, they say

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8 There is a wordplay here with this name, that is, it is given as a name, just like an ethnic name ending in the collective marker *-sana*, followed by the augmentative suffix *-imë*, that is, ‘the big Wërisana’. However, its unspoken meaning is hidden in the morphology, that is, it is very close in form to *wëri* ‘woman’ followed by the nominalized form of the desiderative marker *-se*, namely *-san(o)*, plus the augmentative suffix *-imë* which would mean ‘big people wanting women’ which if one reads the description of their behaviour fits semantically; the son of the speaker interpreted the name as ‘The Sex Maniacs’.

j-epa Ø-ene-kë n-ka-Ø-n

1POSS-vagina 3O-see-IMP 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

“look at my vagina!” they say,

oh-kë n-ka-Ø-n wī-ja n-ka-Ø-n

come-IMP 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 1-GOAL 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

“come!” they say to me, they say

sarë oh-kë wī-ja n-ka-Ø-n

DP.INAN.PROX.DIR come-IMP 1-GOAL 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

“come here to me!” they say

owa, npa n-ka-Ø-n mëërë Akaraman i-tamu

NEG.P let’s.go 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.MED Akaraman 3POSS-leader

“no, let’s go!” he says, Akaraman (leader)

in-ene-wa eh-kë

3O-look-NEG be-IMP

“don’t look!”

npa kī:-të-Ø-e\_rëkene n-ka-Ø-n

let’s.go 1+2.1TR-go-PRES-CERT\_only 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

“let’s go! We’re just going (on)”

irë-mao naka n-ë-tihka-Ø pata

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP finished 3↔-REFL-finish-1.PST village

then that was it the village ended (we came to the end of the village)

mono pata moooooono

big village big.INTENS

(it is) a big village, really big

irë-po n-a-Ø-i pata w-e-suka-to

DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village 1TR-MID-wash-TMP.NOM

there (at the end of that village) there is a village/place for washing (where one washes oneself)

a-tī n-ka-Ø-në?

Q-INAN 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

what does he call it?

nërë Akaraman tamu n-ëjatë-Ø-n

3PRO.ANIM.ANA Akaraman leader 3→3-call.by.name-PRES-NCERT

Akaraman leader calls it by its name

Warimīnī n-ka-∅-n

place.name 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

“Warimīnī” he says

Warimīnī serē, pata

place.name DP.INAN.PROX village

“this is Warimīnī, the village”

ě-ěni-se-wa kīt-a-∅-e kī:-tē-∅-e\_rēkene

REFL-sleep-NF-NEG 1+2.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 1+2.1TR-go-PRES-CERT\_only

“we’re not sleeping here, we’re just going on”

n-ka-∅-n mēe

3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX

he says

serē-po\_kene n-ka-∅-n tara,

DP.INAN.PROX-LOC\_DUR 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT IDEO.arrive

“around here” he says, (we) arrive,

ěwě n-i-ponopī n-ka-∅-n,

bit 3→3-TR-tell.I.PST 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

he talked for a while here (he says)

rario-tao-n apo n-i-pono-ja-n

radio-CONT.LOC-NOM like 3→3-TR-tell-PRES-NCERT

i:-tē-toh-pē\_pa Tarēno

3POSS.1TR-go-TMP.NOM-CONTACT.LOC\_CYC Trio

like someone on the radio he tells about the Trio going again

irē-po n-a-∅-i pata Siririmīn

DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village Siririmīn

there is a village there, Siririmīn,

w-ě-eweh-to t-ěni-se-n ∅-eniḥ-to

1TR-REFL-eat-TMP.NOM COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM 3POSS-drink-TMP.NOM

a place to eat and drink

tapīime n-a-∅-i t-ěremi-ke,

many.ANIM.FACS 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT COREF-spirit.song-INST

there are many people there, they have spirit songs

tapīime-taike\_re n-a-∅-i

many.ANIM.FACS-NEG.INTENS\_FRUST 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

in actual fact, there aren’t many people there (it just seems like that because they’re so noisy)

nna\_ken\_to n-a-Ø-i

DP\_DUR\_PL 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

this is all there is:

i-pītī i-muku-ru ma Ø-eemi-rī nērē\_rē nna\_ken

3POSS-wife 3POSS-son-POSS DISC 3POSS-daughter-POSS DP.ANIM.ANA\_ASSERT DP\_DUR

just his wife, his son and daughter, just those

Wii mono moooooono wii epī

cassava big big cassava plant

there is a huge cassava plant there

wii epeeru\_rēken Ø-pē-ja-n

cassava fruit-INTENS\_only 3→3-grab-PRES-NCERT

they pick it from the trees just the fruit

tī-jokī-me n-i-pika-n\_to

3COREF-drink-FACS 3→3-peel-PRES-NCERT\_PL

they peel it (and prepare it) for their drink

irē-po n-a-Ø-i nērē

DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.ANIM.ANA

he is there

ma t-ēnī-se-mī-se m-ana-Ø-n Ø-ka-Ø-n

DISC COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

“do you want something to drink?” he says

owa wī-ka-Ø i-ja

NEG.P 1→3.1TR-say-1PST 3-GOAL

“no” I said to him

ma t-ēnī-se-n pitē w-enī-ja-e Ø-ka-Ø-n

DISC COREF-drink-NF-C.NOM while 1→3-drink-PRES-CERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

well “I’ll drink just a bit” he says

[singing] Ø-ka-Ø-n\_to nī-wa-Ø-n\_to,

3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_pl 3→dance-PRES-NCERT\_PL

hehehe they say (sing), they dance

tapīime\_to n-a-Ø-i irē-po

many.ANIM.FACS\_PL 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

there were a lot of people there (it seemed like a lot)

ma kure t-ēnī-se-ta wī-ja pija\_sa j-uru

DISC good COREF-drink-NF-NEG 1-GOAL little\_DIM 1POSS-cassava.bread

well, o.k. I can’t drink (there), I just take a bit of bread

irë-mao ainja nī:-të-Ø-n

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP1+3pro 3→3-1TR-go-PRES-NCERT

then we go on

irë-po n-a-Ø-i pata w-ë-tīika-to Kapuramīn-po

DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village 1TR-REFL-finish-TMP.NOM place.name-LOC

there, there is the last village Kapuramīn (the villages end there)

Kapuramīn n-a-Ø-i irë-po

place.name 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

Kapuramīn is there

tapīime omore-npë

many.ANIM.FACS spirit-PST

There are a lot of spirits,

taaaaaaaapīime ... t-oto-re t-oto-re,

many.ANIM.FACS COREF-hole?-HAVE.PART COREF-hole?-HAVE.PART

many of them, all over the place,

tapīime n-a-Ø-i<sup>9</sup>

many.ANIM.FACS 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

an awful lot of them

ma mēin-je n-a-Ø-i pananakiri Rapurapuku-po

DISC DP.MED.NOM-LOC 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT white.people place.name-LOC

well, on the far side, in Rapurapuku, there are white people,

pananakiri marë n-a-Ø-i irë-po

white.people also 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

there are white people there too

pananakiri Ø-j-amore-npë-hpë marë

white.people 3POSS-EU-spirit-PST-PST also

white people's souls too,

mekoro Ø-j-amore-npë-hpë marë taaapīiiiiime

Maroon 3POSS-EU-spirit-PST-PST also many.ANIM.FACS

also black people's souls, so many of them

irë-me n-a-Ø-i irë-po

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

so in that place

---

9 The word *totore* 'scattered' which literally means 'with gaps in between' is a possessive construction made up of the coreferential prefix *t(i)-* plus an indeterminate root (possibly related to *ota* 'hole'), plus the partially having possessive suffix *-re*; see section 11.4.

oroko-ma-n t-ēpē-se

work-FACS-NOM COREF-take-NF

there are workers, (they were) taken (by white people's souls),

mahto-imē-pē oroko-me n-a-∅-i mekoro

fire-AUG-CONTACT.LOC work-FACS 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT Maroon

black people are working at the big fire,

irē-po n-a-∅-i mahto-imē mono mahto-imē

DP.INAN.ANA-LOC 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT fire-AUG big fire-AUG

there's a big fire there, an enormous fire

irē-me irē ∅-apuru-ja-n\_to

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS DP.INAN.ANA 3→3-dam-PRES-NCERT\_PL

so they (the workers) are damming that up (building a dam)

sarē i-w-ēepi-se-taike\_re

DP.INAN.PROX.LOC 3POSS.1TR-come.NOM-DESID-NEG.INTENS\_FRUST

(they) don't want it to come here (so that the fire doesn't spread to here)

ma kure irē-mao irē apo wī-ka-∅ i-ja, naka

DISC good DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP DP.INAN.ANA like 1→3.1TR-say-LPST 3-GOAL finished

well, then, o.k., I said to him, "that's enough"

irē-mao nī-wa-∅-n\_to, tapiime nī-wa-∅-n

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3→dance-PRES-NCERT\_PL many.ANIM.FACS 3→dance-PRES-NCERT

then they are dancing, there are lots of them dancing,

Wajana, mekoro, pananakiri, Tunajana, Kasujana

Wayana Maroon white.people Tunayana, Kashuyana

Wayana, black people, white people, Tunayana, Kashuyana

amerarē t-īhpimī-ke n-a-∅-i

all COREF-headdress-INST 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

all of them have (are wearing) a headdress

irē apo n-a-∅-i

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

that's what it's like

irē-pona wī:-tē-ne

DP.INAN.ANA-DIR 1→3-1TR-go-NR.PST

that's where I went

j-amore t-ī-po-ntē-e kari-me ji-w-eh-to:-me

1POSS-spirit COREF-TR-clothes-BEN-NF strong-FACS 1POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-FACS

my spirit was dressed to make me strong

irë apo mēe jī-rī-ne

DP.INAN.ANA like 3PRO.ANIM.PROX 3→1-do-NR.PST

that's the way he treated me (clothes-wise)

irë apo n-a-∅-i irë-po pata

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC village

that's what the villages there are like

taanē nkērē n-a-∅-i pata, kawē

far\_PERSIST 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village high

further still there's a village, up high,

kan ∅-pata-rī ∅-ka-∅-n\_to

God 3POSS-village-POSS 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL

God's village they say,

∅-ene-pīnī ∅-ka-∅-n\_to

3POSS-see-NOM.NEG.POT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL

you can't see the people (the spirits) there, they say

irë apo n-a-∅-i wītoto ěema ∅-apuru-ne-npě

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT human.being path 3POSS-close-A.NOM-PST

that's how the people are, the builders of the dam for the path

pananakiri apo

white.people like

like townspeople (the way they are working)

kěpěewa e-tapaka-e-wa\_to n-a-∅-i sikotu apo

however MID-sit-NF-NEG\_PL 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT police like

however, they can't sit, they are like soldiers (standing straight up)

irë apo n-a-∅-i

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3-1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

that's what it's like

t-ěremi-ne-n-ton [singing] ∅-ka-∅-n\_to

COREF-spirit.song-EMANATE-C.NOM-PL 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL

they sing (produce) spirit songs, [hehoho] they say

Wajana sekenkērē, t-ěremi-ke

Wayana also COREF-spirit.song-INST

the Wayana as well, they have spirit songs,

serě ěremi apo\_ro [singing] ∅-ka-∅-n\_to

DP.INAN.PROX spirit.song like\_ASSERT 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT\_PL

just like this spirit song, [heheho...] they say (sing)

kure n-a-Ø-i Ø-eremi-kon  
good 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-spirit.song-PSR.PL  
their spirit songs are good

irë apo n-ka-Ø-n  
DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
that's how (they) say (sing)

irë-po ahtao pananakiri n-a-Ø-i  
DP.INAN.ANA-LOC when white.people 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
when you're there, there are white people there

i-mënpärë-ntë-ne-kon-me  
3POSS-things-BEN-A.NOM-PSR.PL-FACS  
as people who provide them with stuff (who are their things-providers),

pananakiri mënpärë Ø-rī-ja-n  
white.people things 3→3-do-PRES-NCERT  
the white people make things

samura iijeta, kasipara iijeta, wīwī n-a-Ø-i iijeta  
beads many.INAN cutlass many.INAN axe 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT many.INAN  
there are lots of beads, lots of cutlasses, lots of axes

oroko-me i-w-eh-to  
work-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM  
instruments for working

irë apo n-a-Ø-i irë-po  
DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA-LOC  
that's what it's like there

irë\_rëken w-ene-ne, tī-w-ë-ëñī-se-ta wī  
DP.INAN.ANA\_only 1→3-see-NR.PST COREF-1TR-REFL-sleep-NF-NEG 1PRO  
That's what I saw, I didn't sleep (there)

irëme w-ëe-ne\_pa aipīme\_pa j-enee-ne  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 1→3.1TR-come-NR.PST\_CYC quickly.FACS\_CYC 3→1-bring-NR.PST  
so I came back (to this world), he brought me back quickly

kawë\_pa j-enee-ne kanawa-imë apo-n-tao\_pa  
high\_CYC 3→1-bring-NR.PST boat-AUG like-NOM-CONT.LOC\_CYC  
he brought me back up high in something like an airplane

Akaraman i-kanawa  
Akaraman 3POSS-boat  
(that's what) Akaraman's boat (was like)

irë apo\_pa w-ëe-ne, kuuuura-no-po wī irë-po

DP.INAN.ANA like\_CYC 1→3.1TR-come-NR.PST good.INTENS-NOM-LOC 1PRO DP.INAN.ANA-LOC

I came back like that, I was in a wonderful place there

këpëewa ëire\_to n-a-Ø-i

but dangerous\_PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

however, they are dangerous (there)

tapīi-tapiime i-w-ei-ke

many-many.ANIM.FACS 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST

because there are so many of them

taanë n-a-Ø-i sein-je

far 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX.NOM-LOC

(the villages extend) far, on this side

oosëtë wein-je n-a-Ø-i pata<sup>10</sup>

east side.NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village

in the east there are villages

weste wein-je soirë wein-je n-a-Ø-i pata

west side.NOM-LOC south side.NOM-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village

to the west and to the south there are villages

a-tī\_nkërë n-a-Ø-i pata

Q-INAN\_PERSIST 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT village

what (where) else are there villages?

pata-ton n-a-Ø-i ji-warë oosëtë

village-PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-know east

there are villages, I know, in the east

ma a-tī\_nkërë\_pa pata Ø-eka

DISC Q-INAN\_PERSIST\_CYC VILLAGE 3POSS-name

well, what else are the names of the villages?

tapīime n-a-Ø-i

many.ANIM.FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

there are a lot of them<sup>11</sup>

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10 These cardinal directions are borrowings from Dutch; *oosëtë* from *oosten* ‘east’; *weste* from *westen* ‘west’; and *soirë* from *zuiden* ‘south’ and are used with the locative postposition *wein-je* ‘side.NOM-LOC’

11 The word *eka* ‘s/one’s name’ is animate in Trio.

ooni-po k-e:ta-ta-e Tëpu-po

DP.INAN.DIST-LOC 1+2→3-hear-FUT-CERT place.name-LOC

there in Tëpu we (you and I) will hear it

Ø-enee-kë\_pa\_mo mëe-ja\_pa

3O-bring-IMP\_CYC\_MOD 3PRO.ANIM.PROX-GOAL\_CYC

do bring it (the stories) back to her (Karin)

Tëpu-po ahtao w-i-pono-ta-e ë-ja

place.name-LOC when 1→3-TR-tell-FUT-CERT 2-GOAL

when (we're) in Tëpu, I'll tell you

serë-po i-pono-to-pora

DP.INAN.PROX-LOC 3POSS.TR-tell-TMP.NOM-NEG.POT

it's impossible to tell a story here

mëe-san soo n-ka-Ø-n

3PRO.ANIM.PROX-PL noise 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT

these ones here (in the hospital) are noisy.

irë apo n-a-Ø-i

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

that's the way it is

### 13.3 Text 3: Maakë iwehtopnpë: The Origin of Mosquito

ma serë w-i-pono-ja-e Maakë i-w-eh-topo-npë

DISC DP.INAN.PROX 1→3-TR-tell-PRES-CERT mosquito 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PST

Well, I'm going to tell the story of Mosquito (mosquito his former way of being)

pena Maakë wītoto-me t-ee-se

long.ago mosquito human.being-FACS COREF.1TR-be-NF

long ago Mosquito was a human being

irë-me koko nërë tī:-të-e-n-me t-ee-se

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS night 3PRO.ANIM.ANA COREF-1TR-go-NF-C.NOM-FACS COREF.1TR-be-NF

so he was someone who would go (about) at night

Maakë n-a-Ø-i

mosquito 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

(characteristic of) Mosquito is,

koko ëi-wa-e nī:-të-Ø-n koko\_nkërë

REFL-get-NF.SUP 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT night\_PERSIST

he goes hunting when it's still night

koko\_nkērē\_pa n-e:-ja-n

night\_PERSIST\_CYC 3→3.1TR-come-PRES-NCERT

in the morning he returns (home)

kokoinje nī:-tē-Ø-n Maakē ēi-wa-e

afternoon 3→3.1TR-go-PRES-NCERT mosquito REFL-get-NF.SUP

in the afternoon Mosquito goes hunting

ma t-aupī-ke marē n-a-Ø-i

DISC COREF-in.law-INST also 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

well, it's also the case that he has a mother-in-law

irē-me tī:-tē-e Maakē

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF-go-NF mosquito

things being the way they are, Mosquito went (out)

koko t-ēmee-se

night COREF-spend.night.awake-NF

he spent the night not sleeping

ma irē-mao tīi-ka-e tī-w-ēe-se\_pa koko\_nkērē\_pa

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF.1TR-say-NF COREF-1TR-come-NF\_CYC night\_PERSIST\_CYC

well then, he says (the story goes), he came back in the morning

irē-mao kana t-ēpē-se i-ja

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP fish COREF-catch-NF 3-GOAL

then he (had) caught fish

taaapīime i-kaimo mēkī-npē\_ken

many.ANIM.FACS 3POSS-dead.game 3PRO.ANIM.AUD.N.VIS-PST\_DUR

he had an awful lot of game, all sorts of fish (meaty animals)

mēkī-npē\_ken i-kaimo-me t-ee-se

3PRO.ANIM.AUD.N.VIS-PST\_DUR 3POSS-dead.game-FACS COREF.1TR-be-NF

all sorts of fish (meaty animals) were his game

Maakē i-kaimo-me aimara, surui waatau

mosquito 3POSS-dead.game-FACS anjumara catfish.sp fish.sp

anjumara, catfish, and other fish were Mosquito's game

amerarē kana t-ēpē-se i-ja

all fish COREF-catch-NF 3-GOAL

he caught all (kinds of) fish

ameeerarē kanawa t-anē-se\_ken

all boat COREF-fill-NF\_DUR

he kept filling all the boats

t-ënee-se i-ja Maakë-ja

COREF-bring-NF 3-GOAL Mosquito-GOAL

he brought them (the filled boats), Mosquito did

ma mërë-po n-a-Ø-i kana tī-ka-e tī-pī-ja

DISC DP.INAN.MED-LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT fish COREF.1TR-say-NF 3COREF-wife-GOAL

“there are fish over there,” he said to his wife

kone

o.k.

“all right”

ene-Ø tī:-të-e i-pī

3.see-NF.SUP COREF.1TR-go-NF 3POSS-wife

his wife went to see

taaapīime kanawa t-anë-se\_ken

many.ANIM.FACS boat COREF-fill-NF\_DUR

there were many many (fish), boats full of them

ma irë-mao tī-rë-e i-ja Ø-aupī-rī-ja

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-do-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-in.law-POSS-GOAL

well, then his mother-in-law prepared them (the fish)

tī-w-ë-eweh-se

COREF-1TR-REFL-eat-NF

they ate

tī-koroo-ta-e\_ken t-ee-se Maakë

COREF-white-TERM-NF\_DUR COREF.1TR-be-NF mosquito

Mosquito had become totally white

irë-me sekarë\_ken tī-w-ëi-wa-e

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS always\_DUR COREF-1TR-REFL-get-NF

he was always out hunting (he was white from always being in the water catching fish)

tī-w-ëi-wa-e tī-w-ëi-wa-e

COREF-1TR-REFL-get-NF COREF-1TR-REFL-get-NF

he was always out hunting, he was always out hunting

irë-po\_ro tī-ka-e Ø-aupī

DP.INAN.ANA-LOC\_ASSERT COREF.1TR-say-NF 3POSS-in.law

there (then) his mother-in-law said

kure n-a-Ø-i ë-injo tī-koro-ta-e\_ken-eita

good 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-husband COREF-white-TERM-NF\_DUR-EMPH

j-eemi tii-ka-e

1POSS-daughter COREF. 1TR-say-NF

“your husband has become incredibly white, daughter,” she said

kure i-muuka-se w-a-Ø-e

good 3POSS-paint.NOM-DESID 1→3. 1TR-be-PRES-CERT

“I want to give him a good painting

ë-injo i-muuka-se w-a-Ø-e

2POSS-husband 3POSS-paint.NOM-DESID 1→3. 1TR-be-PRES-CERT

I want to paint your husband

j-ëinjapīma-ne tii-ka-e Ø-aupī i-pī i-mama

3→1-sadden.INCH.STAT-NR.PST COREF. 1TR-say-NF 3POSS-in.law 3POSS-wife 3POSS-mother

I feel sorry for him,” his mother-in-law, his wife’s mother said

ma tii-ka-e kena

DISC COREF. 1TR-say-NF no.idea

well, she said “ I don’t know”

irë-me tii-ka-e i-pī

DP.INAN.ANA COREF. 1TR-say-NF 3POSS-wife

so his wife said

ma Maakë tii-ka-e

DISC mosquito COREF. 1TR-say-NF

WELL, “Mosquito” she said

manko n-a-Ø-i ë-muuka-se tii-ka-e

1POSS.mother 3→3. 1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-paint.NOM-DESID COREF. 1TR-say-NF

“my mother wants to paint you” she said

owa tii-ka-e owa tii-ka-e

NEG.P COREF. 1TR-say-NF no COREF. 1TR-say-NF

“no” he said, “no” he said

wiise-se-ta w-a-Ø-e tii-ka-e

paint-DESID-NEG 1→3. 1TR-be-PRES-CERT COREF. 1TR-say-NF

“I don’t want any paint (on me)” he said

a-ti-to-me ji-muuka-se n-a-Ø-i mama

Q-INAN-TMP.NOM-FACS 1POSS-paint.NOM-DESID 3→3. 1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2POSS.mother

“why does your mother want to paint me?”

tii-ka-e

COREF. 1TR-say-NF

he said

owa m-ëinjapëma-Ø-e manko

NEG.P 2→3-sadden.INCH.STAT-PRES-CERT 1POSS.mother

“just because, you are making my mother pity you

tī-koro-ta-e\_ken n-a-Ø-i

COREF-white-TERM-NF\_DUR 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

‘he’s so incredibly white’

Ø-ka-Ø-në tī-ka-e

3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT COREF.1TR-say-NF

she’s saying” she (his wife) said

owa tī-ka-e kureta wīja tī-ka-e Maakë

NEG.P COREF.1TR-say-NF good-NEG 1-GOAL COREF.1TR-say-NF mosquito

“no I don’t like that idea” Mosquito said

irë-me Maakë naka naka tī-ka-e

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS mosquito finish finish COREF.1TR-say-NF

so Mosquito said “that’s enough of that!”

j-ere-ko-ma-e-wa eh-të ji-muuka-toh-pë

1O-liver-unease-INCH.STAT-NF-NEG be-IMP.PL 1POSS-paint-TMP.NOM-CONTACT.LOC

“don’t be annoying me about painting me!”

tī-ka-e

COREF.1TR-say-NF

he said

tëme marë wī tī-ka-e tī-ka-e Maakë

? also 1PRO COREF.1TR-say-NF COREF.1TR-say-NF mosquito

“that’s the way I was made” Mosquito said

ma irë-me tī-ka-e eeke wī-rī-ja-në

DISC DP.INAN.ANA COREF.1TR-say-NF how 1→3-do-PRES-NCERT

so then she (the mother-in-law) said “what should I do?”

owa kure j-einjapīma-Ø-n ë-injo tī-ka-e

NEG.P good 3→1-sadden.INCH.STAT-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-husband COREF.1TR-say-NF

“no, your husband really makes me feel sorry for him” she said

tī-komain-je\_pa tī-komain-je\_pa

COREF-dusk-NF\_CYC COREF-dusk-NF\_CYC

a night passed, another night passed

irë-mao\_pa tī-ka-e\_nkërë

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP\_CYC COREF.1TR-say-NF\_PERSIST

then she was still saying the same thing

ë-injo i-muuka-se w-a-Ø-e tii-ka-e

2POSS-husband 3POSS-paint.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT COREF.1TR-say-NF

“I want to paint your husband” she said

owa owa n-ka-Ø-n-po\_pa tii-ka-e

NEG.P NEG.P 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT-?\_CYC COREF.1TR-say-NF

“no no, he has said” she said

naka n-ka-Ø-në tii-ka-e

finish 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT COREF.1TR-say-NF

“‘that’s enough!’ he says” she said

owa i-muuka-se w-a-Ø-e j-eemi

NEG.P 3POSS-paint.NOM-DESID 1→3.1TR-be-PRES-CERT 1POSS-daughter

“no, I want to paint him, daughter

j-einjapëma-Ø-në ë-injo tii-ka-e

3→1-sadden.INCH.STAT-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-husband COREF.1TR-say-NF

I pity your husband

t-ëirano-se-n apo\_rën\_ken n-a-Ø-i ë-injo

COREF-get.angry-NF-C.NOM like\_forever\_DUR 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-husband

your husband is just like someone people don’t like / get angry with

tii-koro-ta-e\_ken tii-ka-e

COREF-white-TERM-NF\_DUR COREF.1TR-say-NF

he is so completely white” she said

irë-mao tii-ka-e Maakë Maakë-ja\_pa tii-ka-e\_nkëre

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF.1TR-say-NF mosquito mosquito-GOAL\_CYC COREF.1TR-say-NF\_PERSIST

then she said to Mosquito again, she said again

ë-muuka-se n-a-Ø-i manko kutuma tii-ka-e

2POSS-paint.NOM-DESID 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1POSS.mother INTENS COREF.1TR-say-NF

“my mother really wants to paint you” she said

pë mën\_pa<sup>12</sup> owa wi-ka-Ø-e\_rë<sup>13</sup> tii-ka-e Maakë

INTERJ.sadness ? NEG.P 1→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT\_ASSERT COREF.1TR-say-NF mosquito

“oh dear, here we go again. No, I tell you” Mosquito said

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12 The word *mënpa* in this context expresses the meaning ‘here we go again!’ when said with annoyance; it is probably made up of the third person pronoun inanimate non-visible *mën* plus the cyclic clitic *\_pa*.

13 When followed by the assertive clitic *\_rë*, the vowel of the certainty evidential suffix *-e* is raised to *i*, thus the word *wikaerë* ‘I really say’ is realized as *wikairë* [wikairə]. This also holds for the following two clauses.

owa wī-ka-∅-e\_rē

NEG.P 1→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT\_ASSERT

“no, I say

kure-ta wī-ja wī-ka-∅-e\_rē tīi-ka-e

good-NEG 1-GOAL 1→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT\_ASSERT COREF.1TR-say-NF

“that’s not all right with me, I say” he said

owa wa-w-eh-ta-e ji-muuka-tuwē mama-ja tīi-ka-e

NEG.P NEG-1→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT 1POSS-paint.NOM-ANT 2POSS.mother-GOAL COREF.1TR-say-NF

“no, I will die if your mother paints me (after my painting by mother)” he said

enakē-me t-ēkanī-se i-ja-:ne

joke-FACS COREF-think-NF 3-GOAL-PL

they thought he was joking (lying)

ma irē-me tīi-ka-e

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF.1TR-say-NF

so he said (so the story goes)

irē-mao tī-muuka-e wīse t-ēpē-se i-ja i-mama-rī-ja

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-paint-NF paint COREF-grab-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-mother-POSS-GOAL

then she painted him, her mother took some paint

manko n-a-∅-i ē-muuka-se tīi-ka-e

1POSS.mother 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-paint.NOM-DESID COREF.1TR-say-NF

“my mother wants to paints you” she said

sen-pona oh-kē tīi-ka-e

DP.INAN.PROX.NOM-DIR come-IMP COREF.1TR-say-NF

“come here!” she said

pē tīi-ka-e Maakē pē wī-ka-∅-e-ihta

INTERJ.sadness COREF.1TR-say-NF INTERJ.sadness 1→3.1TR-say-PRES-CERT-for.sure

“oh dear,” Mosquito said, “oh dear I surely say”

tīi-ka-e

COREF.1TR-say-NF

he said

tee sen-po ji-w-ei-se-taike\_rēn

INTERJ.surprise DP.INAN.PROX.NOM-LOC 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-DESID-NEG.INTENS\_forever

m-ana-∅-ti tīi-ka-e

2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL COREF.1TR-say-NF

“my goodness, you really don’t want me here” he said

se-n-po ji-w-ei-se-taike\_rën m-ana-ti

DP.INAN.PROX.NOM-LOC 1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-DESID-NEG.INTENS\_forever 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL  
“you really don’t want me here

ë-jahpëntë-to-kon n-a-Ø-i ë-n-ene-peke-:ne

2POSS-help.BEN-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-3O-see.NOM-NEG.DESID-PL

tïi-ka-e

COREF.1TR-say-NF

you can't stand the sight of your means of being helped (your means of being helped is not a desirous seeing thing of yours)” he said

ë-kairi-ntë-toh-kon wī-ja

2POSS-pepperpot-BEN-TMP.NOM-PSR.PL 1-GOAL

“I have provided you with (meat for) your pepperpot

irë n-a-Ø-i ë-n-ene-peke-:ne tïi-ka-e

DP.INAN.ANA 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 2POSS-3O-see.NOM-NEG.DESID-PL COREF.1TR-say-NF

that’s what you don’t want to see” he said

ma kure ëmë-injamo\_hkatë i-jahpë-nna ë-w-ei-koe ahtao

DISC GOOD 2PRO-PL\_RESPONS 3POSS-help-LESS 2POSS-1TR-be.NOM-DESID.PSR.PL when

“that’s all right, it’s up to you, if you want to be without help

ëmë-injamo\_ro kure tïi-ka-e

2PRO-PL\_ASSERT good COREF.1TR-say-NF

you’re fine” he said

irë-mao tï-muuka-e i-mama-rī-ja Ø-aupī-rī-ja

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-paint-NF 3POSS-mother-POSS-GOAL 3POSS-in.law-POSS-GOAL

then his mother, his mother-in-law painted him

ma irë-mao mërë-po t-ee-se pijaa\_sa

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP DP.INAN.MED-LOC COREF.1TR-be-NF little\_DIM

then he stayed there a bit

irë-mao wa-t-ee-se tï-n-etë-hpë-tae\_rë

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP NEG-COREF.1TR-be-NF 3COREF-3O-plan.NOM-PST-PERL\_ASSERT

then he died just as he had predicted,

туру

IDEO.fall.down.dead

he died

Ø-ene-këne tïi-ka-e tï-mama-rī-ja Ø-eemi

3O-see-HORT COREF.1TR-say-NF 3COREF-mother-POSS-GOAL 3POSS-daughter

“let’s look!” the daughter said to her mother

ene-kēne ka-reh-poh\_pa tīi-ka-e

3O-see-HORT say-FRUST-?\_CYC COREF.1TR-say-NF

“let’s look (?)” she said

wa-w-ei-nen wa-ji-w-ei-se m-ana-Ø-ti

NEG-1→3.1TR-be-WARN NEG-1POSS-1TR-be.NOM-DESID 2→3.1TR-be-PRES-PL

“I just might die, you want me dead’

n-ka-Ø-n wā-ja j-injo tīi-ka-e

3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 1-GOAL 1POSS-husband COREF.1TR-say-NF

my husband said to me” she said

irē-mao wa-t-ee-se Maakē

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP NEG-COREF-be-NF mosquito

then Mosquito died

ma irē-me tīi-ka-e pē

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF.1TR-say-NF INTERJ.sadness

well, so she said “pē (oh my goodness)”

irē-me tī-w-ēs-ina-e Ø-aupī

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF-1TR-REFL-cry-NF 3POSS-in.law

so his mother-in-law cried

tī-w-ēs-ina-e Ø-aupī

COREF-1TR-REFL-cry-NF 3POSS-in.law

his mother-in-law cried

pē tīi-ka-e

INTERJ.sadness COREF.1TR-say-NF

“oh dear!” she said

ma irē-mao tī-wakutu-je tahken Maakē

DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-belly-ACQ.POSS maybe mosquito

well then Mosquito’s belly had swelled up (it was as if it swelled up)

tī-wakutu-je n-ka-Ø-n i-pono-ne-npē

COREF-belly-ACQ.POSS 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-tell-A.NOM-PST

his belly swelled up, says the person who told the story

tī-wakutu-je tīi-ka-e\_to Maakē

COREF-belly-ACQ.POSS COREF.1TR-say-NF\_PL mosquito

Mosquito’s belly swelled up, they said

serē n-a-Ø-i tamutupē i-n-ponopī

DP.INAN.PROX 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT old.man 3POSS-3O-tell.NOM

this is what the old man tells

a-kī-pēe n-i-pono-ja-n tamutupē  
Q-ANIM-SOU 3→3-tell-PRES-NCERT old.man  
from whom did the old man tell (hear) this story?

tamutupē-ja t-i-pono:-se peena  
old.man-GOAL COREF-TR-tell-NF long.ago  
the old man told this long ago

Mokootu i-papa-rī-ja  
prop.name 3POSS-father-POSS-GOAL  
Mokootu's father told it

Mokootu i-papa i-n-ponopī n-a-∅-i serē  
prop.name 3POSS-father 3POSS-3O-tell.NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX  
this is what Mokootu's father told

Mokootu i-papa ∅-eka antīnao wī-ja  
prop.name 3POSS-father 3POSS-name deep.LOC 1-GOAL  
Mokootu's father's name is difficult for me (to remember)

irē-me nērē\_rēken i-n-ponopī-hpē  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3PRO.ANIM.ANA\_only 3POSS-3O-tell.NOM-PST

serē n-ka-∅-n  
DP.INAN.PROX 3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT  
this is what that one told, he says (it is said)

ma irē-mao i-waku t-i-konka-e  
DISC DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP 3POSS-belly COREF-TR-pierce-NF  
well, then they pierced his stomach

ji-waku\_mo i-konka-tē tīi-ka-e wa-tī-w-ei-me  
1POSS-belly\_MOD 3.TR-pierce-IMP.PL COREF.1TR-say-NF NEG-3COREF-1TR-be.NOM-FACS  
“pierce my belly!” he had said as he was dying

ji-waku i-konka-tē  
1POSS-belly 3.TR-pierce-IMP.PL  
“pierce my belly!

a-tī-hpe n-a-∅-i j-awē tīi-ka-e  
Q-INAN-INDEF.SPEC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 1-INT.LOC COREF.1TR-say-NF  
no matter what is inside me” he had said

sameken tī-waku-ta-e wīise ∅-apē-tuwē  
quickly.DUR COREF-belly-TERM-NF paint 3POSS-catch.NOM-ANT  
his belly had expanded quickly after the paint had gotten him

wīise i-pun-pë i-w-eh-tuwë  
paint 3POSS-body-CONTACT.LOC 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-ANT  
after the paint had been in contact with his body

irë-mao\_rë tī-waku-ta-e Maakë  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP\_ASSERT COREF-belly-TERM-NF mosquito  
right then Mosquito's belly had grown

irë-me tī-waakutu-je t-ee-se  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS COREF-belly-ACQ.POSS COREF.1TR-be-NF  
so he had a swollen belly

irë-me ji-waku\_mo i-konka-tëkë  
DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 1POSS-belly\_MOD 3.TR-pierce-IMP.PL  
“so please pierce my belly”

n-ka-Ø-n wī-ja tī-ka-e i-pī  
3→3.1TR-say-PRES-NCERT 1-GOAL COREF.1TR-say-NF 3POSS-wife  
he said to me” his wife said

pë irë-mao t-ī-konka-e i-ja i-waku  
INTERJ.sadness DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-TR-pierce-NF 3-GOAL 3POSS-belly  
oh dear, so she pierced his belly

kron t-ī-roika-e i-ja kuuuh  
IDEO.slit COREF-TR-slit.open-NF 3-GOAL IDEO.gush.out  
she slit open his belly and out flew mosquitoes

irë-mao t-aun-je maakë  
DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-rise.up-NF mosquito  
then mosquitoes rose up (out of his belly)

taaaapiime maakë t-ee-se  
many.ANIM.FACS mosquito COREF.1TR-be-NF  
there were an awful lot of mosquitoes,

kuuuuh tī-ka-e\_ken kuuuh  
IDEO.gush.out COREF-.1TR-say-NF\_DUR IDEO.gush.out  
they gushed out, *kuuuuh* they went

ëëëëë maakë Ø-eka-tae\_rë  
IDEO.mosquito.buzzing mosquito 3POSS-name-PERL\_ASSERT  
*ëëëëë* they buzzed, just as you would expect from the name mosquito

nërë-me i-w-ei-ke tahken maakë-me i-w-ei-ke  
3PRO.ANIM.ANA-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST maybe mosquito-FACS 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-INST  
because that's what it was, because they were mosquitoes

irë-me nërë i-waku-tao t-ee-se maakë

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3PRO.ANIM.ANA 3POSS-belly-CONT.LOC COREF.1TR-be-NF mosquito  
so the mosquitoes were in his belly

wïise-tao i-w-eh-tuwë

paint-CONT.LOC 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-ANT  
after he had been painted

i-wakuru-nna\_rë t-ee-se Maakë

3POSS-belly-LESS\_ASSERT COREF.1TR-be-NF mosquito  
Mosquito was actually without a belly (before that)

kepëewa wïise Ø-apëh-tuwë wïise i-pun-pë i-w-eh-tuwë

however paint 3POSS-catch.NOM-ANT paint 3POSS-body-CONTACT.LOC 3POSS-1TR-be.NOM-ANT  
but, after he had gotten the paint on him, after it was in contact with his body

irë-mao tï-waku-ta-e

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-belly-TERM-NF  
his belly had swelled up

irë-mao tï-w-ës-aima-e

DP.INAN.ANA-TEMP COREF-1TR-REFL-spread-NF  
then they (mosquitoes) spread out in all directions

irë apo n-a-Ø-i Maakë i-w-eh-to

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT mosquito 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM  
such is the story of Mosquito

irë apo t-ee-se Maakë wa-t-ee-se

DP.INAN.ANA like COREF.1TR-be-NF mosquito NEG-COREF.1TR-be-NF  
such was Mosquito, he was dead

irë-me n-a-Ø-i maakë meinjarë Ø-awë-no-npë

DP.INAN.ANA-FACS 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT mosquito now 3-INT.LOC-NOM-PST  
so that's how mosquitoes are today, they were formerly in him

nërë-ja tï-rï-po-e maakë tapiime

3PRO.ANIM.ANA-GOAL COREF-do-CAUS-NF mosquito many.ANIM.FACS  
mosquitoes were caused to be many by him

pata wararë

place every  
they are everywhere (in every place)

irë apo ka-hpë-tae\_rë i-ja

DP.INAN.ANA like say.NOM-PST-PERL\_ASSERT 3-GOAL  
that's exactly the way he said it would be

irë apo n-eh-ta-n irë apo w-eh-ta-e

DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-FUT-NCERT DP.INAN.ANA like 1→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT

“that’s what it will be like, that’s what I’ll be like

j-eka-tae\_rë w-eh-ta-e pata wararë tii-ka-e

1POSS-name-PERL\_ASSERT 1→3.1TR-be-FUT-CERT place every COREF.1TR-say-NF

in accordance with my name I will be everywhere” he said

mm mm ma irë apo n-a-Ø-i serë i-ponoh-to

mm mm DISC DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT DP.INAN.PROX 3POSS.TR-tell-TMP.NOM

well, such is this story

tëerë n-a-Ø-i i-tipi

DP.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-continuation

the story continues (there is a continuation)

kepëewa akire-ra w-i-pono-ja-e meinjarë

however long-NEG 1→3-TR-tell-PRES-CERT now

however today I’m telling a short story

serë tëerë n-a-Ø-i i-tipi

DP.INAN.PROX DP.LOC 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-continuation

there is a continuation

tii-pi-je i-pi i-w-eh-topo-npë

COREF-wife-ACQ.POSS 3POSS-wife 3POSS-1TR-be-TMP.NOM-PST

(the one about him) having a wife, his wife’s life story

serë-tae\_rëken w-i-pono-ja-e pitë irë

DP.INAN.PROX-PERL\_only 1→3-TR-tell-PRES-CERT while DP.INAN.ANA

I’m only telling this far now for a while, (just) that

eeke n-a-Ø-i i-menu-htë-to n-a-Ø-i

how 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT 3POSS-design-BEN-TMP.NOM 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

how it is, how is (the process of) writing it down

akire\_sa ahtao

long\_DIM when

if it’s a bit long

n-ë-enuh-ka-ma-në mëe

3→3-REFL-eye-REVERS-INCH.STAT-NCERT 3PRO.ANIM.PROX

she gets confused

i-ponoh-po-ne j-eemi

3POSS.TR-tell-CAUS-A.NOM 1POSS-daughter

the one who is getting me to tell this, my daughter

ma irë apo n-a-Ø-i

DISC DP.INAN.ANA like 3→3.1TR-be-PRES-NCERT

well, that's how it is

irë\_rëken irë apo\_rëken w-i-pono-ja-e pitë

DP.INAN.ANA\_only DP.INAN.ANA like\_only 1→3-TR-tell-PRES-CERT while

just that, that's all I'm telling now for a while

naka meinjarë

finished now

that's it now.



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